

# *Against All Odds*

**History of Saint Andrew's Parish Church,  
Charleston, 1706-2013**



PAUL PORWOLL



AGAINST ALL ODDS:  
HISTORY OF SAINT ANDREW'S PARISH CHURCH,  
CHARLESTON, 1706–2013

PAUL PORWOLL



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Many thanks to Paul Harrison for the beautiful photos used on the front and back covers. Paul's wife Edie is the daughter of Ken Dojan, beloved sexton of Saint Andrew's in the 1990s. Ken, who died of cancer and whose gravestone reads "God's gardener," would be pleased. Author's photo courtesy of Lori Porwoll.

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For the people of Saint Andrew's Parish Church:  
past, present, and future

On the morning after Palm Sunday, I visited Old St. Andrew's Parish Church.

The early sunlight was bright, but the wind was sharp and it disciplined the impatient azalea blossoms and the hesitant wisteria that clustered at the old gravestones.

The church door was open. The sanctuary was dim, for the sun had not yet found the height, nor the angle, with which to enter the ancient window panes.

I tiptoed into the quietness and sat down near the front of the church. I sensed time—suspended and motionless. Here, I thought, the ages again have paused on the threshold of Easter.

Head bowed, I thought of many things. I did not feel alone. I felt the strong presence and the persevering prayers of the generations who had sat where I now sat. I, too, tasted the vague, haunting bittersweet sadness of the pre-Resurrection hours....

Then gradually a joyous realization began to dawn in my mind!

One of the reasons that the atmosphere, the mood, the expectation of Holy Week is so real in this place is because this church has known in a measure, what the Master knew. It had known a ministry that flourished and was fruitful; then rejection, the desecration of cruel hands, and the oblivion of the grave ... and it has also known a resurrection!...

Next Sunday, the Rev. John L. Kelly will welcome the worshippers at one of the three Sunday morning services. Toward evening, the young people will gather for vespers and time again will have taken on fresh meaning, fresh values for the faithful.

They will have known what I knew as I knelt in Old St. Andrew's Church—that death is only a finality for those who die without hope. And it is only a brief pause in the destiny of the Children of the Kingdom.

From "The Church That Lived Again: Resurrection Story,"  
by Margaret Gilmore, *Charleston Evening Post*, March 24, 1964.

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Let us now sing the praises of famous men, our ancestors in their generations. The Lord apportioned them to great glory, his majesty from the beginning. There were those who ruled in their kingdoms, and made a name for themselves by their valor; those who gave counsel because they were intelligent; those who spoke in prophetic oracles; those who led the people by their counsels and by the knowledge of the people's lore; they were wise in their words of instruction; those who composed musical tunes, or put verses in writing; rich men endowed with resources, living peacefully in their homes; all these were honored in their generations and were the pride of their times. Some of them have left behind a name, so that others declare their praise.

But of others there is no memory; they have perished as though they had never existed; they have become as though they had never been born, they and their children after them. But these also were godly men, whose righteous deeds have not been forgotten ... Their offspring will continue forever, and their glory will never be blotted out. Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name lives on generation after generation.

Ecclus. 44:1–10, 13–14

First reading on the Sunday after All Saints' Day

November 3, 2013

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Ten or fifty or a hundred years from now  
your children and grandchildren may be asking,  
“How did they do it?”

Rev. George Tompkins

18th rector, St. Andrew's Parish Church

2004 Annual Report

# CONTENTS

Foreword . . . . .	vii
Preface . . . . .	x
Illustrations . . . . .	xiv
1 Prelude (1670–1706) . . . . .	1
2 Difficult Beginning (1706–1717) . . . . .	15
3 Stability, Expansion, and Prosperity (1718–1750) . . . . .	45
4 Prosperity, Fire, and Revolution (1751–1785) . . . . .	74
5 Antebellum Reorientation (1785–1851) . . . . .	99
6 Into the Storm (1851–1865) . . . . .	132
The Beauty of Saint Andrew’s Parish Church . . . . .	152
7 Ruin and Recovery (1865–1891) . . . . .	160
8 Dormancy and Decline (1891–1948) . . . . .	183
9 Rebirth and Reestablishment (1948–1963) . . . . .	210
10 Reversal and Uncertainty (1963–1985) . . . . .	241
11 Confidence Regained (1985–2006) . . . . .	276
12 Shaping the Future (2006–2013) . . . . .	307
Afterword . . . . .	326
Acknowledgments . . . . .	328
Appendices	
1 Building Dates of Church Act Churches . . . . .	333
2 Rectors . . . . .	334
3 Known Wardens . . . . .	335
4 Known Diocesan Convention Lay Delegates . . . . .	339
5 Presidents, Women of the Church . . . . .	344
6 Notable Burials in the Graveyard . . . . .	345
7 Timeline . . . . .	352
Abbreviations . . . . .	360
Notes . . . . .	363
Bibliography . . . . .	419
Index . . . . .	432



## FOREWORD

I am not a Charlestonian. I'm "from off." I moved to the Holy City in the summer of 1989, just in time for Hurricane Hugo—maybe that should have told me something.

I was lured here by an incredible combination of historic and natural beauty, and the belief that I would be able to live, work, and raise my family in a place that many of my family and friends loved to come for vacation. I was hooked.

I still remember returning to Charleston after Hugo. My wife and I drove toward the Crosstown along Interstate 26, which at the time we all called "the I." There was only one lane open, because there was so much debris on the freeway. As we came to the end of 26 and the beginning of the Crosstown, we could see the indigo blue of a South Carolina flag hanging from a house near the highway. I began to cry. It was a beautiful, defiant sign that we would not be beaten. I knew then that I loved this place that had become my home.

I have spent my life since 1989 in Charleston, interrupted only by three years in seminary at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee. Some might say that wasn't really leaving Charleston when we moved temporarily to Sewanee, but just relocating to the college and seminary that so many Charlestonians have attended since The War. After graduating from the School of Theology in 2001, I have twice turned down opportunities to leave Charleston. It has a magic and a diversity of living styles that can't be matched. Where else could you find the kitch of Folly Beach, the suburbs of Mount Pleasant, the history of the peninsula, and the opulent beauty of Kiawah and Seabrook, all within thirty minutes of each other?

