CAROLINA MUDSILL:

THE PASSAGE OF SOUTH CAROLINA'S 1710 EDUCATION LAW

by

KATHRYN LOUISE GRAY-WHITE

(Under the Direction of Ronald E. Butchart)

ABSTRACT

Carolina Mudsill: The Passage of South Carolina's 1710 Education Law reviews the events leading up to the passage of South Carolina's 1710 Education Law. This study fills the gaps in the prior historical record of schooling in South Carolina. It addresses the topic of colonial schooling in the early eighteenth-century South, seeking the origins of its distinctiveness in relationship to educational development elsewhere in the American colonies. Regarding the development of parish schooling in the early colonial South, the question addressed was at what point did southerners depart from the parish school tradition? Interrelated, what was the relationship between the colony's early education traditions and the colonial and early national discourse that linked schooling with republicanism?

Carolina Mudsill argues that it is the untold story or the story of a failed education bill that supplies the needed information for comprehending the American endeavor to provide schooling for the community. In the particular case of *Carolina Mudsill*, a better understanding of the prickly opinions surrounding the establishment of community schooling during a specific era emerges. In this vein, the mindset of those who developed a school within a burgeoning southern British colony is revealed. In summary, this study does something that has never been

done before: It recognizes the primary support upon which the larger framework of southern schooling was established.

INDEX WORDS: Revolutionary schools; Colonial education; South Carolina; Anglican church; Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts (SPG); Charleston, SC; Church of England

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, James William Gray and Nellie Virginia McGaha Gray. Thank you for your guidance, support, and the model you set for me.

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Thank you, Dr. Butchart, for your unwavering support and guidance. I would have never made it through this process without your assistance. It has been a privilege to sit in you classroom at the University of Georgia and most of all to share in the joy of your academic discoveries through the reading of your many publications on the history of education, especially those dedicated to southern educational history. .

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To my family, my husband, Donald E. White, and especially my two sons, Jeromy Todd White and Joshua Chad White, thank you for always standing beside me, encouraging me, and pushing me to finish this work.

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PREFACE

I originally intended to explore the history of Christopher G. Memminger and the establishment of a common school in the pre-Civil War town of Charleston, S.C. In time, after months of probing the stacks, it became clear that South Carolina's education history was incomplete and filled with contradictions.[1] Before a good history of Charleston's first common school could be written, it was evident that the antebellum schooling history required clarification.[2] As a result, after an extended assessment of the Memminger School, I resolved that I must first establish the eighteenth century underpinning of the early nineteenth century school debates.

When I began my study of Christopher G. Memminger and the Charleston Common School, I was aware that David Plank in *Southern Cities, Southern Schools: Public Education in the Urban South* had argued that the "neglect of southern cities" represented "a major gap" in the

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[1] These partial histories regarding the topic of antebellum education included Anna C. Brackett, "Charleston, South Carolina (1861)," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (1894); Charles William Dabney, *Universal Education in the South*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936); Mattie Crouch Kneece, "Bulletin of the University of South Carolina: The Contributions of C. G. Memminger to the Cause of Education," (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1926); Edward W. Knight, *A Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860*, 5 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); John Furman Thomason, *The Foundations of the Public Schools of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: The State Company, 1925).

[2] Early historians like David Ramsay noted the existence of schooling under the Church of England. At the turn-of-the-twentieth century, however, state historians like David Wallace had disregarded schooling under the British Empire. By the mid-century, books on southern Anglicanism reintroduced the Church of England and its school program. Later, Charles Bolton narrowed the story by writing about Anglicanism in South Carolina and the importance of the parish school program. This study will be the first to isolate the history of Carolina and its parish school story. The most relevant histories reviewed included David Ramsay, *The History of South-Carolina, from its First Settlement in 1670, to the Year 1808* (Charleston: David Longworth, 1809); William J. Rivers, *Sketch of the History of South Carolina to the close of the Proprietary Government by the Revolution of 1719* (Spartanburg, S. C.: The Reprint Company, 1856); Walter Edgar, *South Carolina, a History* (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1998); David Duncan Wallace, *The History of South Carolina*, vol. 4 (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1934); John Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues: The S.P.G. Adventure in American Education* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1971); S. Charles Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism: The Church of England in Colonial South Carolina* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982).

"historiography of American education."[3] This landmark publication challenged researchers to seek out schooling stories in southern towns or cities. For example, in the Forward, Plank argued that except for a handful of publications, education historians have tended to bypass the pre-Civil War era. At the time I began my project, two decades had passed since the publication of *Southern Cities, Southern Schools.* Yet, still today, only a few education histories regarding schooling in early southern towns exist.[4]

The end result was that my investigation of South Carolina's nineteenth century common school proved that I must pioneer the work on Carolina's pre-Revolution schools. The first mention of a pre-Revolution education law was found in the work of David Ramsay (1809) and William J. Rivers (1859). The first effort to legislate schooling on Carolina soil took place in 1710 under the British flag. In his book, Ramsay offered two paragraphs on this school while Rivers offered one paragraph on eighteenth century schooling. Nonetheless, within both short

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[3] David N. Plank and Rick Ginsberg, "Why Study the South?" in *Southern Cities, Southern Schools: Public Education in the Urban South* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 1.

[4] The few education historians addressing the antebellum town school include David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974); William R. Taylor, "Toward a Definition of Orthodoxy: The Patrician South and the Common Schools," *Harvard Educational Review* 36 (Summer 1966): 412-432; Joseph W. Newman, "Antebellum School Reform in Port Cities of the Deep South," in *Southern Cities, Southern Schools: Public Education in the Urban South*, eds. David N. Plank and Rick Ginsberg, Contributions to the Study of Education, no. 38 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), 17-35; Kathryn A. Pippin, "The Common School Movement in the South, 1840-1860," (master's thesis, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1977). The one discovered twenty-first century publication on the antebellum school is that of Bruce W. Eelman, "An Educated and Intelligent People Cannot Be Enslaved: The Struggle for Common Schools in Antebellum Spartanburg, South Carolina," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 2, (Summer 2004). Academic Search via Galileo. URL: http://www.history cooperative.org/journals/heq/44.2/eelman.html

Urban historians often included information on antebellum schooling in their community histories. These historians did not analyze the schools but their research was significant. The studies included Harriett E. Amos, *Cotton City: Urban development in Antebellum Mobile* (University, Ala.: University of 'Alabama Press, 1985): Blaine Brownwell and David Goldfield, ed., *The City in Southern History: The Growth of Urban Civilization in the South* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1977).

comments, the authors pointed me toward the Church of England and its role in colonial schooling.[5]

In May of 1704, the colonial legislature of South Carolina declared the Church of England as the established church of the colony of Carolina. The London-orchestrated 1704 Church Act had re-established the prominence of Anglicans over other Protestant sects living in Carolina. Locally, the law resulted in a storm of protest. Nonconformists to the Church of England disputed the legality of Carolina's 1704 Church Act, while at the same time Carolina's Anglican Church Party protected the newly elevated status of the Church of England. The resulting eight-year rift between conformists and nonconformists to the Anglican Church stopped all community progress, including the establishment of schools.

Not one sign of lessening of tensions between the two camps was noted until 1710. At this point, though the nonconformists continued to protest, the Anglicans pushed through the divided Assembly a law for the erection of an Anglican parish school in Charles Town. Even so, the bad rapport between the feuding Protestants, as Ramsay explained, doomed the law, for it was never "carried into operation."[6] Two years later, in 1712, a second education decree "for founding & erection of a Free-School in Charles-Town for the use of the Inhabitants of this Province of South-Carolina" made it through the assembly. The resulting Act of Incorporation declared that "it is necessary that a Free-school be erected for the Instruction of the Youth of this province, in Grammar, and other Arts and Sciences and useful Learning, and also in the Principles of the Christian Religion."[7]

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[5] Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 95; Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 231.

[6] Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 96.

[7] Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 95.

Though David Ramsay was the first historian to offer up the parish school for study in his 1809 history, it was John Calam who detailed the role played by the Church of England in southern schooling history. *Parsons and Pedagogues: The SPG Adventure in American Education,* Calam's history of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), proved valuable. Within this broad history of a Society dedicated to educating the American colonists, Calam offered hints of underused manuscripts regarding the various SPG schoolhouses and schoolmasters. Though Calam's information on the Carolina parish school was brief, what proved to be most noteworthy was the Society's single-mindedness. The Society was dedicated to establishing parish schools on the colonial frontier. What is more, the Society was steadfast in its record-keeping.[8]

A second history, S. Charles Bolton's *Southern Anglicanism: The Church of England in Colonial South Carolina* narrowed Calam's broad study. Emphasizing the significance of South Carolina's Anglican Church, Bolton argued that his history was "corrective." This book communicated a new awareness of the importance of the Anglican Church in the early South. Bolton chose South Carolina because this colony was "the richest of southern colonies and one more socially significant than its northern neighbors."[9] Finally, by the fall of 2006, the history of the Anglican parish school became my chosen topic for the dissertation. Consider that the 1710 education law represented the very first time a broad discussion of schooling had taken place in what would become a state that would be highly influential politically in the first half of American history. This early discourse on British religious schooling, for example, must have

[8] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues,* 231.

[9] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism,* xi.

included questions of the purpose of schooling, who should be educated, the appropriate curriculum, and what agency should support a school?

In order to search out answers to these and other questions, the investigation began with a review of the Carolina Charter; a document entitled the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina. According to numerous historians, this statute "profoundly affected the colony's history for half a century." Over time, it was this constantly edited document that allowed opposing Protestant sects to settle on the same soil. As a result, within the Assembly, the Fundamental Constitutions primed the conformists and nonconformists to the Church of England for a clash. Consequently, under the British flag, the passage of Carolina's first school law did not take place without extensive and searing debates.[10]

In time, it would be the conformists to the state church who laid the footing for the creation of the first government-sponsored school in South Carolina history. In Carolina, the events leading up to the passage of the 1710 parish school law set the mudsill, the sand and mortar foundation of colonial-era structures, upon which all schooling legislation evolved. In Carolina, the 1710 parish school law proved to be the mudsill upon which countless building blocks were laid to build South Carolina's educational edifice. However, before the 1710 law passed through the Commons House of Assembly the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts created two parish schools in the lowcountry of Carolina.

Carolina Mudsill: The Passage of South Carolina's 1710 Education Law, reviews the events leading up to the passage of this school directive. It fills the gaps in the prior historical record. It addresses the topic of colonial schooling in the early eighteenth-century South, seeking the origins of its distinctiveness in relationship to educational development elsewhere in

[10] M. Eugene Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 10.

the American colonies. Regarding the development of parish schooling in the early colonial South, the question to be addressed is at what point did southerners depart from the parish school tradition? Relatedly, what was the relationship between the colony's early education traditions and the colonial and early national discourse that linked schooling with republicanism?

Historiography

Obviously, as a student of education history, the scarcity of knowledge on pre-Civil War schooling in South Carolina had not come as a complete surprise. I was aware that the historiography on American education spoke to this very issue. Consider the fact that, in 1996, John Harden Best, after assessing the writing on the development of the U. S. public education system concluded:

> The history of education in recent years has done its job remarkably well, with one striking exception: it does not explain the South. In fact, mainstream history writing largely ignores the South, which is dismissed as backward or treated somewhat condescendingly as peripheral to the progress of the nation. The South in this view is hardly in America.[11]

In the field of education history, when "discussing public schooling in antebellum America," many writers who took time to investigate the southern school presented it as a "clear dichotomy." They created a classic divide wherein the "North adopted centralized statewide systems of public education befitting a democratic, progressive society" but "The South, on the other hand, resisted public education due to a backward, pre-modern slave society."[12] The

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[11] John Harden Best, "Education in the Forming of the American South," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 44. Academic Search via Galileo. URL:http://www.jstor.org/stable/369300

[12]Eelman, Bruce W., "An Educated and Intelligent People Cannot Be Enslaved: The Struggle for Commons Schools in Antebellum Spartanburg, South Carolina." *History of Education Quarterly*, no. 44 (Summer 2004), 1. In 2004, Eelman investigated the Spartanburg, S.C. Common School movement via the failed Tucker Common School Bill.

bottom line is that, to date, most of the published research has simply pointed to this basic divide in the progress of antebellum schooling, North and South. Recently, however, several researchers have challenged this trouble-free observation.

Revisionist historians like John Harden Best "questioned the democratic notion of public schooling and instead highlighted the social control mechanisms in northern education reform."[13] The resulting scholarship suggests that "northern systems should not be viewed uncritically as having expanded freedom and democracy."[14] The public school reform movement occurred in nearly every northern state in the Union. The movement, however, was in reality "a series of state movements for reform of elementary education" and should be viewed as "a national movement only because these individual state movements were roughly congruent in time and in goals and because the various state reform leaders communicated with and learned from each other."[15]

In summary, a few researchers encouraged education historians to seek out the unrecorded stories that offered a richer, more complex discourse on public schooling. As a result, that simple, clear-cut distinction between North and South has dulled somewhat. Today, a few writers are assessing the "diverse and contentious ideas about public schooling in both regions."[16] In view of this shift, the following study on the foundation of South Carolina school law makes the case that it is the story of the struggle to sanction education that is paramount.

Eelman represents one of only a few historians who followed the John Harden Best's call to research the social control mechanisms.

[13]Best, "Education," 44-45.

[14]Eelman, "An Educated," 1.

[15]Robert L. Church, *Education in the United States: An Interpretive History* (New York: The Free Press, 1976), 55.

[16]Eelman, "An Educated," 1.

This dissertation argues that it is the untold story or the story of a failed education bill that supplies the needed information for comprehending the American endeavor to provide schooling for the community. In the particular case of *Carolina Mudsill*, a better understanding of the prickly opinions surrounding the establishment of community schooling during a specific era emerges. In this vein, the mindset of those who developed a school within a burgeoning southern British colony will be revealed. As a result, in time, this study may prove to be more than just a lonely aspect of southern education history. In summary, this study does something that has never been done before: It recognizes the primary support upon which the larger framework of southern schooling was established.

Primary Sources

In order to answer the proposed questions, this investigation followed the only available path for a primary analysis. Basically, as a branch of the national Church of England program, the parish school that resulted from the 1710 law was administered by the colonial arm of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). The program took root in Carolina in 1702 and lasted for nearly three-quarters of a century. This study examined the SPG record of Carolina from 1701-1730.[17]

Regarding primary sources, the SPG manuscripts and letters were the key components. With reference to the Church of England schooling debates, for example, the letters offered the needed evidence of the conformist versus nonconformist conflict. The manuscripts offered a portrait of the teacher-missionaries, a list of SPG membership in Carolina, and the names of the SPG promoters and administrators in London. Regarding the teacher-missionaries, although the

[17] Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (Great Britain), 1701-1750, " The Papers at Lambeth Palace Library," (microfilm, University of Georgia Libraries, 1974).

letters of Rev. Samuel Thomas (1702-1706) were limited, the letters of Dr. Francis Le Jau (1706-1716), and Rev. Gideon Johnson (1708-1716) proved plentiful.

In conjunction with the letters written by SPG employees, a review of the colonial legislative papers and other miscellaneous manuscripts supplied primary materials with which to listen and then recreate the early history of the parish school program. These papers included the *South Carolina Board of Commissioners of the Indian Trade,* the *Journals of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina,* and *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*. Manuscript collections included the papers of royal governors like John Archdale. The period newspapers consulted encompassed the *Charleston Courier,* the *South-Carolina Gazette,* and the *Morning Post* (London, England). The most useful period and contemporary magazine was the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*.

To understand the context of the parish school struggle, outside the primary source material, this study required much secondary information. The secondary sources provided the needed political background and context. These books allowed for a better understanding of how colonial wars interfered with community advancement, the importance of religious rivalry in the politics of the day, and an analysis of the roots of the British colonization. Histories on the development of schooling in Great Britain offered perspective regarding the long-held requirement of the licensing of teachers, a central aspect of educational control.

Synopsis of the Study

The dissertation opens with the Preface. This chapter frames the colony of Carolina as it existed from 1670 through 1730 or sets the stage for the chapters which follow. This framing offers maps of the area under study, the location and boundaries of the first schools, a view of the fortress area, and a preview of the lowcountry population and settlements as of 1701.

Chapter 1 presents an overview of the Church of England parish school tradition upon which the parish school was formulated. Chapter 2 supplies background on the formation of the SPG and Dr. Thomas Bray, the founder. It was this society which provided for the establishment of Anglican parish schools not just in Carolina but throughout the North American colonies.

Chapter 3 offers an overview of two advanced provinces, Virginia and New England. At the time the SPG formed (1701), in contrast to conditions in Carolina, these two regions offered colonists a religious school program. Consequently, it was the exploration of the roots of frontier schooling in the North American colonies which identified the prerequisites for successful frontier schooling in general. The provisions for schooling in Virginia and New England included a state and church connection, a governor dedicated to the state church, the demand that parents adhere to religious dogma including schooling, reinforcement of the church doctrine by law, and sustained financing. Therefore, in view of the discovery of an assessment for the establishment of religious schooling on the colonial frontier, the five provisions dictated the outline for the presentation of the Carolina parish school story.

Chapter 4 reviews the story of the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina and this document's role in setting Carolina up for religious conflict, a variance which stopped not only the formation of a affable relationship between the feuding Protestant sects but the growth of the parish school. Topics include the Silk Hope School, the relationship between Governor Nathaniel Johnson and schoolmaster Samuel Thomas. Moreover, all the consequences attached to the passage of the 1704 Anglican Church.

Chapter 5 provides information on the politics of schooling. The failure of the 1710 school decree is discussed. The strengthening of this decree in 1712 under the guidance of Commissary Gideon Johnston and his following of citizens will be addressed as well. This

chapter reviews as well the provision for school funding and the issue of the state licensing of schoolmasters.

The Epilogue moves from an evaluation of the parish school tradition to begin to explore the question of how that tradition related to South Carolina's response to the colonial and early national debates regarding the role of education in the life of a republic, the area of educational development than departed most dramatically from events elsewhere in the young nation.

CHAPTER 1

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: FOR "FUR, FLAG", AND THE "FAITH"

Overview

In 1700, the Church of England joined together with the British government in an undeclared ideological war, a battle for control of the minds of the English colonials. This offensive targeted especially those who scorned the Anglican faith, the nonconformists to the Church of England. For the British government and London's Anglican leadership, the objective of the forthcoming religious war was to gain total control over England's developing provinces. Why? By the eighteenth century, most of the colonial possessions proved to be void of the guidance of the state church. As a result, the colonials drifted toward dissenting theological traditions. At the end of the seventeenth century, when church officials finally realized the depth of the problem, the Anglican clerics joined with government officials to remedy the setback.

The primary target was the North American colonies. In the colony of Carolina, the strategy was to return control of the Commons House of Assembly to those who held a state church membership. This meant the ousting of nonconformists from the Commons House who had entered Carolina by the special invitation of the Proprietors. In the 1680s, the nonconformists were enticed by pamphlets offering religious toleration. The invitation was distributed throughout Europe by the Carolina investors. As a result, as the contest for reestablishment of the state church got underway, the nonconformists proved to be the majority of Carolina's frontier population.

The English School

In the 1500s and 1600s, religious uprisings shook the stronghold of the Roman Catholic church of the Middle Ages. These rebellions against Catholic church doctrine were backed up by the military buildup of up-and-coming nations like England. This disturbance was as well a byproduct of the growing economic power of an emergent middle class. As a result, in London, after decades of fluctuating allegiance by various monarchs, leaders who aimed at either ousting or reinstating the Catholic religion, a new church took form. In the case of the English, the final break with the Catholic religion occurred under Henry the VIII.[18]

After a feud with the Catholic Pope Clement VII over the matter of his divorce, King Henry designated himself the head of a new church. His church would be protestant and designated the Church of England.[19] Most importantly, during the decades that followed, under King Henry, instead of the traditional view that the church be positioned over and above the state, the Church of England became an arm of the state.[20]

During the Protestant Reformation, the creation of the English state church was therefore connected to the "growth of a spirit of nationalism and the accentuation of national differences." As the national church emerged, in order to back up all its religious reforms, the English church

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* John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press), 99. According to John Frederick Woolverton, from the earliest days of Virginia to the resurgence of the Anglican Church through the SPG, the English motto was for "fur, flag, and faith."

[18] W. H. G. Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*; Frederick V. Mills, *Bishops by Ballot , an Eighteenth Century Ecclesiastical Revolution* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1978), 196; H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1964.

[19] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 176.

[20] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 1; Butts, *A Cultural History*, 209, 212.

was bolstered by the authority of the state. At this point, the groundwork for state control of the English educational organization, its aims and curriculum, was formulated.[21]

In the decades that followed these developments, England experienced "a feeling of national importance and patriotism." It was thus during the rise of the British Empire that the Catholic church lost its influence over religious schooling in England. The Protestants gained a foothold in the supervision of schooling throughout the nation. Accordingly, not long after the founding of the Americas, the Church of England parish school performed a major role in the dispersal of English nationalism.[22] In this regard, historian W. H. G. Armytage argued that "To keep England Protestant, no instruments were more effective than its schools."[23] As a matter of fact, the strengthening of the nation was so important to the English monarchy that the licensing of teachers became a tool of control. By the mid-1500s, for instance, the supervision of teachers became the focus of Queen Elizabeth.[24] Under Elizabeth, all teachers were required to take the oath of loyalty to the monarchy and subscribe to the *Thirty-nine Articles* of the Anglican faith.[25]

In England, it was therefore the Anglican bishops who supervised basic schooling. As a result, around the mid-1650s every aspect of the existing educational practice was affected. For example, the *Statute of Artificers* was issued in 1563. This law set up the standards of skill for the trades. The decree removed control for the preparation of apprentices from the guilds and placed it in the hands of magistrates. Another decree that affected schooling was the passage of the Elizabethan *Poor Law* of 1601. Within this decree was a provision that imparted the "seeds

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[21] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 196-198.

[22] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 196.

[23] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 1; Butts, *A Cultural History*, 209, 212.

[24] Elizabeth (1533-1603): The Succession date was November 17, 1558.

[25] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 2.

of civil control and public support for education in England."[26] The oath gave the bishops supervision over the grammar schools. Another important provision required the parishes to take care of the poor. This would be accomplished by taxation. The power to carry out the order was given to a parish overseer. In time, it was believed that this step would benefit the commonwealth because of its requirement of "compulsory apprenticeship of poor boys and girls."[27]

Of course, from the days of the palace or court schools to the schools of the Middle Ages, schooling had always had a place in English culture. Prior to the Protestant Reformation, within the Catholic church the Cathedral or "chantry schools" were the first "people's schools."[28] The "chantry of the cathedral" was an altar or a section of the building endowed by the founder of the room. In other words, a room denoted as the chancel was set aside within the cathedral by a wealthy person.[29] In return for a donation, masses were said in his or her behalf. For the required Latin services to be held in the chancel room, the priest gathered boys and formed a choir. Likely, "incidental to the work of the priest," the Latin choir lessons eventually turned into school lessons. In time, the "chantry school" became an "an integral or even principal" aspect of the Catholic church. The tradition was carried over into the developing protestant practice.[30]

By the later Middle Ages, within the English culture these schools were well-established. By the 1600s, as England surfaced as a major religious power, aspects of this schooling tradition

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[26] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 12.

[27] Butts, *A Cultural History*, 209.

[28] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 40; Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1908), 12.

[29] Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, 11-12.

[30] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 13-14; Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, 10-12.

were embedded in England's colonial possessions. This tradition entered the American colonies and in particular the colony of Carolina.[31] For example, this legacy or religious tradition is found in the very architecture of the Carolina's first churches, St. Philip's Church, the St. James Goose Creek Church, and the Pompion Hill Church.[32]

The objective of the broadening of literacy within the Protestant church, however, stood in contrast to the Roman Catholic church school tradition. Prior to conversion, the Protestants emphasized to each prospective member the importance of reading. Unlike the Roman Catholic church clergy, priests who separated themselves from the congregation, not just through an educational advantage but a public discourse in Latin, Anglican clerics contended that all converts should commune with God through the reading of scripture.[33] It was therefore the requirement of a direct line of communication with God through the individual reading of scripture which separated the Protestant Christian faith from the Catholic Christian faith. In the centuries that followed, it was this aspect of Protestantism that was credited for advancing the European and American education systems.[34]

With Henry the VIII serving as supreme head of the Church of England, the state religion changed Christianity as it had existed in England. The Protestants expelled obvious vestiges of the Roman Catholic church. First, the king dispossessed the Catholics and took over their schools. Next, the king's agents examined and keep an eye on the monastic schools and universities. In a short time, King Henry issued specific education decrees. For example, he

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[31] Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, 10-12.

[32] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 33; Michael J. Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 21-83; Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 76-87; Mary Moore Jacoby, ed., *The Churches of Charleston and the Lowcountry* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994),15-16, 23.

[33] Butts, *A Cultural History*, 213; Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, 10-12.

[34] Butts, *A Cultural History*, 207, 209. See: Photo of the Pompion Hill Church.

made the beginning church book or the "church primer" the first schoolbook. As for advanced schooling, the required grammar school text was *Lily's Grammar*. During this early phase of English schooling, families who could afford schooling paid for the education of their offspring. As for the poor, the state assumed the role of warden. By the time Queen Elizabeth took over the throne, education had for all intents and purposes become a key business of the state and not just the church.[35]

The next chapter of English religious schooling was written by Queen Elizabeth. King Henry's daughter deliberated at length on the Protestant schooling practice. Under Elizabeth, the Oath of Supremacy (1562) required "all school masters and public and private teachers of children" to recognize the supremacy of the Queen in Church matters before issuance of an Episcopal license to teach.[36] Changes were made to the Anglican church as well. These alterations included the continued removal of the bits and pieces of its Catholic foundation. Hence, the Elizabethan settlement made the Church of England the established church yet with reforms that satisfied the majority of the populace. For example, one concession, one of the Queen's last acts, accorded universities the right to send representatives to Parliament.[37]

In the developing English nation, these schools were the "most numerous schools" found in England.[38] Before Carolina was founded, English families knew well the importance of the role of the parish in England's farming communities. Traditionally, the parish through its vestry was a unit of local government. Within the British plantations in the West Indies, the parish church was responsible for poor relief, education, and the punishment of some crimes. The

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[35] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 8; Butts, *A Cultural History*, 209.

[36] Butts, *A Cultural History*, 209.

[37] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 8.

[38] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 40. Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, 12.

parish officials had the power to levy parochial taxes. The West Indies parish tradition entered Carolina via the large number of English settlers arriving from Barbados.[39] In Carolina, the parish served as an electoral unit for the Commons House of Assembly.[40]

As a result of British expansion, by the 1600s, the Church of England surfaced as a major feature of a world power. Accordingly, the Anglican parish church and school practice was embedded into England's colonial possessions.[41] Armytage explained, "For those who increasingly came to yearn for a civilization with more culture and tradition than America afforded at the time, the colonial Church of England provided closer ties with English culture, customs and even language."[42] In many of the North American colonies, the Anglican church performed a major role in the administering of local government for decades. As a result, in seventeenth and early eighteenth century Carolina, religious posturing is recognized in the dealings of the Carolina Commons House of Assembly.

From day one, the very day English colonials landed at Old Town, colonial representatives were designated either Anglican or nonconformist. Later, in the Carolina Commons House, the representatives argued every policy along religious lines. The former Barbadian Anglicans led the assault against the nonconformists.[43] For example, the Indian trade policy divided the representatives along religious lines. Over time, the verbal exchange festered with the Anglicans demanding an unregulated trade and the nonconformists demanding a tightly

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[39] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 38-41; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 97; Jacoby, *The Churches of Charleston*, 15.

[40] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 97. The three counties were divided into parishes in 1704.

[41] Butts, *A Cultural History*, 131, 213; Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, 10-12.

[42] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 15-17. Armytage argued that the establishment was maintained in whole or part in six of the thirteen original colonies: Virginia (1619), New York (1693, in New York City and its adjacent counties), North Carolina (1701, 1705, 1711, 1715, and 1720 down to 1765), Maryland (1702), South Carolina (1706), and Georgia (1758).

[43] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 5, 27.

regulated trade.[44] During the early colonial era, another searing debate fell along sectarian lines, that of "schooling." As of 1704, schooling for young men and women fell "largely in the hands of Anglican clergymen." Early on, the issue proved extremely controversial. The foremost question was who should teach the children of the colonials.[45]

Bear in mind, in London during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Anglicans had isolated the crucial role of the schoolmaster through a licensing procedure. As a result, the objective of molding a loyal British citizenry could be accomplished by making the Anglican parish school the one schooling resource. Consequently, as in England, in the British colonial possessions the credentials of the schoolmaster became a critical aspect of the stated objectives of the church and state.[46] In the colonies, however, enforcement of this Anglican directive hung on the religious viewpoint of the colonial "Governours." Therefore, in order for the reestablishment of the Anglican church to prove successful, early on the Anglicans sent forward representative Rev. Keith.[47] As an Anglican religious scout, Rev. Keith made it a point to talk with all the "Governours of all the several Provinces."[48]

In the North American colonies, it was the restoration of an Anglican monopoly that proved most critical to nation building. In London, with the blessings of the Bishop of London but prior to Lord Granville's stamp of approval on the restoration program, the hierarchy of the

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[44] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 17-18.

[45] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 11.

[46] Edgar, *South Carolina: A Short History*, 174; Wallace, *Short History*, 193-195; Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History* (Millwood, N. Y.: Kto Press, 1983), 248.

[47] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 141; The Reverend George Keith (1638-1716), "The Journal of the Reverend George Keith (1702-1704) Edited by Edgar Legare Pennington," reprinted in the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 1951, 433. Keith made one visit to what was the northern edge of Carolina (North Carolina) but stopped short of moving further south.

[48] Spring, *The American School*, 11; Keith, "A Journal of Travels," 433.

Anglican church set about designing a program or a society dedicated to the goal of Anglican empowerment. The endeavor to reestablish the influence of the Anglicans in the North American colonies emphasized first and foremost the formation of parish schools. For the sake of the kingdom therefore the religious schooling of the neglected English populace was now crucial.[49]

Carolina: An English Restoration Colony

Regarding the settlement of Carolina, the date 1660 is significant for two reasons. First, Carolina was conceived following an English Civil War. Second, labeled by American historians a Restoration colony, the birth of Carolina marked a point in English history wherein the Royalists at the expense of the nonconformists tried to make the Anglican church "truly national." Primarily, in London this feat required the uprooting of nonconformists to the Church of England from public offices by decree. Consequently, according to one historian, within England a diaspora took place. Over two thousand clergymen who refused to conform to the Anglican Church left their "livings" and hid out in the countryside. After a while, many of the displaced from the various Protestant sects like the Presbyterians established religious "academies" to train ministers for their particular stream of Protestantism. Of course, in order to obtain a teaching license from the Anglican bishop of the diocese in which the academy was to exist, each dissenting schoolmaster had to subscribe to the declaration of loyalty. Having reluctantly fulfilled this requirement, the "nonconformist academies" tended to root and increase in number.[50]

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[49] It is later that the SPG moved toward the conversion of slaves. C. W. Birnie, "Education of the Negro in Charleston, South Carolina, Prior to the Civil War," *Journal of Negro History* 12 (1927), 13; Faith Vibert, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: It's Work for the Negroes in North America before 1783," *Journal of Negro History* 18-19 (1933/1934), 173.

[50] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 26-28.

Of course, some English clergymen refused the oath. Understandably, a Catholic schoolmaster would refuse to make such a declaration of loyalty. Instead, the Catholics attempted to set up private schools. The government reacted and authorities thus moved to stop all nonconformists from teaching in "any public or private school under penalty of £40 fine." During this upheaval, none were exempt from molestation but there were periods of high and low toleration. The incidents varied from outright assault to a condition of unremitting frustration. According to writers of the day, all the nonconformist academies were viewed with "great suspicion by the churchmen." Some declared that "seminaries" existed "wherein. . . all the hellish principles of fanaticism and anarchy are openly professed and taught to corrupt and debauch the youth of the nation." For that reason, throughout this era information was collected on nonconformist teachers. As a result, quite often nonconformist teachers had to go into hiding.[51]

Of the numerous Protestant sects attempting to deal with the rulings of the state church, the Calvinist Puritans proved most persevering. For the Puritans, within the Church of England the separation from the Catholic tradition was incomplete. The Puritans pointed to the Catholic communion rail and other trappings as evidence of a remaining link between the Catholic and Protestant churches. Taking into consideration that the Church of England was the least Protestant of all the assorted sects, this complaint had some merit. The Puritans sensed that the Anglican church had not completely purified itself of the Catholic taint. This Puritan foreboding was due to a belief that Anglican decrees, pronouncements that remained suspiciously Catholic in substance, would be enforced on them by the authority of the state. For the Puritans, such anxiety required total defiance. Just as Martin Luther stood to criticize the Catholic church, the

[51] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 29.

Puritans stood firm in their criticism of the Church of England doctrine. For some Puritans, abandonment or total separation from the lenient Church of England was required. For others, it merely meant working to eliminate all the Catholic traces found within the church.[52] At the end of the day, this religious rift entered every North American colony.

One positive result of the Catholic versus Protestant contest was that in time the seeds of a more democratic concept of education were spread.[53] Though England did not have a single great religious and evangelical reformer like Germany's Martin Luther, it had been Luther's belief that "all children, rich and poor, boys and girls, should be educated" which stimulated schooling reforms in England. As a result, in England, for centuries to come, as argued by education historian R. Freeman Butts, the Protestant Reformation advanced universal education: and created a world "in which everyone was given some schooling."[54] Yet, though a democratic concept of education was seeded during this period, the Reformation did not support "equal opportunity" or a true democratic ideal. In this world not everyone "was equally entitled to the kind of education" from which he could profit most.[55]

As a result, in England and throughout its developing colonial possessions the lower classes had "one type" of schooling. The "upper classes" had another.[56] At this point in time, religious instruction was designed to reach upward to bind upper class males to a standard. The church identified activities that could replace the habitual activities like "hawking, hunting, and

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[52] E. M. Hulme, *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution, and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1914).

[53] Butts, *A Cultural History*, 206.

[54] Butts, *A Cultural History*, 206, 250.

[55] Butts, *A Cultural History*, 206.

[56] Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (Paterson, N.J.: Pageant Books, 1959), 10-11; Spring, 11.

drinking," vices found among the lower and upper class men. Instead, religion, law, history and chronology, description and geography, mathematics, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, navigation, surveying, architecture, fortification, military art, natural and experimental philosophy, anatomy, "herbs" and "Physick" were required study for upper class males. Each course offered an inroad to community service. For example, the study of religion was a prerequisite for service to God. Law was the basis for jurisdictional duty. And for all students, history, geography, and chronology enlarged the understanding of common news and the world's relations and transactions. After completion of studies, it was expected that the resulting English "gentlemen" would hold the positions of local leadership in the church and the government.[57]

Education historian Joel Spring confirmed that "Higher education during the early colonial period was primarily concerned with the education of ministers and public leaders."[58] In England and the colonies, advanced schooling for the upper class male required a grammar school. The English grammar school had several functions. Primarily, the grammar school taught the student Latin and Greek, prerequisites for entrance into the professions and for college entrance. Most doctors and lawyers did not go on to college but entered apprenticeships. The law student, for instance, trained by reading law with a practicing lawyer. The apprenticeship, however, required the ability to read Latin and thus the need for a grammar school. The colonial grammar school prepared mostly pre-teen age men for entrance into the colonial college as well. Colleges reflecting this rationale would be Harvard (1636) and the College of William and Mary (1693). Shadowing the Renaissance ideals, whether within the church or the commonwealth, the educated man was thought to be the primed leader of English society. Over time, another

[57] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 95-96.