My love of this city includes an area that is very special, and yet is often overlooked in descriptions of this wonderful place. The area of town known as West Ashley has morphed into that name from its previous moniker, West of the Ashley. And yet, within my lifetime and when I first moved here, I remember the area also being known as St. Andrew's. There was St. Andrew's Parish High School, which later merged with Middleton High to form the new mega-school West Ashley High. There is a St. Andrews Boulevard, a St. Andrews Public Service District, and many, many St. Andrew's churches.

## *Foreword*

My first glimpse of St. Andrew's Parish Church actually came on my wedding night, April 22, 1989. My wife and I were married at St. Michael's Church downtown, and the wedding and reception that followed at the Hibernian Hall were events I will never forget. My new wife had wisely decided that we would escape the city and spend our first night together at the Middleton Inn, across the county line and far away from my fraternity brothers who had come to town for the celebration. With the top down on our Mustang convertible, we drove through the late spring night out St. Andrews Boulevard and eventually onto Ashley River Road. I remember seeing the old church off to the right and set back from the road, thinking what a great place that must be. It didn't occur to me at the time to turn in for a visit.

Years passed. Many years passed. I believe that in the years between 1989 and 2006 I had been to most Episcopal churches in Charleston, but for some reason, not Old St. Andrew's. My good friend, the Reverend George Tompkins, had told me late in 2005 that he was going to retire, and I had told our bishop that I would be interested in being considered for the position. I slipped into Old St. Andrew's for the first time on the evening of Good Friday 2006, a day that always leaves me emotionally and physically drained. I climbed up into the balcony, anxious to remain anonymous. I marveled at the light, the lines of the church, and the warm spirit in that place. I sat on the front bench in the balcony. I was hooked.

Fast forward to the spring of 2013. A few friends were in town, and they wanted to take a carriage ride downtown. I'm not much on touristy things, but I agreed to go along. The carriage, completely full, crawled down Broad Street, and I cowered in the back seat, hoping I wouldn't be spotted by anyone who knew me. I certainly wasn't wearing my black shirt and collar!

As we neared the intersection of Meeting and Broad, the carriage driver explained the Four Corners of Law. This is the spot where the buildings on each corner represent city law, state law, federal law, and God's law. Then he said that we were passing "the oldest church building in Charleston." I couldn't stop myself.

"Ah, excuse me," I said, raising my hand.

"Yes, sir?"

"Well," I said, "isn't there another church that's much older, west of the Ashley?"

The driver looked coldly at me, thinking I was an easy mark.

"No, sir. St. Michael's is the oldest church building in the city."

## Foreword

He thought the discussion was over and began to turn toward the road ahead.

“Um ... excuse me, I don’t think so,” I said, not giving up. “I’m pretty sure that Old St. Andrew’s out on Highway 61 is much older.”

The driver smiled at me politely.

“How do you know that, sir?” he asked.

“Well,” I said, “I’m the Rector of Old St. Andrew’s.”

Some people giggled, some got uncomfortable. I tried to strike a truce quickly and said, “I think you’re probably thinking about St. Michael’s just in the context of the peninsula,” I said. “St. Andrew’s is pretty far from downtown, but it’s the oldest church building south of Virginia.”

We moved on, thankfully.

My exchange with the carriage driver wasn’t surprising to me. When I tell people in other parts of Charleston, or when I’m out of town, that I’m the Rector of Old St. Andrew’s, frequently they ask me, “now is that the one in Mount Pleasant, in the old village?” Or, “do y’all still have services on Sunday?” Many are stunned to know about our history and our thriving congregation. You don’t just stumble across Old St. Andrew’s—you have to *want* to go there to get there.

The story of Old St. Andrew’s is, in many ways, a story of the determination and the resilience of Charleston. Wars, hurricanes, earthquakes, economic downturns, and just plain age each individually could have done in this charming colonial city and could have done in its oldest church. But nothing did. The church is a monument to faith. Faith in God, faith in its people, faith that, no matter the odds, we would prevail and we would continue to grow. And we have.

Recently, as I neared the end of my seventh year of service at Old St. Andrew’s, a new staff member told me that she would characterize Old St. Andrew’s as a *determined* church. Determined to move past the division of the separation of the diocese from the national Episcopal Church, determined to retire its debt and move on in strength, determined to work. Determined to serve God.

Against all odds, Old St. Andrew’s doesn’t just survive. It thrives. And oh, by the way, we do have services there on Sundays! As St. Andrew said to his brother Simon, we say to you who read this account of our history, “come and see.”

Rev. Marshall Huey  
19th rector, St. Andrew’s Parish Church

## PREFACE

This book tells the story of Saint Andrew's Parish Church into its 307th year. The quaint Anglican church with a green metal roof, nestled among more than a thousand gravesites, was built in 1706 as one of ten churches in ten parishes established by the South Carolina colonial assembly. It was expanded into the shape of a cross in 1723, rebuilt after a fire in the 1760s inside its existing walls, and restored countless times, most recently in 2004–5. It is not found on the peninsula of historic Charleston, where the steeples of St. Michael's and St. Philip's grace the skyline, but about thirteen miles away, along Ashley River Road in the western suburbs.

Old St. Andrew's, as it is commonly called, is among the South's most historic churches. It is the oldest surviving church structure not only in South Carolina, but south of Virginia. It is also South Carolina's only remaining colonial cruciform church. The ancient building holds a full schedule of worship services every Sunday. Some of its counterparts established in 1706 are still used, but less often. Others have been replaced or augmented by newer buildings, some centuries old themselves, some modern. Still others have vanished, or their ruins stand in eerie silence to ages past.

Not only is the church building a remarkable testament to the ages, but so too the people who kept it alive. The story of this church is a microcosm of the history of South Carolina, casting a sharp mirror on the colonial era, the American Revolution, the antebellum plantation period, the Civil War and its aftermath, the long slide into economic stagnation, and its modern resurgence. The striking appearance of this little white church hides a constant struggle to stay alive, caught in a crossroad of cultures.

St. Andrew's was established as the parish church for Anglicans living on plantations along the Ashley River. This thriving tidal waterway connected people on both sides of the river to their neighbors and to the city of Charles Town. The first settlement of Carolina on Albemarle Point was located in what was to become St. Andrew's Parish.