[58] Spring, *The American School*, 75.

purpose of the grammar school was to "sift through" the English society and allowed "a few" to enter the upper class.[59]

In Europe, over the decades, the expansion of grammar schools proved to be the starting point for the English "public schools."[60] The funding was made possible because the merchant class endeavored to improve its social stature through education. Still, in England it was church endowments that facilitated the expansion of grammar schools and not government funds. In Carolina, on the other hand, the provision for a grammar school remained questionable as late as 1728. As it happens, however, Anglican control of all schooling in this colony is evidenced by the fact that this first endeavor to set up a grammar school in Charles Town was attempted by an Anglican cleric.[61]

The Anglican philosophy regarding proper social relationships was aimed at the lower classes as well. It was the cry for "poor boys" to be admitted to schools like Canterbury School that set the scene for the first *public* school or *free* school in England. Note, however, that in the early record both designations, public school and free school, are misleading. During this era of schooling, public was used in a limited sense. These schools were public only in that *all* children were free to attend if they could pay the tuition or gain a free scholarship.[62] The purported *free* education required public money or church funds with the church members sustaining the church funding and thus schooling through gifts. This would be the schooling pattern found in the British colonies as well.[63] When all is said and done therefore the stipulation for entrance in to

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[59] Spring, *The American School*, 75.

[60] Spring, *The American School*, 75.

[61] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 132-139.

[62] Butts, *A Cultural History*, 210-211.

[63] Butts, *A Cultural History*, 210.

the parish school was whether families could pay the tuition or gain a *free* scholarship or endowment for an outstanding student. This is the process that endured for the first three decades of the eighteenth century Carolina, the period under investigation. Parish school costs were subsidized by societies, endowments, and state monies. No one attended the Carolina parish school free of charge.[64]

Hence, as this study moves forward, whether the education of an upper or lower class child is discussed, even on the Carolina frontier, the key to a parish school education remained wealth. In this regard, over time, as Carolina's merchant class developed the ability to pay for schooling improved and thus sustained the Anglican parish school. Of course, after 1730 some parents sought out new places for schooling or teachers outside the control of the Anglican church.[65] Thus, economic progress likely slowed the growth of Carolina's parish school over the next five decades. However, competition did not end the parish school tradition. The Carolina parish school endured until 1778. Consequently for the period under study, from 1700 through 1730, there was only one avenue for schooling in Carolina, the Anglican parish school.

Summary

According to the foremost Anglican promoter, Dr. Thomas Bray, the primary objective of the Church of England and its parish school was to overshadow the growing number of Protestant sects within the North American colonies: Protestant splinter groups which endangered the supremacy of the state church by their very numbers. According to English politicians like Lord John Granville, the goal of the state was to through the church and school extend government control over its colonial possessions. As a result, in order to build British

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[64] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 43; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 133-139; Butts, *A Cultural History*, 210.

[65] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years*, 6.

nationalism and stabilize British investments, the church and state engaged in a major religious crusade. For the Anglican church officials, the required licensing of sectarian teachers in the North American colonies would facilitate both church and state goals. Consequently, as the eighteenth century dawned, the Church of England, through the law, moved to restrain "rival institutions not thus authorized, or teachers not licensed, or what in the judgment of the church was undue or unfair competition."[66]

What will become clear within the pages to follow is that the Church of England revival offered more than a pathway to heaven. As a result of this Anglican crusade, the parish school tradition as it existed along the inland waterways of the low country proved to be a highly calculated schooling initiative. For that reason, during the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the British initiative to restore the supremacy of the Church of England implanted in Carolina an English schooling tradition.

[66] Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, 19.

CHAPTER 2

WATERWAYS OF "THE ANGLICAN CITY OF GOD": THE SPREAD OF ANGLICANISM FROM THE CONNECTICUT AND HUDSON RIVERS TO CAROLINA'S COOPER AND ASHLEY

Overview

By the eighteenth century, so many voyages had been made between Charles Town and London that the timing of a crossing could be measured, with a slight variance, in days. On the other hand, according to the clergy of the Church of England, the cultural and environmental differences that separated London from colonial settlements like Charles Town required an exact measurement.[67] Concerned by the indifference and dissent reported to be on the rise among colonials in the North American colonies, it was the Bishop of London who moved to change the situation.[68] Regarding the numerous oral reports of a growing disconnect between the colonists and England, in 1697 Bishop Henry Compton cleared the way for deliberations.[69]

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[67] Calam, *Parson and Pedagogues*, 2.

[68] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 4, 35, 20. According to Charles Bolton one roadblock to the solidification of the eighteenth century Anglican Church was the need for an American bishop in the colonies. This appointment was never made. Bishop Compton favored the appointment of an American bishop but neither he nor the next Bishop, John Robinson, nor those who followed, advocated the placement of a Bishop in the North American colonies.

[69] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 4, 11; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 84. Bishop Henry Compton (1632-1713), English divine, left the army for the ministry in 1675. He strongly opposed the Roman Catholic Church but was liberal toward Protestant dissenters in hope of their reuniting with the Church of England. With the accession of James II, he lost his seat in the Council and his deanery in the Chapel Royal. During the English Revolution, he embraced William and Mary and performed the coronation ceremony. Restored to his old position, he served as one of the commissioners for revisiting the liturgy. During the reign of Queen Anne, he was a member of the Privy Council.

These discussions included rumors of settlers who had grown "rude and ignorant as to Religion, as the Very Heathens themselves" and people living "shameful, wicked Lives."[70] Still, before Compton committed the Anglican church to action based on hearsay, he ordered reputable clergymen to live in the colonies and provide written documentation as to the severity of the problem. After the first official report was delivered in 1701, Compton mandated the spread of Anglicanism among the "Plantations, Colonies, and Factories beyond the Seas, belonging to Our Kingdome of England."[71] In Carolina, this English mandate was communicated for almost a century by Anglican schoolmasters. The results garnered by the schoolmasters were therefore byproducts of the actions and writings of Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray. In other words, Bray's SPG provided the ingredients for the foundation of the Carolina parish school.

The Neglected Anglican Church

It appears that during the development of England's colonial possessions, the state church dawdled in its supervision of the thousands of colonials living in North America. The result was a failure in establishing an Anglican foothold in England's developing possessions. As of 1700, for instance, only a few Anglicans supervised catechism classes wherein training in reading and writing was conducted. Therefore, to all intents and purposes, surpassed by other Protestant sects in the northern colonies, especially by the Quakers, the Church of England existed somewhat narrowly in the North America.[72]

Furthermore, in only one southern colony had the state church from day one enforced the laws needed to stabilize the English church. As a result, the Virginia church (1606) had

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[70] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 34.

[71] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 20; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 84.

[72] Keith, *A Journal of Travels*, 432, 438, 446, 478.

developed in the Anglican tradition.[73] On the other hand, the Maryland church (1634) was viewed as needy.[74] In Carolina, the Anglican Church had been secured as the state church by the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina. Charles Town's St. Philip's Church, however, was flawed by a "relaxed liturgy."[75]

To some extent, poor communications between London and colonial America accounted for the distressing state of Anglican Church affairs in North America.[76] It appears that during the development of the colonies, government officials and church officials, in order to make policy, had relied almost exclusively on indiscriminate reports from assorted individuals traveling between the two realms. As of 1696, however, Compton moved toward policy based on hand written manuscripts called *Memorials*. The bishop also called for the appointment of representatives to live in each colony. These clerics were identified as "Commissary for the Bishop of London."[77] After 1696, the reports were written by select observers, Anglican clergymen, or the Commissary. As of 1701, these written reports revealed to the church hierarchy the realities of what was considered a dangerous and increasing cultural divide between colonials and Londoners.[78]

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[73] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 99-100.

[74] Keith, *A Journal of Travels*, 466-467, 471-472.

[75] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 154-155; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 19-23.

[76] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 90.

[77] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 84.

[78] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 4-10; H.P. Thompson, *Thomas Bray* (London, 1954). Samuel Clyde McCullogh, "Dr. Thomas Bray's Commissary Work in London, 1696-1699," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 2 (1945); Samuel Clyde McCullough, "The Foundation and Early Work of the S.P.G.," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 8, (1945).

One of the most influential of these observers was the Rev. Dr. Bray. Bray made the "tedious" and "stormy" voyage to the colonies on the ship *Advent*ure in December of 1699.[79] Only six months earlier, without church support, Bray had raised and borrowed the money needed for his venture to Maryland. On God's errand, he had acted with self-assurance. As "Commissary" for the Bishop of London in Maryland, Bray considered the purchase of a plantation for a home base for supervision of Maryland's Anglican Church resurgence. He recorded all the details necessary to write a charter for a reform society.[80] He drafted the provincial bill for the establishment of the Maryland Anglican Church.[81] This is why Rev. Dr. Bray determined that he would not, as was the custom of the day, hand his reports over to any vaguely reputable passenger or a ship captain headed to London.[82] This was especially true of one document, *A Memorial Representing the Present State of Religion on the Continent of North-America.* The information in this up-to-the-minute account of the status of colonial Anglicanism was crucial to the survival of the Church of England. Moreover, it was vital to the future development of the nation.[83]

Six months after his arrival to Maryland, by the summer of 1700, Rev. Dr. Bray was already preparing for his return voyage to London. As he waited to enter the anchored wooden vessel, Rev. Dr. Bray likely poised himself for his second risky Atlantic passage. As he stood on the dock looking upward at white sails, he remembered his first day in Maryland. No doubt, he

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[79] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 20, 34; Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 44-46, 54; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 84.

[80] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 10.

[81] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 4.

[82] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 53.

[83] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 10.

sorted out his three month observation of colonial existence. Rev. Dr. Bray's overall assessment: there was much to dislike about life in the colonies.[84]

When he had departed England for the colonies in January of 1700, he had expected to find some neglect of Anglican Church doctrine in England's frontier settlements.[85] During this same period, in the more established areas of England, the conduct of the people or moral laxity remained a crisis. In the parish records of London and Westminster, for example, 3,000 people had been recently accused of "lewd and disorderly" conduct. Prior to his voyage to Maryland, during his holdover in Plymouth, England, he had attended dinner parties where he listened to "horrid reports of the Barbarity of the people" regarding the looting of ships. Thus, Rev. Dr. Bray understood well that such moral laxity remained a worry for clerics in every English province.[86] In advance of many Anglicans of his day, however, Rev. Dr. Bray believed "internal moral deterioration" endangered "England's power and reputation."[87]

No doubt, as Rev. Dr. Bray reached the deck of the London-bound ship that summer morning, he stood convinced that he could alter the moral current within the North American colonies. In Maryland, while helping the Attorney-General prepare the church establishment bill, Rev. Dr. Bray had boldly delivered a sermon entitled, "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy Youth." Throughout his tour Rev. Dr. Bray dwelt on the training of the young in religion as the antidote for immorality. He had discovered that in the colonies "education was ill-provided and young people undisciplined." Indeed, Rev. Dr. Bray was convinced the voice of

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[84] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 54.

[85] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 1.

[86] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 329.

[87] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 2-3.

the Church of England had all but disintegrated in this land where the "Youth of the whole Province" were "debaucht and Ignorant."[88]

Rev. Dr. Bray's Maryland sermons reflected his first schemes for promoting morality in the plantations. Those proposals included the placement of libraries and literature and the creation of "free catechetical schools for the poor planters' children."[89] With solutions in hand for the schooling of the youth, Bray then looked for a way out for the Church of England. For Rev. Dr. Bray, it was the rumor of the low standing of the colonial Church of England among the other Protestant sects in North America that proved most important.

Accordingly, as Rev. Dr. Bray waited the hoisting of the huge anchor that day, it was not the unpredictability of an ocean crossing that actually produced his expectancy.[90] Rev. Dr. Bray's emphasis on the lack of Anglican direction for Maryland's children had shaped the warning he would deliver to church and government officials. He warned London church leaders that without Anglican guidance such moral decline would eventually separate the colonists from an allegiance to the English church and in turn the state. It was thus his anticipation of the importance of the report he held in his hands that produced his tension. His report would not only prove valuable to the bishop and other church leaders but it should draw the attention of Lord Granville.[91]

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[88] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 50-52.

[89] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 39.

[90] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 44-52.

[91] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 2, 4. John Granville, Earl of Bath, became the fourth Palatine to reign over the proprietors (1694). Granville played an important role in transmitting English religious disputes. Like many of the leaders in Carolina, Granville pledged allegiance to William III hesitantly. Prior to the SPG, Granville (d. 1701) lived long enough to appoint the first two Anglican ministers to Carolina. He was succeeded as Palatine by his son, Sir John Granville (1701-1707). It was the second Granville (d. 1707) who was known as the "fanatical Tory" and noted throughout this study of the parish school (1702-1730).

Of course, as a respected member of the Church of England clergy, Rev. Dr. Bray, a man by every indication dedicated to spreading the doctrine of Christianity and the Anglicanism, felt his warning would be well-respected.[92] Yet, unlike most of London's high church officials, he stood apart from his peers. Known at as a "*puer pauper*" while at Oxford, he had not been born into a wealthy family and thus inroads to any position within the Anglican church hierarchy had never been assured.[93] Thomas Bray's father was a farmer. An only child, it is believed that he caught the attention of the vicar in the parish school. His parents were persuaded to send the young boy to the Grammar School at Oswestry. Foregoing a farming career, the scholar worked at the college as a clerk, chorister, or servitor.[94]

Rev. Dr. Bray must have been quite satisfied with his decision to visit Maryland and Carolina.[95] As the east coast disappeared behind him, he realized that his continued rise within the church hierarchy was no longer dubious but encouraging.[96] Within the Anglican church, "Preferment came slowly" especially for "lower class clergy, if at all." For him, graduating "three years shy of the canonical age for ordination to the ministry" meant that he could not afford a family and thus could not marry.[97] Instead, he turned his energy toward benefiting those "who had been denied opportunity." He aided "poorer ministers who had like himself been

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[92] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 26, 257.

[93] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 2, 4.

[94] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 85. The first Bray biography, *Public Spirit,* was published in 1746.

[95] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 20. Bray described Carolina as "a very thriving colony, and so large, as to want at least Three Missionaries, besides one lately sent there." The Bray *Memorial* was reprinted in Bernard C. Steiner, *The Reverend Thomas Bray: His Life and Selected Works Relating to Maryland* (Baltimore, 1901), 157-73.

[96] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 8.

[97] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 3.

neglected by the church leadership."[98] While at the parish of Sheldon in Warwickshire in the 1690s, Bray wrote *Catechetical Lectures on the Preliminary Questions and Answers of the Church Catechism Giving an Account of the Covenant of Grace*. The *Lectures* helped finance books for "lower class parsons."[99] When he presented the *Catechetical Lectures*, his explanation of the church's theology and religion to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Tension, the archbishop was stunned. Tenison was at that very moment in the process of calling attention to the church's fifty-ninth canon, the command to catechize the young. Immediately, three thousand copies of the lectures sold and Rev. Dr. Bray profited £700.[100]

In 1698, Rev. Dr. Bray founded the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) which brought him further notice.[101] In fact, his work among the parsons, the published lectures, and the SPCK summoned the attention of Archbishop Tenison and eventually the bishop. Among the bishop's other duties, Bishop Compton supervised the Church of England in America.[102] As general authority over the Anglican church in the English plantations, it was thus the bishop himself who acknowledged Rev. Dr. Bray's genius and appointed him the Commissary for the Bishop of London in Maryland.[103]

Following the appointment, Rev. Dr. Bray found himself, through the church officials, pleading with King William III for tax money for the North American Church.[104] He first asked

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[98] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 32.

[99] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 85.

[100] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 85. Thomas Tenison (1636-1715), appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 1694, was one of the founders of the SPG.

[101] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 30-31.

[102] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 20-23; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 83. Compton published in July of 1677 "A *Memorial of Abuses which are crept into the Churches of Plantations.*"

[103] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 4-5.

for the "arrears of taxes duet the crown for the church overseas" but the securities proved worthless. This course failed. However, before he left for Maryland in 1699, in order to carry out God's commandments, he had learned a valuable lesson. He now knew how to "court the rich and influential."[105] In the years to come, it was this new-found persuasive ability that equipped Rev. Dr. Bray to establish himself as a notable in the resurgence of the Anglican church. In fact, by 1733 his expertise in colonization set the agenda for the development of the last of the English colonies, Georgia.[106]

During the long and dangerous passage over the Atlantic, always anxious for others to find no fault with his exploits, it is probable that Rev. Dr. Bray and his secretary prayed for guidance regarding the proper delivery of the *Memorial*. In fact, amid his pleas to God, he composed a letter to the SPCK to explain his early return to London.[107] On that first night of his return voyage, as Rev. Dr. Bray settled into his cabin, it is likely as well that he sought further direction in his goal of providing libraries. He would broaden the distribution of books. Libraries would go to the isolated English parsons, the estranged Anglican clergy and laity he had encountered on the harsh frontier landscape. No doubt, he contemplated his next course of action as well. When he arrived in London, he was therefore soundly committed to combining "the efforts of church offices" and "private citizenry" to save American Anglicanism through a new Society.[108]

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[104] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 85.

[105] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 85.

[106] James C. Cobb, *Georgia Odyssey* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1997), 2; Thompson, *Thomas Bray* , 97-100; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 22, 85.

[107] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 56.

[108] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 85.

During this era, religious societies were viewed as therapy for moral retrogression.[109] Societies offered a preventative or a solution that stood apart from that of the notorious religious trials for improper conduct.[110] Most clerics believed, as did Rev. Dr. Bray, that the growth of vice and immorality was a result of ignorance and the remedy required some understanding of the principles of the Christian religion. As of the eighteenth century, the wide-spread use of the printing press meant that the principles of Christian religion could now be shared broadly in book form.[111] As a result, the interest and desire for published religious materials spiraled upwards with the SPCK acting as a "book distributor."[112] The SPCK was fashioned with only one objective, that of furnishing parochial libraries at home and after 1701 to the English plantations.[113] Before Bray departed London for the colonies, for instance, the SPCK sent ahead certain books for distribution to the American brethren.[114] The popularity of the printed material among colonials proved to be an advantage for the Anglican resurgence. Before Rev. Dr. Bray returned from Maryland, however, the SPCK ministry was stretched thin. The demand for printed materials had proved overwhelming.[115]

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[109]Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 62-70.

[110] Keith, *A Journal of Travels*, 445. Just eight years earlier, the Salem Witch trials had reinforced among some clerics concerns regarding the extremes in the punishment of parishioners for misconduct. In Charlestown, Virginia, a witch was executed in 1648. Cases were brought forth in Boston (1655), Newbury (1680) and Charles Town, Carolina (1704).

[111] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 62; Edgar Legare Pennington, "The Beginnings of the Library in Charles Town, South Carolina," *American Antiquarian Society* Worcester, Massachusetts: 1935), 6-7.

[112] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 62-63. C. F. Pascoe estimated that just from 1701 through 1757 more than 13,000 Bibles, Prayer Books, devotional works, and smaller instructional tracts were distributed.

[113] Pennington, "The Beginnings," 6-7; Samuel Clyde McCullough, "Dr. Thomas Bray's Commissary Work in London, 1696-1699," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 2 (1945), 333-348; Joseph Towne Wheeler, "Thomas Bray and the Maryland Parochial Libraries," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (September 1939), 254-255.

[114] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 5.

In order to alter the existing course of events, Bray made specific recommendations in the *Memorial*. First and foremost, he recommended the continuance of the "supplying of the books necessary" for the work of the clergy. Many of the churchmen like Rev. Dr. Bray associated the reading and guidance of printed Christian dogma to the making of a competent clergyman. Second, Rev. Dr. Bray recommended sending only such "competent" clergymen to the colonies. This would be the goal of Rev. Dr. Bray's new society. Third, in order to strengthen the membership of the Church of England in the American colonies, he told officials to move quickly. And lastly, for the continued progress of the nation, Rev. Dr. Bray told church officials that they were responsible for ensuring the submission of all colonials not only to England's church but the English government.

In London, Rev. Dr. Bray warned church leaders that the status of the Church of England among the new and faster rising religious sects in the American Colonies "stood in jeopardy."[116] He visualized for the London clerics the long-range effects of the erosion of the Anglican doctrine in the colonies. In Carolina, for example, Rev. Dr. Bray was disturbed at how easily the colonials had chosen other sects over the Church of England.[117] Moreover, it was discovered that the converts to Anglicanism in Carolina tended to wear down the established church rituals and produce a low church standard.[118] According to historians, Rev. Dr. Bray's evaluation of the Carolinians was accurate. Carolina had taken a definite shape by 1700.[119]

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[115] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 85,156. Bray founded sixty-one libraries in England and Wales. He founded fifty libraries overseas with the majority in North America. By 1710, as the Carolina school took root, the SPCK libraries contained 33,000 volumes for an English population of 308,600.

[116] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 20; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 4, 19. *A Memorial representing the Present State of Religion on the Continent of North-America*, abbreviated here as the *Bray Memorial*

[117] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 20; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 93-98.

On the one hand, it was the process of "selected emigration and the influence of environment" which had produced in the Carolina colonials a penchant for self-reliance.[120] As evidence of one major problem ahead, Bray reminded church officials that in England the rectors were appointed. In the North American colonies, however, he had witnessed the colonials either accepting or rejecting church appointees. The Carolina Anglicans, for example, were already accustomed to electing their rector in the "Presbyterian manner." On the other hand, in Carolina the standing argument over formal church procedure or the war between London's High and Low Anglicans had been basically disregarded. The Carolina church was far too weak for such arguments. Therefore, before 1701 nonconformists and churchmen alike worshiped together in St. Philip's Church. After 1704, however, the question of the low church versus high church stance would overshadow every argument inside St. Philip's Church.[121]

It was no accident that the formation of Rev. Dr. Bray's first Society, the SPCK, took place following what was dubbed the "Anglican resurgence." The factional divisions produced within the kingdom around 1689 had resulted from a schism regarding allegiance to shifting power sources or monarchs. The Anglican schism began when eight bishops and 400 clergymen refused to swear allegiance to William and Mary.[122] Their premise was that the "doctrine of

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[118] Frank J. Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle: The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnson, 1707-1716,," *University of California Publications in History*, ed. G. H. Guttridge, R. J. Kerner, F. L. Paxson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1946), 5.

[119] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 16.

[120] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 4.

[121] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 20; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 6.

[122] King William III and Queen Mary II (1689-1694). The Glorious Revolution took place in 1689 with some refusing allegiance to the couple. Many of the leading Carolinians remained loyal to King James II.

nonresistance to temporal power" bound them to James regardless of his rulings. The Glorious Revolution added to the estrangement between the two groups.[123]

Within the Church of England, two groups surfaced, those designated low churchmen and high churchmen. Low churchmen were prone to a "commitment to the essence of Christianity" but not its "particular forms." For example, the low churchmen were likely to accept dissenters or live at peace with their differences. The Whigs were usually of the low church mentality when the question was toleration. The Tories represented the high church mentality.[124] Moreover, as a result of the 1689 schism, within the English government, in the ten years that followed the initial rupture, a divide regarding allegiance to the monarch separated government officials along Whig and Tory lines.[125]

As a result of the decade's long discourse over the schism, as 1701 dawned, within London's religious circles it is quite likely that discussions of the Bray *Memorial* took place not just in the churches but inside numerous smoke-filled London rooms, including the royal chambers. For one particular group, the colonial investors, men who often gathered in the Carolina coffee house, the low and high church discussion was likely important. Yet, their discourse regarding profits prevailed over all other concerns. As testified in the *Memorial*, if the danger of other sects overpowering the state church proved valid, then would the state church, the principle source of loyalty to British culture, eventually fade? For as one investor, the Marquis of Cormarthen, questioned, "For what purpose were they suffered to go to that country unless the profit of their labour should return to their masters here?"[126] In London, what the

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[123] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 18-21.

[124] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 18-21.

[125] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 21.

[126] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 69.

church and state argument signaled, especially for the British investor, was that of a looming financial threat.

For many, therefore, it was evidence of a growing separation between England and the colonists living within its "foreigne" plantations that was of greatest consequence. For the English overseas investor, the question was simple. What method would bind colonials to the nation? What measures should be taken to prevent religious squabbling from ruining what should be profitable returns on colonization?[127]

In short, regarding the huge investment already made in the world colonization scheme, it was these men who craved social harmony. English investors believed that social tranquility was vital to recompense. These same investors understood that rivalry, internal and external, brought forth social turmoil and the potential for loss of revenue. For the typical investor, the attachment between social tranquility and profits was an undeniable fact. As of 1701, therefore, Rev. Dr. Bray offered to the English investor a guaranteed peacekeeping mechanism: a program which would solidify the allegiance of the colonial to homeland goals.[128]

Rev. Dr. Bray's new society, The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) would set the colonial agenda. Adherence to religious precepts fostered the appropriate social order and created an environment which assured the continued growth of national wealth. As a result, for the next seven decades, London investors proved quite willing to open their purses. In turn, the resulting collections fueled the Anglican "assault on immorality

[127] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 69.

[128] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 69.

and encroachment in the establishment of English Protestantism."[129] The SPG weapon of choice was the Anglican parish school.[130]

Throughout London, Rev. Dr. Bray argued that a peaceful colonial environment was only possible through spreading the doctrine of the national church. As Bray made provisions for a charter for his new society, he told all who would listen that the Church of England was a force that would provide the needed tranquil milieu.[131] First and foremost, Rev. Dr. Bray explained to British officials and Anglican congregations that the SPG had one goal, that of selecting, securing, and maintaining well-trained missionaries in the field. Rev. Dr. Bray preached the importance of bonding a successful conversion mission with adequate funding.[132] The end result of the *Bray Memorial* was that the English church and government reacted straightaway to the recommendations made by Rev. Dr. Bray and Bishop Compton.[133]

To encourage contributions to the SPG, Rev. Dr. Bray spoke directly to the colonial investors.[134] The result, the donations poured into the hands of the society secretary. Rev. Dr. Bray's membership list offered up names that represented the cream of the crop of the British elite, religious and secular. The Society was meticulous or business like, meeting "every week or two in the Lambeth Palace library or at the vestries of London's more important churches."[135]

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[129] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 69.

[130] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 8.

[131] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 87. The archbishop of Canterbury headed the Society, backed by the bishop of London and others from the Episcopal bench, while the clergy and laity, rectors and merchants, took on the day-to-day work. The Charter dates June 16, 1701.

[132] Calam, *Parson and Pedagogues*, 65-66.

[133] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 10-11; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 21.

[134] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 66.

[135] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 4, 6-7, 65-67.

It was predictable that the SPG membership roll listed a huge clerical contingency.[136] However, the numbers of "military, commercial, and political lay members" was as strong or perhaps stronger. In fact, according to Charles S. Bolton, the captains, colonels, and lieutenants, in to regard presence and involvement "rivaled doctors of divinity."[137]

The prestige of the SPG membership, clerical and military, should not be overlooked or under-appreciated. The determined group of military experts, for instance, wielded a highly political influence among the clerics, especially during the early stages of the Carolina mission's development.[138] Along with the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, the military leadership had a "special interest in the political, military, and economic significance of Indians occupying strategic frontier positions."[139] In New York, their concern had been the negative influence of French Jesuits on the Five Nations. Early on, one suggestion by military experts was that Anglican ministers teach for "several years" along the "Indian trails" to offset Jesuit influence. Another suggestion was that the Society for Evangelizing Indians in New England be a factor in the SPG mission by sending missionaries into the villages to convert the Natives.[140] In this same vein, from Carolina, it was military leader Thomas Nairne who first approached the Society regarding a schoolmaster to convert the Yamasee Indians. In his letter to the Society, Nairne noted that for decades these people had been students under another religious sect, in this

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[136] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 5-7.

[137] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 6-7.

[138] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 9. The 1701 SPG charter pinpointed the New World as the program's first theatre. After the American Revolution, the SPG did not dissolve. The SPG moved throughout the world, propagating the gospel in places like the West Indies and Africa.

[139] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 4-7.

[140] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 11.

case, the southwest's Spanish Mission system. He believed that local Native Americans had a fixed loyalty to the Catholic Church and Spain.[141]

In order to fully grasp this early eighteenth century church and government merger in which the SPG played such a prominent role, the thinking of the English regarding social class in general requires a review.[142] In British terms, according to historian John Calam, eighteenth century British workers fit into a "labor caste." The colonial worker, however, represented a new and distinct thread. The British-born colonial worker ranked "higher than most groups" living in the colonies. Still, all British colonial workers were subjugated toward a "filial reverence" to the distant mother land, its constitutions and procedure. Religious sources taught that "masters could expect little productivity from heathen servants," British or otherwise. In view of the British social class concept, the model of British order was translated into terms fitting the newly ranked body of American colonials. The ranks included African slaves, Indians, and immigrants (other than British). The end result, the British upper class system categorized all these people as unreliable and thus inferior. As argued by the Anglican clerics, however, Christianization affected favorably the capacity for productivity of all workers.[143]

Living in London for the rest of his life, Rev. Dr. Bray represents an example of the difficulty of the course faced by average Englishmen who dared to climb upward in England's stratified society. For example, today Rev. Dr. Bray's historical contribution to the English

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[141] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 87-88. Woolverton argued that in addition to concerns like "social, educational and charitable" needs, the SPG and SPCK founders had a strong "Anti-Catholicism" agenda. The anti-Catholic theme is found in SPG sermons and thus the thought of the Catholic Church's successful conversion of Indians proved to be the trigger that set objectives. Thomas Nairne, a Carolina militia leader, will be discussed in the chapters to come.

[142] The "Memorial" is reprinted in Bernard C. Steiner, *The Reverend Thomas Bray: His Life and Selected Works Relating to Maryland* (Baltimore, 1901). The charter is found in C. F. Pascoe, *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892* (London, 1895).

[143] Calam, *Parson and Pedagogues*, 65, 71; Daniel Boorstin, 85.

church is viewed as huge. Yet, at the time, though Rev. Dr. Bray's SPCK and SPG offered to the Church of England a "reawakening," his steady move up the class ladder was never assured. On the other hand, in the American colonies social status was becoming a byproduct of "labor, education, or opportunism."[144]

In the end, in "the period between Catholic James and German-speaking George," money flowed across the Atlantic and the Church of England was on the rise. The set SPG objective was simple: stop encroachments on the establishment of English Protestantism.[145] The Bray *Memorial* identified for many what was at risk in the outcome of the effort to re-establish the colonial status of the Church of England. As a result, the society's objectives included more than a mere change in the status of the state church in the colonies. The SPG was responsible for the future evolution of British society in America. It was in view of national security, therefore, that the high churchmen of London and King William III, through the SPG, engaged in a deliberate strike on what was at first designated colonial "wickedness." As historian John Woolverton summarized, as of 1701 it was royal endorsement of an Anglican scheme of reform outside the realm which set the English agenda.[146] The goal was to maintain a British hold on the American colonies: a society that to all appearances had already adapted to a highly questionable precept, the "art of getting ahead."[147]

Regarding the Anglican resurgence in Carolina, Rev. Dr. Bray's *Memorial* drew distinct lines in the British cultural sand. As a result, every Carolinian had to answer two questions. The

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[144] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 100-102. Bray died on February 15, 1730 at the age of 72. He is buried at the parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate. His most valuable possession appears to have been his "great store of books" which he dispersed carefully in his will.

[145] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 86; Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 100.

[146] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 4; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 86.

[147] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 63.

first question was whether to conform or not conform to the state church, the Church of England? For those who conformed to the Anglican church, the next question was whether to live with the emergent low church way of thinking or accept the high church posture. Prior to the establishment of Rev. Dr. Bray's SPG and the arrival of the first SPG representative, Carolina's Anglican church had been too weak for the dogma argument.[148]

Summary

As soon as Rev. Dr. Bray reached the home land, he moved quickly to deliver to church officials his *Memorial*. In the weeks to come, in sessions with London church leaders, Rev. Dr. Bray spoke as an eyewitness. He explained to his superiors that without immediate action the promise for growth among the thousands who had lost any tie with organized religion would be lost. In the months and years that followed, throughout England, ministers emphasized in sermons to Anglican congregations the need for one church and one nation.[149] And though Rev. Dr. Bray's vision was grand and considering the difficulties of the SPG adventure, when all was said and done between 1701 and 1783, 329 parsons, 82 teachers, and 18 catechists founded some three hundred churches in the colonies. And all of these churches were established outside the healthy Virginia and Maryland churches.[150]

One ingredient of the Rev. Dr. Bray's proposal was the strengthening of ties to the British system of "rigidly stratified levels of human importance."[151] Even so, throughout most of the eighteenth century, the thousands of sermons and tracts insisting that colonials pay attention to

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[148] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 65-66.

[149] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 9; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 89.

[150] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 9; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 89.

[151] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 95. John K. Nelson, *A Blessed Company: Parishes, Parsons and Parishioners in Anglican Virginia, 1690-1776*. "Journal of Dr. Bray's Visitation," *Fulham Papers*, 1, A, 141-59.

the "special benefits of Anglicanism" supplied the insatiable component of the SPG initiative.[152] Historically, the results of the Church of England's endeavor are many. Some of these conclusions are disputable. For example, Woolverton argued that the Church of England did not remain the tool of London's government for a majority of her people were clearly patriots.[153] Other accomplishments are indisputable. For example fact that hundreds of clerics and schoolteachers contributed to the goals of the Society is no longer questioned Other results, like the success of the schooling aspect of the SPG endeavor in the individual American colonies questioned.

In Carolina's educational past, for instance, the derivatives of the Anglican parish school foundation have been categorized as irrelevant. Yet, it is undeniable that on the broad scope most education historians argue quite successfully that "scores of S.P. G. subsidized schools scores of pupils of all ages learned to read" in religious schools.[154] In this regard, the Carolina parish school history represents one span of that larger report. One base argument of this study is therefore that the mudsill or the ingredients placed by Rev. Dr. Bray's society just so a few Carolina children could learn to read is worthy of evaluation.

In order to achieve such long-term Anglican church goals, the SPG designation "in *Partibus Transmarinis*" which translates as "intransoceanic districts," underscored the chosen route. Hence, in the North American colonies, "the waterways of America became the roads to the Anglican city of God." Just months after the Rev. Dr. Bray *Memorial* was presented to officials, the first of the representatives of the "imperially minded church" moved forward onto

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[152] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 95.

[153] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 35.