As the Church of England became the colony's state-supported religion, minority Anglicans feuded with majority dissenters (or non-Anglicans) in political, social, and economic arenas. Not long after St. Andrew's Parish

## *Preface*

Church was built, it was nearly torn apart by feuding between Anglican parishioners and a temperamental, ex-Presbyterian rector his people were reluctantly forced to accept, then forcibly sought to remove.

Rice, indigo, and slavery made St. Andrew's the most prosperous parish in the most prosperous province in British North America. The men who derived their wealth from lands along the river were immensely powerful, members of colonial congresses and assemblies. Their family names would leave indelible imprints on Lowcountry life—Branford, Bull, Cattell, Drayton, Fitch, Fuller, Heyward, Hill, Horry, Ladson, Middleton, Miles, Pinckney, Rivers, and Rose. One woman of the parish, Eliza Lucas Pinckney, would become renowned for her experiments with indigo.

The rich gained the notoriety, but there were always the poor. The poorest of all were the African American laborers, first enslaved then freed, whose numbers greatly exceeded whites. The economy of St. Andrew's Parish, from its inception into the twentieth century, was fueled by white capital and black sweat. But this innocuous country church set in the forest and along the marsh provided a unique meeting place for all its Anglican, and later Episcopal, residents. The gentry mixed with the commoner, at times with the slave, and perhaps even with a free black man or woman, perhaps like no other institution in their day.

Like those beneath them, people in the middle of the social and economic ladder were also invisible to history. Their names won't be found in newspapers, journals, or books. They made no fortunes, gave no speeches, ran for no political office. Inscriptions in the parish register, the official record of vital statistics kept by colonial parish churches, allow us to remember a few of these earliest settlers along the Ashley River.

The clergy who served the parish was a diverse lot. Some were fabulously wealthy. Royal governors granted them hundreds of acres of land. Some lived, outside their country ministry, in some of Charleston's grandest homes south of Broad Street. They died leaving sizeable inheritances. Some were experienced in ministry, but others, in their first parochial assignment out of seminary, learned their craft in this rural outpost. Some stayed for decades, others served but for a year or two. Some left a shining legacy, others but a little.

The parish suffered dreadful disease, Indian conflict, and revolution; then civil war, reconstruction, and long periods of neglect. There were hurricanes, earthquakes, and strip mines. After the American Revolution, whites fled

## *Preface*

the area along the Ashley River, and its parish church began to decline. Nineteenth-century clergy focused its ministry on the plantation slaves and later, to the freed men, women, and children of the parish. St. Andrew's (Mission) Episcopal Church, a predominantly African American congregation located just south of its parish church namesake, dates its founding from evangelism efforts on Magwood Plantation. The name these churches share testifies to their common heritage, a bond their congregations seek to nurture rather than forget. The mission flourished during Reconstruction, while the parish church struggled to remain open. After its rector who had provided forty years of continuity died at the end of the century, St. Andrew's Parish Church fell dormant for nearly sixty years.

Suburbanization west of the Ashley in the mid-twentieth century made the reopening of St. Andrew's a feasible but daunting proposition. It took the combined efforts of generations of new parishioners, ordinary folks without large bank accounts, to rebuild their dilapidated colonial building. If finding the money for these restorations were not challenging enough, they also built a separate house for study and fellowship. Hardly an extravagance, this simple concrete block building went through two additions in short order and later an expansion of its main meeting room. It was soon beset with its own problems, leaking roofs and porous walls. Debt followed debt.

By all odds, this church and its congregation should not exist today. But no matter their station, parishioners saw their church as a place of reflection and inspiration for a better, everlasting life. At crucial junctions throughout its history, they simply refused to let the old church die.

Recently Old St. Andrew's found itself ensnared in an ecclesiastical civil war it had nothing to do with and desperately wanted to avoid. In 2012 the Diocese of South Carolina disassociated from The Episcopal Church over matters of Christian doctrine, morality, and polity. Old St. Andrew's was then forced to declare its allegiance to either the diocese or the national church. After much soul searching, the parish chose the diocese. Some devoted members left to form a new church in West Ashley named St. Francis, aligned with The Episcopal Church. But they carry a love of Old St. Andrew's deep in their hearts, and Old St. Andrew's will never forget them.

This book incorporates four vital components of a church. First is the physical space of the brick-and-mortar building, the architectural gem that has provided a center for worship for more than three centuries. Second is the clergy that

## *Preface*

has furnished spiritual guidance in good times and bad, in sickness and in health. The minister's personality, leadership, and effectiveness play a crucial role in church histories, and St. Andrew's is no exception. That is why this story relies so heavily on the succession of rectors that link past, present, and future. Third is the congregation that has embraced the church and clergy as sources of refuge and strength in its spiritual life. Many people have left their mark on this church, and you will read about them in this book. But many, many more of those "unseen, unsung workers" who make a parish run remain nameless but are just as important. Fourth is the community where the physical space is located and where the congregation lives. Sense of community is especially important to a church that was established to serve a large geographic area, first St. Andrew's Parish and later West Ashley.

This book is a tribute to the thousands of people who have come together as the body of Christ, through these years of struggle, to ensure that St. Andrew's Parish Church remained open for worship. It is a celebration of their efforts to continue God's work in this holy place, against all odds.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

Parishes of colonial South Carolina . . . . .	5
St. Andrew’s Parish, 1708–17 . . . . .	8
Plantations along the middle Ashley River, north of St. Andrew’s Parish Church . . . . .	11
Charles Jones’s grant for a church along Coppain Creek . . . . .	15
Memorial to church builders Jonathan Fitch and Thomas Rose . . . . .	17
Conjectural floor plan, 1706–23 . . . . .	22
Exterior plan, with great and small doors and conjectural stump tower and vestry, north and west elevations, 1706–23 . . . . .	22
The truncated St. Andrew’s Parish, 1721–1865 . . . . .	43
Chest tomb of Charlotta Bull Drayton, 1744 . . . . .	54
Exterior plan, with large east end window and conjectural bell tower, east and south elevations, 1733–62 . . . . .	62
“A Prayer,” from Edward Brailsford’s devotional book . . . . .	65
Melted window glass found during the 2004 archeological investigation. . . . .	82
Rebuilding the parish church. <i>South Carolina Gazette</i> , April 23, 1763 . . . . .	82
Reredos of St. Andrew’s Parish Church. . . . .	86
Reredos of St. Stephen’s Parish Church. . . . .	86
An Ionick Altar Piece, Plate 110, Batty Langley . . . . .	88
Hessian Captain Johann Ewald’s sketch of the engagement at St. Andrew’s Parish Church, 1780. . . . .	97
Charles Fraser’s watercolor of St. Andrew’s, 1800 . . . . .	107
Rev. Paul Trapier . . . . .	110
Rev. Jasper Adams . . . . .	116
Nathaniel Russell Middleton, 1842. . . . .	123
Plantation ministry to the slaves, St. Andrew’s Parish. . . . .	128
Lewis R. Gibbes’s pencil sketch of the church, 1840s . . . . .	130
Rev. John Grimké Drayton . . . . .	133
Col. William Izard Bull . . . . .	137
Col. Bull’s pew plan, 1855. . . . .	139
Pew plan, 1940. . . . .	140
Excerpt of a letter from John Grimké Drayton to Samuel Crawford Brincklé, January 16, 1861 . . . . .	148
Church exterior, northwest elevation . . . . .	152
Aerial view of the cruciform church . . . . .	152
Church exterior, southwest elevation . . . . .	153



## *Illustrations*

Church exterior, southeast elevation with cruciform view and brick vault . . . . .	153
Through the west door . . . . .	154
Center aisle of the nave . . . . .	154
Detail of tablets and reredos . . . . .	155
View from the gallery . . . . .	156
View from the chancel . . . . .	156
Pulpit and reading desk, with elevation of pulpit . . . . .	157
Font, with elevation. . . . .	157
Gallery . . . . .	158
Organ pipes and case . . . . .	158
View from the pulpit. . . . .	159
Magee House. . . . .	159
The church reopened, 1876 . . . . .	168
Surrounded by phosphate mining, 1916 plat . . . . .	172
Opening lines of William Izard Bull's letter to Elizabeth McPherson Ravenel, 1889 . . . . .	180
Earliest known photograph of St. Andrew's Parish Church, 1891. . . . .	181
"Daddy Billy" Fludd . . . . .	185
Church exterior, 1901 photograph . . . . .	186
Oldest surviving portrait of the interior of the church, 1907 postcard. . . . .	187
Cherub and ornamentation over the east chancel window . . . . .	198
Church exterior, 1928 postcard . . . . .	202
Church exterior, north elevation, showing the location of the red tile, 1940. . . . .	204
<i>J. F.</i> and <i>T. R.</i> memorials, 1940. . . . .	204
Transformation of St. Andrew's Parish from rural to suburban . . . . .	206
Rev. Lawton Riley . . . . .	212
Alfred Hutton etching of the church, 1949 . . . . .	215
Communion silver, ca. 1870, found at the diocese, 1948 . . . . .	217
Church picnic at Givhans Ferry State Park, 1951 . . . . .	218
Cemetery landscape plan, Loutrel Briggs, 1951. . . . .	219
Rev. Lynwood C. Magee . . . . .	222
Groundbreaking for the parish house, 1953 . . . . .	223
Fifth grade Sunday school class in the new education wing, 1962. . . . .	225
Steel gusset plates used to strengthen the connection of the roof rafters and collar ties. . . . .	227
Rt. Rev. William J. Skilton . . . . .	231
Church exterior, 1958 . . . . .	236
Rev. John L. Kelly . . . . .	241

## *Illustrations*

Rev. Howard T. Cutler . . . . .	245
Rev. John E. Gilchrist . . . . .	256
The Episcopal Churches of West Ashley . . . . .	257
Tea Room staff, 1975 . . . . .	261
Rev. John Gilchrist facing the congregation at worship, 1972 . . . . .	263
Celebrating the nation's bicentennial, 1976 . . . . .	264
Rev. Geoffrey R. Imperatore. . . . .	270
Robert D. Fogel. . . . .	271
Rev. George Tompkins . . . . .	278
Hurricane Hugo devastates the churchyard. . . . .	281
Sara Younkin . . . . .	289
Archeological investigation inside the church . . . . .	295
Artifacts discovered during the archeological investigation . . . . .	295
Repairing cracks in the west exterior wall . . . . .	297
New valley rafter and steel rod collar tie . . . . .	298
1855 pew plan: before and after . . . . .	299
Restoring the reredos . . . . .	300
Staging a historical sketch for the 300th anniversary. . . . .	305
Rev. Marshall Huey . . . . .	309
Easter sunrise service procession, Drayton Hall, 2008 . . . . .	314
Mission work in Boca Chica, Dominican Republic, 2009 . . . . .	315
Rev. David Adams baptizes his son David III in the North Edisto River, Camp St. Christopher, Seabrook Island, 2011 . . . . .	316

## CHAPTER 1

### PRELUDE

1670 – 1706

**T**HE STORY OF SAINT ANDREW'S PARISH CHURCH begins not where the church itself was planted, but where Carolina was founded, thirty-six years before.

In April 1670 the 200-ton frigate *Carolina* sailed into a large, natural harbor on the southeastern coast of the new world, north of Spanish Florida, and up a river on the west side of a peninsula that jugged into that harbor. The more than 130 settlers on board had endured a seven-month voyage from England to Ireland and Barbados, then through Nevis and Bermuda. The pilgrims, guided by the Kiawah Indians, chose a concealed bluff on a tidal creek that meandered off the river. The first permanent settlement in South Carolina, which they called Albemarle Point, would lie within the boundaries of what would become St. Andrew's Parish.<sup>1</sup>

Carolina was a business venture funded and managed by eight friends of King Charles II of England, the "true and absolute lords and proprietors." In 1663 Charles granted the Lords Proprietors a charter for the colony of Carolina. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Chancellor of the Exchequer and later Earl of Shaftesbury, emerged as the driving force behind colonization. He assembled ships, settlers, and a captain, and with his personal secretary John Locke wrote the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina to govern the new colony.<sup>2</sup>

Two major rivers were named after Sir Anthony, the Ashley to the west of the peninsula and the Cooper to the east. The Ashley River is not a long waterway, only sixty miles from its origin in the Wassamassaw and Cypress swamps until it meets the Cooper in Charleston harbor. At its origin, the Ashley is a small, blackwater stream that becomes a freshwater tidal river, transitioning to saltwater as it nears the sea. Its marshlands provide a rich variety of plant and animal life. "Mile for mile," said George McDaniel, executive director of Drayton Hall, "the relatively short Ashley River is perhaps unrivaled in the Southeast, if not the nation, for its history, its diversity of habitats, and its location in a major city." By the end of the twentieth

century, the Ashley River would be named a National Historical District and a State Scenic River.<sup>3</sup>