[154] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 35.

the colonial frontier. Representatives entered "the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries" to the "Merrimack, Charles, and Sakaonnet Rivers, Narraganset Bay, the Connecticut and Hudson, and along the banks of Carolina's Santee, Cooper, [and] Ashley" rivers.[155]

[155] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 213.

CHAPTER 3

THE LIMITS OF SCHOOLING IN COLONIAL AMERICA: VIRGINIA, NEW ENGLAND, AND CAROLINA

Overview

In *Parsons and Pedagogues*, historian John Calam concluded that it was Rev. Dr. Bray's society which deserved credit for all the SPG-subsidized schools. Prior to the American Revolution, it was the Anglican religious schools which offered "scores of pupils of all ages" a rare opportunity: these children learned to read. On the other hand, Calam added "Admittedly, propagating the gospel, not educating in the narrow institutional sense of the word, was what the Society set out to do." Nevertheless, the SPG recognized its "involvement in an American colonial adventure in education, the specifics of which ranged from reading, writing, arithmetic, and catechism, through higher classical studies, to more abstracted concepts of empire loyalty couched in terms of social, political and economic subservience."[156]

Regarding the history of religious schooling in the North American colonies, unlike the Virginia and New England schools, the Carolina venture did not generate a well-known history. What was discovered from this facet of the parish school investigation was that on the colonial frontier of 1701, the most recognized religious schools, those found in Virginia and New England, were conditional. Before the establishment of religious schooling was realized in colonial America, the successful provinces, whether Anglican or Congregational, met the same

[156] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 188.

five conditions. In other words in order to offer frontier children an opportunity to learn to read or some schooling, each colony took a highly guarded course of action.[157]

These rudiments for schooling were first set in Virginia (1618) and then in New England (1629). Prior to stabilization of any colonial school routine, these provinces formulated a process by which religious schooling would be speedily accepted. [158] In the Virginia and New England settlements, the five conditions included a state and church connection, a governor dedicated to the state church, the demand that parents adhere to religious dogma, reinforcement of the church dogma by law (including the licensing of schoolmasters), and sustained financing. For example, each settlement proclaimed a state religion. To offset opposition to their chosen religious course, a formidable church and state alliance was promptly devised. The result was that Virginia and New England could by law safeguard their unique schooling efforts.

Unlike Virginia and New England, Carolina had not adopted the same conditions for establishing a frontier community. In fact, as of 1701, without religious mandates the only thing that bonded the Carolinians was fear. At intervals, it was fear alone which halted the internal squabbling over war, trade and religion. In Carolina, the colonization process had commenced with the liberal thinking of the Fundamental Constitutions. This document set the criteria for religious development. Sirmans summarized the impact of the Fundamental Constitutions thus:

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[157] Spring, *The American School*, 9-17; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 90; Manros, *Fulham Papers*, 47-149.

[158]Butts, *A Cultural History*, 244-245; Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The Colonial Experience 1607-1783* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970) ; Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society*, 1780-1860 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 30-61, 182-217; Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 241-42; Spring, *The American School*, 9, 19-33; William Wilson Manross, Ph.D., compiler, *The Fulham papers in the Lambeth Palace Library: American Colonial Section Calendar and Indexes,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 23-25 and XII, 41-84; Keith, *Unification*, 466. For examples of this broad argument I settled on the Newport, Virginia schools and the Massachusetts Bay Colony schools as examples. The 1618 date is from Keith's *Journal*. The Virginia Assembly strengthened the early laws regarding religious instruction at that time. From the *Fulham Papers*, when the 1724 Anglican Church survey was conducted there were four parish schools in Newport. According to Joel Spring, the 1629 date marks the point in time where in the Seal of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay committed to schooling.

"the Constitutions provided for a policy of religious toleration," yet this course "profoundly affected the colony's history for half a century by attracting many religious dissenters to it." [159] As 1701 approached not one of the five conditions for schooling in Virginia and New England had been met by the Carolinians. The proprietors took the first step toward conformity with the appointment of Sir Johnson as governor in 1702. Based on the advice of Rev. Dr. Bray and, with the blessing of Bishop Compton, the proprietors had tossed aside the promises made to the Carolina nonconformists. The SPG quickly followed this action by sending to Carolina a schoolmaster, the Rev. Samuel Thomas. Nevertheless, the lateness of the restructuring of Carolina's fixed cultural practices would prove to be a grueling task for the Church of England representatives and thus highly subject to failure.

1701 Virginia

Virginia was the oldest English settlement in the North American colonies. The first Anglican church was established at James Town in 1607. A decade later, the preeminence of the Church of England was addressed (1618). In comparison to the New England settlements, however, the church and state bond in the Chesapeake was not as tightly woven into the purpose for settlement. Virginia was founded in 1606 by investors to yield a profit. All the same, the expansion of the Virginia Anglican ministry proved steadfast. By the time Carolina opened its first parish school in 1703, Virginia already boasted six reading and writing schools.[160]

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[159] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 10; Keith, *A Journal of Travel*, 407-433; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 27.

[160] Spring, *The American School*, 16; Butts, *A Cultural History*, 252; Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 121-127, Manros, *Fulham Papers*, 41-84. An Anglican Questionnaire verified in answer to Question 16 that seven schools were in operation in 1724 with potential for two more schools provided through endowments. (Newport four schools; Accomako, endowment provided for a school; Washington, endowment provided for a school; Elizabeth City, two schools; Abingdon, one school).

Today, historians acknowledge that for "well over a century Virginia enjoyed greater religious unity and stability than even Puritan New England could command." In 1706, Rev. Keith indicated in his *Journal* that Virginia's success was linked to the early provision of a concrete church and state connection. Regarding the second requirement for successful parish schooling, a governor dedicated to the church and parish school, Virginia met this vital provision early on as well. Rev. Keith understood that the attitude of each colonial governor he interviewed was critical to the Anglican reestablishment. In fact, Rev. Keith understood that the colonial governors would either make or break the Anglican church resurgence.[161]

At the time Carolina's initiative took hold, Francis Nicholson, a man said to have begun "his Government with a pompous Shew of Zeal for the church" reigned over colonial Virginia. Prior to his appointment, as a supporter of the Tories or court party, Nicholson had attended the meetings of London's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Virginia historian Nelson explained that through his commission, Nicholson was "charged both with a broad responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the colony and with a warrant to function in place of the bishop in certain circumstances." For example, Nicholson could not serve as a priest but as a layman he could act as "ordinary in carrying out a bishop's temporal or administrative duties." The placement of ministers in parishes was the most important of such duties. As one of a governor's many duties, however, the role a governor played in the process varied from colony to colony. In Virginia, for example, the power to appoint ministers rested with the vestries, except for the Jamestown church where the governor held this privilege. [162]

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[161] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 18, 21; Butts, *A Cultural History*, 245.

[162] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 128, 339; Bruce T. McCully, "Governor Francis Nicholson, Patron *Par Excellence* of Religion and Learning in Colonial America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d., 39 (1982), 310-330; Bruce T. McCully, "From the North Riding to Morocco: The Early Years of Governor Francis Nicholson, 1655-1686," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 19(1962), 534-56.; Stephen Saunders Webb, "The Strange Career of Francis

The license indicated the level of preparation for all Anglican ministries and the license qualified schoolmasters to teach in the colonial parish school. Under the Anglican banner, the requisites for the license to teach were numerous. In order to officiate as a Church of England minister or schoolmaster, a candidate had to be at least twenty-three years old. Evidence of a college education or its equivalent, good character, seriousness of purpose, knowledge of the scriptures and the articles of faith, and ordination were also requirements. Canonical requirements for ordination required knowledge of the Bible, the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, the Book of Common Prayer, the Ordinal and Latin language, and the ability to read the New Testament in the original Greek. In the colonies, however, without a strong Episcopal authority or hierarchy and without a system of ecclesiastical courts to enforce discipline, the requirement to hold the Anglican church license or the certificate to teach sometimes fell by the wayside. Elizabeth H. Davidson thus complained in 1705 that "clergymen were found officiating in parishes without either presentation or induction, and all too frequently without the Bishop's license."[163]

The attempt by a cleric to avoid or overlook aspects of the licensing, however, often led to court procedures. The question of whether a cleric held a genuine license was viewed as crucial by the church hierarchy in London. Yet, like Virginia, each colony handled the license requirement differently and tightened or relaxed the requirement at certain points. Anglican

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Nicholson," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 23 (1966), 526; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 20; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 60.

[163] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 107, 115, 122; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 33-43; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 20-23; Elizabeth H. Davidson, *The Establishment of the English Church in the Continental American Colonies* (Durham, N.C., 1936), 88; John Clement, "List of over 200 Clergymen Licensed by the Bishops of London for Overseas Service, 1696-1710," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XVI (December, 1947), 318-349; John Clement, "Anglican Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies, 1710-1744, with Biographical Sketches," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XVII (September, 1948), 207-250.

Clerics who attempted to bypass the requirements, however, could end up in court. Cases were reviewed by the Commissary to the Bishop of London. In Carolina, once the commissary took a strong line regarding the license question, the advisory role of the governor diminished, sometime after 1730.[164]

Parents who avoided their parental duty could end up in court as well. In his *Memorial*, Rev. Dr. Bray emphasized the importance of parental duty regarding religious schooling. In Virginia, the government spelled out the role of the parent in sustaining the parish school. Virginia parents were instructed to "remember that it is your parts and duties to see that this Infant be taught, as soon as he shall be able to learn." Parental responsibilities included "instruction in reading, writing, and rudimentary arithmetic for boys and reading and basic domestic arts for girls." What is more, in Virginia, "godparents were the sureties" that parents would fulfill their duties.[165]

Virginia thus met the third and fourth provision for the development of parish schooling, parental involvement as supervised by law. Regarding the use of Virginia law to reinforce parental obligations, neighbors were encouraged to observe each other. Community members reported to the authorities the names of parents who neglected "minimal educational functions." Regarding compliance, historian John K. Nelson found numerous instances when the Virginia Civil Court ruled on the responsibility of a parent regarding instruction of the young. In 1735, Ann Mason and Mary Godwin were judged. Mason was judged "incapable to educate her children" while Godwin was reported as "cannot" or "will not educate her child."[166]

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[164] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 113, 115, 117, 152-162; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 20-23; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 3, 21-22, 33-43, 77, 181, 284

[165] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 217-218, 220; Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 34-40; Lyon G. Tyler, "Education in Colonial Virginia: Part II. Private Schools and Tutors," *William and Mary Quarterly* lst ser., 6 (1897), 4-5.

[166] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 113, 115, 117.

Outside required community observations, the Anglican church kept vigil over its clerics and schoolmasters. Prior to confirmation, the Anglican church canon law and colonial legislation obligated the clerics to catechize the young as well. Despite the distance between London and Virginia, the church hierarchy found methods by which to supervise the clerical part in meeting this commandment. For example, in 1724 the church officials sent forth questionnaires wherein they examined parsons concerning the amount of time each spent catechizing the young.[167]

Regarding the provision of sustained financing of parish schools, the Virginia church and government supervised the financing of the parish schools. From the first, the Virginia locals were found to be "remarkable in their faithfulness to fund local institutions like churches." According to one historian, "The Virginians taxed themselves substantially more heavily for the support of the parish than for any other public purpose." In Carolina, on the other hand, the colonial government paid the clerical salary while the SPG picked up the tab for schoolmasters.[168]

At this time in English society, whether the education of a Puritan or Anglican child was at stake, the key to an education would remain that of family wealth. Regarding the endowment, the middling class Virginians and Carolinians paid the way for their children even in the parish school. Yet, provisions were made in numerous wills for instruction of select poor children. In Virginia, Col. Humphrey Hill bestowed 500 pounds "in trust upon the minister and vestry of St. Stephen's Parish, the income from which was to pay schoolmasters for the instruction of poor children." In Carolina, the Beresford school funds came primarily from the estate of Richard

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[167] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 219-221.

[168] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 42-43, 46, 219-221; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 20; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 31.

Beresford. The church held the money and funding for the school was administered by the vestry. Beresford money paid for the schoolhouse, the salary of the schoolmaster, and "the training of a number of poor children." As typical of the era, the school first operated out of a plantation house in close proximity to the church.[169]

Regarding parish school funding, Carolina differed from Virginia in one important aspect. The SPG liberally distributed funds to maintain schoolmasters in the Carolina parishes. On the other hand, during the span of the Anglican parish school program in North America, Virginia never received financial aid from the SPG. The explanation for the SPG decision to ignore Virginia was recorded in Society papers. At its inception, the SPG reasoned that its efforts would be better directed in places where the church was not yet established, places like Carolina. The result was that Virginia's successful financing of its schools freed up more funding for the establishment of schooling in Carolina, especially during the Carolina church reestablishment years (1704-1730).[170]

Obviously, there were factors outside the five provisions for establishment of frontier schooling. These factors which could either encourage or obstruct the existence of a frontier school, for example, transportation issues. It is known, for instance, that the European town layout, specifically the establishment of church-centered communities, facilitated school attendance and obviously permitted school expansion. Expansion of schools proved problematic in the southern colonies, however. For example, on the southern frontier wherein Indian foot paths provided the main thoroughfares, it was water transportation which offered the best access

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[169] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 425; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 126-127; Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 214-216.

[170] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 121.

to the scattered plantations, towns, and churches. Eighteenth century water travel, however, was dangerous and often prohibited scheduled gatherings like church and school.[171]

As argued for decades by historians, there is no doubt that the profit motive overshadowed the religious design of southern colonies. Religion was never the foremost guiding light for the formation of Virginia, Maryland, or Carolina. In fact, since religion fell in line behind the profit motive, Rev. Keith's report indicated that, except for Virginia, no other Anglican church and state bond existed before 1701.[172]

In summary of the history of Virginia's 1701 parish schools, the Church of England clerics had early on discovered that five conditions permitted the development of religion and schooling and thus community. In London, as the *Memorials* accumulated atop the desk of the SPG secretary, it became clear to Society members that certain conditions or guidelines would prove valuable to the Church of England resurgence. In Virginia, the conditions included a solid state and church connection, a governor dedicated to the state church, the demand that parents adhere to religious dogma, reinforcement of the church dogma by law (including the requirement of a teaching license), and sustained financing.[173]

1701 Massachusetts

Within education history circles, the New England state and church association is celebrated. One historian argued, of all the Protestant groups that settled in colonial America, "the Puritans [Calvinist] who settled New England contributed most that was valuable for our future educational development." Regarding the bond of religion and government, education

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[171] Butts, *A Cultural History*, 252; Kaestle, *Pillars*, 4.

[172] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 3, 85-87; Spring, *The American School*, 16; Cremin, *American Education*, 183; Manros, *Fulham Papers*, 23-25; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 39, 47-48.

[173] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 17; Butts, *A Cultural History*, 250-252.

historian Merle Curti validated that "the identity of interests between the dominant religious group and the ruling authorities was even closer" in the colonies "than in Europe." As a result, the church and state dynamic in this province is no longer debated. It is straightforward. [174]

Within just a few years, the Massachusetts church and state paved the way for the establishment of religious schooling throughout the province. In turn, eighteenth century religious schooling served to protect the existing authority structure of the Congregational church. The establishment rationale for communities like the Massachusetts Bay Colony separated the northern settlements from the southern settlements. In contrast to colonists entering Virginia and Carolina, the Congregationalists eagerly followed a religious vision. They entered the continent with a steadfast purpose.[175]

It was the Congregational church in hand with the governor that controlled every aspect of family life in the New England townships. For example, fathers were ordered to teach the catechism to the children. In lieu of the numerous demands the frontier made on fathers, however, the first being survival, parents often failed in catechizing the young, a requirement for baptism. As a result, it was this noted failure on part of New England fathers regarding religious instruction that was the behind the passage of the 1642 education law.[176]

This law evidenced the fourth provision for successful frontier schooling, the mandatory involvement of parents in religious instruction. After passage of the 1642 law, parents still proved resistant to church demands. As a result, fines were imposed on the fathers who did not obey the 1642 law. Still, the issue was not resolved easily. Five years later, in order to

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[174] Curti, *The Social Ideas*, 12-13; Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 127.

[175] Spring, *The American School*, 12.

[176] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 17-21.

demonstrate the power of the church and state over the parent, yet another school directive was passed. The 1647 "Old Deluder Satan Law" required communities to establish and support schools and hire schoolmasters.[177]

The Massachusetts schoolteacher was required to be of the Congregational faith and thus a licensed Congregational cleric. Accordingly, the church school masters were appointed by church officials or clergymen. Throughout New England, the most important criterion for instruction was a particular religious view. The license for a town schoolmaster was therefore issued by the selectmen with the agreement of the ministers. The reasoning was simple; the law made the Congregational church the dominant institution. [178]

The last provision for successful frontier schooling was that of sustained financing. Early on, officials made financing of Puritan schools a priority. No doubt, the Congregationalists excelled in their ability to collect funds for church and school. However, it was the Quakers who presented for Rev. Keith the best formula for funding the Church of England resurgence. According to Rev. Keith, the speedy advance of Quakerism throughout the American colonies was made possible by the Quaker blueprint for fund raising. It was the Quaker religious organizational scheme or the Quaker *modus operandi* which former Quaker Rev. Keith confidently recommended to Rev. Dr. Bray.[179]

Rev. Keith outlined his proposed Anglican financial onslaught in the *Memorial*. His presentation, "How Quakers and others support their Meetings and schools," set Anglican guidelines for funding. In this document, he had listed "twenty-four ways and means" to

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[177] Spring, *The American School,* 12-13; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism,* 17-18.

[178] Butts, *A Cultural History,* 254.

[179] Pennington, "Keith," 254-255, 362.

overcome Quakers. According to Rev. Keith, at their monthly and quarterly meetings, the Quakers, from their "great and large collections of Money" invested in common stock. In another document, "An Account of the State of the Church in North America," Rev. Keith pointed out for Rev. Dr. Bray the last yet most important proposal the Quaker program offered Anglicans for collection of monies for ministries. In Carolina history, it is this approach which is so pronounced in the Carolina parish school records. The Carolina schools were heavily funded by endowments during the period under study.[180]

Rev. Keith explained that their propaganda treasury was enriched "by the many and sometimes great Legacies which the Quakers at their Death give to the Common Stock, they appointing persons to visit the sick, upon that county, so that in Philadelphia they have (pound sign) 1000 given by Legacies in about two years last past, as appears by the Records of their Wills in Philadelphia.[181]

In summary, early on New England met five provisions for sustaining the frontier school. The five conditions which opened the door for New England religious schooling included a state and church connection, a governor dedicated to the state church, the requirement that parents adhere to religious dogma, reinforcement of Congregational church dogma by law (including the licensing of schoolmasters), and sustained financing. The result, as the SPG mission was launched in 1701, in the New England township existence around 39 New England settlements had established schools.[182]

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[180] Pennington, "Keith," 354, 357.

[181] Pennington, "Keith," 355-356.

[182] Spring, *The American School*, 16; Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 121-127.

Regarding the North American colonial school, education historian Joel Spring wrote that "while differences in historical interpretations of colonial education exist, no one denies the import role of religion and authority." The record of the colonial church and state connection and its link to schooling in Virginia and New England exemplifies this dynamic. The record of the establishment of the church and state connection, the documentation of the story of conformity which resulted in schooling in New England and Virginia, however, is not well-known regarding Carolina's history. Thus, the foregoing overview of the status of colonial schooling around 1701 served as a measure for presentation of *Carolina Mudsill*.[183]

Carolina was like Virginia in one way. Carolina was set up to provide a profit for investors. Carolina, however, differed from New England and Virginia in that the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina allowed this settlement to develop without a robust church and state church directive. In view of that point, the five provisions which opened the path for schooling in New England and Virginia served as the outline for revisiting Carolina's parish school course. In that same vein, as of June of 1702 Carolina required, first and foremost, a governor dedicated to the lawful reestablishment of the Church of England.

The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina

First, it must be noted that only a few historians have tried to disentangle the intricacies of Carolina politics from 1670 through 1719, the proprietary period. Carolina historian Walter Edgar, in the most recent state history, wrote, "Untangling the origins of the factional or party strife that caused so many problems during the proprietary period is not easy." Early historians agreed that it was the colonists who entered Carolina as "experienced settlers" who played the major role in the anarchy. Today, most historians concur that the proprietors were equal in the

[183] Spring, *The American School*, 16.

responsibility. Edgar explained that it was their "ad hoc decisions and instructions," mostly adjustments to the Fundamental Constitutions, that proved contradictory and caused separations.[184]

Consequently, a short appraisal of the Fundamental Constitutions and the controversy surrounding this document is vital to understanding the actions taken by Governor Johnson as well as the dealings of schoolmaster Thomas. Moreover, a review of this document along with a few of the changes made to the Constitutions offers insight into the peculiar path in which Carolina established a church and state relationship in 1704.[185]

Regarding the history of the Fundamental Constitutions, Edgar identified several proprietary blunders which are relevant to the parish school history. First and foremost, the proprietors contributed to the discord by producing five different versions of the Fundamental Constitutions. In the process of narrowing these episodes for the argument made in this study on the parish school, historian Sirmans targeted the major cause of Carolina's political distress. Viewed at the time by proprietors as a defensive move to salvage investments, the 1682 proprietary pronouncement opened the frontier to an influx of dissenters, a move which proved ruinous to the establishment of colonial conformity and thus to the establishment of parish schooling.[186]

In the end, the 1682 scheme stood at the root many of the religious conflicts faced by the first Society representatives, beginning with schoolmaster Thomas (1702) and ending with schoolmaster the Rev. Thomas Morritt (1723). Of all the mistakes made by the proprietors, the

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[184] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 126-128; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 102-108, 111.

[185] Fundamental Constitutions of 1698, *S. C. Public Records*, IV, 28-29.

[186] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 10; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 82-108.

parish school story resonates back in time to this proprietary maneuver. Initially, the 1682 plan was an effort on the part of Carolina's investors to diffuse the autonomy of the experienced colonists. In 1670, in order to speed up colonization and expected earnings, the proprietors had called for Englishmen in the older English settlements like Barbados to settle in Carolina. As of 1712, however, the only profit from this plan had been the creation of a profound divide between those labeled the experienced settlers and those who entered as nonconformists to the Church of England in the mid-1680s. This division inhibited adoption of the Anglican parish school. [187]

The threads of this impasse reached backward in time to the acts of the Council for Foreign Plantations. It was the members of the Council, men considered competent regarding settling the Americas, who planned the colony. The Charter was secured by Sir Colleton in 1663. Sir Colleton planned the venture so that investors would profit "without bearing the actual cost of its settlement." His strategy included offering depositors, a group called the proprietors, a quick financial turnaround. This scheme included the appeal to the experienced colonists from the West Indies. Within Sir Colleton's agenda was as well a desire to establish a colony that would offer a liberal concession of religious and political rights. Carolina therefore was perceived as a model that shifted slightly toward religious tolerance and an imagined perfect society, a social and political system which required the upper class "to develop a sense of noblesse oblige."[188]

After a few false starts, the Carolina experiment began in earnest around 1670. As anticipated in the Fundamental Constitutions, in just twenty years, the Carolina soil and government was shared by experienced settlers and a few nonconformists to the Church of

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[187] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 126.

[188] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 10, 18; Wallace, *Short History*, 23-25.

England. The proprietary belief that experienced colonists would root a colony straight away proved accurate. For as soon as the adventurers from the West Indies inundated the new land, the infant colony persevered. On the other hand, as soon as these able settlers stepped off the ship at Albemarle Point, they schemed. Their primary aim was displacement of the proprietors.[189]

Upon the arrival of the first boat load of West Indies refugees, men like Sir Yeamans, a landgrave and deputy of the senior proprietor and the experienced settlers had plotted. With a new title in hand, new grants for land, and as governor, Yeamans attempted to build a power base among what has been described as a "nascent political faction." Basically, from day one, alongside the colonization process, the "Barbadian socio-economic model" advanced steadily in Carolina.[190]

Three areas of conflict separated the proprietors and the experienced settlers. Discussions of the land policy, the profit margin for the proprietors, and Indian affairs set off major disputes. The Indian trade issue included more than just trading of commodities for it encompassed a lucrative trade in Indian slaves, especially women and children. In the late 1600s, the proprietors themselves had invested in the Indian trade. In turn, however, the proprietors dealt with the destructive financial repercussions from their investment in slavery, the Indian wars. As a result, the proprietors moved to abolish the trade. Inside Carolina, however, the trade continued well into the eighteenth century. Though acknowledged by the proprietors as illegal by 1700, men like Goose Creek resident Col. James Moore continued to participate in the

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[189]Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina,* 4-7, 30-34; Wallace, *Short History*, 23-25; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* , 42; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina,* 54-60.

[190] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History,* 84; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina,* 60.

capture and sale of Indians. The result, Moore and those who worked alongside him accumulated a small fortune.[191]

The London-based investors could not have known how firmly the experienced settlers would influence or set their cultural stamp on Carolina. During the first ten years of Carolina's existence, these colonists persisted with the colonization effort while at the same time disregarding the proprietors. In just a few years after settlement began, so bad was the relationship between the investors and the experienced settlers that this recalcitrant group received a moniker. In correspondence, the proprietors referred to the Barbadian block as the "Goose Creek element."[192]

Therefore, as the eighteenth century dawned, the only increase on proprietary investments was the growth of conflicts with the Goose Creek element. This was especially true of the men who had entered Carolina from the island of Barbados. Claiming land along the east and west branches of the Cooper River, this aspect of the experienced faction, those living on the upper reaches of Carolina's main waterway included the Barbadians, a large number of the Huguenots, and a few German Lutherans. Though professed Anglicans, the Barbadians were stronger-minded regarding the acquisition of land and wealth. From the first, therefore, the unity of the group as a whole hinged on the fact that not one of these colonists had a problem with profiting from Indian slavery, African slavery, piracy, or the wars that pushed back the frontier line.[193]

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[191] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 28-30, 46-47; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 93-94.

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[192] Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 60; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 83-85.

[193] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 30-36; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 18, 48, 88; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 17-18; Wallace, *Short History*, 62.

By the 1680s, altercations between those now designated the Goose Creek element and the proprietors provoked the investors to attempt a major counterattack. What is known about the intent of the proprietors is that in order to recover their settlement costs, it was believed that the entire Goose Creek element could be routed by outnumbering these men in the Commons House of Assembly. As of 1680, therefore, the proprietors gambled their hold on the colony on nonconformist loyalties. In their effort to overwhelm the experienced settlers, between 1682 and 1685, the proprietors published ten promotional pamphlets for distribution to nonconformists living in London, Dublin, and Holland. Each pamphlet highlighted the benefits of life in Carolina. Most importantly, each leaflet offered religious and political rights. As a result, throughout Europe, word of the promise of land and religious toleration to all who entered Carolina was heard.[194]

Accordingly, by mid-1680 shiploads of European victims of religious prejudice entered Carolina. In return, the proprietors hoped that these persecuted Protestants would maintain a long-lasting allegiance to their London-based guardian angels, the investors. Their hopes were realized. After a short time, the arrival of numbers of the faithful did indeed displace the political base living along Goose Creek. As of the late 1690s, the nonconformists with the aid of their liberators monopolized the governor's chair for ten years and the Goose Creek element lost other administrative positions.[195]

Economically, in the last decades of the seventeenth century, before the forests were cleared and before staple crops like rice brought high revenues, the experienced settlers and the nonconformists, relied on the Indian slave trade for a frontier existence. Wealth from the slave

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[194] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 30-36; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 88; Wallace, *Short History*, 62; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 17-18, 36-37.

[195] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 30-36; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 88-90.

trade made frontier life more comfortable for men like Sir Nathaniel Johnson and that of his son-in-law, Thomas Broughton. By the early 1690s, nonconformists like Governor Joseph Blake were heavily engaged in the trade and reluctant to let go of the enterprise as well.[196]

Regarding the story of Anglican church establishment and the parish school, the wealth accumulated from the Indian slave trade was the foremost political topic during the era under study. Yet, until recently, research on the impact of the Indian trade on colonial politics during this era and how it influenced the religious question was wanting. On the other hand, historian Alan Galley recently researched the impact of the Indian slavery issue and offered some amazing figures, facts which help explain the depth of the controversy. In fact, Galley's study on the Indian slave issue paralleled the controversy regarding the state church and parish school law debates.

Carolina colonizers enslaved and exported thirty to fifty thousand Indians between 1670 and 1720. As regards to Indian affairs, Galley made the case that several of the decades-long political supremacy battles were grounded first and foremost in the economics of the Indian slave trade. His evidence included legislation that prohibited trade in Indian slaves in New England and the middle Atlantic colonies. Moreover, Gallay argued that at this time in the Charles Town seaport, more Indians were exported than Africans imported.[197] Regarding the economics of Indian slavery, one historian explained that it was Carolina's geographic position that drove the colonists into a tri-cornered rivalry with Spanish Florida and French Louisiana. The colonial wars, for example, were connected to the never-ending competition between England, France, and Spain for the New World territory. In other words, it was Carolina's location that inflated

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[196] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 93-95; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 78, 94.

[197] Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 3, 444.

the Indian slave trade. In any case, in pre-Revolutionary Carolina the Indian trade was highly profitable for the nonconformist and the conformist. Therefore the ensuing religious struggle cloaked one bona fide issue, which sect would control the trade. [198]

As of 1698, the majority of the Carolina nonconformists felt relatively secure politically. Their proprietary protection along with the promises made in the Fundamental Constitutions proved to be the basis of their trust. Had not their friends, the proprietors, championed in the 1682 constitution "full freedom in the exercise of all other forms of Protestantism?" As a result, not one nonconformist flinched when in the Commons House a decree long forgotten was reiterated. Inside the Commons House in 1698, it was merely restated that the Carolina Charter had designated the state church as the Church of England.[199]

Politically, the proprietors had not only promised the nonconformists a role in colonial politics, they had favored this group above the Anglicans. With a say-so in colonial affairs and with the backing of the proprietors, the nonconformists had often superseded the will of the Goose Creek element in political scuffles. As of 1698, the nonconformists had indeed fulfilled their obligation to the investors for they had contended with the Goose Creek element through a total of eighteen nonconformist governors. Despite nonconformist successes, however, during this decade of relative religious concord (1692-1703), the Goose Creek element had never given up on its original goal of regaining control of the government. Even at the peak of nonconformist control, for example, the Goose Creek element had managed to maintain its ability to elect every speaker of the House.[200]

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[198] Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 3, 340-45; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 30-36, 78, 94.

[199] Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 3, 340-45; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 78, 94, 30-36; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 88; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 21.

[200] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 88.

Regarding the continued squabbling among and with the Carolinians, Lord Granville searched for a new avenue to further the colonization success. Moreover, the palatine was angered regarding the lack of profits for all the proprietary investments in the colony. Lord Granville thus moved to reverse the proprietary position regarding Carolina's leadership. By this time, under the guidance of Rev. Dr. Bray and the Bishop Compton, Lord Granville had joined in reaffirming the supremacy of Carolina's Anglican church over all other North American Protestant sects. This time around, the proprietors would attempt to stabilize their colony by wagering on the benefits of Anglicanism or a strong church and state relationship. In fact, the 1698 Carolina Commons House reiteration of the status of the state church had been a mere precursor to Granville's scheme to create a new and robust Anglican church in the colony.[201]

The political climate in Carolina changed quickly. It was the sudden death of nonconformist Gov. Blake that offered up the Carolina governorship somewhat earlier than expected. In London, however, prior planning regarding the proposed switch to Anglican leadership allowed Granville to make a preliminary strike to gain control. In a controversial move, instead of nonconformist Joseph Morton stepping in to position, Col. James Moore was allowed to fill the governor's seat. While in Carolina, Col. Moore attempted to convince the assemblymen that he should replace Morton because Morton had been disloyal to the proprietors in "accepting a concurrent appointment as judge in the royal vice-admiralty court." Across the Atlantic, Lord Granville simply made no move to stop Moore's climb into power. Morton, on the other hand, told the Carolinians that he was defeated because he would have vigorously enforced the acts of trade.[202]

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[201] Wallace, *Short History*, 59; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 88; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 40.

[202] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 23; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 92.

Moore took the governor's office on September 11, 1700. It was at that time the Goose Creek element became zealous Anglicans and known as the Anglican Church Party. Of course, immediately the nonconformists complained to the proprietors that vacancies in the council instead of being filled by "Persons fit & worthy to represent Your Lordships" were filled by "Persons whom he (Moore) beforehand knew, & was well satisfied & assur'd would be for his use & purposes." As a result, that September the Anglican Church Party and the nonconformists separated into belligerent camps.[203]

While the nonconformists criticized the new governor, the Goose Creek element sided with Col. Moore. The nonconformists countered the appointment by stating that in the past Col. Moore had illustrated a great enthusiasm for military ventures, especially expeditions into Spanish territory. At the very same moment, the Goose Creek element celebrated with drinks a proposed venture into Spanish territory. The nonconformists reported to the proprietors that Col. Moore's expeditions to put down the hostiles were uncalled for and such ventures just "tended to line his pockets." At the same point the Goose Creek men were gathering weapons and rounding up their Yamasee allies for a voyage into Spanish Florida. [204]

In the end, Col. Moore's 1701 march on Saint Augustine was costly. According to his nonconformist enemies, the raid was poorly planned and thus Moore's defeat. Therefore, as of late 1702 Col. Moore's local enemies were not only the majority of the populace, they turned vindictive. Consequently, when Moore presented his 1701 war bill to the Commons House for payment, the nonconformists voted down payment of the war debt. The event was followed by

[203] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 93; Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 454.

[204] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 93-94; Sirmans, *Sketch of the History*, 76-81.

street riots and attacks on nonconformists, all of which was pulled off behind the scenes by the governor.[205]

Failing to change the situation through written complaints to the proprietors, the nonconformists sent agents to London to voice stronger opposition to the selection of Col. Moore. In London, however, Lord Granville's' actions for the church had produced for him a new designation; the London nonconformists labeled him "an inflexible bigot for the High-church." Disregarding the epithet, Lord Granville arranged for Sir Johnson to be acceptable to the King for the Carolina governorship. Actually, Granville had no question that Moore's disorderly tenure was only provisional. Yet, so riotous was Col. Moore's short and stormy administration that for years afterward, locals continued to voice complaints. In June of 1703, one writer summed up the situation with the observation that Moore's "base & indirect methods, & crafty projects" had "made his Government miserably unfortunate to us all."[206]

The Governor's Anglican Cloak

By the summer of 1702, "Everywhere on the American continent the Church of England was on the rise." In Carolina, despite the shortcomings of the Fundamental Constitutions, the wheels of change had been set in motion. The next Carolina governor would set the course for passage of a decree to reestablish the Anglican church as the state church. Among the many noted individuals on the Society's list, it was Sir Johnson (1644-1713), military expert and High Anglican, who was the key player in the North American resurgence. Sir Johnson therefore was instrumental in clearing the course for Carolina's parish school as well.[207]

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[205] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 76-81.

[206] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 77; Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 454.

[207] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 37.