The people who settled this bluff were not idealists chasing dreams of gold, but practical men and women with the skills needed to carve out a new world. Many were indentured servants, who paid for the cost of their passage with a period of servitude, after which they might become landowners. Some of the original settlers and many who followed were Barbadians, who had made their island the richest colony in British North America from sugar cane and slaves. “People of exceptional energy, experience, and wealth,” these Barbadian immigrants established what amounted to “the colony of a colony” in Carolina to escape overcrowding and find new opportunities that had disappeared in Barbados by 1670. Barbadians would play a major role in shaping Carolina in general, and St. Andrew’s Parish in particular.<sup>4</sup>

The inhabitants established their settlement on Albemarle Point, overcame initial hardships, and began to prosper. “The first 5 or 6 years,” wrote Maurice Mathews, surveyor-general of the province and an early explorer of the Ashley River, “I cannot readily say wee liked, for wee wer in continuall want, few in number, few Cattle, and what is worst of all, ignorant what to doe but these four last years wee have had such plenty of provisions that it is to be admired rather than beleaved.”<sup>5</sup>

Carolina was a land of plenty, a veritable cornucopia of fruits, vegetables, game, and fish. The weather was moderate. The growing season was to be marveled: “wee have alwayes ane thing or other Springing and green all the year long.” Summer’s heat tapered off by late October, and the coldest months were January and February. Mathews had seen snow only twice in ten years. In the early days, the settlers lived in peace with the native peoples, ensuring that wrongs on either side were rectified. Settlers were generally healthy. “Some years about July and August,” Mathews said, “wee have the fevar and ague among us, but it is not mortall.” Governor John Archdale wrote that “any Raging Sickness” was infrequent, but disease brought into Charles Town from ships originating in the West Indies would become a constant problem, and a deadly one.<sup>6</sup>

The Ashley River provided a tempting avenue for colonists to spread out from the original settlement. Men sixteen years or older were entitled to own 150 acres of land for themselves, plus 150 acres for every able-bodied adult male servant brought with them to the province and 100 acres for every adult female servant and male servant under the age of sixteen. The proprietors tried to keep colonists close together for safety, but the lure of accessible farmland along the

navigable waterways was too tempting to resist. The Ashley and its creeks soon became key transportation arteries that linked plantations and their trade goods to town and the interior. Within the first year of landing, inhabitants began to settle areas along the west side of the river, not far from Albemarle Point.<sup>7</sup>

Ten years after landing in Carolina, in 1680, the settlers left their protected bluff for a better site. They had explored an area they called Oyster Point, strategically located at the end of the peninsula between the Ashley and Cooper rivers. This new settlement would grow into the city of Charles Town. Plantations now dotted both sides of the Ashley, from the harbor to far upstream.<sup>8</sup>

The inhabitants experimented with various ways to make a living. Food, timber, and wood products were initially exported to the West Indies. Cattle- and hog-raising developed, as did trade abroad and with the pirates and Indians. The most lucrative business was in the trade of deerskins, the supply and demand of which seemed unlimited. Naval stores were developed—tar, pitch, and turpentine for the maritime industry. Rice was introduced at the end of the seventeenth century, grown in cleared inland swamps, and production grew quickly.<sup>9</sup>

Daniel Axtell was among the most important figures in the early economy of the upper Ashley River. Operating at or near Newington plantation in today's Summerville, Axtell was involved in every aspect of the key enterprises of the first decade of the eighteenth century. He operated a tar kiln for producing naval stores and the colony's only tannery for processing cattle and deer hides and its only sawmill for making timber. He managed Newington plantation and its many products, one of which was rice, at "that moment in history when Carolina was poised to become the kingdom of rice."<sup>10</sup>

Downstream on the Ashley, the life of Thomas Drayton illustrated the transition from ranching to planting. Drayton began raising cattle on lands that would be part of today's Magnolia Plantation and Gardens. His success as a cattle rancher allowed him to expand his land and slave holdings. He had already begun growing rice before he died in 1717, and his son John would manage a gradual shift from cattle to rice at Drayton Hall twenty years later.<sup>11</sup>

From the earliest days of colonization, Indian and African slaves were used to perform heavy manual labor, due in part to the immigrants' predilection for rum and corn liquor. The easy availability of slaves needed to clear and cultivate the land transformed rice into the province's most important cash crop. Black slaves were imported from Barbados and the West Indies, then from Africa. Indian slaves were captured in the province. They were kept by the settlers and traded for other goods. Enslaved Indians never represented

more than a small fraction of the total slave population, and the Indian slave trade vanished after 1715. The number of African slaves in South Carolina however, grew rapidly, more than doubling from 1690 to 1710, tripling during the decade of the 1720s, and growing by another two-thirds by 1730, to 20,000. Rice grown on plantations along the Ashley River made the parish wealthy. Indigo, the cultivation of which was perfected in the 1740s, added a second significant cash crop.<sup>12</sup>

#### THE PARISH SYSTEM

St. Andrew's Parish was created by an act of the Commons House of Assembly in 1704. Seven parishes were named—St. Philip's in Charles Town and six in Berkeley County, including "one upon Ashley River." Berkeley was one of three counties established in 1682, along with Craven to the east and Colleton to the west. The parish system was familiar to Barbadians, and it worked well in South Carolina as a smaller governing body within the counties. When the act was repealed two years later and replaced by another of the same name, ten parishes were established in all three counties. Two parishes were in Colleton County: St. Paul's (between the Stono and South Edisto rivers) and St. Bartholomew's (north and west of St. Paul's). St. James's, in Craven County, served the French settlement on the Santee River. (The French Huguenots there had already gained parish status in an act of the assembly of April 9, 1706.) Seven parishes were in Berkeley County. St. Philip's served the city of Charles Town and the neck running north, up the peninsula. Six more were in the countryside: Christ Church (southeast of the Wando River), St. Thomas's (north of Christ Church along the Wando and Cooper rivers), St. Denis's (near St. Thomas's for the French settlement), St. John's (on the west branch of the Cooper), St. James's (on Goose Creek), and St. Andrew's (on the Ashley River).<sup>13</sup>