Sir Johnson was living in the West Indies when the Carolina proprietors packed Carolina with their nonconformist allies. In 1686, Sir Johnson presided over the British plantations in Treves, St. Christopher, Montserrat, and Antigua. For that reason, when Johnson arrived in Carolina in 1689 it was that same 1682 proprietary scheme which obligated Sir Johnson, like every other émigré, to take a position in the ongoing dispute, the displaced Goose Creek element or the then-dominant nonconformists.[208]

Before his arrival to the colonies, like many high churchmen, Sir Johnson had supported the Tories or court party. He had pledged loyalty to James II of England. In 1682, however, the king declared himself a Roman Catholic. In September of 1686, King James II appointed Johnson the governor of the Leeward Islands. Shortly afterward, during the Glorious Revolution of 1689, the Protestant daughter of James II, Mary, with her husband King William, dislodged James II from the throne. When James II converted to the Catholic religion in1689, Johnson along with other Anglicans remained loyal to James because he held to the principle of nonresistance to worldly power. In other words, he bound himself to James II despite his politics. In spite of the King's Catholic church stance therefore Johnson remained Anglican yet faithful to James II. Accordingly, instead of swearing loyalty to William and Mary, Johnson resigned the governorship of the Leeward Islands and entered Carolina.[209]

Sir Johnson's military background, political know-how, and seeming religious tolerance made him acceptable to Carolina's nonconformist camp. It was not long after his arrival to Charles Town therefore that Johnson was beseeched by the nonconformist leadership and asked to join with their pro-proprietary alliance. In Carolina, the 1682 proprietary plan to place

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[208] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 2; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 154-169.

[209] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 21, 24, 86.

nonconformists in the Carolina Commons House of Assembly and oust the Goose Creek element was led by the Carolina's "English dissenters, particularly by members of the Blake and Axtel Families."[210]

Living off the east fork of the Cooper, on Quinby Creek, Johnson was courted as well by Col. Moore, Maurice Mathews, Thomas Gray, and Henry Brayne. As Johnson set up his plantation, Blake and the "Proprietary Party had its greatest strength in Colleton County, south of Charleston on the exposed southern frontier." Johnson, however, cleared land in eastern Colleton County. Many of his nearby neighbors had been early leaders of the Goose Creek element and Anglican. In good time therefore Johnson settled in with their antiproprietary group.[211]

For a few years Sir Johnson merely bided his time. While waiting for his political call therefore along the banks of Quinby creek Johnson "made a series of successful experiments." His greatest success was with rice. When rice was first introduced into Carolina, it was Johnson who entered into grain trials and evaluated the soils most suitable for cultivation. During these years and even while Col. Moore governed Carolina Johnson had debated pledging his loyalty to King William. [212]

Finally, under pressure from Lord Granville, at the age of fifty-nine, Johnson switched his allegiance to King William. Of course, he did not swear allegiance to William until June of 1702, after the death of James Stuart (1702). Soon afterward, Lord Granville appointed Johnson

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[210] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 95; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 37, 40.

[211] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 27, 37, 40; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 88; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 95.

[212] Cross, *Historic Ramblins*, 58-60; Irving, *A Day*, 168; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 79; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 22; John Steward to William Dunlop, April 27, June 23, 1690, "Steward Letters," *S. C. Historical Magazine*, 32 (1931), 23-24, 84, 84n.

governor and other staunch Carolina Anglicans, including Col. Moore, to positions favorable to Carolina's Anglican offensive.[213]

For that reason, by June of 1702 Sir Johnson materialized as a faithful regarding High Anglican church goals and member of the emergent Anglican Church Party. As a result, almost before the ink dried on Rev. Dr. Bray's SPG Charter, inside the Society headquarters at Lambeth Palace, members of the Society were examining potential schoolmasters to send to the colonies. Upon the sudden death of Governor Blake and with events moving swiftly in Carolina, one of these applicants, the Rev. Thomas, would be sent forward to Carolina to build up the Church of England.[214]

Lambeth Palace, London, June 19, 1702

The chronicle of schoolmaster the Rev. Thomas began the day he was called to appear with testimonial letters in hand to interview for a position with London's newest religious society, the SPG.[215] Summoned to appear in the Great Hall on June 19, 1702, thirty-five year old Thomas entered Lambeth Palace's large wooden doors. The recruitment of schoolmasters was said to be most difficult, for the Society's charter expectations were demanding. Testimonial letters might include, for example, required evidence of "a public or grammar school training, followed by education at an Oxford or Cambridge college." Neither a firm educational background nor a high birth guaranteed a young man a position within the prestigious society.[216]

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[213] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 24, 86; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 79.

[214] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 79; Cross, *Historic Ramblins*, 58-60; Pennington, "Keith," 417, 272, 175; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 22; Sainsbury, "Documents," 21-22.

[215] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 31-32; Sainsbury, "Documents," 21-22.

[216] Sainsbury, "Documents," 23.

Regarding the approach to restoration of the church, before examination of candidates, the Society received advice from numerous colonial governors. Governor Joseph Dudley of New England sent a "province-by-province estimate of population, potential for church success, and denominational patterns." He told the Society that ideal schoolmasters should be "middle-aged, moral, learned men of sufficient means to avoid contempt, particularly in New England where children seemed well taught by socially recognized schoolmasters." He warned the Society that success was tied to "the governors, council members, and magistrates." He insisted that leaders should be "firm churchmen."[217]

As for Thomas' June interview, Society records state that this particular applicant was esteemed to be of eminent piety both "in his single capacity and in his married state" and had given proof of "great knowledge" in the "things of God and the mysteries of the Kingdom." His preaching attracted converts to the church and he was "an entire lover of the King." Thomas' testimonial was signed by a rector, two vicars and a curate. The last signature was that of Edward Thomas, curate of Denham and Thomas' uncle.[218]

In his broad assessment of the SPG, Calam explained that the SPG manuscripts confirmed the unified nature of the positions of colonial parson and pedagogue. In this study therefore it is argued that Samuel Thomas was more schoolmaster than minister during his stay in Carolina. Calam clarified that parsons were easy to solicit for transfer to the colonies but over time schoolmasters were more difficult to obtain. As a result, in the years ahead those considered by the SPG fit into two groups. First, the men who had considerable education but did not hold a university degree were eligible for an appointment. Regarding the non-graduate,

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[217] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 13; A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina*, 221.

[218] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 2; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 100; A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina*, 220-221.

the SPG leaned toward applicants with "extended service in the classroom." Second, they preferred men who held a degree from Oxford or Cambridge. The representative was to be up to date on current issues. For those with a degree, Calam argued that the classroom could become a halfway house to the pulpit. Early on in the SPG program, the "more qualifications a pedagogue" brought to the school room the less likely he was to occupy that position for an extended period.[219]

After a thorough review of his papers, the Society assigned Rev. Thomas the position of schoolmaster to the colony of Carolina. Rev. Thomas' commission referred to him as minister to the "wild Yamasee Indians" of Carolina. At this point in time, this Society directive acknowledged reports that the nomadic tradition had all but ceased for the southeastern Indians. As of 1702, Carolina's Yamasee and other local tribes lived in permanent towns. The town that Thomas would enter was to the west of Charles Towne, near the homes of many of the nonconformists. Pocotaligo stood on the furthermost point of the western frontier boundary and was the largest Yamasee town.[220]

During the late 1600s, lower Carolina's native population numbers plummeted while the English numbers stabilized somewhat. According to Sirmans, during the colonial era the shifts in population determined which group held the region. Population changes influenced as well which group received the primary emphasis regarding religious instruction. In 1699, Carolina held a higher white population (4,220) than black population though this group was increasing rapidly (3,250). Even before the Yamasee war therefore the Indian populations were declining.

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[219] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 31-32.

[220] Sainsbury, "Documents," 20-22; Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 46, 64; Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* (Chapel Hill, 1940), 35-36, 39-40, 47.

Consequently, by the time Rev. Thomas was assigned to Carolina, what was known in London circles regarding the dynamics of the Indian population and dispositions were vague.[221]

This is first noted in the Society assignment for Rev. Thomas to minister to the Yamasee. In January of 1702, Thomas wrote Bray that he was told by an Indian interpreter near Pocotaligo that the "Yammonsee chieftains" found their best course of action was to avoid ties with the Spanish Catholics and the English Protestants. As of 1703, the Yamasee understood well that they were caught in the center of a European collision course. The chieftains added that they were too much in danger of Spanish invaders to attend to Rev. Thomas' English instruction.[222]

In fact, at the time of Rev. Thomas' appointment, what was known by the Society officials regarding the Yamasee was distorted and thus Rev. Thomas' orientation for the mission ineffective. In the European portrait of early Carolina is found the emergent myth regarding the noble savage. Among the English, comments abounded wherein whites noted their "superb physical condition." In communications, for instance, some whites "marveled at the stature of Indian men," especially the Cherokee and Yamasee. In warfare, they were often compared favorably to whites who tended to tire easily during long battles.[223]

Though Rev. Thomas' correspondence collection is ample, he did not offer twenty-first century readers of his letters many insights into the lives of his assigned students. Instead, Rev. Thomas exhausted his ink supply debating what he deemed his most immediate concern, his salary. Questions regarding financial arrangements filled almost every piece of correspondence

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[221] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 136-140; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 60.

[222] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 13-15, 45; Sainsbury, "Letters," 525.

[223] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 45; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 20, 26; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina* , 113.

written by Rev. Thomas. He ranted as well about the convoluted travel conditions of the day and the people who crossed his path, especially ship captains.[224]

Basically, though a few military leaders viewed the Yamasee as problematic, Rev. Thomas remained unconcerned regarding their troubles. Yet, up to this time the Yamasee had played a major role in the success of the English settlement at Charles Town. Their language was widely known among the other tribes and thus they had become English mediators. Local militia expert Nairne, however, believed that religious instruction would ensure the trustworthiness of the Yamasee as translators. No doubt therefore it was their role as a go-between and their position of choice Indian allies during European conflicts which made these Indians the most likely converts to Anglicanism.[225]

After a total of twelve "weeks and odd days" Carolina's first schoolmaster stepped off a ship in the Charles Towne harbor. It was Christmas Day, 1702. For Rev. Thomas, only the arrival date itself would be a good omen. For travelers who anchored in this frontier port, their first view was one of sprawling wooden structures, mud-and-manure soaked streets, and low-hung chimney smoke. During the last days of December, just outside Rev. Thomas' window, the Charles Town harbor would have been filled with ships and the streets noisy. Outside the bleak winter scene, Rev. Thomas' welcome had included an epidemic and the resulting high death toll. It is therefore likely that during his first weeks inside the fortress Rev. Thomas aided in the record number of funerals. In addition, it was while Rev. Thomas made his way through his

[224] A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina*, 220.

[225] Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 29; A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina*, 220; Rye, 17; Sainsbury, "Letters, 22.

dismal surroundings that he realized, for the first time, the volatility of his acceptance of the Carolina commission.[226]

In late 1702, standing alongside the main fortress lane, the schoolmaster was suddenly brushed aside by the sway of the crowd. Entering the front gate, the crowd gave way for a parade of men, artillery, and horses laden with saddlebags, many of the bags heaving over with Spanish plunder. Only a few white English officers and soldiers stood among the multitude of Indians and slaves moving through the gate. It was at this point that the schoolmaster eyed for the first time his designated parish school students, the "Yeamanser Indians."[227]

> By the great Providence of God I arrived safe in the Province of South Carolina, upon the day of our Blessed Lord's nativity Anno Dm. 1702, at which time war being proclaimed with France and Spain I found these very Indians [the Yamasee] in conjunction with our Carolina Forces gone upon an Expedition to St. Augustin a Spanish Fort in Florida about 300 miles from our English Settlements in South Carolina, they did indeed in a short time after my arrival return from this Expedition, but they being settled upon our Frontiers between us and the Spanish Indians, having been engaged in a state of war every since nothing being more common than their and the Spanish Indians making frequent incursions upon each other in the Night, that all Persons who knew these Indians assured me that they had neither leisure or dispositions to attend to Christian Instructions, and that a Missionary could not in this time of war reside among them without the utmost hazard of his life, it being common for the Spanish Indians to steal upon them [the

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[226] Fraser, *Charlton*, 10, 19-20; John Duffy, "Yellow Fever in Colonial Charleston," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, no. 52 (October 1951), 55.

[227] A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina*, 247; Fraser, *Charlton*, 10; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 210; Sainsbury, "Document," 39-54.

> Yamasee encampment] in the night and kill some and take others Prisoners, and these Prisoners are some of them burnt alive and others sold to the Spaniards for slaves; this was one great discouragement to my settlement among them during the war.[228]

Afterward, Rev. Thomas wrote lengthy letters describing his predicament. It was not in the letters, however, but in the return address wherein Rev. Thomas' reaction to that day in the garrison is first noted. During those weeks inside the fortress, from late December 25 through late February of 1703, Samuel Thomas addressed his correspondence simply, from "Carolina." In a letter written to Rev. Dr. Woodward on March 10, 1703, however, for the first time, Rev. Thomas put pen to paper to identify a new abode, from "my study at Sir Johnson's. Govr. of Carolina."[229]

Summary

Education historian Joel Spring wrote that "while differences in historical interpretations of colonial education exist, no one denies the import role of religion and authority." By the time of the American Revolution, the church and state relationship, with all its many facets, would be a well-established aspect of North American colonial society. Regarding the European legacy of the community church, Cremin wrote that the parish church was the most significant educational institution, outside the home, found in early modern England. No doubt, the church was a significant educational institution in colonial America as well. For example, the church and state relationship as it existed on the raw colonial frontiers of Virginia and Massachusetts had allowed for a most important social advancement, schooling.[230]

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[228] A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina*, 247.

[229] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 103; Sainsbury, "Documents," 40; Sainsbury, "Letters," 278.

[230] Spring, *The American School*, 9-17; Cremin, *American Education*, 147-148; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism* , 6-7.

During the founding of Carolina, however, London's Anglican leadership had stepped aside and allowed Carolina to develop without a church guidance. As of 1701 therefore religious schooling in Carolina had fallen by the wayside. Basically, in contrast to the strong Anglican church and state mandate found in Virginia, the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina had opened the doors for numbers of nonconformists to the Church of England to enter the province. As a result, while a solid church and state mandate had worked in Virginia and Massachusetts to spur schooling, the same bond proved absent in Carolina. The result, the parish school had not taken root as of 1701.[231]

As the eighteenth century dawned, with the status of the Church of England in the North American colonies on the line, however, the proprietors had taken the advice of London's Anglican leadership regarding the Anglican resurgence. As a result, the proprietors ignored their pledge to the Carolina nonconformists. What is more, by the summer of 1702, just one year after the creation of the SPG, Carolina had met one of the five provisions basic to the advancement of schooling on the colonial frontier, a governor dedicated to a solid church and state bond. Despite the nonconformists complaints therefore thirty-three years after the founding of Carolina, a governor dedicated to the Church of England, for better or worse, directed Carolina policy.[232]

Accordingly, in the months that followed the 1702 appointment of Governor Johnson, Lord Granville turned a blind eye toward all the questionable events taking place in Carolina. By that spring of 1703, the next proviso on the list, the reestablishment of the Church of England as Carolina's state church, rested in the hands of Governor Johnson, the Anglican Church Party,

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[231] Sainsbury, "Documents," 39; Butts, *A Cultural History*, 246. Butts wrote that the Georgia Church of England was established but never enthusiastically supported by taxation.

[232] Butts, *A Cultural History*, 246. Butts wrote that the Georgia Church of England was established but never enthusiastically supported by taxation.

and the governor's new house guest, schoolmaster Samuel Thomas. In order for Carolina to provide religious schooling, these agents would work toward the next proviso, the passage of the 1704 Church Establishment Act.

CHAPTER 4

"I GOT A SCHOOL ERECTED IN MY PARISH": THE ANGLICAN CHURCH COUP D'ÉTAT

Overview

The decision made by the Rev. Samuel Thomas to work alongside Carolina's governor proved critical to the Anglican resurgence. The SPG, however, forbade schoolmasters to "intrude in politics" or the "intricacies of colonial administration." [233] On the other hand, in the Carolina of 1702, Thomas' ability to follow through with Society dreams of an Anglican rebirth made obedience to this particular mandate problematic. Hence, just weeks after Thomas settled in at Silk Hope he found himself engaged in Carolina's complicated political landscape. In the end therefore the SPG schoolmaster played a role in the governor's successful execution of the most crucial of the needed prerequisites for the establishment of the parish school, the passage of the 1704 Church Establishment Act.

Few historians dispute that from the time he took office Sir Johnson's main objective was the establishment of the Church of England in Carolina.[234] And it is true that Sir Johnson never hesitated in meeting the Anglican church objective. In the months just prior to presentation of the church decree to the Commons House of Assembly, however, Sir Johnson may have wavered in his approach. In fact, a close reading of the SPG documents suggest that, while living at Silk Hope,

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[233] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 71; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 84-85.

[234] Wallace, *Short History*, 71; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 87; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 24; Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 9, 206, 215-217; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 84-86.

it was Thomas who assisted the governor in determining the best course for presentation of the reestablishment decree to Carolina's divided assembly. In fact, the evidence is overwhelming.

In the interim between Thomas' arrival and the church act controversy, the SPG schoolmaster scouted out every lowcountry settlement. Afterward, from the Silk Hope study he made notes as to the number of colonials in each hamlet and how these people viewed the Church of England. Accordingly, the resulting Thomas *Census* (1703-1705) may have supported Governor Johnson in determining the path of least resistance for a one-time strike for Anglican resurgence. Moreover, the *Census* offered an extraordinary look at the geography of the lowcountry settlements on the eve of the inauguration of Carolina's first school program. As a result, the *Census* offered for the first time clarity regarding the often muddled story of Carolina's pre-Revolutionary parish school program.

Silk Hope Plantation, May 1704

A few days after his arrival to the Carolina fortress, Thomas entered a state of melancholy. The harrowing journey had tired him physically and weakened him spiritually. His assigned scholars, the Yamasee Indians, had been described by his employers as primitive, yet the moment Thomas caught sight of his converts standing tall among the remnants of the 1701 St. Augustine expedition he gravely regretted undertaking the SPG assignment. In his *Remonstrance*, the British schoolmaster defended his dispassionate reaction to his assigned converts to the Anglicanism. The "Yeamanser" were not as I was told the "noble, naïve children of the forest." And the chieftains were not "kings." Most importantly, unlike English monarchs, these leaders could not force or "command" their people to accept Christianity.[235] Needless to say, when Thomas was offered the

[235] Fraser, *Charlton*, 15-19; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 150; Sainsbury, *Letters*, 222-*224;* Sainsbury, "Documents," 39-54; St. Julien Ravenel Childs, *Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country, 1526-1696* (Baltimore, 1940). The *Remonstrance* and the Thomas *Memorial* were not dated. It is believed that both were written between March of 1703 and May of 1705. In the SPG committee extracts the *Remonstrance* was reviewed by the SPG committee on May 17, 1706 and June 21, 1706.

single comfort of living away from the bedlam of the Charles Towne fortress, the schoolmaster said yes! In fact, the move away from garrison life proved to be a remedy for Thomas' melancholy.

Within this thinly settled region, some historians might question Thomas' seemingly unwise decision to move further from the fortress into the frontier interior where scattered homes lined the Cooper River and its two branches. As of 1704, however, the fort area was not the Carolina's only political hub. As a matter of fact, the first sign of this rough borough developing into a political center was not recorded until around 1700. At this time, a few town lots were purchased. The lots were acquired by a few "topping men" who frequented the fort to attend to business or to serve in the Commons House of Assembly.[236]

Likewise, for the first time since its founding, a few self-assured leaders took time to stand aside and envision the development of a city on this disease ridden and uninviting spot. In anticipation of the celebrity of Charles Towne, these hopefuls laid out in the European tradition well-planned streets, avenues that were essential yet attractive. As a matter of course therefore when another sign of civilization, a Protestant school, was considered, leaders looked to the British parish school tradition. More specifically, they looked to the Church of England. The establishment of an Anglican parish school in Charles Towne, however, lay years down the road (1723).[237]

Despite indications of a community on the rise, no schools were noted in the South Carolina historical record as of May of 1704. Of course, it must be remembered that only a few months earlier a small number of Carolinians had found time to show interest in what historians labeled serious intellectual activity. This endeavor included scholarly pursuits like an interest in science. In the area of botany, a few colonials developed a keen interest in Carolina's plant life and corresponded with the Royal Society of London. In fact, neighbors and future church act

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[236] Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 150; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 119.

[237] Wallace, *Short History*, 28, 81; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 61; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 133; Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 150-151.

antagonists, Sir Johnson and Nairne, worked together to report their findings on lowcountry plant life to the Royal Society of London.[238]

Regarding books or libraries, the Society for the Propagation of Common Knowledge (SPCK) sent books to Charles Towne in 1702. So important was this event that it was recorded in the *Commons House Journals*. Following "ye Debate of Regulating ye Indian Trade" was recorded in the *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina* for January of 1702 that "ye Rev. Dr. Bray hath Sent Sundry Bookes as a further addition to the Publick Library, Together with additionall Bookes for a Lay mans Library." The 225 volumes, many stamped with gilt letters, were reserved for use of the clergy only.[239]

These few signs of intellectual growth within Charles Towne, however, were overshadowed by the raw frontier environment. Life in early eighteenth century Carolina proved treacherous on so many levels. Earthquakes, hurricanes, devastating fires, warfare, and disease killed colonials in large numbers. Nevertheless, as the eighteenth century had dawned it was another issue which emerged as the premier focus for concern, the immorality epidemic. In hope of a crack down on reports of decadence throughout the North American colonies, a few colonials contracted with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in its war on colonial immorality. The American membership list included Mr. Bridges, the surveyor general of all the king's woods on the continent of America. The Carolina contributors to the Society included Colonel Robert Quarry, Mr. Trott, attorney general, and local merchants like

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[238] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 58-59; "Early Letters from South Carolina upon Natural History," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 21 (1920), 3-90, 50-51; Marion B. Smith, "South Carolina and The Gentleman's Magazine," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 95 (April 1994), 102-129.

[239] *Journals of the S. C. Commons House*, 9; Pennington, "The Beginnings," 159-187; Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 29-30.

Lewis Morris and Caleb Heathcote. Among the signatures on the SPG Charter, colonial governors Francis Nicholson of Virginia and Sir Johnson are noted as well.[240]

As Carolina evolved, the local churches held responsibility for improving frontier values. In fact, several Protestant congregations subsisted inside the walls of the garrison - the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Anabaptists, and Quakers. Regarding Carolina's 1701 Protestant community, however, neither the Congregationalists nor the Anglicans dominated the other sects as in New England and Virginia. In fact, when the SPG launched its 1701 reestablishment campaign, throughout Carolina only three struggling Anglican groups gathered intermittently to worship. Of the three, only the St. Philip's Church worshippers gathered inside a structure and within a protected environment.[241]

When Thomas arrived, he was one of only three Anglican clerics in the colony. He wrote that a "Mr. Edward Marsdon (sic) and a Mr. (Atkin) Williams" supported the 8,180 people. In fact, before the SPG strike on immorality took hold, only three Anglican ministers had dared risk life and limb on the Carolina frontier. Appointed by the proprietors but selected by Rev. Dr. Bray, in 1698 the Rev. Samuel Marshall was commissioned to be given "such a Settlement as may make him easy." He chose to minister at St. Philip's Church. He died just months later. Despite the known dangers of life in the fortress, when Rev. Edward Marston arrived in 1699 he refused to follow proprietary orders to establish a church high up on the Cooper River. Instead, he

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[240] Fraser, *Charlton*, 16-19; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 31, 38, 81, 83, 95, 136-153; Childs, *Malaria*, 255.

[241] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 21-22, 28-36; Cross, *Historic Ramblins*, 139; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 69; Sainsbury, *Letters*, 283; A. S. Thomas, *Church of South Carolina*, 223; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 38. Evarts B. Greene, "The Anglican Outlook," 33; Pennington, "The SPG Anniversary," 455-458. The 1703 population total is from Edgar's history (4,080 white and 4,100 black).

remained in the fortress. In January of 1700, without permission Marston took over Marshall's position at St. Philip's Anglican Church.[242]

Consequently, prior to the SPG attack on wickedness, the practicality of maintaining a school for the first of the Carolina-born generation had not yet been a serious consideration for several reasons. The wide spread settlement pattern and the low population numbers, for instance, proved to be obstacles to the growth and maintenance of institutions like the church. Moreover, next to other more immediate concerns associated with frontier life, the first being survival itself, for most colonials the creation of schools or the formal instruction of children seemed superfluous. At this point in time, for instance, a few felt that the shipment of the small SPCK library was a waste of energy. The St. Philip's minister offered his impression of the attitude of the locals toward learning: "The generality of the people here are more mindful of getting money and their worldly affairs," remarked Edward Marston, "than they are of Books and Learning."[243]

Among the North American communities, Carolina's settlement pattern had always proved distinct. Despite the wishes of the proprietors, for example, the first colonists disregarded proprietary orders to live in neatly laid out townships as in England.[244] Instead, in their search for the richest bottom land, the colonials scattered along the river banks as far as they dared along the unprotected Carolina borders. At this point in time, the colonials traveled onto this frontier by accessing three rivers which stretched from the fortress to the Ashley, the Cooper, and the Wando.

When Thomas arrived, all the rivers bustled with traffic, yet it was the eastern branch of the Cooper River which ascended deepest into the North American frontier. At Charles Towne, the stem of the Cooper River was referred to as the neck and the outline of the river as "T" shaped. From its

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[242] Cross, *Historic Ramblins*, 139; Edgar, *Carolina: A History*, 69; Sainsbury, *Letters*, 283; A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina*, 223, 256; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 19, 21, 25, 91.

[243] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 25.

[244] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 85.

Charles Towne baseline, the neck of the Cooper "T" stretched 40 miles northward. As of 1701, one of the most populated settlements existed on this narrow but navigable stem. On old maps, a few miles up the neck, just past the Oakgrove and Palmettos plantations, to the left a thin snake-like line twisted westward; this is the Goose Creek. After entering the creek, a canoe traveled this stream past fortified Yeaman's Hall (1677), the home of Col. James Moore, and Otranto (1678), home of Ralph Izard.[245]

Returning to the stem, the neck continued for several miles upward where it topped or split to form the "T" form. At this fork, a larger branch leaned toward the west and the other toward the east. The second largest community of farms and plantations existed along the eastern branch of the Cooper. On the 1842 plantation map, Middleburg plantation (1697) and Hyde Park (1683) dotted the eastern riverbank entrance. To reach Silk Hope (1683), a canoe bypassed these homes and a few others. On the right, above Quenby Hall, a narrow stream flowed off the eastern branch. Quenby Creek separated Quenby Hall land from the next plantation, Silk Hope. Thomas' new abode rested on of this fork of the Cooper. From Silk Hope, the eastern branch entered the large Cypress Barony (1683). This land grant was first held by proprietor Sir Colleton. Over the decades, the Cypress Barony land split again and again, eventually forming plantations called Kensington, Limerick, and Windsor. As of 1703, however, when Thomas arrived at Silk Hope, the Cypress Barony land was only recently occupied. From this spot the eastern branch flowed into Carolina's primordial forest.[246]
[Map: Irving]

By 1704, the two largest settlements, the Goose Creek settlement and the eastern branch settlement, existed in what was considered the relatively safe Berkeley County environ.

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[245] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 85; Irving, *A Day*, 3-5, 15, 25, 105-106, 125, 173, 181; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 29, 169; Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 98-102; Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 93; Dalcho, 248. Dalcho wrote that the St. James Goose Creek community number 1,000 around 1707

[246] Irving, *A Day*, 3-5, 15, 105-106, 125, 173, 181; Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 97-102.

Nevertheless, the classification, relatively safe, requires further narrative. On the Goose Creek, for instance, Yeamans Hall served as a garrison early on and during the ferocious 1715 Yamasee war. On the eastern branch, three of the sites, Mulberry, Wantoot, and Skinkings, were fortified. And even ten years after Thomas' arrival to the eastern branch, when Mulberry plantation (1714) was constructed, Thomas Broughton required a fortified structure as well. In other words, for several decades to come, survival continued to require all the energy of every Carolina colonial, whether living in Berkeley County or the two other counties. The one difference, Colleton County and Craven County encircled Berkeley so these Colleton and Craven residents existed not just on the extreme edge but the extremes of the highly volatile frontier.[247] [MAP: Counties]

When one comes right down to it, aside from the religious and political struggles Thomas' endeavor to establish a parish school program encountered, the geographical vulnerability of this North American region was equally daunting. Despite the dangers of life on the colonial border therefore the first Carolina parish school opened not inside the fortress but in 1703 on the eastern branch. That same year, near the Silk Hope plantation, the Pompion Hill Anglican Church (1703) was constructed. In other words, the first parish school may have developed in the slightly less volatile Berkeley area, yet this area was not without its hazards.

In fact, as Thomas' students recited the Anglican catechism at Silk Hope, the eastern branch parish school was surrounded by enemies. Of course, in 1704 to the west of Colleton, a friendship, though volatile, existed with the nearby Yamasee. To the north, the Catawba remained fierce enemies of England. Their supremacy was accomplished by continually adjusting to the European onslaught. The Catawba, for example, took in refugees or members of smaller tribes like the Sugaree who escaped white encroachment. Further north, the Tuscaroras were ferocious enemies of all

[247] Irving, *A Day*, 25, 125, 157-161, 171, 181; Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 43, 117; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism* , 111; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 158-161; William L. Ramsey, "'Something Cloudy in Their Looks'" The Origins of the Yamasee War Reconsidered," *The Journal of American History* June <http://www.history cooperative.org/cgi-bin/justtop.cgi?act=justop&url=http://www.history cooperative.org/journal (30 Jan. 2010).

English. Add to these threats the fact that the French were making inroads into the region from the west. And to the south, the Spanish stood alert and awaited for any opportunity to purge the province of the English.[248]

In the end, however, Thomas' move to Silk Hope appears reasonable on certain levels. The relatively safety of Berkeley county must have prevailed over his other alternatives. The number of inhabitants on the eastern branch made this place suitable for church growth. In fact, Berkeley was ripe for an immediate increase in Anglican church membership since several French Huguenot families lived along the eastern banks. In the recent past, because of the governor's generosity toward this particular group of nonconformists, the establishment of a cohesive congregation of conformists and nonconformists proved possible. Moreover, Silk Hope's location made life at Silk Hope prudent on another level as well.[249] [Map: Parishes, Heitzler, 35]

Soon after his arrival, Thomas wrote the Society secretary, Rev. Dr. Woodward, of his residence in this minor political hub.

> God's good providence has already placed me in the most advantageous post for publick service that I can be in, in having the countenance of the Governor who is a good man and in high esteem among the People. My settlement upon this River is most earnestly and daily desired, and here is as absolute a necessity of a Minister as in any part of the world.[250]

It was true that the governor's prestige and rice experiments drew important visitors to this spot. Regarding these travelers, after his visit to Maryland and Carolina, Rev. Dr. Bray referred to Carolina in a sermon. In an SPG promotional sermon, Rev. Dr. Bray compared his witnessed increase in

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[248] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 28-30, 74, 87, 111; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 15, 74, 102-103; Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 236-238.

[249] A. S. Thomas, *Church of South Carolina*, 226. This area will be named the St. Thomas Parish and the St. Denis Parish.

[250] January 29, 1703, Carolina, To the Rev. Dr. Woodward, Minister of Poplar near London, *Letters*, SCHGM, 225.

colonial immorality to the increase of the Carolina rice fields. In his view, the "escalation of immorality" matched the brisk "growth" of what would be Carolina's first staple crop, "rice."[251]

The Lowcountry Census, 1703-1705

During his first year in office, Sir Johnson's management of domestic issues was hindered by external affairs, one survival crisis after another. First, there was the topic of his own health, a physical setback that stopped him from assuming the position for months. It was not until March of 1703 that he took control of the government. Next, just months after the failed 1701 St. Augustine war, the subduing of the "Apalatchees" took precedence over all external issues. Regarding the military aspect of this war, however, Sir Johnson took a back seat. Despite Col. Moore's failed expedition against the Spanish in 1701, Sir Johnson selected Moore to route the Apalachees. Sir Johnson remained on the home front to guard Carolina's borders. Hence, as Col. Moore and the colonial militia, including the Yamasses and armed slaves, routed the Apalachees, the governor found the time to formulate a plan to end the enduring conformist versus nonconformist squabbles.[252]

From March of 1703 through the summer of 1705, from the Silk Hope study, Thomas wrote letters that offered only a few details regarding his students or his teaching regime. Instead, his letters defended his abandonment of the Yamasee mission and debated the delayed payment of his salary. Then again, Thomas compiled two other documents which opened the door to a better understanding of his role in the passage of the 1704 Establishment Act. The first was labeled the Thomas *Memorial*. This manuscript contained a document now referred to as

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[251] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 20-21; Irving, *A Day*, 154; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 30, 77; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 30; Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 1; A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina*, 225-227; Daniel B. Smith, *Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 105-125; Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 6-7, 195-200.

[252] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 87; Oldmixion, 418; Dalcho, 34.

the *Census* (1703-1705). This *Census* depicted the status of each lowcountry settlement as it existed when the British parish school took root in North American colonies (see appendix). Only the portions of the *Census* describing the two most populous areas will be presented here in detail. It is these two areas where the first two parish schools, the eastern branch school at Silk Hope (1703) and the St. James Goose Creek parish school (1706), took root.[253]

The *Census* offered information regarding the standing of the Anglican church among the majority nonconformists in the lowcountry. Moreover, it appears that this document calculated the possibility of an Anglican resurgence in Carolina. Thomas, for instance, numbered every conformist and nonconformist. He counted the number of likely converts to the Anglican church. He attested to the attendance at his church services. And even if no Anglican church or Anglicans existed within a settlement, Thomas formulated an opinion regarding the attitude of these settlers toward Anglican dominance. He numbered the slaves in each area as well, noting their ability to read and their willingness to accept Anglicanism. On the other hand, Thomas never recognized the presence of two Indian towns on the Goose Creek. In fact, the Indians had "Mixt with ye English" at the Etiwan and Sewee towns where Thomas visited often. And only once did he note the presence of Indian slaves in the homes of the white settlers.[254]

Not long after Thomas' arrival to the eastern branch, his travels began. First, there is his remark that "the great distance from some of my people necessitated" the purchase of a horse. As was the custom, however, when travel to a settlement on horseback proved impossible, the schoolmaster resorted to the rivers and streams. It is likely that an Indian guide actually paddled Thomas' canoe up and down the Cooper River neck and its two arteries. No doubt, therefore,

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[253] Sainsbury, *Letters*, 221; A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina*, 219-257; January 29 1702(3), Carolina, To the Rev. Dr. Woodward, Minister of Poplar near London, *Letters, SCHGM,* 25.

[254] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 71; Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 26, 22-30, 31; A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina*, 248.