As the province grew and immigrants flooded into the backcountry, new parishes would be added. The original ten parishes created in 1706 would expand to twenty-four by the American Revolution. If Charleston is called the "holy city" for the steeples that dot its skyline, then colonial South Carolina was truly the "holy province." The names given to South Carolina's parishes were overwhelmingly ecclesiastical, such as St. Andrew's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Philip's, while most parishes in colonial Virginia carried such secular names as Abingdon, Accomack, and Antrim. In reality, the naming convention in South Carolina was less spiritually-motivated and more related to the homeland of many of the colony's earliest immigrants. The names of nine of

*Prelude (1670–1706)*

the eleven parishes in Barbados, including St. Andrew's, found their way into the geographical nomenclature of colonial South Carolina.<sup>14</sup>

No parish has a deeper connection with the date on which it was established than the "one upon Ashley River." November 30 is celebrated on the Christian calendar as St. Andrew's Day. For Barbadians, St. Andrew's Day carries special significance, for on that day in 1966 their country celebrated its independence from Great Britain.



Parishes of colonial South Carolina. St. George's was part of the original St. Andrew's Parish (Courtesy of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History)

**ST. ANDREW'S PARISH**

The act of 1706 named parishes but assigned them only a broad geographic location. Legislation enacted two years later delineated specific parish boundaries. St. Andrew's Parish was laid out to the northeast in a line from the plantation of Christopher Smith to the northwest boundary of the parish of St. James's, Goose Creek, to the southeast by the Atlantic Ocean, to the southwest by Colleton County (bounded by the Stono River), and to the northwest by the boundary of Berkeley County. At 280 square miles (40 miles north-to-south by 7 miles east-to-west), St. Andrew's was an average size 1708 parish, about the same as its

neighbor to the east, St. James's, Goose Creek. But compared to the size of its Barbadian namesake, St. Andrew's, South Carolina, was a giant. The Carolina parish was almost 70 percent larger than the entire island of Barbados.<sup>15</sup>

St. Andrew's Parish was laid out on both the east and west sides of the Ashley River. Few now consider suburban Charleston on the west side and North Charleston and the airport on the east to have much in common, since surface roads that knit the area together provide a sense of community. But in colonial times, boat travel along the Ashley was a primary means of transportation; both sides of the river were thus easily accessible to inhabitants.

How does the colonial description of St. Andrew's Parish match today's geography? The plantation of Christopher Smith was an important landmark when parish boundaries were laid out in 1708. The border of St. Andrew's and St. James's, Goose Creek, on the east side of the river began at the northern point of Smith's plantation called Stock Prior, later Quarter House.<sup>16</sup> Today this point would be found in the vicinity of where three main highways intersect in North Charleston: Dorchester Road (S.C. 642), Rivers Avenue (U.S. 52/78), and Cosgrove Avenue (S.C. 7). From here the boundary would have angled southwest to North Bridge. From the juncture of the three roads, the eastern parish boundary would have followed a line northwest through Charleston International Airport, connecting with the Dorchester-Charleston county lines. Below Smith's plantation to the south was the city parish, St. Philip's. The southern and western part of St. Andrew's Parish included James and Folly islands, which are bounded on the east by Charleston harbor, on the south by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by the Stono River.<sup>17</sup>

Continuing north along the Stono, the parish boundary followed Rantowles Creek, with St. Paul's Parish to the west. Using a current map, the boundary at the headwaters of Rantowles Creek became a straight line running northwest for about seventeen miles, past Givhans, where the South Edisto River meets Four Hole Swamp. From there, it went about seven miles northeast toward Ridgeville. Continuing southeast from Ridgeville, it extended about nineteen miles to Windsor Hill, then six miles to approximately the intersection of Dorchester, Rivers, and Cosgrove in North Charleston.<sup>18</sup>

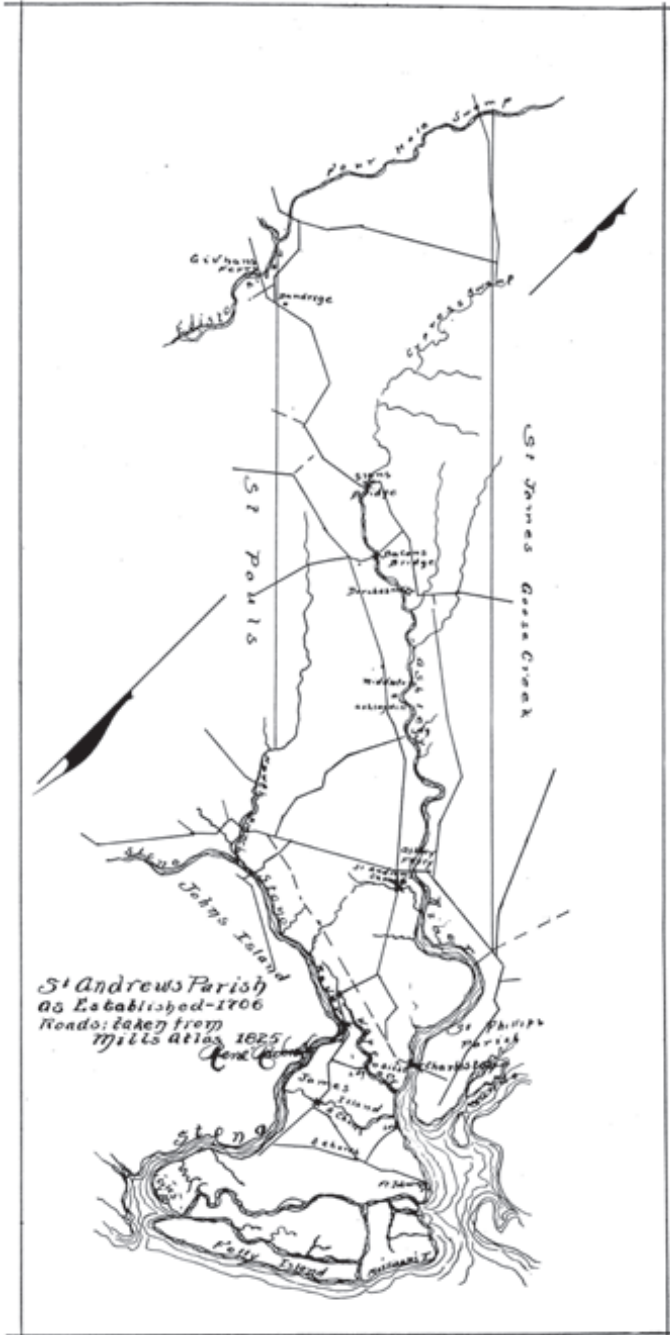
Modern residents would recognize the parish divided into three unequal sections. To the north were half of the parish lands which extended from Middleton Place to Ridgeville. In the center were 30 percent of the parish from Middleton Place south to Wappoo Cut, the dividing line between West Ashley and James Island. Twenty percent included the southern portion of the parish, James and Folly islands.