Thomas and his boatman left from the Silk Hope boat tie-down on Quenby Creek. This way Thomas easily moved down the eastern fork to the neck. The neck led straight to the Charles Towne garrison. Thomas recorded only one visit to the fortress. In fact, regarding the Charles Towne settlement, he suspended other comments regarding the people living inside the fortress.[255]

> The first and chief Parish in South Carolina is Charles Towne which is a large Parish and hath a very honourable maintenance for the Minister, but it being at present under the pastoral care of Mr. Marston who hath been there for five years, I forbear to say anything of its inhabitants or their sentiments, as to religion.[256]

It is important to notice the Thomas identified the fortress and the other sites as a parishe, though at this date he gave none of the parishes a name. Moreover, Thomas avoided a discussion of Charles Towne for several reasons. The numbers of nonconformists living inside the fortress and the rise of negativity regarding the Anglican church caused concern. His tone therefore is suggestive of the ongoing disagreement between the governor and the St. Philip's cleric. The Rev. Edward Marston did not support Anglican church resurgence efforts. In fact, he wrote letters to the Society complaining of the tight relationship between the governor and Thomas.[257]

In contrast to his infrequent visits to Charles Towne, Thomas traveled up the western fork quite often. On this branch, the disposition of the people proved positive. From the first, these

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[255] March 10, 1703, Silk Hope, To the Rev. Dr. Woodward &c. at Poplar, *Letters, SCHGM,* 278; Heitzer, *Goose Creek*, 43. It is possible that the *Census* was written prior to or after the passage of the 1704 Establishment Act. Thomas called each settlement a parish in his *Census* yet he did not label them according to the names distributed in the 1704 Establishment Act. For example, he called the Goose Creek settlement "the parish of Goose Creek" but did not designate it St. James Goose Creek.

[256] Sainsbury, "Documents," 32.

[257] Sainsbury, "Documents," 32.

people zealously supported a church institution. Thomas held services in the "Planters houses or in the summer under some green tree in some airy place" at settlements called Watboe and Wampee. When Thomas left Carolina in 1705, the people were constructing the first church building on the western branch.[258]

Of all the settlements the schoolmaster visited, the most exhaustive report was delivered on the people living at the St. James, Goose Creek settlement.[259] Thomas wrote that the Goose Creek is "one of the most populous of our Country Parishes containing (as near as I can guess) about 120 families." Thomas explained that at this place "persons of considerable note for figure and Estate in the Country and many of which are concerned in the Government as Members of the Council and Assembly" are found. "Most of these Inhabitants are of the profession of the Church of England, excepting about five families of French Protestants who are Calvinists and 3. Families of Presbyterians and two Anabaptists."[260]

During the thirty or so months Thomas lived in Carolina, at Goose Creek he "constantly" or "once a quarter" "administered the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper." He numbered "Communicants" at "about 30. of which one was a Christian Negro man." Regarding the people, he calculated that the "number of Heathen Slaves in this Parish I suppose to be about 200. twenty of which I observe to come constantly to church…" He recorded as well that "several others of them well understand the English tongue and can read."[261]

In 1703, there were four groups of French Huguenots living in the lowcountry. Small numbers had settled at Goose Creek, Charles Towne, the Santee River, and Orange Quarter. In 1685,

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[258] Sainsbury, "Documents," 32.

[259] Sainsbury, "Documents," 31.

[260] Sainsbury, "Documents," 31-32.

[261] Sainsbury, "Documents," 31-32.

the Huguenot Church at Goose Creek was the oldest church building outside Charles Towne. Many of the grants issued to these Huguenots dated back to 1680. In 1699, however, three years before the arrival of Thomas, only 31 Huguenots remained on the Huguenot church roll. Thomas noted only five French Huguenots, all Calvinists, remained by 1703 The early arrival of the French Huguenots to this site meant that over the years intermarriage with Anglicans melted the religious divide somewhat. Therefore, as for the remaining Huguenot families at this site, theirs would be the easiest transfer into Thomas' arms and thus the Church of England.[262]

Historically, within Carolina's nonconformist ranks, the French Huguenots were the outcasts. The ongoing hostility toward these settlers was connected to the frequent wars between the England and France and the entrance of a new flood of French traders to the west of Charles Towne. The Anglicans, however, had protected the Carolina Huguenots from nonconformist abuse on several occasions. The Goose Creek Anglicans stepped in stop the nonconformists during an attack on the French Huguenots in 1692 and 1697 when nonconformists attempted to exclude the French Huguenots from the Commons House of Assembly.[263]

Just prior to the presentation of the church establishment decree to the Commons House of Assembly, the governor and the Anglican Church Party once again stepped in to protect the French Huguenots. In 1703, in the midst of the controversy over Col. Moore's appointment, the nonconformist leader, John Ash, attempted to disenfranchise the French Huguenots. As a result, on the verge of Anglican reestablishment, the Anglicans drew consistent support from all the French Huguenot quarters. Take into account that "Wherever the French Huguenots settled, prior to the Church Act of 1706, they established their own worship and built their own meeting houses." Of the several known French Huguenot settlements, Huguenot absorption into the Anglican church at Goose

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[262] Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 7, 181-182; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 42; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 26.

[263] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 51.

Creek was complete by 1702. For example, today, only granite cross marks the site of the 1696 French Huguenot structure. Outside Goose Creek, the Anglicans received support from French Huguenots living in Charles Towne, the Santee, Orange Quarter, and St. John's Berkeley as well. The French Huguenots therefore were important to the Anglican resurgence since one of every six men was designated a French Huguenot at this time.[264]

As a result of Anglican intervention, by 1706 the Huguenot Church at Goose Creek stood abandoned. On the other hand, a new wooden structure housed a growing Anglican congregation. In other words, the growth continued at Goose Creek for several decades to come and explained the establishment of a school at this site by 1706. In fact, in the aftermath of the resurgence, under the leadership of the second SPG schoolmaster, the wooden church structure was replaced by a brick structure (1714). In 1706, the wooden structure marked the third Anglican church outside Charles Towne fortress. The 1714 brick structure still stands today. When Thomas ministered at the church in 1703, the Anglican communicants numbered only 70 white and eight slaves.[265]

Despite Thomas' enthusiasm for the Goose Creek settlement, he explained his move to the eastern branch with, "I am appointed by Sir Johnson our Governor to take care of the Inhabitants of Cooper River." Thomas officiated on the eastern branch of the Cooper River on three of the four Sundays of each month. He numbered the families around 100, 80 of which professed Anglicanism.[266] Therefore, as he had on the Goose Creek, Thomas easily brought forth a dedicated gathering on the eastern fork. He reported that 100 "constantly" attended his services. What makes the eastern congregation somewhat different from the Goose Creek was that at Silk Hope Thomas

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[264] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 16-28; Hirsch, *The Huguenots*, 14, 47, 67,

[265] Heitzler, *Goose Creek,* 181-184; Wallace, *Short History*, 67; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 26. Eventually, two Anglican churches stood inside the designated St. James Parish, the name St. James, Goose Creek Anglican Church and St. James, Santee Anglican Church differentiated the two churches.

[266] Sainsbury, "Documents," *32-33,* 43.

reached out to a new group of converts, Sir Johnson's slaves. Thomas numbered the slaves at 200. He wrote that "by my encouragement" 20 of these slaves now read.[267]

Thomas' dangerous and difficult trips up and down the Cooper River were not therefore without motive. Once the 1704 church establishment act was passed, the three counties which Thomas traversed were divided up into parishes. Several were named in honor of Anglican parishes established on the island of Barbados. With Sir Johnson's Barbadian knowledge of these particular parish names, it is again quite possible that Thomas' overview of the settlements contributed to the specific parish demarcation. Likewise, regarding the forthcoming presentation of the church decree to the assembly in May of 1704, it is probable that Thomas, *Census* steered the governor away from the required fair-minded course of action required within a representative assembly. What is known is that later on, when Thomas stood before the Society to answer all the accusations made against him, as part of his *Memorial*, the *Census* proved valuable to his successful defense.[268]

Overnight, it appeared too many that the people living along the Goose Creek and eastern branch of the Copper River had turned into zealots for episcopacy. Thomas' days were filled with preparing sermons, catechizing the young, teaching the ABC's, charting the path for Anglican establishment, and answering accusations. Thomas' presence at Silk Hope brought numerous

[267] Sainsbury, "Documents," 32-35; Irving, *A Day*, 3, 159; Cross, *Historic Ramblins*, 134-136. When the parishes were established this area was known as St. Thomas Parish. The people at Goose Creek had access to ministers prior to the arrival of Samuel Thomas. The Huguenot church had one or two ministers who served sporadically and around 1700 Robert Stevens was sometimes introduced as the Rev. Stevens in papers. This may explain why a few slaves could read at this site before Thomas' arrival. Edward Marston refused to go to the eastern branch. As a result, there is no record of any minister on the eastern branch before the arrival of Thomas and it is only under the heading of the eastern branch that Thomas took credit for teaching slaves. The practice was highly opposed by colonials at this time in Carolina history.

[268] Sainsbury, "Documents," 32-35; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 89 and *Appendix Map*; Irving, *A Day*, 3, 159.

visitors, men who stood for or against establishment. These visitors included Indian and trade expert Captain Nairne and Robert Stevens of Goose Creek.[269]

As Anglicans, Nairne and Stevens arrived early on to welcome the schoolmaster to the settlement. In fact, Stevens wrote to the Society in October of 1703 to thank the Society for "Mr. Thomas' arrival." At this time, Stevens spoke of the "very good character" of Thomas. As staunch Anglicans, both men favored the Church of England establishment. In fact, as Indian negotiator, Nairne had encouraged Stevens to write the first letter to the Society requesting a schoolmaster. It is likely that both men had discussed the need for religious training for the Yamasee with the governor.[270]

The Lords of Trade and Plantations had promoted the conversion of Indians since 1700. As an Indian negotiator, Capt. Nairne desired that the schoolmaster live among and teach Christianity to the Yamasee at Pocotaligo, an Indian town near his home on the western Carolina line. Nairne agreed with the Lords that "Improving the Interests of England" could be made possible through "Propagation of the Reformed Religion." It was believed by the Lords and Nairne that over time Spain had developed a strong loyalty with several Indian tribes. Indians schooled in Catholic Missions, for example, supported Spain against the English intrusion. Nairne hoped to counter the Indian allegiance to Spain with a program which promoted allegiance to England through the Protestant church. For Nairne, Thomas was sent to Carolina to serve as an instrument in this program. Nairne would not forgive Thomas for dodging his assigned duty.[271]

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[269] Sainsbury, *Letters*, 23-24; Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle*, 5.

[270] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 20; Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 62, 163; Sainsbury, "Documents," 23-24; Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle*, 4-5, 8-9; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 38, 99-102.

[271] October 15, 1703, Sainsbury, "Documents," 23; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 38, 99-102; Joseph I. Waring, *St. James' Church, Goose Creek, S.C., A Sketch of the Parish from 1706 to 1909* (Charleston, 1911), 8, 16; Helen Tanner, *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River* (Jackson Miss., & London: University Press of Mississippi, 1988).

The First School

"When I left the Province, I got a school erected in my Parish for the education of youth and maintained five poor children there upon charity and had procured a fund to pay for their learning for one whole year," Thomas wrote. Once the Yamasee mission was set aside, the governor asked Thomas to act as family Chaplain and establish a school at Silk Hope. Thomas' first students, therefore, were numbered before the schoolmaster made his first canoe trip up the eastern branch. With the many negative receptions Thomas experienced during his voyage to the colonies and then the noticeable swelling of bad feelings between conformist and nonconformists in the fortress, however, Thomas could not have envisioned that the eastern branch people eagerly awaited the establishment an Anglican church.[272]

The governor, however, had few doubts about the possibility of church growth on the eastern branch. In the weeks to come, during one of the many canoe trips up and down the eastern branch, the governor pointed out to Thomas, just past Middleburg plantation, the former "Ponkin Hill" plantation, a site distinguished by a few graves. In the months to come, at the Pompion Hill site Thomas oversaw the preparation of the cypress wood church which housed a congregation of "80 professed Anglicans and 19 dissenters" by the end of his first year. In the *Remonstrance*, he wrote of his time on the eastern branch: "Here is one church already erected (since my arrival) by the peculiar direction and religious care of Sir Johnson and at the charge of the Parish." In 1763, a brick structure replaced Thomas' wooden building. The new church with its English chancel still stands today. In 1703, however, when Thomas arrived no Anglican church building existed outside Charles Towne and no school existed anywhere in Carolina. Before December of 1703 drew to a close, as the

[272] *Remonstrance*, "Documents," 46; Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 3; W.P.A. Federal Writer's Project. Palmetto Place Names (Columbia, S. C., 1941), 120, 147; Irving, *A Day*, 157; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 56, 109-111, 115.

governor had anticipated, however, the first parish school and the first Anglican structure outside Charles Towne stood near the old "Ponkin Hill" gravesite on the eastern branch (1703).[273]

The schooling on the eastern branch was rudimentary, yet it was orchestrated from the London base of the SPG. Just a few years earlier, Rev. Dr. Bray set the North American parish school agenda within his "*Praxis* for rural deaneries." While living in Maryland, Rev. Dr. Bray summoned all the clergy in the Province to Annapolis for a "Visitation." Showing his "vision and optimism," he laid down for the Maryland clergy "a strict program" emphasizing "catechizing, preaching, and private ministerial instruction." The training was rigorous. "For three days seventeen clergy were instructed in pastoral duties, foremost being how to catechize the young."[274]

During his examination of the Maryland clergy, Rev. Dr. Bray made clear their duties as schoolmasters in every area of life. In the church service, each SPG representative was to use certain themes in Sunday sermons. For example, they were to talk on baptism and the reasons for godparents. In the community, Rev. Dr. Bray advocated that the Vestries act as "Religious Societies" in the suppression of evil conduct. In the assembly, the King's Proclamation for establishment was to be read and sermons on the "duties of Magistrates, and against Prophaneness and Immorality" were required. At the end of the three day discourse, Rev. Dr. Bray gave each Maryland attendee a *Tabula prima Parochialium Inquirendorum* or Parochial Return. The clerics were to go home to their settlements and fill in details regarding every family in the parish.[275]

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[273] *Remonstrance*, "Documents," 46; Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 423; Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 3; W.P.A. Federal Writer's Project. *Palmetto Place Names* (Columbia, S.C., 1941), 120, 147; Irving, *A Day*, 157; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 109-111, 56, 115.

[274] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 23, 52-53.

[275] Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 23, 52-53; McCulloch, "Dr. Thomas Bray," 26-27.

In order to set up of what was designated the "proper sort of school," there is little doubt that Thomas followed Rev. Dr. Bray's suggested dictates closely. Like the Maryland clerics, Thomas was offered a supply of books for his "own equipment in teaching." Some of these books were designated for distribution to the people. Inside Thomas' parish school, the children were to be catechized in three grades. By the time a child entered the third grade or the oldest group (over thirteen), the child was considered for communion. Over time, these students were to "read and discuss the *Short Discourse in the Covenant of Grace*, to learn to sing the Psalms, and so to give leadership in worship." Once teens entered the leadership position, SPG training provided for the community "servants capable to sing Psalms after the New Version, and best Tunes, to officiate as Clerks of Parishes, and such as can write." At this point, the pupils were admitted to Communion, and the Sacrament celebrated monthly."[276]

In the future, supervision of the Carolina parish church fell to the hands of a cleric, a catechist, and a schoolmaster. For Thomas, however, these duties overlapped. Nevertheless, within the parish school system, a schoolmaster's predominant task was to teach children the three R's along with religious and social conformity. In Rev. Dr. Bray's parish school agenda, methods included the Bible as primer. The program included instructing the male students in reading, writing, and rudimentary arithmetic. Females were instructed in reading and domestic arts. Later on, young males might move from the parish school to enrollment in a Latin school and then toward advanced schooling.[277]

Of course, at the very least Thomas acted as *ex officio* catechist, for the catechism requirement was primary. Parish school children were to be drilled in the catechism. In wealthier

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[276] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 217-218; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 95, 203; Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 51-52; McCullock, "Dr. Thomas Bray," 26. Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in Engla*nd, c. 1530-1740 (Oxford, 1996), 233-235.

[277] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 104; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 32; Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 217; Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 52; Lyon G. Tyler, "Education," 4-5; Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 34-40.

homes like Silk Hope, books of sermons and other religious treatises were possibly available for reference and memorization in the study. The children memorized the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. They received training in virtuous habits. The importance of catechizing the young is noted in the fact that the catechist ranked above the schoolmaster. This is made clear in the pay scale, for catechists received higher pay than the schoolmaster.[278]

Of course, for the Carolina parent, it was the Anglican baptismal vow which obligated a parent to school the child. First and foremost, the father and mother were to participate in the baptism of the child. Next, parents made sure that the child's name was entered in the local church register. The church registration of the infant was not just fundamental. The registration required that the parent make a payment to the church.

Regardless of the perils, schoolmasters were told to traverse the colonial frontier in search of communicants. The SPG required schoolmasters to seek out children under the age of nine. Schoolmasters were to "persuade the Parents of those that are not at too great a distance from church, to bring them thither to be publickly examined." They were to "take all convenient Opportunities to visit, and examine those that are at too great a distance, at their several Homes." Thomas documented that the governor had "taken" him into his family and "sometimes to all the neighbouring Plantations." The people on the eastern branch were "extremely apt to hear" him. The schoolmaster requested that the Society send over a "few Common-Prayer Books to give away to young persons" for the books would be "suitable and acceptable presents." [279]

As noted in the birth registration requirement and the forthcoming requirement that all families support the state church through taxation, nothing was free in the eighteenth century colonial world. The more affluent Carolina parents, or what one SPG schoolmaster labeled Carolina's most

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[278] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 152; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 32; Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 219.

[279] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 211, 217, 423; McCulloch, "Dr. Thomas Bray," 23; Sainsbury, *Letters*, 229.

considerable men, were the most likely to have the extra funds needed to pay for a parish schooling or search out extended guidance for their children. Yet, at the same time the economics of frontier life prohibited a rapid expansion of the parish school. Sir Johnson's requisition of the only schoolmaster is a case in point. As of 1703, Sir Johnson was one of more affluent among the Carolina settlers, yet he did not hire a tutor. He did, however, seek out or cleverly made use of the arrival of the only licensed Anglican schoolmaster.[280]

Regarding the 1703 parish school opportunity, whether or not a parent kept the vow to school the child depended upon each frontiersman's financial resources. Historian Daniel Smith argued that inside the late eighteenth century plantation house the learning experience continued to differ widely and depend heavily on family wealth. At this point in time, for the majority of Carolinians, the highly inflated lowcountry economy meant that even parish schooling was a luxury. As a result, in Carolina for decades to come, the adoption of cultural traits and social patterns remained the primary task of an extended family network. In his study of eighteenth-century Chesapeake home life, for instance, Smith argued that even later on in the eighteenth century, by the mid-1700s, family choice was strongly felt when it came to schooling in the southern colonies. Despite the introduction of the parish school in 1703 Carolina, for the majority the passing of knowledge and skills took place at home and not in a parish school.[281]

Of course, the in-home instruction took many forms and shapes. Regarding the Carolina economy, the economic situation changed somewhat around the 1730s but the economy did not improve greatly until the mid-1750s. During Carolina's early colonial period therefore the cost of

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[280] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 217-218; Barry Reay, *Popular Cultures in England, 1550-1750* (London and New York, 1998), 71-100; Norman Sykes, *Church and State in the XVIIIth Century*, Birkbeck Lectures in Ecclesiastical History (Cambridge, 1934), 257.

[281] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 217-218; Sainsbury, *Letters*, 228; Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 150; Smith, "South Carolina," 61-65, 88-108, 293-294; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 193-195.

the parish school meant more often than not that what was called a proper schooling ranked second to acculturation. And this was especially true for the era under study (1700-1730).[282]

As the eighteenth century opened, in comparison to Virginia's well-established plantations, Carolina's plantations remained rather primitive. However, even during a time of economic uncertainty, the Carolina homestead and plantation served as a small community or a self-sustaining environment. It was not unusual therefore for various types of schooling to take place within such an environment. During the time Thomas lived at the Silk Hope, for instance, the murmur of the catechism merely added to an accepted level of chaos. Outside the house, animal sounds, the clearing of woodlands, the pounding of hammers, voices from a mixture of languages, and the sound horses and carriages filled the lowcountry air. Add to these factors, on the Carolina frontier it was not unusual for every home to offer lodging of some sort. The plantation was a sociable atmosphere wherein homes were often filled with family members like Thomas Broughton, husband of Sir Johnson's daughter, Anne, and her children, and live-in guests like Thomas, and overnight travelers as well.[283]

At the Silk Hope plantation, between March of 1703 and his departure for London in June of 1705, Thomas interacted with Carolina's military and political leadership. Inside the plantation house, while the school was in session, the governor conducted business, personal and government. At other times, the Silk Hope dinner table offered Thomas and others the latest news and opinions. As a result, Thomas was privy to updates on military operations, discussions regarding ships and the treacherous coastal buccaneers, and, of course, heated discussions regarding the Commons House of Assembly and the religious divide which separated the colonials into two distinct political factions. In fact, there are indications that during the months

[282] Nelson, *A Blessed Company*, 217-218; Sainsbury, *Letters*, 228; Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 150; Smith, "South Carolina," 61-65, 88-108, 293-294; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 193-195.

[283] Smith, "South Carolina," 47-50, 59, 181-183, 196-197, 226-227.

between Thomas' arrival in March of 1703 and May of 1704, he and Sir Johnson debated not only the forthcoming conformist versus nonconformist showdown with each other but other guests including Col. Moore, James Risbee, Mr. Trott, Robert Gibbes, and John Noble. By this point, the question was not whether to push for Anglican domination. The new question was which path would be the course of least resistance when it came to the passage of the Establishment Act.[284]

It is certain that in the months leading up to the Commons House of Assembly showdown that discussion between the governor and certain visitors turned toxic. By the fall of 1703, with Sir Johnson as leader of the Anglican Church Party, the conformists had solidified their position. Rumors spread, however. The reports of a growing Anglican Church Party generated reactions from a few nonconformists. Thomas Smith, for example, noted his strong opposition to the suspected Anglican resurgence in letters to John Ash in London. In turn, Sir Johnson denounced the Smith letters, a correspondence which, according to Sir Johnson, "vilified and abus'd this Government." Sir Johnson confiscated the letters and handed them over to the Commons House for review. Smith was taken into custody on October 9, 1703.[285]

The governor then went after the man he had dubbed "the pest of the country," the Rev. Edward Marston. During the fall of 1703, Marston had quite forcefully questioned the makeup of Johnson's Church Party from the St. Philip's pulpit. Marston wrote letters to the Society questioning the character of the members of Sir Johnson's party and the true objective of the governor. Marston questioned the exploits of the SPG schoolmaster as well, noting Thomas' strong attachment to Sir Johnson while in Carolina. Misreading the designs of the evolution of

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[284] Testimonials, "Documents," 30; *Memorial*, "Documents," 34.

[285] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 23-27, 31-32.

the Anglicans, Marston, regarded as a staunch defender of the church constitution, believed that the members, acting as lawmakers, were attempting to set up a low church establishment. A low church establishment meant that the laity would hold power over the local Anglican church officials. Thus, in the days leading up to the vote for establishment, Marston's sermons delivered to congregations of conformists and nonconformists created havoc inside the fortress.[286]

In Carolina, while Marston stirred the caldron of discontent, just prior to the presentation of the Establishment Act, the governor split with two former Goose Creek associates. Captain Nairne and Robert Stevens were dubbed by Sir Johnson the "dissident Anglicans." One by one, Nairne and Stevens joined the nonconformists. Over time, both men forcefully protested through correspondence to the Society their take on the governor's questionable activities. In London, Joseph Boone, Carolina nonconformist, approached the proprietors on behalf of the Carolina nonconformists. The only support Boone received came from John Archdale, the Quaker proprietor. These two would work diligently for five years to reverse the Anglican takeover in Carolina. At one point, they engaged Daniel Defoe to publish their grievances against the proprietors along with some of Marston's sermons in *Party-Tyranny and Case of the Protestant Dissenters*.[287]

In early 1704, when so much commotion took place inside the fortress, on the eastern branch the governor stood by and merely bided his time. He waited for a greater external threat to subside, the war with Apalachees. For weeks all went silent at Silk Hope while a few positive reports on the Apalachee war made their way to the governor. At last, one report suggested that

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[286] Bolton *Southern Anglicanism*, 23, 25.

[287] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 25-27; Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 163.

Col. Moore had won the day by "nearly exterminating the Aplaches." [288] Therefore, as the winter of 1703 ended, Sir Johnson believed that a few smaller expeditions would finish off the Apalachee threat. In March of 1704, the governor and his schoolmaster gathered in the Silk Hope study to seriously ponder the odds of getting a church decree through the highly alienated Commons House of Assembly.

With Thomas' *Census* in front of him, Sir Johnson calculated. He pondered whether or not the "rejuvenated Goose Creek faction" or what was the still the minority Anglican Church Party, could impose Anglican establishment on certain members of the assembly. What is more, because of Marston's activities, the nonconformist majority stood alert. The nonconformists watched for any movement from Sir Johnson's headquarters at Silk Hope. In addition, Sir Johnson's former Anglican allies, Nairne and Stevens, stood in direct opposition to Sir Johnson's every endeavor. Despite the mounting of his enemies, however, in early April the governor formulated his one-time strike for Anglican church establishment.[289]

A Religious Coup d'état

Living on the southern battlefront for the supremacy of the Church of England, schoolmaster Thomas had warned SPG officials that Carolina swarmed with "dissenters." What is more, many of them "have always been in the Government." In a letter to the "Honble Society" Thomas explained that the goal of restoration of the Anglican church and the creation of the parish school was of "no small difficulty." In the days just prior to the political show-down, Thomas fretted, "to get an Act to pass in favour of the Church of England clergy, especially for

[288] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 44-56.

[289] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 60, 76-77, 87.

their having a public salary, which those who dissent from us violently oppose in those parts of the world," would require God's direct intervention.[290]

In the recent past, however, the governor and his Anglican church Party had prepared one entry for divine intervention. In 1692, 1697, and 1703, the Anglicans had protected one arm of the nonconformist group, the French Huguenots. Making up a large segment of the nonconformist majority, in the weeks leading up to the political showdown, the French Huguenots joined with the Anglicans to oppose the nonconformists. Thus, Sir Johnson had successfully primed the vote for reestablishment.

Nevertheless, regarding a victorious strike for establishment on the first attempt, Thomas' *Cens*us forecast a tight vote. If the governor followed the official protocol for lawmaking, the document forecast doom. The voting body held a growing number of troublesome nonconformists including Sir Johnson's former colleague, Capt. Nairne. The governor deliberated. As the calendar turned to April, the government remained in recess. The Commons House of Assembly stood adjourned until May 10, 1704. As was sometimes required, however, the governor could call for an emergency meeting of the assembly. Sir Johnson called for all the Carolina politicians, those representing the conformists and nonconformists, to appear in Charles Towne for an emergency session on April 26, 1704.[291]

Unknown to the nonconformist representatives, however, certain members of the Commons House were asked to appear early. In fact, these men gathered days earlier, on April 17. As a result, while seven members of the Commons House remained on their lowcountry farmsteads and plantations, on the morning of the seventeenth of April, inside the Commons

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[290] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 26-27; *Memorial*, "Documents," 34; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 37, 79.

[291] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 27.

House, Col. James Risbee stood. Col. Risbee read to the house, the council, and the governor a decree called the Exclusion Act.[292]

For the more effectual preservation of the government of this province, byrequiring all persons that shall hereafter be chosen members of the commons

> House of Assembly, and sit in the same, to take the oaths and subscribe the declaration appointed by this bill, and to conform to the religious worship. Of this province, According to the Church of England, and to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the said church.[293]

Immediately, the nonconformists called for the reading of the Carolina charter. Despite their attempts to halt the passage of the bill, the Exclusion Act, with only a few minor amendments, was soon walked by Risbee over to the home of William Gibbon where Sir Johnson and the council waited. Among the council members that day, Joseph Morton was the only one to stand in protest of the Exclusion Act. In reaction to his protest, the council merely denied Landgrave Morton his objection to the document. The council quickly approved the bill. The signed bill returned to the house. By the end of that day, the document displayed the signatures of Sir Johnson, Thomas Broughton, Col. James Moore, Robert Gibbes, John Noble, and Mr.Trott.[294]

In preparation for the most important decree, the Exclusion Act barred all non-Anglicans from the Commons House of Assembly. In fact, the most tyrannical clause within the decree was directed at the nonconformist majority. A nonconformist must meet one of two standards before he could sit in the Commons House. The bill required that before any man could qualify

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[292] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 25; Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 227, 463.

[293] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 218.

[294] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 218-219; Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 150.

for a seat in the house, he must swear that he conformed to the Church of England. He must vow that he took communion in the Anglican church. However, a man was acceptable if he had of late conformed to Anglicanism. If a nonconformist could not or would not meet either provision, the second name on the sheriff's return would be "entitled to the seat, or the next, and so on until the list was exhausted." If the end of the list was reached, a new writ would be issued.[295]

Consequently, on the seventeenth of April an oligarchy had supplanted Carolina's representative assembly. And now "ten men might elect a member against the vote of thousands." As he had often done before, Sir Johnson had waited patiently, calculated his strategy, and ruthlessly advanced on the enemy. Nevertheless, the battle had been won by one vote. Twelve representatives voted for and eleven against the Exclusion Act.[296]

When night fell on the seventeenth of April, the nonconformists had been dismissed from the Commons House of Assembly. Yet, this was only step one in the governor's plan for reestablishment. After years of groundwork on the part of the members of the Anglican church Party, the fresh Carolina assembly listened to the reading of a second decree, the Church of England Establishment Act. The decree read that "places of worship using the liturgy of the Church of England were the Settled and Established Churches." By law, these establishments alone received government administration and financial support.[297]

The new law required that Berkeley County be divided into five parishes. The law provided that the state construct six churches to serve as centers of parish authority. Of these, one was scheduled to be erected in Colleton County, the place where, according to Thomas' *Census*, the largest number of nonconformists lived. As a result, Anglican clerics like Samuel

[295] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 25-28, 32, 114, 154.

[296] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 218-219.

[297] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 25-32.

Thomas received certain powers in each settlement. For example, only Anglican clerics could lawfully perform Carolina marriage ceremonies. And in the future, only licensed Anglican schoolmasters could operate schools in Carolina.[298]

By the end of the day, instead of the three counties, Carolina housed five parish centers. Under the parish regulations, therefore, clerics were granted a corporate capacity as parish rectors. Under the law, a cleric was allowed a parsonage, farm lands (glebe) and yearly incomes of £50. The funding of the minister's salary was to come from new export and import taxes. Each of the six churches received £2,000 from the taxation. The vestries could raise up to £100 per year by assessing the real and personal estates of all inhabitants, Anglican and nonconformist.[299]

As word of the church law spread throughout the fortress and the countryside, protests against the Exclusion Act and the Establishment Act mounted. In the Charles Towne streets and soon in London, nonconformists cried for the repeal of the Exclusion Act and the Establishment Act. Despite the Exclusion Act, nonconformists were elected to the Commons House. Of course, when they failed to take the prescribed Anglican oath, Sir Johnson dissolved the assembly.[300]

Nevertheless, in the months that followed the coup the nonconformists reentered the government. By 1706, for example, though Sir Johnson held the seat of power, Capt. Nairne again proved to be a strong opponent to Sir Johnson's total control of the Indian trade. Thus, when Nairne talked of regulation of the trade, Sir Johnson nodded in agreement. Regarding the

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[298] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 25.

[299] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 25-26. Regarding the new law, Charles Towne, now the parish of Saint Philip's, remained under the provision of the 1698 Act.

[300] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 28; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 89, 96-99.

Anglican church and parish school program, when the church commissioners were named most were leaders of the Anglican Church Party. However, there were also a few anti-Johnson Anglicans like Nairne on the commission. In the years to come, the church commissioners retained the power to grant licenses to Anglican ministers. They assigned rectors to parishes. Of course, the congregation made the final decision on the rector by vote. Moreover, following the solidification of Anglican church as the state church, the church commissioners held sway regarding the passage of a parish school law.[301]

Of course, the 1704 law would undergo extensive scrutiny in the months to come, May of 1704 through November of 1706. In fact, the 1704 law was revised. One point that did not change in the original was the appointment of politicians as overseers of the Anglican establishment. There supervisors were dubbed church commissioners. They held specific supervisory powers over the Anglican church. In the area of government, these select administered the elections within each parish. In regard to the school history, when the first school law was passed in 1710, the church commissioners were the men responsible to see that the law was carried forth.[302]

The one clause in the 1704 law that angered the London church hierarchy and led to a major revision dealt with the disciplining of Anglican clergymen. According to the 1704 law, it was the Carolina church commissioners who would discipline incumbent Anglican clergymen. In the end, the Anglican Church hierarchy won this argument. They held to their authority to

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[301] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 28; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 89, 96-99.

[302] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 28; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 89, 96-99. The parish divisions included St. James Santee (1706); St. Thomas and St. Dennis (1706); Christ Church (1706); St. James Goose Creek (1706); St. Andrews (1706); St. Paul (1706); St. Bartholomew (1706); St. John's Berkeley (1706); St. Helena (1712); St. George Dorchester (1717); St. John's Colleton (1734); Prince William (1745); St. Peter (1747); St. Stephens (1754). St. Philip's (1704) is the upper part of the city of Charles Town and St. Michaels (1751) is the lower part of the city of Charles Town.

discipline all Anglican clerics. Another 1704 provision which produced high tension was the premise that a colonial congregation could vote on clerics sent by the bishop. In London, Lord Granville responded to this challenge by reminding the hierarchy "that ecclesiastical machinery did not exist on the other side of the ocean and that lay power was an accepted custom in America." The Carolina colonials held to their vote. Other aspects of the 1704 law caused little or no discussion. The three counties were divided into ten parishes instead of five. In most parishes, in the years to come the church commissioners supervised the establishment of schools in the parishes.[303]

As 1704 drew to an end, the Church of England stood as Carolina's state church. In response to all the turmoil associated with the church coup, however, in the late summer of 1705 Samuel Thomas found himself taking a ship back to London. From the first, Thomas had drawn forth powerful nonconformist and Anglican enemies. Soon after his arrival in Carolina, for example, the Society received letters of protest regarding his actions. First, Nairne and Robert Stevens attacked Thomas for abandonment of the Yamasee school. As a result, arriving in London in the summer of 1705, Thomas stood trial off and on before the Society and London's church leadership from September 21, 1705 through July of 1706. For months, inside London Lambeth Palace and through various documents, Thomas had presented his version of the Carolina establishment controversy. He answered every accusation made against him by his Carolina enemies including the Rev. Edward Marston. Thomas responded to Marstons' accusation that he had attempted to establish a low church mentality. In between these debates, he pleaded for the payment of his long awaited salary.[304]

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[303] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 27-29.

[304] *Remonstrance*, "Documents," 24, 27, 25-26, 28-29.