As the parish developed, “cuts,” ferries, and bridges were added to extend passage through and over waterways. Wappoo and Elliott cuts, or channels, were built to allow water passage between Wappoo Creek and the Stono River. New Town Cut joined New Town (James Island) Creek to the Stono River. Ferries were established over the Ashley River (at Ashley Ferry, later Bee’s Ferry), over the Stono River into Johns Island (at Guerrin’s Ferry, now the site of the John F. Limehouse Bridge), and at the harbor (from Dill’s Bluff on James Island to Oyster Point on the peninsula). Bridges were built over the upper Ashley at Bacon’s Bridge, over Rantowles and Wallace creeks, over Wappoo Creek at the old Edgewater Bridge, and over Church Creek just south of St. Andrew’s Parish Church at Hooper’s Bridge. A bridge connecting St. Andrew’s Parish to the city of Charleston would not be built until the nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

Ashley Ferry, less than a mile north of St. Andrew’s Parish Church, was a vital transportation hub that connected the east and west sides of the Ashley River. The ferry had operated from the earliest years of the province, and numerous people had owned it. About 1820 Joseph F. Bee inherited the ferry from his grandmother Sarah Freazer, running it until he died thirty years later. He was buried in the graveyard at St. Andrew’s. All traces of Bee’s Ferry were eliminated after the Civil War when a phosphate mining plant was built on the site. Today’s Bees Ferry Road commemorates the old ferry, and a CSX railroad trestle crosses the Ashley near the site.<sup>20</sup>

Unlike many areas of the province, St. Andrew’s Parish had an extensive road system. First established was the Willtown Road. It began on the east side of the Ashley near today’s Dorchester Road opposite Ashley Ferry and crossed the river at Thomas Rose’s plantation on the west side. From there, the road continued along today’s Bees Ferry Road to the Rantowles Bridge, ending at Willtown. Also known as Wilton or New London, situated on the South Edisto River in St. Paul’s Parish in Colleton County, this settlement was the first after Charles Town to be laid out as a town. The Kings Highway began at Fort Johnson on James Island. It extended over the Wappoo Cut, passed St. Andrew’s Parish Church, joined the Willtown Road north of the church, and continued to Bacon’s Bridge along the upper Ashley. An act of 1691 established this road for connecting Charles Town to the Earl of Shaftesbury’s plantation at Ashley Barony. The road linked plantations up and down the west side of the river. An 1825 map in *Mills’ Atlas* was the first known record of the road being called Ashley River Road. One of the area’s most beautiful highways, the eleven-and-a-half-mile section of Ashley



St. Andrew's Parish, 1708–17 (*The Progress of Saint Andrew's Parish 1706–1947: A Vision of Tomorrow* [Charleston: Exchange Club of St. Andrew's Parish, April 1947]. Illustration by René Ravenel. Courtesy of the South Carolina District Exchange Clubs)

River Road from Church Creek to Cooke Crossroads in Dorchester County (the intersection of S.C. 61 and 165) was named to the National Register of Historic Places in 1983 and a National Register Historic District in 1994. Ashley River Road was classified a State Scenic Byway in 1998 and a National Scenic Byway in 2000. Present-day Savannah Highway (U.S. 17) running east-west through the parish was not built until the early nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup>

Plantations became the parish's defining feature. Tens of thousands of acres of woodland and marsh north of Wappoo Creek were cleared and became fertile fields of rice and indigo. The plantations were home to both some of the wealthiest men in South Carolina and the poorest of the poor, the slaves who transformed and tilled the land for their masters. The plantations on James Island, nearer the sea and unsuitable for rice, were less valuable and used for cattle- and hog-raising, and later indigo.<sup>22</sup>

As the history of St. Andrew's Parish Church unfolds, a number of these plantations would play important roles in the life of the church. These include the three crown jewels of Charleston's estates that run north of the church for about seven miles: Drayton Hall and Magnolia, and to a lesser extent, Middleton Place. As late as the twentieth century, the owners of Millbrook plantation, just south of Middleton Place, added the cherub and grapevines over the semicircular east window, one of the most beautiful ornamentations inside the church.<sup>23</sup> Three plantations located south of the church and north of Wappoo Creek bear mention. Ashley Hall, family home of the Bulls, produced colonial lieutenant governors and a Confederate colonel who would help shape the life of their parish church. South of Ashley Hall was Old Town plantation, the site of the first settlement of Charles Town in 1670 and home to the Branford and Horry families in the eighteenth century and the Ravenels in the twentieth. Westpenny (later Fairfield) plantation, just south of Old Town, was owned by the Horrys in the late eighteenth century, the Frosts in the nineteenth, and the Dwights in the twentieth.

#### RELIGION IN THE NEW SOCIETY

From the earliest days of the province, the founders envisioned a dual system of religion. The Fundamental Constitutions established the Church of England as the official religion in Carolina, but other denominations ("dissenters") were liberally accepted. Only Rhode Island was more tolerant. Such openness encouraged continued settlement from Europe and within the American colonies. The welcome, however, did not extend to Catholic "Papists." Religion would be used to guide this fledgling land of immigrants. The very first act of

the colonial assembly in 1682 dealt with the proper observation of the Lord's Day (Sunday); it was immediately followed by legislation to curb "idle, drunken and swearing persons."<sup>24</sup>

The acts of 1704 and 1706 that established the parish system had deeper implications for life in South Carolina. Commonly called the Church Acts, their primary intent was to establish the Church of England as the state-supported religion. The act of 1704 created a furor. It outraged dissenters with its preferential treatment of the Church of England, and it angered Anglican ministers with a provision that allowed lay commissioners to remove clergy deemed "immoral or impudent." Such lay control over the ministry was an affront to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), a missionary organization founded in London in 1701 to satisfy the demand for Anglican ministers in the British colonies. The SPG threatened to pull its ministers if the law were not amended. Dissenters went to London to plead their case. The House of Lords and Queen Anne set aside the law as arbitrary and oppressive.<sup>25</sup>

In November 1706 a second church act was passed, which retained many of the features of its predecessor two years before. The Church of England was again established as the state-supported religion of the province, and it would remain that way until after the revolution. But no longer would ministers be subject to lay control. In fact, it became nearly impossible to remove a rector for just about any reason, and this would cause considerable distress.