In time, it was the Crown which required that the 1704 Establishment Act be replaced by the amended 1706 Establishment Act. Nevertheless, as a result of the Carolina Anglican coup d'état, the SPG had moved one step closer toward North American religious dominance. During 1707 and 1708, however, the Crown stepped out of the Carolina argument for other concerns now dominated. In London, the Carolina question dissolved into the muddled background of colonization politics. The Carolina nonconformists, however, never forgot Sir Johnson's deceptive act on the seventeenth of April nor the part schoolmaster Thomas played in the scheme. The nonconformists had been stung. They would remember. In fact, these opponents to Anglican domination managed to stand in the way of further state church advances. They did not easily accept the control of all Carolina schooling through the licensing of only Anglican schoolmasters.[305]

Summary

In Carolina, as 1704 drew to a close the execution of the most crucial of the needed prerequisites for establishing the British parish school, the solidification of the Church of England as the state church, had been accomplished. As planned, Lord Granville's newly appointed governor, Sir Johnson, struck the Carolina nonconformists in a manner would have pleased James II. Moreover, along the stem and two branches of the Cooper River, under the cloak of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in less than three years the Rev. Samuel Thomas realized the emergence of three Anglican congregations. In fact, not only did the first Society schoolmaster witness the passage of the needed church establishment act, Thomas "got a school." Carolina's first Anglican parish school existed in the relatively safe environment along the eastern branch near Silk Hope. As Thomas prepared to leave Carolina for

[305] *Remonstrance*, "Documents," 47.

London in the summer of 1705, however, this lone parish school existed only under the protection of the broad umbrella of the 1704 church act. The last provision for the colonial schooling was missing - a separate parish school law.[306]

[306] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 79; *Remonstrance*, "Documents," 46.

CHAPTER 5

CAROLINA MUDSILL: THE PASSAGE OF CAROLINA'S 1710 EDUCATION LAW

Overview

By the summer of 1704, Carolina stood on even ground with Virginia and New England. Carolina's church and state alliance permitted the Church of England to sanction religious schools on the colonial frontier. Governor Johnson's 1704 ploy, the scheme that provided for the passage of the church law, however, brought forth disturbances. These uprisings, beginning in 1704 and lasting until 1712, produced in Carolina yet another decade of social upheaval, chaos which stopped the advance of the state church. In view of this outcome, Carolina's religious school history departed from that of Virginia and New England.

In view of this challenge, the Society representatives continued making requests to God to intervene in lawmaking matters. In order for Carolina to meet the last of the conditions for sustained frontier schooling, the passage of a school decree, at least one more act of God was required. Of course, from 1703 through 1712, the Anglican parish school was somewhat protected by the Anglican Establishment Act. However, if the church maintained its school program throughout the decades to come, a distinct school law was required. First, a school law provided for a licensing procedure which offered supervision of all Carolina schoolmasters. Second, a school law authorized the needed funding from the public treasury. A school law therefore was instrumental to Anglican domination. For that reason, despite the religious strife and wilds of the colonial existence, the first Commissary to the Bishop of London dedicated his

life to passage of a parish school decree. Consequently, in the Commons House of Assembly, Carolina's official education decree was approved in 1710. This law was followed by a revision.

Carolina's education foundation solidified in 1712 with the revision. The 1712 law, however, did not mark the end of the struggle to maintain schools on the colonial frontier. The parish school program sustained several setbacks from 1712 throughout the early 1730s. Nevertheless, the parish school remained an active part of colonial Carolina's schooling history throughout the American Revolutionary war era. Moreover, it established in Carolina a schooling history.

The Parish Schools, 1703-1730s

From London, Lord Granville ordered Governor Johnson, by ballot or other means, to expel from the legislature "all persons not members of the Anglican faction with few questions asked." Consequently, by the spring of 1704, the former Goose Creek element under the cloak of the Anglican Church Party discovered more "expedient ways and methods" to reduce the "main body of the Dissenters of all sorts to y_e Church of England." Under the direction of Lord Granville and Rev. Dr. Bray and with the assistance of schoolmaster Thomas, Gov. Johnson marched forward to strike a critical blow for the North American Anglican Church resurgence.[307]

Most historians acknowledge that the passage of the Anglican Church Establishment Act was "not for religion's sake." In fact, early on, Anglican Robert Stevens asserted in print that the "zeal for settling the church" was only "a Cloak for other designs." A past speaker of the Commons House, Stevens remained sensitive to the promises made to the nonconformists by the

[307] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 6; Wallace, *Short History*, 71; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 87; Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 206, 218-19; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 24.

proprietors. During the upheaval, Stevens explained to the SPG that the means by way the establishment act was executed "do not appear" to be "convenient, necessary or prudent."[308]

From inside St. Philip's Church, the Rev. Edward Marston offered to his congregation proof of what he called the true objective of the so-called Anglican Church Party. The cleric claimed that every member of the Commons House of Assembly who promoted the bill was "irreligious." Marston believed that their objective was to establish a low church mentality. His evidence came from the church records. He reported that 23 of the 30 legislators who favored the establishment act were "constant absentees from church." In his sermons before conformists and nonconformists alike, Marston appeared to take pleasure in promoting the facts. He told all who would listen, for instance, that 11 of the 23, those said to be the devout members of the Anglican Church Party and supporters of the state religion, had not taken communion in the St. Philip's Church during the five years of his tenure.[309]

Capt. Nairne, offered yet another reason for concern. During much of the ruckus, Nairne busied himself with Carolina's external conflicts, a campaign to break the Spanish hegemony over the Indians of Northern Florida. When Capt. Nairne returned to Carolina in 1705, his argument was not so much against the Anglican Church act as to the dangers of schoolmaster Thomas' failure to attend to the Yamasee. Nairne made it quite plain to the colonials that Thomas' rejection of the Yamasee mission jeopardized the security of the colony.[310]

During this same time, the nonconformists complained to Queen Anne through letters, petitions, and their agent, Joseph Boone. Rejected by the proprietors and with little recourse

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[308] Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 95; Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 217-219.

[309] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 23-32.

[310] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 23.

available, Boone questioned if he "might be heard by counsel." Lord Granville responded with, "What business have counsel here?" He quipped, "It is a prudential act in me, and I will do as I see fit. I see no harm at all in this bill, and I am resolved to pass it." Any hope of the proprietors offering a "remedy or relief" to the nonconformists' denial of free speech ended. The only recourse, as encouraged by John Archdale, required that Boone approach the House of Lords. In time, the Lords resolved that the "Carolina measures were at odds with reason, the Carolina charter, and English law." In fact, the attorney-general and the solicitor-general reported that this "abuse of power had forfeited the charter."[311]

To the very end, the nonconformists professed to all Londoners who would listen that they were "the soberest, most numerous, and richest people of the province." They reminded the proprietors of their loyalty to the Crown. They reminded the hierarchy of the need for tranquility in the English plantations, for peace was the precursor to profits. "We, your majesty's dutiful subjects, having thus humbly presented our opinion of these acts, beseech your majesty to use the most effectual methods to deliver" Carolina from the "arbitrary oppressions under which it now lies." As a result, two years after the passage of the Exclusion Act and Establishment Act, with "the consequence of the Plantations at stake," Queen Anne ordered that the matter of the "plantations is found in favor of her abused subjects." On the 10th of June, 1706, according to the advice of her officers, the Queen ordered that the two enactments of the Carolina assembly, the Exclusion Act and the Establishment Act, be declared null and void. As a result, in Carolina, the nonconformists were again eligible for all political offices.[312]

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[311] Wallace, *Short History*, 72; Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 221-222,453. The move to annul the Charter was dropped due to legal difficulties.

[312] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 223-225.

Without protest, the Carolina Anglicans followed Queen Anne's orders. Their acceptance signified that Johnson and the Anglican Church Party never aspired to "reproduce the authoritarian regime of the English church" in Carolina. After 1706, the cause of the unrest appeared to be attached to the governor's ruse, trickery which created lingering hostilities among the various families and within the assembly. After his arrival to Carolina, Goose Creek schoolmaster Dr. Francis Le Jau described all the unruliness in a letter to a major promoter of the SPG program, Philip Stubbs. The topic of this 1707 letter was the continued fallout associated with the passage of the Establishment Act.[313]

> I thought all the great noise they had made in Print at home was grounded upon true Zeal for the Glory of God and the public chiefly spiritual good of this Province; But I assure you it is far from it, revenge, self interest, engrossing of trade, places of any profit and things of that nature are the Mobile [*sic*] that gives a turn or rather several different Impressions of our Affairs; there has been a mixture of good and Evil in all Partys, but those who call themselves the dissenting party here are a Strange sort of People.[314]

Of the few who wrote about the disturbance, Le Jau was actually somewhat objective. This Society schoolmaster pointed his finger at everyone. Le Jau wrote that alongside the devil and his cohorts, sects, the conformists and the nonconformists were to blame. He described each sect "raising the Mob in Town" and then the resulting "beating of the other." Le Jau told Stubbs that just two months earlier, in May of 1707, yet another riot ended the peace. This riot stopped all "public business." He pointed out "a Club of 170 men" who set out to ruin the reputation of Nicholas Trott, the chief justice. The worst aspect of all the turmoil, according to Le Jau,

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[313] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 6.

[314] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 29.

centered on the actions of "the women of the town." He wrote that a few females "turned Politicians." They "have a Club" and the women meet weekly, adding, but "not without falling out among one another." Le Jau offered to "enlarge on the particulars" of these and other reports in yet another letter. Continuing with his long list of atrocities or what he termed the "Antichristian way of Living," Le Jau ended with a reference to the one culprit who received blame for the confusion from both sects: "The Accused Witch" still "in our Prisons." He closed by stating the witch's activities were obviously linked to the triumph of the "Spirit of the Devil" in the province.[315]

Commissary Gideon Johnston arrived in Carolina at the "Heighth of Insolence." With the nonconformists again eligible for public office, in the weeks following his arrival, Johnston reported to the Society that "nothing could satisfy" the nonconformists "for they want to Govern & not to be Govern'd." Efforts by Johnston to move forward and present a school decree were blocked by the resentment. It was not surprising, therefore, that as the bodily representation of the bishop of London, Johnston described his reception at the St. Philip's Church as "cool."[316]

For eight years, Commissary Johnston attempted to rescue the "Infant Church" and set up a little England. Prior to his appointment, Johnston had relied on books and traders for his impressions of Carolina. As a result, he entered the colony believing that this province flowed with milk and honey. Moreover, he believed that Carolinians were a people dedicated to the Church of England. He was soon embittered. In fact, he quipped that one day he had set out "to look for the Goodness of the Climate, the fertility of the Soil, and the plenty of all things for the life of man" as described in one book. He found none of these things. In the end, his efforts

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[315] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 25-27; Philip Stubs (Stubbs), *An Account of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London, 1704), 44; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 24.

[316] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 18.

toward school establishment proved just as exhausting as his attempts to locate these fictional places. [317]

Commissary Johnston's initial exhaustive experience occurred the very day he stepped onto a Carolina shore. Inside the fortress in early September of 1708, news of a ship wreck sent men in "Sloops and Boats, Perigoes and Canoos" up and down the waterways. The colonials were "dispatch'd to all places as it was thought" the commissary, expected days earlier, and others might have survived the wreckage. For twelve days, while on Morris Island, without "any manner of Meat and Drink, or Shelter from the Scorching heat of the Sun," Johnston, "a Merchant, and a Sailour" awaited rescue. Desperate, a sailor attempted to swim to secure help. He drowned in the effort. "We were at the last Gasp," Johnston wrote, when "in the Evening a Canoo got to us."[318]

Upon his late arrival to the St. Philip's Church, Commissary Johnston experienced yet another setback. Accustomed to electing rectors in the Presbyterian manner, the parishioners refused to accept Johnston as their rector. The contest over the St. Philip's position, however, began before Johnston's arrival. One special clause in the 1704 Church Act gave the church commissioners the needed power to remove troublesome clerics like Edward Marston. As a result of this clause, in late 1705, Marston was "deprived and turn'd out." At this same point in time, in London, the Society had selected Rev. Samuel Thomas to return to Carolina to take over the St. Philip's Church. Found not guilty of all charges made against him by Marston and others, it was Thomas who was first appointed to return to Carolina with the title of Commissary.

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[317] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 23.

[318] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 19-23, 35.

Thomas arrived on December 2, 1706. He died ten days later. Thomas' body was laid to rest in the St. Philip's graveyard.[319]

Once the news of Thomas' death reached the Society, the SPG interviewed and selected the Rev. Gideon Johnston to fill the void. Before Johnston arrived in Charles Towne to take the vacant post, however, another cleric secured the St. Philip's position by a vote of the people. Arriving on the coat tails of Edward Marston's forced departure, Richard Marsden had "ingratiated himself with a party in the church and secured by misrepresentation an election to the St. Philip's pulpit." Richard Marsden was thereafter described by Johnston as the "fugitive clergyman" who was "insinuating in manner."[320]

When it came to Commissary Johnston's goal of establishing "the old Brittanick Episcopal way of Institution &c settlement here as it is at home," the colonials continued to prove resistant. Before the congregation agreed to turn Richard Marsden out, Johnston was required to prove Marsden's trickery regarding a so-called transfer from Maryland to Carolina by church officials. As Johnston made contacts regarding Richard Marsden's papers, the St. Philip's parishioners made it clear that they would resort to the vote once more. Even if Marsden was found guilty of charges, before the congregation accepted even a bishop's appointment, the people would vote on Johnston with a yea or nay. No doubt, many of the St. Philip's parishioners openly resented Johnston's appointment. In some cases, their reasoning against the appointment was simple. The decision to appoint Johnston cleric was made "3000 miles away."[321]

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[319] A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina*, 236-237.

[320] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 147; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 77, 90; Fraser, *Charlton!*, 19; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 17-19.

[321] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 7, 17-19.

Commissary Johnston discovered that the New World attracted a multitude of scoundrels, Christian and non-Christian. He dealt with the Christian scoundrels first. In the years to come, in order to stabilize the divided Christian community, Johnston spent a great deal of time chastising clerics and Anglican schoolmasters. The disciplinary issues varied but the problems Johnston encountered ranged from the usual, suspicious prophets like Marsden seeking out temporary quarters, to the absurd. For instance, the Society was flooded with letters of complaint against Anglican Atkin Williamson, a man said to be living "under the Notion and Character of a Minister 29. Years." The charge was that Williamson had, in the name of the Anglican church, "christened a bear" in the Goose Creek.[322]

The most common discipline issue appeared to be that of men escaping debt by leaving one province and entering another as a professional yet without the proper credentials. These professed doctors, lawyers, and clerics roamed the provinces, stopping to hang up boards offering their services. Sometimes, prior charges of indecent conduct caught up with these characters, as in the case Richard Marsden, yet quite often these culprits would reappear. In fact, in March of 1708 it was reported that Richard Marsden left Charles Towne for a position in another "Town Parish." Actually it was not a town but a settlement referred to as Bermuda Town, a tiny hamlet of twenty-five acres on the Wachendaw Creek in South Carolina. Soon afterward, the colonials in this settlement complained. The complaints centered on a woman who died in the community. There was an issue regarding her property. The people charged that Rev. Marsden had taken "to his House a Woman, as a Boarder" and now held title to her property.[323]

The character issue spilled over into Johnston's attempt to establish and stabilize the Anglican school program. Without a school law, for instance, Johnston's ability to control the frontiersmen who set up schools as a means to make money proved difficult. Without approval, for

[322] Klingberg, "Charolina Chronicle," 17-19.
[323] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 32-35.

example, on Wachendaw Creek, Richard Marsden took in young boys to "teach at £10 a year." The boys soon "complained of hard Usage." After a time-consuming and thorough check on Marsden's credentials, Johnston learned that Richard Marsden was not a licensed cleric much less a licensed Anglican schoolmaster. Without a school law, licensing and supervision of schoolmasters proved problematic. In fact, though the church congregation could vote out such criminals, Johnston's hands were tied. It was difficult to discipline the so-called Anglican clerics like Williamson and schoolmasters like Richard Marsden, not to mention overseeing the nonconformist's schoolmasters entering the province.[324]

As for the numbers of non-Christians Johnston encountered, the Commissary wrote the Society that the "vilest race of Men upon the Earth" lived in Carolina, men without "honour, nor honesty nor Religion enough to entitle them to any tolerable Character." He summed up the Carolina population with, the colony holds a "perfect Medley or Hotch potch made up of Bank(r)upts, pirates, decayed Libertines, Sectaries and Enthusiasts of all sorts who have transported themselves hither from Bermudas, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Montserat, Antego, Nevia, New England, Pennsylvania & c."[325]

According to Johnston, ordering the Anglican congregations to abide by church doctrine proved difficult. In fact, many of the church discipline issues Johnston encountered were easily blamed on Samuel Thomas' tenure. In reality, therefore, the affection certain colonials had for Thomas created for Johnston a dilemma regarding church and school tenets. J ohnston admitted to the Society secretary that Thomas' flexibility made him "popular" with the colonials. Yet, Thomas, in his efforts to grow the church, had relaxed the Anglican liturgy. For example, Thomas "baptized with or without the sign of the Cross, Godfathers and godmothers." Thomas "administered the

[324] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 32-35.

[325] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 85.

Communion kneeling, sitting or with the Canons and Rubick." Therefore, upon Johnston's arrival the public proved highly demanding. In other words, according to Johnston, Thomas set a bad precedent for he leaned toward a low church standard. As a result, all the Anglican ministers that followed Thomas' path found that colonials held Thomas up as an example and thus argued for minimal adherence to certain Anglican tenets.[326]

No doubt, the commissary's fixed determination to set up a proper English village or a church and school-centered community placed before him a most difficult course. In London, prior to Johnston's arrival, the clause in the church act regarding the right of the congregation to accept or reject clerics should have signaled to all Englishmen that in the colonies an independent streak had developed in the hearts of the frontiersmen. In both church acts, the Carolinians had won the right as freeholders or taxpayers to select the rector of the parish. They could elect vestrymen as well. After his private struggle to secure his rightful placement in St. Philip's, for example, Johnston labeled this disquieting trend "the American temper." The colonists were willing to make changes, according to Johnston, yet only "in their own time and way; so that what they will not do today, tho' the thing be never so reasonable and tho' they be never so much importuned to it, tomorrow they will freely fall into and do of themselves."[327]

Johnston complained that these "people cannot be ordered but yield to explanation and persuasion" only. It was true! The Carolinians were sensitive to criticism, shortages, and other defects. However, the average Carolinian did not reject all things European. The Carolina colonial was just inclined to introduce aspects of his English homeland in his own way. For Johnston, however, the trend proved maddening. For example, he wrote that the people resented

[326] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 3-4, 30.

[327] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 3-6, 64-78; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 26, 28-30.

regimentation, even the simple requirement of signing the registry. As a result, Johnston, in his efforts to satisfy Society objectives, looked for a ploy, some device that would offset such mulish behavior within the Anglican congregation and in the community at large.[328]

"The ability to read seems to be widespread," Johnston wrote in November of 1709. His weapon for obedience to Anglican tenets, therefore, became the colonials' strong desire for books, tracts, and schooling. The evidence of this desire is overwhelming. For example, Johnston was offered money for many of the little Books or pamphlets the SPG had given him to distribute as gifts. "The people were so desirous of the books," Johnston wrote, "they had offered him money for the little booklets." As a result, in the next request for books, Johnston suggested to the Society that perhaps some of the new books, "Except for a few" to be given "gratis to the poorer sort," might be sold to the people. He added that "the People will be glad to get them at any reasonable price; provided the Books be a good Print and well bound."[329]

Another example of the desire for books was found in the saga of Thomas Bray's SPG library. Johnston reported that the "Provincial Library in this place is greatly imbezel'd." He blamed "Mr. Marston and Mr. Marsden" for the disappearance of books. Though the library had originally been set up for clergy, Johnston reported that it appeared that "every Inhabitant of this province" accessed the library. As a result, a third of the SPG books disappeared. A precious commodity indeed, Johnson took great pains to recover the missing volumes.[330]

There is more evidence of the need for reading material. Many of the colonial parents, conformist and nonconformist alike, yearned for a school for their children to learn to read.

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[328] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 32.

[329] S. C. Statutes, II, 78, 116; Lawson, *New Voyage to Carolina*, 3; Foster, *History of Education in South Carolina*, I, 3; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 42, 44. November 11, 1709, Johnston to Lord Bishop of Sarum, *SPGR*, A5, 61.

[330] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 44.

Despite the fact that the Carolina Charter designated the Church of the England as the state church, in the 1690s when the nonconformists ruled the Commons House of Assembly, two education decrees were brought before the nonconformist majority in the assembly, the first in 1694 and the second in 1696. Evidently feeling secure in their decade long rule of Carolina, the nonconformists brazenly named five commissioners who would receive gifts for educational purposes. The commissioners were to apply the money where needed. What is more, the nonconformist school commissioners could draw on the provincial treasury up to £10 annually to support a schoolmaster as well.[331]

The only nonconformist sect mentioned in regard to these two attempts at establishing religious schooling was the Congregational Church. In Charles Towne around 1690, a group of New Englanders joined with the Independents to erect a church building inside the fortress. In 1699, one report mentioned Matthew Bee as acting schoolmaster for the Congregationalist school. This school was short lived, however. Schoolmaster Bee died of yellow fever in 1699. No other mention of these two attempts or the Congregation school were found during the era under study (1700-1730).[332]

Further details in the *Commons House Journals* regarding this mid-1690s attempt offer little information on the two school decrees. No doubt, even prior to 1704, the desire for reading materials and schooling promoted competition between the two Protestant sects. In fact, since this is the same point in time in which the Anglican Church Party formulated a strategy for Anglican resurgence in Carolina, the Congregationalist attempt to establish a religious school

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[331] *S. C. Statutes*, II, 178, 116; Collections: Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, (5) VI, 12; Bridenbaugh, 285; Lawson, *New Voyage*, 3; Foster, *History of Education*, 1, 3.

[332] Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 262; Howe, *Presbyterian Church*, 126; *S. C. Historical and Gen. Magazine*, X, 137 and XXVII, 23; Townsend, *Baptists*, 9; *S. C. Statutes*, II, 236 and VII, 56. *Journals of the Commons House of South Carolina* (to 1742). At this same time, a Baptist Church (1699) and lot held by the Society of Friends (1699) was found in the records.

inside the fortress did not take place without causing anxiety in London. Rumors flew between the two realms regarding all church activities. Furthermore, it was likely no accident that the passage of the two laws coincided with Bishop Henry Compton's 1698 reemphasis on the Anglican Church in the Carolina Charter. Without question, a report of Congregationalist Church attachment to Carolina's treasury funds most certainly set off fireworks in London.[333]

This would not be the last attempt on the part of the nonconformists to develop schooling during the period under study. By 1706, the nonconformists, with Queen Anne's help, won what nonconformists considered a major battle against the Carolina Anglicans. Under the guidance of representative Joseph Boone, the Carolina nonconformists prevailed in their argument against the 1704 Exclusion Act as well as aspects of the Establishment Act. Therefore, far from all the turmoil in Carolina, in London, as of 1706 Boone felt energized. Of course, when Samuel Thomas returned to Carolina that same year, he felt ecstatic as well. Thomas entered Carolina with an approval for three more schoolmasters to follow. Thomas had selected Le Jau to head up his first school on the Cooper River, Thomas Hasell would go to the St. Thomas parish as catechist, and William Dun to St. Paul's.[334]

With all his rewards for valor on the mission field in hand, no doubtThomas had boarded a ship headed to Carolina with high spirits. That spring of 1706, however, he was soon made aware of several more passengers who were headed to Carolina. Hired by Joseph Boone, two "dissenting Ministers" traveled right alongside Thomas. Together they all prepared to sail out of Portsmouth (England), cross the Atlantic Ocean, and enter the Charles Towne tussle for religious

[333] Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 262.

[334] A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina*, 234-236.

control. Moreover, Thomas identified a third nonconformist traveler. He was "a young man" sent over "for a schoolmaster, who is a Scotch Presbyterian."[335]

Flustered, that same night, April 20, Thomas reported to the Society secretary his discovery of Boone's maneuver to reestablish the nonconformist school. Thomas declared that it was by the design of "Boon" and those "few gentlemen in Carolina who employ him" that these men traveled to Charles Towne. Boone has a design for advancing his particular "Party by the ruins of the interest of the Church of England in that Province." Thomas' long letter continued: "I have abundant reason to fear the Mr. Boon."[336]

> I must say I fear, and I believe that fear is not groundless, that the Encouragement which the Lords has now given him will tend much more to the discouragement of your Missionarys, how pious and diligent soever and to the Disservice of your Church. . . hot and violent and so wedded to a Party that they would be glad to raise it upon the ruins of those whom it does not affect, and of this sort without the beast breach of Charity.[337]

During his first three years in Carolina, while Commissary Johnston endeavored to soften such dispositions, he wrote often of his own challenges, one being his finances. Without "the Assistance my wife gives me by drawing of Pictures (which can last but a little time in a place so ill people) I shou'd not have been able to live." Carolina was in debtor status. Whether the government or the Anglican church, this colony subsisted off capital from home. Carolina had not yet adapted its economic regime to staple crops like indigo and rice. In fact, though rice production increased during the era under study, rice would not become a chief export until

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[335] A. S. Thomas, *Church in South Carolina,* 234-235.

[336] Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre*, 185-186; *Statutes* at Large of S. C., II, 78, 116; Lawson, *New Voyage*, 3; Foster, *History of Education*, 20, 119, 148; McCrady, *S. C.Under Proprietary Government*, 702.

[337] Sainsbury, "Letters," 284-285.

1744. Carolina was not different, however, from other agricultural frontier communities like Virginia.[338]

Through the dreariness of his colonial existence and during the many fevers which attacked his body, Commissary Johnston persevered. In fact, his many challenges often included countering the numerous rumors. Two years after his arrival, Johnston found himself reiterating in letters that the major block regarding the Anglican school program was not linked to any lingering argument between High and low churchmen. The issue was dead in Carolina with the low church mentally winning this debate. The true impediment to progress rested in the resistance from the nonconformists to a government associated with a state church.[339]

> But, my Lord, let his (Nathaniel Johnson) Enemies be asked what they wou'd be at or wherein are they wronged? Have not they Liberty and Property and the free exercise of their Religion, in all respects as much as have? And yet nothing will serve them, till they have the Governor and Chief Justice removed; and others of their stamp and Kidney put in their places.[340]

In the midst of all his woes and deprivations, Johnston reported remarkable progress regarding the Anglican school decree, however. "God had been pleased to bless my endeavors with our late Govr and the Assembly towards the laying the foundation of a good School here." A few gifts had been made toward the establishment of a parish school in Charles Towne. With some endowments available, the April 1710 law, "An Act for the Founding and Erecting a Free school for the use of the Inhabitants of South Carolina" passed through the Commons House of

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[338] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 3; Willliam J. Mulloy, eds., *William Byrd's Natural History of Virginia* (Richmond, 1940), xix, xxiv.

[339] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 12.

[340] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 26, 28.

Assembly on April 8. In the decree, a school commission was authorized for the support and maintenance of schoolmasters, the erection of schoolhouses, and homes for the teachers. The schoolmaster was required to be a member of the Church of England. The school commissioners were scheduled to meet once a year on the second Tuesday in July. The school to be built in Charles Towne received funds from the proprietors to purchase the needed lands. Even then, however, at a point of celebration Johnston had misgivings regarding the strength behind the broad acceptance of the parish school law. He asked the "Venble Society to put the Govr and Assembly here, for the time being, in mind of it, and to press them to perfect that, which they have so commendably begun." He requested that the Society prevail upon the Proprietors as well, requiring that they contribute toward the school.[341]

Despite the pleas, the 1710 law was never "carried into operation." The reasons are complicated but it is known that at this point the 1710 school act was too general and formulated for the colony as a whole. The failure was thus said to be the lack of a central administrator, for no provision was made in the decree for a supervisor. Another explanation for the inaction was assigned to the makeup of the school commission. The 1710 school commission comprised men from all political parties, churchmen, nonconformists, and Huguenots, and disagreements were thus inevitable. Among the sixteen names, only three were representatives of the Anglican Church or the Society. Therefore, despite the passage of the school law, as of January of 1711 only the parish school at Goose Creek functioned. The Goose Creek school remained under the arm of the Society and without funds from the public treasury or a restriction for the licensing of schoolmasters.[342]

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[341] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 37; Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 13; Wallace, *Short History*, 82.

[342] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 39; Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 14.

There was at least one more reason for inaction regarding the 1710 education law: the "state was lax" in its duties. What was needed was a governor to promote the parish school law. In 1710, however, the Carolina governor's seat was technically vacant. Johnston explained, "this poor infant Colony is so much disjointed and out of Order thro' the death of Maj. Tynte, our late Govr that is not well possible for me to expect any great matters shou'd be at such a juncture done for me." About the time the school law was passed, the governor, Edward Tynte, died. In order to grab the seat and displace Thomas Broughton, son-in-law of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Robert Gibbes was accused of bribing a deputy. In protest, the Broughton-Johnson followers marched through the streets of Charles Towne. The ruckus over the Gibbes-Broughton contest for governor split the single-minded Anglican Church Party in half, a fracture that did not heal until 1712 when letters regarding Gibbes and the "irregularity of his election" made their way to London. This situation did not change, however, until the proprietors appointed Charles Craven. Craven entered Carolina to take the position in March of 1712.[343]

Historian David Ramsay recorded that as 1710 drew to a close, "The want of Schools was a source of great solicitude to the Inhabitants, and called forth the exertions of the virtuous and the good." While Charles Craven made his way to Carolina, therefore, Commissary Johnston continued his appeal to the public for a school. At this point, the disappointment among the colonials regarding the failure of the 1710 school law led the Anglican clerics and "other gentlemen of the Province" to write to the Society. The letters referred to "the want of sufficient education" in the colony. There were others, however, who still questioned the need for a school or the "extensive usefulness of Free-Schools."[344]

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[343] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 36; Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 14-15.

[344] Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 93-96; Dalcho, 93.

These urgent appeals compelled the Society, without state approval or backing, to move forward. As a result, in spite of the idle commissioners, the Society allowed Johnston to act on his own. In 1711, the SPG set up at St. Philip's Church a parish school. Johnston added to his regular catechism classes the teaching of reading and writing. According to Johnston, the objective of this experimental or provisional school was to demonstrate to all, by his successful efforts, and that of the provisional scholars, the importance of schooling.[345]

In 1711, two parish schools existed on the colonial frontier. The Society had established a provisional school in Charles Towne at the St. Philip's Church. This school was under the care of Commissary Johnston while Le Jau managed the older parish school on the Goose Creek. From 1711 through 1712, the growth at the Charles Towne School and the Goose Creek school proved steady. Reports on the two schools talked of the "good" testimony of the achievements of the Society. In fact, Le Jau requested an assistant or full-time schoolmaster for the St. James Goose Creek parish school. Thus, Benjamin Dennis arrived at Goose Creek in 1712.[346]

Anglican Church historian David Humphreys (1728) wrote that, despite the "confusion on the religious as well as civil state of the growing colony," the community remained resolute regarding the need for a town school. The question of which Protestant sect inside the fortress represented this group of concerned parents, those who pushed for the Goose Creek school is thus of historical importance. In fact, the question has been addressed by one historian. French Huguenot historian, Arthur Henry Hirsch, offered his theory in 1928. In his book, relying heavily on church registers, deeds, and wills, Hirsch argued that the French Huguenots connected

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[345] Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 96, 245, 354; Dalcho, 26, 39, 50-51, 93-96, 115; Knight, *A Documentary History*, 18; Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 14-15; Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 231.

[346] Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 93; Wallace, *Short History*, 82; Dalcho, 93.

with the Anglicans for political protection. He adds, however, that this particular nonconformist camp accepted the friendly hand of Gideon Johnston not just for political but intellectual gain. Hirsch explained that financial means for the French Huguenots were limited. Moreover, their own religious affiliation did not possess the fiscal resources of the Church of England or a group like the SPG. Nevertheless, this group of frontier parents desired a proper schooling for their children. Hirsch argued, therefore, that the French Huguenots indeed accepted the hand of the Anglican Church Party for political reasons yet they accepted the extended hand of Commissary Johnston because of their continued longing for books and schooling.[347]

In early Carolina, the French Protestants "established six churches of the Reformed and Calvinistic polity and doctrine." The first five were founded before 1706. As of 1710, the last French Huguenot church stood in Charles Towne. The French church, however, had sunk to the lowest stage of its existence. At this time, records state that Johnston befriended the minister, Paul L'Escot. Johnston wrote the Society that L'Escot might be induced to transfer his allegiance and that of his congregation to the state church because L'Escot and his parishioners were "friendly to its tenets." This statement was validated by the testimony of the cleric. L'Escot wrote that "though his Charles Town congregation" was "nonconformist, the majority of its members considered the Anglican church with respect."[348]

Hirsch explained the French Huguenot schooling traditions. He argued that these people were not "grossly ignorant" but had been reared in plenty in France and had access to educational advantages. Arriving from the heart of European civilization and culture, they were educated to the "extent to which the middle class of France, who had been the hope of the French

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[347] Humphreys, *An Historical Account*, 551; Hirsch, *The Huguenots*, 126.

[348] Hirsch, *The Huguenots*, 54-56, 132.

nation in wealth and culture, was educated." In Carolina, however, the first of the American born children were not so fortunate.[349]

As Johnston requested, the Society sent to L'Escot much needed Anglican Books of Common Prayer for his congregation. L'Escot managed to hold his Charles Towne congregation together until 1710 when he departed Carolina. During L'Escot's absence, Isaac Mazyck wrote that the Charles Towne Huguenot congregation "was going over to the Episcopal worship." In Europe, the French church's financial concerns continued. In 1719, the Protestant theological schools of France were closed. L'Escot did not return to Carolina until 1732. At this time, however, he entered Charles Towne as Rev. Paul L'Escot, the Anglican cleric.[350]

This French Huguenot cultural longing for books is found in the French Huguenot wills and the St. James Goose Creek school record. Hirsch credited the numerous references to libraries in wills and the lists of books in inventories as witness to this strong desire for education. Dr. Francis Le Jau (1665-1717), before arriving at age forty-one, had spent twenty years of his life in La Rochelle under the influence of the culture of Louis XIV and then in the English plantations of the West Indies. Not surprisingly, therefore, upon his arrival as a SPG schoolmaster, he and his wife offered a boarding house for students at Goose Creek. Soon afterward the French language and music was offered to the locals at this site.[351]

The Thomas *Census* evidenced Hirsch's thesis. First, the *Census* suggested an uncommon willingness on the part of one nonconformist camp, the French Huguenots, to accept all things Anglican on the eastern branch of the Cooper River and at Goose Creek. Second, the

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[349] Hirsch, *The Huguenots*, 154.

[350] Hirsch, *The Huguenots*, 4-56, 132-133

[351] Hirsch, *The Huguenots*, 156; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 4. The St. James Santee Church parish is noted as the holdout regarding the spoken French tongue in the Anglican Church.

first two parish schools took root in these two sites. These two settlements represented at the time two of the four areas in which the French Huguenot numbers proved highest in 1704 and 1706. By 1710, the third parish school, the St. Philip's school, took root in Charles Towne where the French Huguenot numbers remained high well into the eighteenth century.[352]

As the Anglican schools spread throughout the colony, the French Huguenots seemingly acquiesced to state church demands and opportunities. On the other hand, however, the other nonconformist camps challenged Anglican domination. For many Protestant sects, joining in a school program which promoted the state religion over all others was just unacceptable. And even for the Huguenots, assimilation offered inner turmoil for years to come. This is noted in the despair over the loss of the Huguenot language. The despair is noted in wills wherein some continued to demand burial services according to the Calvinistic religion while other accepted the burial customs of the Anglican church." The Huguenot conversion therefore was not made without lasting fear. It is understandable, therefore, when other nonconformist parents who desired schooling remained strong in their advocacy for separate religious schooling.[353]

The broad demand for books and reading material is noted as well in numerous facets of Carolina's colonial life. In order to satisfy the demand of the various immigrant groups, for example, Johnston ordered literature form the Society in English, French, and Spanish editions. In July of 1710, he asked for 100 Common Prayer Books with "the New Version of Psalms in them." For the colonial children, he asked for "plain Instructions for the Young and ignorant comprised in a short and easy Exposition of the Church Catechism." [354]

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[352] Hirsch, *The Huguenots*, 15.

[353] Hirsch, *The Huguenots*, 90-91.

[354] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 53, 93, 109; Cross, *Historic Ramblins*, 141-45.

At this same point in time, alongside these signs of intellectual beginnings, two grim indicators of a pending deterioration in the already harsh colonial existence hovered not far the Goose Creek school. During the controversy over the school law, not all was well for the colonials. In January of 1712, Le Jau wrote that the hot season "renders us very faint, but tho' the Country is sickly and many drop off still, yet I thank God my Parish and Family are in a tolerable State of Health." At this same instance, Le Jau reported the escalation of skirmishes with the various native groups in Carolina and especially to the north of Charles Towne, ". . . they call them Taskarawros" and "some hundreds of these men fell upon some of the Inhabitants of Renoque in September last and kill'd 137 of them, most of the Palatines with the Swiss Baron perished in the Massacre. . ." [355]

As Le Jau reported on the sickness among the Goose Creek residents and the pending Tuscarora uprising, inside the fortress an epidemic raged. Reported to be the "worst and the longest sickly season" in Charles Towne's history, the 1712 smallpox and yellow fever epidemic took "300 to 400 slaves with an equal number of whites, approximately a quarter of the total population of the town." As a result, social interaction all but halted throughout Carolina. Inside the fortress, the fear of crowds and infection meant that people shut themselves up in their homes. As a result, church attendance, schooling, and business interactions suffered.[356]

Nevertheless, with the population in decline and a new war pending, the standoff between the two religious divisions created a community wasteland. The disconnect not only stopped Johnston's hope for a formal school decree, it also stopped progress in every area of some needed government intervention. As April of 1712 approached, Governor Craven, the brother of the palatine of Carolina, spoke to the Carolina leadership regarding the severed connections

[355] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 53, 93; 109; Cross, *Historic Ramblins*, 141-142.

[356] Fraser, *Charlton!*, 31.

within the colony as a whole. Before the Commons House of Assembly, Craven swore to "do everything that may contribute to the prosperity and firm establishment of the Church of England." The governor then softened his "temper" and added that he would show the "greatest tenderness to those who are under the misfortune of dissenting from her, and to do nothing that may seem to endanger them that liberty." He ended the speech with the wish that all could be "of one opinion; but that is morally impossible; but in this we may all agree, to live amicably together, consult the common good, the tranquility of our Province and the increase of its trade."[357]

Capt. Thomas Nairne followed Craven's speech with his personal plea to the colonials for tranquility in the face of forthcoming dangers. Entering the divided assembly, Nairne, one of the dissident Anglicans who had been imprisoned for his stand against Governor Nathaniel Johnson, persuaded his fellow nonconformists to abandon their futile resistance to the state church. While in London, Joseph Boone had led the nonconformist fight; in Carolina, the pledge to ignore the church act had been positioned by nonconformist Landgrave Thomas Smith and the widow of the late governor Blake. At this point in Carolina history, the internal and external dangers were so great that only Nairne, a man acceptable to both sides of the church aisle, could settle the sectarian disputes. Now in the position of judge of the vice-admiralty, Capt. Nairne's passionate October 1711 speech won the day. The response from members of both factions to join together and preserve the colony proved overwhelming. That same spring, for example, two hundred English statutes related to legal procedures were made law. Moreover the assembly passed

[357] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 90-96.

forty-three laws. Three of these laws dealt with major issues, court regulation, defense, finance, slavery, and education.[358]

Governor Craven guided through the assembly certain decrees which solved outstanding disputes regarding the intentions of the state church as related to the education issue. Regarding the question of libraries, a decree to secure the Provincial Library and the safe-keeping of Parochial Libraries made it through the assembly. Another school issue dealt with the instruction of slaves, a major source of contention regarding the expansion of the Anglican parish school program. A decree regarding the "the propriety of instructing Slaves in the Christian Religion" addressed the explicit fears of the people regarding the state church emphasis on slave instruction.[359]

As 1712 drew to a close, the major questions regarding the parish school agenda had been addressed. Christianization of slaves did not lead to manumission. Afterward, conversion and instruction of slaves was tolerated somewhat. As for as the children of the brethren, the "public advantages resulting from the Anglican establishment overall, were so evident, that the Assembly passed an Act of Incorporation on December 12, 1712." Governor Craven had successfully strengthened the 1710 school law with a decree which called "for founding and erecting a Free-School in Charles-Town for the use of the Inhabitants of this Province of South Carolina."[360]

> Whereas it is necessary that a Free-School be erected for the Instruction of the Youth of this Province, in Grammar, and other Arts and Sciences and useful Learning, and also in the Principles of the Christian Religion; and whereas several charitable and well disposed

[358] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 95-96.

[359] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 94-95.

[360] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 96.

> Christians by their Last Wills and Testaments, have given several sums of money for the founding of a Free-School, but no person yet is authorized to take the charge and care of erecting a Free-School, according to the Intent of the Donors, and to receive the said Legacies if tendered, nor to demand the same in case of refusal to pay the same, & c.[361]

In the Charles Towne School, the schoolmaster was responsible for catechizing and instructing the children in the principles of Christian religion according to the "Church of England." The schoolmaster taught "writing, arithmetic, merchant's accounts, surveying, navigation, and practical mathematics." He was to be capable of "teaching the learned languages, Latin and Greek Tongues." The decree also enacted that "any schoolmaster settled in a country parish, and approved by the vestry, should receive ten pounds per annum from the public treasury." The parish vestries were authorized to draw from the public treasury twelve pounds toward the erection of a parish school house.[362]

The financial aspect of the parish school program improved. Both schools now collected funds from the state treasury, private funds through endowments, and monies to support schoolmasters from the Society. The sixteen church commissioners oversaw the founding, erecting, governing, and a school for the inhabitants. The commissioners' names included pro-Anglican politicians like Thomas Broughton and Nicholas Trott. The clerics included the Rev. Gideon Johnston, Rev. Francis Lejau, and Rev. Robert Maul. The body corporate, from the public treasury, would construct a brick school building in Charles Towne "for the use of the inhabitants of South-Carolina." The commissioners appointed the Charles Towne schoolmaster and his successors. The schoolmaster had the use of lands and buildings belonging to the school. The Charles Towne schoolmaster was to teach twelve scholars, free of expense. These children

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[361] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 355; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 95.

[362] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 255-256.

were to be nominated by the commissioners. All other students would pay "the rate of £4 per annum."[363]

In November of 1712 the Commons House of Assembly sent a message to Governor Charles Craven, congratulating him on the new political harmony found within Carolina. It was a triumph with deep roots reaching all the way to London and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. In fact, Carolina's conformists and nonconformists to the Church of England were "satisfied if not pleased" with their newfound religious accord. If only for one reason, the peace brought forth a school for their children. [364]

The SPG representative, Commissary Johnston, however, felt the fullness of his particular vision of SPG goals was never completed. In eighteenth century Virginia and Carolina, local governance is best understood as parish-county. Regarding the colony of Virginia, for instance, the Anglican Parish was said to be a remarkable creative adaptation of its English counterpart. In Carolina, Commissary Johnston's objectives included not only an American identification with the English church but a reproduction of the English village as it existed in England, with its taxes, tithes, fees, and unquestioning compliance with all church demands. Like Virginia, Carolina was distinguished by its exclusivity, flexibility, multi-congregational structure, and lay control. Yet, Commissary Johnston expressed over and over in his letters his desire to "live to see" the "old Brittanick Episcopal way of Institution &c" in Carolina as well. The goal of the SPG, the British government, and this SPG representative to fully recreate the English village in Carolina, however, produced a few successes yet many disappointments.[365]

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[363] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 96, 355.

[364] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 100; Nov. 20, 1712, *Commons Journal*, IV, 110.

[365] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 85.

Nevertheless, as of 1712 the Society had kept its promise to the English monarchy. The SPG met the needs of Carolina Anglicans and at the same time preserved for the British government a colony in North America which was predominantly English. Even New England's Cotton Mather, "a man who had no love for the Church of England," understood the importance of the Carolina victory for the SPG. In a letter to the Society, the exasperated Mather bellyached, "The colony of Carolina, was in a fair Way to have been filled with a religious people: until your Society for the Propagation of Religion in foreign Parts, unhappily sent over some of their Missionaries thither."[366]

Following the passage of the revised 1712 education law, the Society acted swiftly. In London, the Society appointed William Guy to the Charles Towne School. Prior to his appointment, Guy had served as an usher in a London Workhouse. He was interviewed inside Lambeth Palace for the position of curate and schoolmaster. His letters of testimony referred to his "ample Certificates of his good Life and Behavior and ability in teaching School."

Appointed on January 25, 1712, upon his arrival to Charles Towne, however, Guy faced a major dilemma. Another schoolmaster, John Douglas, had taken his position (June 17, 1712).[367] The 1711 provisional school had added to the burdens assigned to the continually ailing Johnston and accordingly this situation may have related to the impatience of the school commissions to place a schoolmaster at St. Philip's. The commissioners took the lead and promptly "settled a Schoolmaster" at the fortress school. John Douglas was no doubt a new arrival to Carolina, for his character and appointment received scant mention in the records. In June of 1712, the assembly offered him £60 and "adjusted the Schoolmasters Wages at 3£ Ann for every Boy that

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[366] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 9, 100; August 6, 1716, Mather to Anthony William Boehm, *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, 7th Ser., 8 (1912), 412.

[367] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 355; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 95.

he Instructs either in Latin or Greek." It is likely that Douglas continued at St. Philip's during Johnston's leave of absence. Johnston took his leave in 1713. He returned in October of 1715.[368]

When SPG schoolmaster Guy arrived in mid-1712, Gilbert Guttery, the first health commissioner, boarded Guy's ship. Guttery determined the existence of health hazards among passengers and sailors. Unlike a few passengers he traveled with, Guy escaped placement in the "pest House on Sullivan's Island." By this time, according to Johnston's letters, one house in twenty remained under quarantine. The fortress therefore still looked "miserably thin and disconsolate." Disappointed at the placement of Douglas in the schoolmaster position, Guy stepped in to serve alongside Commissary Johnston from 1712 through his departure date in 1713. In July of 1714, Guy returned to London to receive his priest's orders. During his absence, clerics like Le Jau and Robert Maule were required to fill in at the St. Philip's Church and school. The 1712 education law called for the provision for establishment of schools in all the parishes. Therefore, when Guy returned to Carolina in 1714, he was resettled in Port Royal, St. Helena Parish, right on the line that separated white settlement from the Indian Territory to the west. Although two nonconformist schoolmasters had attempted but failed to set up at school at this site, schoolmaster Guy proved successful. He set up an Anglican congregation and parish school close by the Yamasee town of Pocotaligo.[369]

As of 1712, the growing numbers at St. James Goose Creek meant that Le Jau now acted as full-time cleric. As a result, the school received a full-time schoolmaster. While the Charles Towne provisional school children recited the Anglican Catechisms at St. Philip's, Benjamin

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[368] Ramsay, *Sketch of the History*, 93, 95; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 258; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 39, 44, 87-90, 115, 128, 137; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 99, 130, 141, 166.

[369] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 114; July 6, 1712, Le Jau to Secretary, *SPGR*, Series A, Vol. IX, 170; August 12, 1714, Dennis to Secretary, *SPGR*, Series A, Vol. IX, 187.

Dennis drilled the Goose Creek students in the Anglican Catechisms, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer inside his school and nearby Le Jau's church building. At this point in time, the Goose Creek school was the largest. Dennis taught eighteen scholars during the winter of 1711. In the summer of 1711, he added eleven more students.[370]

The rapid growth in the Goose Creek parish was attributable to the nearby French Huguenot population at this parish school. All nonconformist scholars were welcomed. Regardless of wealth or status, the St. James Goose Creek School accepted Anabaptist and Presbyterian children. Schoolmaster Dennis and Le Jau agreed that, as long as the children submitted to the Anglican rule of instruction, the scholars were welcome. Dennis stood firm, he declared to "their Parents" whenever "they proposed things contrary" that the tenets of the Anglican Church would be followed. For example, he only offered the teaching of the Anglican "Catechisms & not other." His restrictions sometimes sent parent and child scurrying back to their homestead.[371]

In London, by 1713 Richard Johnston, the son of Commissary Johnston, wrote that his father had arrived so sickly that he could not attend his scheduled meeting with the Society. Instead, Johnston sent a *Memorial.* In this report Johnston wrote the Society that the fortress school was without a schoolmaster. It was at this same point that without comment John Douglas simply disappeared from the record. Johnston thus requested of the Society a new schoolmaster for Charles Towne. He warned the Society not to delay in making this appointment for in Carolina "The variety of preachers and the different Methods of preaching

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[370] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 96; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 143-148.

[371] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 96; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 143; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 121; February 27, 1711(12), Dennis to Mr. Chamberlayne, *SPGR*, Series A. Vol. IV, No. VII, 402-3; July, 1712, Dennis to Mr. Chamberlayne, *SPGR*, Series A. Vol. IV, No. LXIII, 202; February 9, 1713-14, *SPGR*, Series A, Vol. IX, 260-61. August, 12, 1714, Dennis to Secretary, from Boochaw near Goose Creek, *SPGR*, Vol. IX, 287; July 6, 1712, Le Jau to Secretary, Vol. IX, 170.

makes the people Something uneasy, and for this Reason he most humbly and earnestly prays that this Gentlemen," a Mr Smith from Glouchester, "be dispatcht thither and with all hast."[372]

While Le Jau and the other clerics like Guy ministered to their own congregations and taught school, they were forced to supply the St. Philip's Church and school as well. John Whitehead was eventually appointed as the St. Philip's parish schoolmaster. Whitehead proved disappointing from the first. For example, instead of a quick departure to South Carolina, Whitehead lingered in London long enough to be called in by the Society for questioning. In August of 1714, a sign of a pending departure, Whitehead was furnished by the Society the regular supplies given to the schoolmasters, "Small Tracts to distribute to his Catechumens, &c." Nevertheless, it was January of 1715 before he began his duties in Charles Towne. The history of Whitehead's tenure as schoolmaster at the fortress school proved abysmal at best.[373]

Other than his numerous misdeeds, little is known about schoolmaster Whitehead. Like all the schoolmasters, from January of 1715 through November of 1716, Whitehead wrote little of the children of the brethren. On the other hand, he and other schoolmasters described their small gains regarding young black converts. Whitehead wrote the Society that he baptized one slave and he had convinced a few owners to send their children to the fortress school for instruction. He described their performance in St. Philip's Church. The slave children recited the catechism and "embellished their answers with scriptural quotations."[374]

Overall, however, Whitehead and the other schoolmasters like William Guy (St. Helena), Thomas Hasell (St. Thomas Parish), Ebenezer Taylor (St. Andrew's Parish) and William

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[372] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 135.

[373] Fraser, *Charlton!*, 28-29; Humphreys, *An Historical Account*, 563-565; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 138, 141, 153-4, 161.

[374] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 118, 135, 181-188; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 138, 153, 161, 154.

Tredwell Bull (St. Paul's parish) reported that the slaveholders opposed the conversion of slaves. In one schoolmaster's attempt to win over the masters, William Tredwell Bull purchased four slaves. He taught them English and Christianity in hopes that he could win over the planters at St. Paul's parish by example.[375]

Upon his return to Carolina, Johnston complained that Whitehead had received his "remuneration" from the Society for doing "nothing at all." It was true that Whitehead, under the SPG, received the higher salary of the two Anglican clerics, yet there was much more to the remuneration story. The two years which Whitehead presided over the Charles Towne Parish School, the school had all but closed its doors. Whitehead's problems with enrollment or recruitment, however, were not related to lower population numbers due to the 1712 epidemic. When Whitehead arrived in 1714, the settlement had recovered somewhat form the 1712 epidemic. The town held 250 homes and around 3,500 people. Nevertheless, only a few children had bothered to enter the St. Philip's parish school during Johnston's absence. As a result, Johnston complained that when he returned to the school he had worked so hard to establish, he found only a few books available for students and teachers. Moreover, the brick school building remained unfinished. Johnston was not happy. While dealing with these and many other problems upon his return, Johnston referred to Whitehead as an "incendiary and Firebrand."[376]

What Johnston failed to attach to this school report, however, was that the Charles Towne parish school, in fact all the emergent parish schools, and Carolina itself, had faced its greatest

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[375] September 26, 1715, John Whitehead to SPG, SPGR, Series A, Vol. 11, 70-71; September 6, 1707, Thomas Hasell to SPG, SPGR, A, 3: 145 ; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 39, 159; Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 182; September 4, 1711, Hazel to SPG, SPGR, A. 6: 148; March 12, 1712, Hasell to SPG, SPGR, A, 7: 400-402; August 18, 1712, Hasell to SPG, SPGR, A, 7: 435; July 12, 1718,Hasel to SPG,SPGR, A, 13: 180-82; January 10, 1715, William Tredwell Bull to SPG, SPGR, A, 10: 90.

[376] Fraser, *Charlton!*, 32-38; Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 82.

threat during his absence. J ust months before Whitehead took over the school in January of 1715, the Yamasee interpreters had gathered with numerous other tribes to plan a major revolt. Thus, at the hands of their one time allies, the Yamasee, Charles Towne almost entered the list of North America's forgotten colonies. After years of abuse at the hands of traders and Indian agents, the Yamasee and their allies, in the spring of 1715, nearly drove the English back into the sea. The destruction began close by the school wherein William Guy's scholars repeated in perfect unison the first lines of the Anglican catechism.

Not far from the "Pocotaligat-Town round house," a large and extensive settlement, the whole Yamasee nation resided. "The week before Easter, 1715," schoolmaster Guy was the first to be alerted to an extensive Indian uprising. Two escapees from the Pocotaligo round house offered Guy a startling report. "Captain Nairn and others had rested in what was perceived friendship and peace with the Yammosee King his chief War-Captains' inside the round house the night before." From inside the structure, the two escapees awoke at daybreak to a volley of fire. All of the men traveling with Capt. Nairne died earlier that morning except Nairne and the two escapees, a man and a boy.[377]

Throughout the province, the English settlements were under attack. Soon the colonials at the St. Helena parish were huddled together as they listened to the screams of sixty settlers, killed just outside their walls. Fearing the worst for his congregation inside, William Guy gathered the "300 souls" and made a run to safety. Luckily, they "boarded a ship." While Guy made his escape, at the same moment at the nearby Pocotaligo town house, Capt. Nairne was tied to a pole inside the Yamasee round house. The Yamasee placed pine splinters under his skin and lit them one by one for hours on end. During war ceremonies, Nairne was roasted to death by

[377] Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 111-118.

this slow and painful method while at nearby St. Bartholomew's Parish, over one hundred colonials were slaughtered by other warring tribes. At this time, throughout the province, as far as eighty miles south west of Charles Towne, raids under the leadership of the Lower Creeks, the Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Catawba killed 90% of the men labeled Indian traders or agents and their families.[378]

With no treaties signed, the Indian attacks continued throughout 1715 and on into 1716. While some families had remained in their fortified homes along the Cooper River, those who had entered the Charles Towne fortress did not leave the safety of its walls until October of 1715. When the families departed the fortress to reenter their settlements, the damages to the Carolina colonization process overwhelmed many of the colonials. In fact, many of the colonials, those who could, left the province. Historian Walter Edgar summarized the many tales of the destruction: "Devastated was a much overused and misused word in the later twentieth century regarding this war." However, it was "most appropriate to describe South Carolina in 1718." More recently, new research on this relatively uninvestigated colonial war makes clear that the war came close to altering the history of the American colonization process. Recently, relying on the SPG records, William L. Ramsay noted that just outside Charles Towne, for example, entire plantation districts disappeared, making the conflict "a serious candidate for America's bloodiest war in proportion to the populations involved."[379]

The 1712 school growth spurt ended with the explosion of the Yamasee War. At Goose Creek "the whole parish became deserted except for the two fortified plantations."

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[378] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 100; Humphreys, *An Historical Account*, 546-548.

[379] Ramsey, "Something Cloudy," 4-6; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 115.

> You may well Imagine the Consternacon is very great everywhere. Several Plantations are Deserted our Planting hindred so yt we may also fear a Famine. The weathr has been very Dry these 6 Weeks. The rest of my Brethren keep still at home as I hear I continue with my Family at my Parsonage endeavouring to do wt I can to Encourage my Parishioners whom I meet in our Camp 6 Miles of me Noward. [380]

While lingering skirmishes between the Indians and the militia continued throughout the province, in June of 1715, Le Jau stopped to describe the St. James Goose Creek settlement.

> My parish is all Deserted, but two fortified Plantacons, where our Men lay with a Body of Negroes waiting for Orders. Yesterday news came that these Indians had been nr the Mulberry & Mrs. Juliens Plantacon but finding those places well guarded the base Men nevr Durst attempt anything their Scouts were Yesterday also near on Capt Chicken's Plantacon Where our Chief Fort & best Body of Men lay. It is but 6. Miles of my parsonage. The greatest Part of their Women & Children are in Town. The Town is Crouded with people and it is an Unhealthy place we fear pestilential Distmpers Mr Osborne and & Mr Guy had been forced out of their Parishes & Live in Town.[381]

As first told by Society historian, David Humphreys, the return from the bottom of the Yamasee War abyss was slow for individuals and tedious for the colony as a whole. Humphreys wrote that regarding the future of the church and parish school, "The Society received these calamitous relations from Carolina with much concern, both on account of the distress of the inhabitants and their missionaries." While several SPG representatives prepared "to quit the

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[380] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 127, 156; Humphreys, *An Historical Account*, 549.

[381] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 127, 156; Humphreys, *An Historical Account*, 549. Nathaniel Osborne (St. Bartholomew's Parish) and around 100 others died during the Yamasee War. On the frontier line, his parish was totally destroyed.

country, on account of their great want" the Society soon feared the exit of all its representatives.[382]

The Society soon reacted. The secretary wrote to the SPG representatives, "acquainting them, how sensible the society was of the hardships they underwent and that they had agreed to give half a year's salary to each of them as gratuity, for their present assistance" with "all speed." It was the prompt action by the Society which saved Carolina's Anglican Church and parish school program. The Society extended to Col. William Rhett "a total of £135 sterling to be advanced to the missionaries Maule, Whitehead, Hasell, La Pierre, and Richboug." The SPG generosity extended to all colonials, even schoolmasters like the Rev. Claude Philip de Richbourg, a French Huguenot minister, who were not listed on the SPG roles.[383]

The year 1716 marked the end of the first period of school growth. At this time the St. James parish school faded not only from the SPG records but from the St. James Goose Creek Church records as well. Adding to the calamity, just months after the Yamasee War ended, two noteworthy leaders of the parish school program died. Commissary Gideon Johnston drowned in 1716 and Dr. Francis Le Jau died of sickness at age 52 that same year. As a result, the future of the South Carolina parish school program stood in jeopardy. It appeared all was lost for the two most dedicated Society representatives were dead and William Guy took an appointment in New England. A quick recovery of the St. Helena Parish where Guy had presided over a church and school was at that moment highly unlikely [384]

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[382] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 152-158; Humphreys, *An Historical Account*, 551.

[383] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 152-153; Humphreys, *An Historical Account*, 551.

[384] Klingberg, "Carolina Chronicle," 168; Cross, *Historic Ramblins*, 233.

The school record falls silent. Nothing regarding the parish school movement was found in the discovered records after 1716. Then in 1718, the Commons House of Assembly, under the leadership of Robert Johnson, the son of the late Governor Nathaniel Johnson, approved a salary increase for a schoolmaster for St. Philip's parish school. Since little attracted men to Carolina for almost ten years after the Yamaseewar, it was hoped that the high salary alone would attract a first-rate schoolmaster. The extra money for the salary was to come from the treasury. The hopes of the colonials to obtain a Society schoolmaster, however, soon diminished.[385]

There were other issues during this period. Following the Yamasee War, the colony changed decidedly when the proprietors lost control of Carolina. Governor Robert Johnson led the revolt in Carolina, while in London the impetus for change was first found in the deliberations of Queen Anne during the 1704 Establishment Act controversy. Around this same time, the Carolina economy continued to fluctuate yet it appears that the 1719 colonial revolt against the proprietors allowed for a firmer political base to develop. As a result, the Carolina society matured. As would have pleased Gideon Johnston, Carolina's emergent elite class imitated its English counterparts in numerous ways. It demonstrated, for instance, a social responsibility by using its newly-earned fortunes to transform the colony.[386]

In 1728, David Humphreys wrote that, once again, "The missionaries represented frequently to the society the great want of schools in this province, for the instruction of the children in the principles of religion, and teaching convenient learning." As a new decade opened, after a long slumber, outside Charles Towne the parish churches revived and prospered. The Anglican Church acted as well as a vehicle by which the frontier fortunate identified

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[385] Humphreys, *An Historical Account*, 551-552. Nathaniel Taylor left the lowcountry for North Carolina in 1717. Guy returned form Naragansett in New England that same year. He took Taylor's position at St. Andrew's Parish.

[386] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 145-66.

themselves as elites, copying the actions of the English elites. One element needed to ascend Carolina's social ladder was the requirement of a proper schooling. Thus, once again the people looked to the Anglican parish school for that needed boost.[387]

Under the first Royal Governor, Francis Nicholson of Virginia, once again, the SPG was asked to appoint a schoolmaster to the St. Philip's parish school. Nicholson, long known as a "friend to learning," contributed liberally to the support of the Carolina school throughout the early 1720s. As a result, in Carolina a new parish, Prince George Parish, was added. In June of 1722, "An Act for the advancing the Salaries of the Clergy" made it through the assembly after Nicholson's "earnest and pathetick Speech to both house of assembly." The parish schoolmasters would now receive £75 sterling each year from the government. The schoolmasters agreed that it was "a very generous Settlemt." And some decided that it was "as much as we cou'd reasonable expect or desire." In London, the SPG advertised for "Clergymen of education and talents who would emigrate to Carolina." In early 1722, the "inviteing Termes" offered by the Society attracted to Carolina the Rev. Thomas Morritt and his wife.[388]

In the early 1720s, the Society reinvigorated the South Carolina parish school program. Waking from its slumber, the Society sent forth a questionnaire to all North American Commissaries from the Bishop of London. This survey offered important information regarding Carolina's parish schools during the era of silence. The 1724 survey of the North American Anglican Churches contained three questions offering a basic evaluation of Carolina's parish school. In the survey, Question ten asked at "what times do you catechize the Youth of your

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[387]Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 145-166; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 126-138; Humphreys, *An Historical Account*, 558-567.

[388] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 133; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 39-40; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 98; Fraser, *Charlton!*, 19.

Parish?" Question sixteen asked "have you in your Parish any publick School for the Instruction of Youth? If you have, is it endow'd? And who is the Master?" Question seventeen addressed the libraries.[389]

The results from this survey validated that, as of 1724, Rev. Thomas' school on the eastern branch of the Cooper River and the St. James Goose Creek School, which Dr. Francis Le Jau popularized in letters, no longer functioned. The St. Philip's Church parish school in Charles Towne stood alone as the one flourishing school. Consequently, this school would become the single focus of historians when it came to this Anglican parish school era. It was from his St. Philip's school desk that Thomas Morritt filled out his survey. It arrived at the SPG headquarters with Morritt answering the catechism question, question number ten with "Every other Sunday from Michaelmas to Easter." Regarding the existence of a school, question sixteen was answered "Yes." Regarding the availability of books, "There is a provincial library under his care at the parsonage."[390]

The only other school noted at this time was "A school at Shrewberry kept by [John] Lapierre" in St. John's parish. This school stood on the far reaches of the western branch of the Cooper River, miles from Charles Towne and miles from where the Goose Creek school had stood. In his survey, Lapierre wrote that the St. John's Parish school library contained seventeen volumes. There was as well the possibility of a school at Christ Church in the near future. The school question was answered with "Land and house provided for a school, but here is no master." The Christ Church library question solicited "A few books." In all, the 1724 survey evidenced that outside the Charles Towne school and the Strawberry School on the west branch

[389] Manros, *The Fulham Papers*, 138-140.

[390] Manros, *The Fulham Papers*, 138.

of the Cooper River the parishes offering catechism classes and libraries numbered five and the parishes without schools numbered seven.[391]

In Charles Towne, Morritt's arrival had obviously breathed new life into the area around the fortress, throughout the lowcountry, and elsewhere. In fact, it was Governor Nicholson's' reputation which appeared to have tempted several clerics to join the SPG adventure in the late 1720s and 1730s. The survival of the Charles Towne School was due to efforts William Guy. When Guy returned to South Carolina, sometime after 1717, schoolmaster Guy had stepped forward to salvage the Charles Towne School. Upon Morritt's arrival in early 1723, Guy returned to the St. Andrews parish. By June of 1723, the Charles Towne School was fully operational and thus by the fall of 1724 Morritt recorded forty-five students on his roll. He reported that some of the students could barely read upon their arrival to his school. On the other hand, twenty of the forty-five students were studying Latin. In 1725, Morritt reported to the Society that fifty students were enrolled. Pointing to the reputation of the school, he proudly related that one of his students had traveled from Philadelphia and another from the Bahamas Islands to the school. He noted as well that ten of these students were supported by the charity of the province. By the end of that year, many of his students were translating chapters of the New Testament into Latin.[392]

Under Governor Nicholson, the intellectual progress continued in the now once again prosperous fortress area. "An Act for establishing County and Precinct Courts" was passed in February 23, 1722. The act responded to requests for courts from the growing upper parishes. Accordingly, the "Justices of these courts" held certain authority. The justices accessed the lands

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[391] Manros, *The Fulham Papers*, 138. The settlement was actually known as Strawberry on the western branch of the Cooper River.

[392] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 128; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 98.

and slaves within their jurisdictions. Moreover, they were authorized to purchase lands and erect a school in each parish. The justices therefore could appoint the schoolmasters, teachers "who should be well skilled in the Latin tongue." According to the court act, schoolmasters received "£25 Proc. Money *per ann*." In each parish, "ten poor children were to be taught gratis, yearly, if sent by the Justices." The annual salary of "£100, current money," was set aside for the schoolmaster. The schoolmaster would receive "£4 *per ann*" from paying scholars. The usher, if appointed, was to receive "30 shillings" from this fee and also a salary of "£50*per ann*." [393]

When Governor Francis Nicholson died in 1729, the Church of England was much stronger in the lowcountry. In comparison to the first two decades of utter turmoil for school development, the mid-1720s brought forth the greatest return on the now extended SPG investment in religious schooling. This is duly noted in schoolmaster Morritt's reports. He planned for an energized Charles Town parish school and Carolina's first grammar school. During his struggle to make the Charles Towne School profitable, schoolmaster Morritt made huge demands on the Society. His many requests included a series of pleas for the church hierarchy to press the Carolina government to upgrade its supervision of the formal licensing procedure for all colonial schoolmasters.[394]

As 1730 began, all was not well for the parish school in general, however. During Morritt's tenure and on into the early 1730s, the assault on the domination of the Anglican school continued. Morritt reported to the church hierarchy on the numbers of "unauthorized" men who now ventured into schooling. He wrote that these schoolmasters merely "condescended" to a short-lived teaching venture just to make a subsistent living. He described

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[393] MAP of Parishes.

[394] Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 82; Fraser, *Charlton!*, 32-28; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism,* 41.

one schoolmaster with "no Lycense either from my Lord of London or any Toleracon from his Excy the Governor" keeping several boarding students.[395]

By the 1730s, there were many others, men who established schools whenever inclined. Schoolmaster Morritt described men who soon tired of their venture into pedagogy, however. As soon as possible, they moved on to other, more lucrative, means of support. Morritt warned the Society that such short lived excursions into schooling were detrimental to the overall progress of Carolina's parish school program. All of "These Intruders. . .," objected Morritt, "baulk ye public School so much yt I wish ye honble Society would be please to interest ym selves & represent this grievance to ye Govrs from time to time."[396]

As Morritt's letters suggested, there is little doubt that the Anglican oversight or the licensing procedure under the state had relaxed by 1730. In fact, by the mid-1730s this variable and others challenged the domination of the Church of England and the future of the school. The second variable was the demise of governors dedicated to the needs of the church, men like Governor Nathaniel Johnson and Governor Francis Nicholson. Of course, as requested by Morritt, Governor Nicholson harassed the nonconformist ministers, yet the Commons House of Assembly would not support the governor in his efforts. Without a robust governor who could dominate an assembly filled with representatives from both sects, the licensing procedure was crippled.

The disregard for the Anglican teaching license continued on into the 1740s. During this same time frame, for example, given the choice of persuasion or a forced adherence to the state

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[395] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 133.

[396] June 17, 1723, Thomas Morritt to the Secretary, South Carolina, *SPGR*, Series A, Vol. XVII, 90-92; August 15, 1723, Thomas Morritt to the Secretary, Charles City and Port, Series A, Vol. XVII, 104-5; December 11, 1723, Thomas Morritt to the Secretary, [Charleston], *SPGR*, Series A, Vol. XVII, 116; August 15, 1723, Thomas Morritt to the Secretary, Charles City and Port, *SPGR*, Series A, Vol. XVII, 105, 107; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 133.

church, even staunch Anglicans like Commissary Alexander Garden (1728-1748) appeared to accommodate the nonconformists. On the other hand, if Commissary Garden persuaded a defiant nonconformist to acquiesce and take Anglican orders, he would quietly request the SPG to ship that particular schoolmaster off to another colony.[397]

At this same point in time, other variables slowed parish school growth. Financial circumstances changed for the British Empire by mid-century. As documented by historians in the rehearsal to the American Revolution, England now faced a debt crisis. Thus, while population increases in the Carolina upcountry suggest that new arrivals might enlarge the rolls of the still aggressive Anglican Church, these colonials tended to disregard the Anglican Church. On the other hand, they petitioned for parish schools supported by the state for their parish district. Thus at this point of growth, an actual reduction in the extensive SPG funding, funds which had been lavished on the Carolina church and school during its darkest days, were cut. Moreover, the academy movement continued to pull primarily the paying students from the rolls of the parish school. As a result, by mid-century a reduction in tuition funding was felt. Moreover, at this same point in Carolina, new wealth meant for many of the Carolina's first families that they could send their sons to northern schools or to Europe for advanced schooling.[398]

By the late 1730s and on into the 1740s, the conformists to the Church of England entered a new phase wherein they were far more accepting of the nonconformists. The example was set by Commissary Garden. In fact, under Commissary Garden the Anglican church moved farther away from the highly structured English church and certain English influences in general.

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[397] Hirsch, *The Huguenots,* 90; Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 233; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism,* 245; Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism*, 154-55.

[398] Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues*, 56-78; Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 122-140.

As the arrival of nonconformist ministers increased, Commissary Garden, one of the few to rule the church scene for twenty years, remained moderate in his dealings. Yet, while maintaining a good relationship with the nonconformists, Commissary Garden continued to discipline Anglican clerics and schoolmasters. Under Commissary Garden's watch, with the backing of Edmund Gibson, See of London in 1723, the commissary's authority to judge or "discipline the Anglican clergymen" and schoolmasters stopped the moral erosion within the Anglican church. In fact, in this endeavor Commissary Garden held the first ecclesiastical court in the history of Carolina, north and south.[399]

Despite assumptions to the contrary, the Anglican court actually proved to be a good public relations forum for the state church. The disciplining of Anglican clergy and schoolmasters appeased the laity. For example, in one instance, Reverend Andrew Leslie, Saint Paul Parish, entered the colony and stirred up resentment among the laity. Leslie refused to baptize children unless "two communicants of the church stood as sureties or the child was near death." Commissary Garden argued that this requirement was extreme since there were few communicants in Saint Paul compared to the number of children. As a result of this policy, Leslie put the child's fate at risk. Commissary Garden argued that since sickness was frequent and often fatal in the low country, the policy could result in "a child dying without the sacrament." Commissary Garden also explained that such a policy risked "Parents carrying them to Dissenting Teachers for the Administa'n of that sacred Ordinance."[400]

As the Leslie affair indicated, Commissary Garden's support of the parishioners against an Anglican minister and schoolmaster proved popular with all colonists. In fact, Commissary

[399] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 43-44.

[400] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 45.

Garden's tenure marked a new height in relationships between the state church and local parishioners and between conformists and nonconformists. Parish school enthusiasts multiplied. More Carolina colonials believed in the decided benefits of the English parish school program. The prestige associated with the schools is found in the names of the trustees. For example, Thomas Broughton and William Rhett served as trustees for the Childsbury School (1733). Arthur Middleton and Ralph Izard were trustees for the Dorchester school (1734).[401]

During the late 1720s and on into the next decade of parish school growth, the practice of endowments increased. From 1720 through 1730, the history of private philanthropy may be measured in two ways. First, the specific projects can be investigated wherein they appear small and insignificant. On the other hand, of the larger process at hand, the social maturation of a society can be measured. This study prefers to view the endowments as a sign of the maturation of the Carolina society. In the 1720s, Anglican Church endowments contributed to the creation of numerous small, along with a few large, school legacies, two of which assisted the SPG program for decades.

Richard Ludlam, a Society schoolmaster at St. James Goose Creek, bequeathed all his estate to the parish school, amounting to around £2000. Richard Beresford, in his will, endowed St. Thomas' parish. The Beresford bequest required that the profits of the "Beresford bounty" go to the St. Thomas vestry in a trust. This would continued until his son, age eight at the time, arrived at the age of twenty-one. During this period, the vestry was to apply one-third of the yearly profits of the estate to support one or more schoolmasters who should teach writing, accounts, mathematics, and other liberal learning, and the other two-thirds for the support, maintenance and education of the poor of that parish. The Beresford total amounted to £6,500.

[401] Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 47.

Though the overall endowment program was not always dependable, it aided the SPG in survival of the parish school program[402]

Unlike the first two parish schools on the Cooper River, many of the 1720s parish schools were supported from triple sources, tuition money, public bounty, and private donations. Another substantial school opened at Childsbury in St. John's Parish in 1724, for example. The James Childs bequest which founded the school totaled £2200. The money went toward "the encouragement of a grammar school and other learning at Childsbury in St. John's parish, in Berkley County." The bequest gave funds for a lot and house for the school. A second bequest by Francis Williams was appropriated to teach poor scholars.[403]

The trend continued. By 1734, the parents at Dorchester requested that a grammar school be erected in their parish of St. George, Berkley County. They stated in their request to the school commissioners that as one of the few grammar schools in the province, the Charles Towne school was just "not sufficient." The Dorchester insisted that their children be instructed in "grammar, and other liberal arts and sciences and other useful learning, and also in the principles of the Christian religion" yet in a school closer to home.[404]

As of 1741, the presence of the Anglican Church was no longer just a structural presence in the lowcountry. There is little doubt that while under British rule, during the first four decades of the eighteenth century, the Church of England and its parish school still dominated Carolina's lowcountry schooling landscape. And there is little doubt that by 1740s the most common controversy regarding the enlargement of the parish school centered on the issue of the teaching

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[402] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 256-257.

[403] Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 224-235.

[404] Rivers, *Sketch of the History*, 257-259.

license. In due course, however, within the enlargement of the upcountry populace the parish school program would become central in the already inherent geographical divide, lowcountry versus upcountry. By mid-century (1743), the need for schools in the upcountry was on the colonial agenda. By the mid-1760s, the dominant Anglican Church and parish school had won, if not the soul, at least the concerns of many of the colonials when it came to financing schooling. For example, before the economic boom of the 1740s, as early as 1722, the Anglican Church received 9,208 pounds of the total colonial tax bill of 40,000 pounds. The Anglican parish school program was therefore the most appropriate avenue for financing schooling for the upcountry children. Their desire for the parish school is evidenced not just through the single demand of the Regulators in 1769 for courts and schools but in numerous appeals to the Commons House, all made before 1769.[405]

The religious divide between South Carolina Loyalists and Patriots becomes somewhat fuzzy during the first months of the American Revolution as chaos once again put religious differences on the back burner. At the same time, however, there is little doubt that the American-English church was not the tool of the London government. In the end, throughout the thirteen colonies a majority of her people were clearly patriots. In the most populous province, the Virginia church produced lay members, three-fifths of the entire group, who supported the cause of independence. Moreover, a majority of the 286 Anglican clergymen in the North American colonies were revolutionaries, approximately 150. In Carolina, only one-sixth of the clergymen were loyalists compared to all of the New York and Connecticut support for the crown. Moreover, in Carolina many of the middling

[405] Armytage, *Four Hundred Years, 2;* Wallace *Short History,325*. The upcountry people petitioned the Commons House for equal treatment in 1743, 1746, 1752, and 1762 as well.

class or Anglican parishioners like revolutionary hero Francis Marion took on the cause of the patriots as well.[406]

On the other hand, the backcountry differed greatly from the lowcountry by 1775. The population surge regarding the arrival of mostly Germans in the 1730s and 1740s was now (despite the entrance of large numbers of English, French and Germans) known as the Scotch-Irish era. As a result, by 1776 Henry Laurens, the president of the provincial Congress, felt deeply that the upcountry disaffection to the Revolutionary movement could be devastating. He sent agents into the upper regions of South Carolina on a mission to figure out the cause of upcountry disaffection. He found that the people blamed the coast-country planters and merchants for their troubles more than the King of England. It was the lowcountry dominated Commons House membership which had delayed the granting of courts, equal representation, and schools to the upcountry settlers. [407]]

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Anglican Church and the Society ran into difficulties. The church's lessening of a once-tight grip on the South Carolina populace was first noted in the license procedure for Anglican only schoolmasters. Then in 1759, the Anglican Church decided to fill no more church vacancies in South Carolina. Where once South Carolina was the "favored field," the religious indifference often expressed by Anglican congregations became a measure of Society success. Moreover, by mid-century unworthy clergymen stalked a few of the lowcountry parishes and brought disgrace to the Anglican hierarchy. Nevertheless, despite the 1759 restraint on the dispatching of ministers to Carolina, from 1670 through 1775, the Anglican Church still managed to supply one hundred thirty-two Anglican ministers to Carolina.[408]

From the period under study (1670-1730) on into the early nineteenth century, the size of South Carolina contracted while the population grew from around 5,000 to around 125,000. In

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[406] Wallace, *Short History*, 209-255.

[407] Wallace, *Short History*, 254-255.

[408] Wallace, *Short History*, 209-221.

fact, by the mid-1740s the last vestiges of Gideon Johnston's dream of the Anglican Church and parish school centered English township and small farms had ended in the lowcountry. At this time, Carolina's first staple crops, rice and indigo had brought prosperity for many. These crops required cultivation by around 75,000 slaves on isolated plantation settings and supported a merchant class vested in the trade of indigo, rice, and soon cotton in the lowcountry. Not long after the American Revolution, one technological invention spurred further economic growth. The cotton gin made the planting of cotton profitable and more people moved from settlement centers to larger acreages throughout the South Carolina countryside. Prior to the American Revolution, there is no doubt that South Carolina became the richest colony on the mainland of the British North American colonies. And there is no doubt that South Carolina continued her economic climb right up to the point of explosion, the American Civil War.[409]

Summary

Carolina Mudsill evaluated only the first three decades of the decades long British parish school history in the colony of Carolina (1703-1730). This phase of school development began with the arrival of schoolmaster Samuel Thomas and ended with schoolmaster Thomas Morritt's Charles Towne School. While Samuel Thomas' Silk Hope School (1703) on the east branch of the Cooper River and Francis Le Jau's school at St. James Goose Creek (1706) vanished from the education record, new schools developed and some prospered. For example, unlike the schools established along the Cooper River, the St. Philip's Parish School under schoolmaster Thomas Morritt was the first to gain a far-reaching reputation. Nevertheless, as had the first schools along the Cooper River the St. Philip's Parish School lived for only a short time in the minds of the colonials. For example, in the St. Philip's Church cemetery, instead of Thomas Morritt, the one marker dedicated to the memory of Charles Towne's early Anglican

[409] Wallace, *Short History*, 306-440.

schoolmasters reads, "The Rev. John Lambert, Master Perceptor and Teacher of Grammar and other Arts and Sciences in the FREE SCHOOL (1728)." In the same fashion, once the American Revolution separated the Carolinians from their British roots, historians often relegated the parish school record to that void wherein only memories of British oppression dwelled.[410]

[410] Wallace, *Short History*, 67. Photograph, John Lambert tombstone, St. Philip's Church, Charleston, S. C., 2005.

EPILOGUE

During his last days, Francis Marion [1732-1795] envisioned the future of the nation for which he had been willing to surrender his life. During the process, the American patriot addressed a critical question. What was needed to sustain the still frail American republic? He made the case that a system of "free schools" would be a vital link to the survival of the republic.[411] In the early hours of a most difficult birth, the birth of a nation, Marion reasoned, "A good government can hardly ever be half anxious enough to give its citizens a thorough knowledge of its own excellences. For, as some of the most valuable truths, for lack of promulgation, have been lost, so the best government on each, if not widely known and prized, may be subverted."[412]

Ten years after the ratification of the U S. Constitution, Marion, like other survivors of the American Revolution, would be withdrawn from such earthly debates. In fact, during the last days of the eighteenth century, only a few lingering Carolina revolutionaries continued the education discussion. Just months after Marion's death, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney [1746-1825] took up the wavering standard. Speaking to the school question, Pinckney asked what role education should play, not just in the republic, but in the development of a southern state? In essence, Pinckney moved against his own aristocratic class when he announced to the 1797 state legislature the "oft-emphasized need of public schools" was again on the lawmaking agenda for

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[411] Parson Mason Locke Weems and Brig. Gen. Peter Horry, *The Life of General Francis Marion, a Celebrated Partisan Officer in the Revolutionary War, against the British and Tories in South Carolina and Georgia,* (Philadelphia: Allen, 1809), 229.

[412] Weems, *The Life,* 234; Francis Marion (1732-1795) had access only to a limited schooling. A native of St. James Goose Creek parish, he farmed until age 28. Marion, a descendent of French Huguenots, joined in the war against the Cherokee and later the American Revolution. In *Life of Marion,* the patriot comments at length on the importance of the free school to the new republic.

consideration. The petitions had arrived at the seat of the new government from the new state districts. Yet, Pinckney emphasized that the petitions were most numerous from "several of the districts" in the upcountry.[413]

Pinckney pressed the state legislature toward the public appeal for schooling. Politically astute, this former "aid-de-camp to General George Washington" restated the words of Marion, the now deceased but beloved native son.[414] During the gloomy days of the Revolution, Marion had been lovingly christened by the citizens of Carolina "The Swamp Fox."[415] The story was that Marion was so savvy in skirmishing with the enemy in the lowcountry swamps that it was he and his men who in reality directed British military tactics in the South.[416]

The exploits of the Swamp Fox had occupied the minds of the British officers. In turn, numerous British troops were set aside to fight the obstinate Carolinians. As a result, the British response to Marion's guerrilla warfare enabled Washington, in the northern campaigns, to contend with fewer British troops. In Carolina's low country, isolated in his struggle against a well-supplied British army, Marion conscripted supplies from the people, leaving each with a handwritten pledge note. Following the Revolution, as Marion had promised, these accounts were paid by the new government.[417] This is precisely why, in answer to the question what role should education play, not just in the republic but in the development of a southern state, that

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[413] David Duncan Wallace, *South Carolina, A Short History, 1520-1948* (Columbia: University of S.C. Press, 1961), 28, 339.

[414] Walter B. Edgar and N. Louise Bailey, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives: Volume II, The Commons House of Assembly, 1692-1775* (Columbia: The University of S.C. Press, 1974), 525.

[415] Robert D. Bass, *Swamp Fox: The Life and Campaigns of General Francis Marion.* (New York: Holt, 1959), 128.

[416] Wallace, *Short History*, 339.

[417] Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 128; Edgar & Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 242-250. The popularity of the Swamp Fox soared when the frail and bankrupt state government paid eighty percent of these notes.

Pinckney resurrected Marion and warned representatives, "No republican government was stable or could exist without an enlightened people."[418]

Immediately following the American Revolution the leaders of this southern government were rooted in a discourse regarding what they deemed the importance of a schooling base. Marion's argument was based on the fact that no schools had existed in the upcountry prior to the Revolution. In the early days of the war, he concluded that if free schools had been available to the people of this region, perhaps they would not have held so tightly to their British way of life.[419] Despite Marion's serious concern regarding the importance of schooling, following his death (1795) two sides formed on the school question. The schooling advocates, the middling lowcountry and upcountry citizens, stood in opposition not to a rival faction but rather to a rising tide of indifference.[420]

By October of 1803, the school supporters were charging the *Charleston Courier*, the major communication organ of the day, of taking an indifferent attitude toward the need for an education program.[421] Despite the *Courier's* lack of interest in the ongoing school debate, by December, the school supporters had realized a small gain. Colonel Robert Barnwell, a member of the Legislature, introduced a bill "for establishing public schools in several districts in the State."[422] Col. Barnwell was joined by Governor John Drayton.[423] Gov. Drayton "insisted that

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[418] Wallace, *Short History*, 28; Weems & Horry, *The Life*, 229.

[419] Weems & Horry, *The Life*, 227-235; Rachel N. Klein, *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 63-64.

[420] Klein, *Unification*, 240.

[421] *Charleston Courier*, October 15, 1803; Klein, *Unification*, 262; Colyer Meriwether, *History of Higher Education in South Carolina with a Sketch of the Free-School System* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), 111.

[422] *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 17, 1803.

[423] Edgar & Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 261.

the state, by establishing inland schools, would be enabled to acquire for the public service the most distinguished abilities, in whatsoever station they may be placed and which otherwise would have been lost in oblivion through lack of education."[424]

The Barnwell-Drayton Bill was defeated. At the time, Col. Barnwell argued that the 1805 defeat was not due to any hostility within the legislature to the proposed free school. He said the bill failed because no consensus on the plan for educating the citizenry was reached.[425] As a result, since the leadership had disagreed mainly on the guidelines for instituting the program, the education supporters sustained their fight. The school advocates stood confidently alongside Barnwell to offer a second education bill to the legislature. The second school proposal was crushed as well.[426]

America was in its infancy during this post-Revolution discourse (1795-1805). However, as noted in this study education debates were not new in Carolina. Under the rule of the British Empire, the Carolinians had sparred ruthlessly over the question of schooling or who should be educated. At this time, schooling was an auxiliary of the Protestant Reformation and its emphasis on reading.[427] Accordingly, throughout Europe, within the various church assemblies, the teaching of reading was an offshoot of the passion for all church members to read the Bible. The fervor for reading united the Protestants on one level but the over time the assorted dogmas within each branch of Christianity divided the sects. By the 1680s, Carolina held two conflicting

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[424] Klein, *Unification*, 242. Governor John Drayton is quoted in Klein. Drayton's speech follows closely the recorded words of Francis Marion regarding the link between the Revolution and schooling. Marion was quoted as saying the war would have been lost "for lack of promulgation" of education and Drayton followed with the assertion that it was a war "which otherwise would have been lost for lack of education." Drayton's educational background included the College of New Jersey (1779) and the College of South Carolina, (1807).

[425] Wallace, *Short History*, 28.

[426] Klein, *Unification*, 242.

[427] R. Freeman Butts, *A Cultural History of Western Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955), 245.

Protestant camps, the conformists and nonconformists to the Church of England. As a result, after much internal turmoil, by 1712 all schooling fell firmly under the control of the Anglicans.[428]

Under British rule, during the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the Church of England's parish school system dominated Carolina's education landscape. In this colony, the restriction on who could teach was linked to the passage of the 1704 Church Act, a highly contested law which solidified the Anglican Church as the state church. Thereafter, despite protest of the law by nonconformists, all schooling was controlled by the Anglicans through the issuance of teaching licenses. Needless to say, the license was issued by Anglican clerics and only to Anglican schoolmasters. Thus, from 1704 through the early 1730s, though Presbyterian parents may have wished their offspring to assemble under a Presbyterian schoolmaster for reading lessons, official schooling fell firmly under the domain of the Anglican Church. From 1712 throughout the early 1730s, therefore the major disagreement regarding Anglican dominance centered on the issue of the teaching license. In due course, however, by the 1760s the Anglican parish school question appeared as one element in the controversy regarding the inherent geographical divide, lowcountry versus upcountry.[429]

Basically, under the British Empire the Carolina Commons House of Assembly failed to meet any needs of the upcountry people.[430] This included a critical need, the enforcement of colonial law. For example, in 1767, Lt. Gov. William Bull wrote the Lords of Trade that "the

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[428] Joel Spring, *The American School, 1642-2000 (New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. 1997.)*, 9.

[429] W. H. G. Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of English Education*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 2.

[430] *S. C. Gazette*, April 19, 1770; Joseph W. Barnwell, ed., "Correspondence of Hon. Arthur Middleton, Signer of the Declaration of Independence," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (*SCHM*), XXVI (1925), 204; The *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly (Commons Journals), 1705-1775*, July 4, 1769, (Columbia: S.C. Archives), 204.

inhabitants settled from 250 miles west from thence [Charles Town] lie under great hardships for want of that protection of their persons and their property which the law affords."[431] The upcountry people yearned for "good order and harmony" in their frontier communities. The low country dominated Commons House of Assembly, however, would not yield to establishment of courts beyond Charles Town.[432] Just ten years before the Revolution, inaction on the part of the Commons House produced upcountry vigilantism.[433] It was at this point that the Charles Town officials sensed a "developing democratic-republican vision" rising among the upcountry men. Given the opportunity, they believed this tendency could lead to an assault on low country dominance. With promises of change, the vigilantes known as the Regulators disbanded in 1767. At the end of the day, the Circuit Court Act was passed (1769).

The 1769 petition for courts addressed another important need: the "establishment of public schools" in the upcountry.[434] As of 1730, though parish schools had increased in the lowcountry, no parish schools were situated in the piedmont.[435] Of course, historically, prior to any relevant dialogue regarding schooling, lowcountry or upcountry, the record denotes a connection between population growth and the desire for schools. In this regard, it was not until around the 1740s that the upcountry population increased.[436] By the 1760s, the population

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[431] Richard M. Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1963), 41-44; *Commons Journals*, November 11, 1767.

[432] Edgar & Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 213.

[433] Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 40-45; Klein, *Unification*, 68, 238.

[434] Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 41-44: *Commons Journals*, November 11, 1767; *S.C. Gazette*, Feb. l, 1768.

[435] Edgar & Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 213. Prior to the Revolution, the upcountry consisted of St. Matthew's (1765), St. Mark's (1757), and St. David's (1768) parishes.

[436] Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 218.

soared. It was at this time that the ongoing appeal for schooling turned into a demand.[437] The lowcountry dominated leadership, however, proved resistant to upcountry pleas for schooling.[438] Prior to the American Revolution, the Anglican parish school never extended more than forty miles beyond the Atlantic coast line.[439]

The roots of the lowcountry versus upcountry split extended backward in time to Carolina's British roots and lowcountry domination of the Commons House of Assembly. Prior to the American Revolution, few interregional efforts were made to unify the colony of South Carolina. The developing antagonism between the two regions is noted in the many upcountry petitions for assistance. As a result, as the Revolutionary discourse commenced, the upcountry people were hesitant in joining with the lowcountry people in the uprising against the British.[440] At this point, the high number of loyalists found among the upcountry parishes alarmed the lowcountry Patriot leadership.[441]

The movement toward revolt was launched in 1774 when Colonel Charles C. Pinckney was elected to the "General Committee of ninety-nine." By January of 1775, the committee

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[437] Klein, *Unification*, 232-245; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 250-255; Edgar & Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 78. In the late 1760s, because the colonial Assembly had not listened to backcountry grievances, a group of vigilantes or "Banditti," known by the upcountry people as the Regulators, became the primary enforcers of order. Having finally received some recognition from the legislature, the Regulators and another faction, the Moderators, dissolved.

[438] Klein, *Unification*, 238; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 78-79; Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators*, 41-44; *Commons Journals*, Nov. 11, 1767; S. C. Gazette, Feb. 1, 1768.

[439] Edgar & Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 57, 213; Richard J. Hooker, *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant* (Chapel Hill, University of N.C. Press, 1953), 13-14. Woodmason, wrote out the twenty three requests found in the Regulator petition (November 7, 1767). As a result of the petition, rangers were quickly dispatched to the Piedmont. The upcountry court system, however, did not function until 1772. The schools were never established.

[440] Wallace, *Short History*, 222-223. Before the 1769 bill, Petitions for judges and courts were made in 1743, 1746, 1752, 1758, and 1762.

[441] Klein, *Unification*, 83; Wallace, *Short History*, 263.

called for establishment of "A General Provincial Committee."[442] Rationalizing, it was at this point in South Carolina history that a few lowcountry revolutionaries blamed the lack of zeal among the upcountry citizenry on the ignorance or illiteracy found among the upcountry inhabitants. For despite the call for schools in the 1769 court act, the upcountry lacked any provision for state assisting religious schooling. As a result, as the revolutionary discourse grew louder, by 1777 the question of upcountry schooling suddenly proved vital to the outcome of the war effort.[443]

At long last, the question of equitable schooling, a vital connection between literacy and revolutionary zeal, proved crucial to the lowcountry leadership.[444] As evidence of the seriousness with which the leadership approached the schooling question at this time, the last failed effort to establish upcountry schools, the 1769 Circuit Court Act, is detailed. Following the Regulator movement and passage of the Circuit Court Act, in an endeavor to provide upcountry schools a Charleston Grand Jury (1768) incorporated several societies.[445] Later, in 1774 as the revolution approached, the Coastal Whigs finally opened up the provincial government to upcountry delegates.[446] It was thus at the point wherein distrust of British policies increased or Carolina entered what has been designated the first of three phases of

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[442] Wallace, *Short History*, 253-256; Edgar & Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 219-222. The "General Meeting" of inhabitants changed under the title of "General Provincial Committee" to a distinguished group or a definite membership now serving as a representative body.

[443] Klein, 238-239; Meriwether, 222-226.

[444] Wallace, *Short History*, 248-250; Klein, *Unification*, 238-239.

[445] Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 226.

[446] Edgar & Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 219. The Charles Town "tea" party and "Mass Meeting" took place on December 3, 1773.

Carolina's revolutionary history that action was taken. The revolutionary schooling debate took place during Carolina's first phase (1774-1776).[447]

In the midst of a rebellion against the world's largest army and navy, Carolina's provincial government provided for upcountry schools.[448] In 1770, Lt. Gov. Bull had sent a message devoted entirely to education to the Commons House.[449] Around 1774, the upcountry delegates entered the lowcountry Commons House of Assembly. By 1777, the provincial committee had gained fifty-five men who would act for the backcountry parishes.[450] Still, upcountry representation remained only a small portion of the total 187 representatives.[451] However, despite the low upcountry representation, by December of 1777 in the parish of St. David's a school opened.[452]

It was education historian Colyer Meriwether (1889) who detailed the unexpected establishment of Revolutionary era schools. His list of schools included a school "Eastward of Wateree (1778)," a school called "Alexander's School (1778)" in the Waxhaws, and the "Salem Society School (1777)" at Ninety-Six, S.C.[453] According to Meriwether, even the steadfast rivalry between the Protestants and the Catholics relaxed somewhat at this time. He explained

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[447] Wallace, *Short History*, 248-250; Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 224; Edgar & Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 212-224; Klein, *Unification*, 83.

[448] Klein, *Unification*, 238.

[449] Wallace, *Short History*, 248-250. The request included schools and a college.

[450]Klein, *Unification*, 68, 238, 240. The Circuit Court Act of 1768 for the first time established a system of courts, jails, and sheriffs in four newly created backcountry judicial districts. St. David and St. Matthew were new districts and St. Mark and St. James, Goose Creek were reapportioned.

[451] Klein, *Unification*, 83.

[452] Edward McCrady, *Education in South Carolina Prior to and During the Revolution: A Paper Read before the Historical Society of South Carolina (1883),* (Charleston: The News and Courier Book Presses, 1883), 224.

[453] Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 219-227.

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that "in the midst of the war" as requested by several inhabitants an act for creation of societies took place and one controversial society, the Catholic Society, was quickly approved.[454]

While attention should have concentrated on military actions, references to the school divide appeared in letters and in the journals of the Commons House. It was therefore in the midst of a burgeoning civil war within Carolina and a world conflict that the upcountry petition for schooling proved most urgent to the dominant lowcountry leadership.[455] In the years that followed, numerous examples of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary era discussion regarding the importance of schooling have been located. Bear in mind the words of the members of the Mount Zion Society (1777). In the early days of the war, in the Mount Zion preamble, the members wrote that it was their objective to "promote knowledge as the *firmest cement* of a State."[456] And while Carolina from Ninety Six to Charleston lay in ruins, Aedanus Burke, a judge appointed to the backcountry, made this 1782 plea to Arthur Middleton: "knowledge and learning thro' the Land w[ould] have this good effect, the Youth in our Back Country w[ould] become valuable useful men, instead of being, as they are at present, brought up deer-hunters and horse thieves, for want of Education."[457] Following the war, in 1795, Governor Arnoldus Vanderhorst desired that schools exist throughout the new state "so that

[454] Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 224

[455] Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 359; Klein, *Unification*, 238-240; Wallace, *Short History*, 224-238; Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 223-225.

[456] William August Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968, 166. The preamble to the Act of Incorporation of the Mount Zion Society as quoted in Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation*.

[457] Aedanus Burke to Arthur Middleton, July 1782, in Barnwell, ed., "Correspondence," 204.

knowledge and information may be *generally diffused,* and morals and virtue, the necessary effect, adorn and characterize the citizens of South Carolina."[458]

As assessed by numerous historians over the years, for the Carolinians the lowcountry versus upcountry rivalry proved as costly and exhaustive as the overall Revolutionary effort. After the war, Francis Marion remembered well the cost and the sudden establishment of schools. As he assessed the war effort in Carolina, he held to his conviction that it was the unequal education levels which had almost proved detrimental to Revolutionary goals.[459] In effect, if the Revolution had failed, the attempt itself would have been fatal to individual insurgents like Marion and Pinckney. As a consequence, the memory of the anguish caused by the literacy rift, especially for those who had gambled their life on independence, did not heal easily. It was for that reason, during the post-Revolution debates, Marion and other revolutionaries held to their belief in the importance of equitable schooling.

Be that as it may, as the nineteenth century dawned, a new generation of state leaders viewed the appeal for equitable schooling as not only costly but superfluous.[460] In a little less than twenty years, the post-Revolution school conversation faded. By 1811, only a few revolutionaries even remembered the divisiveness that had almost ended the struggle for independence not only for the state but for the republic. For instance, during the first ten years of the nineteenth century, the school question continued in the Carolina legislature, in 1803 and again in 1805. Yet, the hope of Francis Marion, Col. Pinckney, Gov. Drayton, Col. Barnwell, and Thomas Pinckney that the education gap would narrow failed. Six years later, almost four

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[458] Wallace, *Short History*, 249.

[459] Klein, *Unification*, 74.

[460] *Senate Journal*, November 18, 1795 and November 27, 1797.

decades after the first upcountry Revolutionary school opened, the St. David's Society school, a state school law passed in the state legislature.[461]

The parish school foundations as it translated into the 1811 Free School Bill, however, did not fulfill the aspirations of the founding fathers. The parish school foundation failed to usher in an all-encompassing school to support the new republic.[462] For example, the 1811 Free School Act called for school commissioners. These appointees were to establish free schools in each district. The number of schools allowed could only equal the district's number of delegates in the state House of Representatives (not the population). The state provided $300 each year per school. In each district, the commissioner had the power to reduce or increase the number of schools. The state, however, would not increase the appropriation beyond the number of representatives. In most cases, throughout the antebellum era the upcountry representative numbers remained static. In the end, this political tactic continued the pre-Revolutionary tradition of lowcountry political domination.[463]

In the days following the Revolution, as the discourse regarding the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution was printed on the front pages of early Republic newspapers, General Francis Marion argued it was the time to strike for equitable schooling in the new republic. According to Marion, this was yet another point in time wherein a republican education was sorely needed. Literacy could bind the new republic. Nevertheless, before the first decade of the nineteenth century ended, the question regarding the learned lesson from the

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[461] Eelman, "An Educated," 3-14; McCrady, *Education in South Carolina*, 212-218.

[462] Eelman, "An Educated," 3. Eelman in his study of the Spartanburg common school movement argued the disillusionment with the 1811 bill sprang forth quickly. The birth of the common school movement (1850s) gave the Spartanburg people renewed hope. Yet in the end "the fate of commons schools" was left to the "voluntary spirit" of local communities thus the Spartanburg school movement was easily suppressed.

[463] Meriwether, *History of Higher Education*, 210-212; McCrady, *Education in South Carolina*, 212-218.

parish school experiment, the need for a state supported school system which could support broad learning, was moribund. Therefore, as the nineteenth century opened there was nothing, not even the 1811 law, which offered to the Carolinians the purpose of schooling as espoused by Francis Marion.

Bear in mind therefore that when Mason Locke Weems emphasized the school issue in his biography of Francis Marion, this story was not, as Weems was often accused, exaggerated. No doubt, Francis Marion felt passionate regarding the role of schooling in the new republic. Weems wrote that during his many visits with Marion, the old patriot had quite often railed against the ignorance of the Carolina Loyalists. In fact, Marion not only blamed a lack of education regarding the Enlightenment ideals for the resistance of the people toward revolutionary thought, he linked the upcountry's ignorance of progressive ideals as one reason for the high cost of the war. Marion went even further: he projected the loss of wealth caused by loyalists who refused to adhere to the insurgency language. "Had the people been enlightened," Marion complained to Weems, "they would have been united; and had they been united, they never would have been attacked a second time by the British "[464]

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When this project began, a written history on the South Carolina parish school was missing from the historical record. As feared, it soon became apparent that the problems associated with the telling of the parish school history would prove immeasurable. Most of all there was the problem with primary sources. For example, no extant sources existed in the United States except for published or secondary sources or a few SPG records on microfilm.

[464] Weems & Horry, *The Life*, 246.
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In fact, in today's South Carolina, the physical evidence of the parish school tradition proved lacking as well. Only two symbols bookmark the existence of the schooling tradition to which Marion alluded. In the historic St. James Goose Creek area, atop the wooden door of a low country Anglican Church, an embossed pelican feeds its young, the emblem of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.[465] This structure has been, since 1706, through wars, hurricanes, and an earthquake that almost took down the structure along with Charleston itself.[466] The second piece of evidence is found inside this pink stuccoed building. A British Coat of Arms embraces the wall behind the high podium.[467] Both symbols are steadfast reminders to the rare visitor of Carolina's first governing body, the British Empire. Yet, it is what the occasional visitor does not see: it was the many published letters and reports that told the story of these two symbols which offered some basic interpretation. Regardless of the obstacles including the fact that the original records were held in London's Lambeth palace, the parish school project moved forward and was reconstructed. Carolina Mudsill therefore offered forth the secret. The connection between these two symbols and the significance of the parish school tradition as it existed under the British Empire.

In answer to the question posed in the Preface of *Carolina Mudsill:The Passage of Carolina's 1710 Education Law,* timing appeared to played a critical part in the promise of republican schooling in the republic. The question posed was at what point did southerners depart from the parish school tradition or suspend a republican tone regarding the purpose of school in the new Republic?

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[465] Michael J. Heitzler, *Goose Creek: A Definitive History* (Charleston, The History Press, 2006), 70.

[466] Edgar & Bailey, *Biographical Directory,* 161, 244, 436-437, 581.

[467] Heitzler, *Goose Creek*, 56-70.

Basically, a system or foundation for equitable schooling was set in South Carolina under the parish school tradition. At some point, the widely accepted conclusion that religious schooling could direct or create a productive and submissive civilization had ushered forth a new question. What would be the purpose of schooling in the new republic? In the end therefore during the decades of its existence the parish school provided the lowcountry people with a schooling foundation. And it provided the Revolutionaries with an education mudsill or base from which to question the purpose or power of schooling. Consequently, in the early days, months, of the Revolution several Revolutionaries drew on the parish school tradition as they quickly established schools in the upcountry of South Carolina to correct the literacy oversight. In the years following the Revolution, many of these same Revolutionaries discussed the impact of equitable schooling on the new Republic. Moreover, they understood well that the small window of opportunity for schooling for the republic would close quickly. In fact, as the Revolutionaries disappeared one by one, the thrust in agricultural wealth and the production of the profitable cotton crop changed the direction of South Carolina society. By 1820, for many Carolinians the question of the importance of schooling was frivolous. As a result, in less than twenty years after the Revolution, Marion's call for republican schooling in South Carolina failed. [468]

[468] Spring, *American Education*, 9-12.

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