The act of 1706 also laid out a blueprint for how an Anglican society would be organized. Anglican churches would receive preferential treatment compared to their religious counterparts. Tax revenues would be used to hire Anglican ministers, buy land for Anglican churches and glebes (where clergy lived, grew crops, and raised livestock), and erect and maintain Anglican buildings. Following the model of Barbados, parishes would serve both an ecclesiastical and secular role. Four key groups would be involved in managing parish affairs: commissioners, rectors, vestries, and churchwardens.

Commissioners were charged with appointing supervisors for key church-related construction projects, including the building of churches, housing for ministers and other structures on glebe lands, and cemetery enclosures. Commissioners were given authority to obtain land for these purposes. The Church Act of 1706 identified twenty-four men as commissioners, including influential Ashley River landowners William Bull Sr., Arthur Middleton, and Captain Jonathan Fitch. In addition to serving St. Andrew's Parish as a churchwarden (1718–19), Bull later founded Savannah, became lieutenant

Prelude (1670–1706)



Plantations along the middle Ashley River, north of St. Andrew's Parish Church (From the Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society)

governor of South Carolina, and as commissioner, supervised the building of Sheldon Church in Prince William's Parish, where he was buried. Middleton directed his efforts to St. James's, Goose Creek, where he served on the first vestry and was so instrumental in building the church there that grateful parishioners granted him a pew in perpetuity. Fitch was one of two men who would supervise the building of St. Andrew's Parish Church.<sup>26</sup>

Rectors were chosen by a majority of Anglicans to maintain the parish's spiritual life. They were paid from the public treasury an annual salary of £50 in the local currency of South Carolina (\$4,100 in 2012<sup>27</sup>), which increased to £100 *Curr.* (\$9,100) annually, three years after the act. They could use the parish's glebe lands and any property allocated to them. Rectors were made part of the vestry, and they, not judges or magistrates, had the authority to join couples in marriage. The job was daunting; rectors had to satisfy the parish that elected them and often had to travel long distances over poor roads to reach people in outlying areas. Illness and vacancy were common. As representatives of the established church, rectors often faced hostility from dissenters, who could account for a significant proportion of a parish's population.<sup>28</sup>

Vestries were established to conduct the business affairs of the parish. On Easter Monday, parishioners elected seven "sober and discreet persons" for a one-year term. Candidates were required to conform to the Church of England, be an inhabitant of the parish, and pay taxes. Vestries consisted of the parish elite and, in practice, included dissenters. The law required vestries to meet at least four times a year. Vestries chose a clerk (responsible for lay assistance at worship) and sexton (responsible for buildings and grounds maintenance); they were paid a salary out of public funds administered by the churchwardens. Vestries appointed a person known as a register to keep records of vestry meetings and parochial vital statistics. These statistics—births, baptisms, marriages, and burials; "negroes, mollatoes and Indian slaves excepted"—were kept in books also known as registers. Fees were collected for entering these life events into the register, and inhabitants were subject to fine if they neglected to report them. Parishioners had the right to examine the vestry books.<sup>29</sup>

Two churchwardens were elected on Easter Monday along with the vestry. They were charged with providing register books and collecting fines. Churchwardens, along with the vestry, ensured that rectors, clerks, and sextons were paid and churches, buildings, glebe lands, and churchyards were maintained. Although the assembly provided public funds for the upkeep of Anglican churches, these were never enough. Churchwardens and



vestries often needed to raise subscriptions from parishioners and sell pews to supplement income received from the public treasury.<sup>30</sup>

In 1712 the assembly gave churchwardens wide latitude to enforce a statute that mandated church attendance and abstinence from nearly all labor on Sunday, because “in many places of this Province [the Lord’s Day] is so much profaned and neglected by disorderly persons.” No work (by parishioners or their servants), public sales of goods, travel, sporting events, or entertainment in public houses was allowed. Churchwardens were charged with walking through town, once in the morning and once in the afternoon when worship services were being held, to observe and apprehend those disobeying the law. Churchwardens were empowered to search buildings and break open doors, if necessary.<sup>31</sup>

Parishes also served the secular needs of their people. Along with keeping vital statistics, parishes provided for the welfare of the poor and orphans, maintained a court system, served as election districts, and attempted to establish free schools. Postings on the parish church door broadcast items of interest.<sup>32</sup>

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel played a major role in the religious life of Anglican South Carolina. The SPG provided the province with nearly two-thirds of its Anglican ministers in the first half of the eighteenth century. Correspondence between its missionaries and its London headquarters provides the richest account of religious, social, and economic life during these years. The SPG’s mission was threefold: bring God’s message to the native peoples, convert the black slaves, and minister to the welfare of the European settlers. The Society failed to make any inroads among the natives in the province and was only slightly more successful among black slaves. SPG ministers served faithful Anglicans and reached out to inhabitants leading dissolute lives or who were in danger of falling under the influence of dissenter clergy.<sup>33</sup>

The SPG’s first missionary to Carolina, the Reverend Samuel Thomas, arrived in Charles Town in December 1702. A little more than a year later, Thomas wrote an encouraging letter back to England, reporting the progress he had made among the inhabitants. “Since my coming into these parts,” he said, “there is a visible abatement of vice and immorality, and many of our People who were careless in religion are prevailed on to a ready and constant attendance on God’s Publick worship.” But his spiritual work remained a struggle, and two years later the dismal state of the inhabitants caused him to write: “many of ’em had almost laid aside the profession of religion and forgot that they were Christians by name, the Lord’s day was almost universally

profaned, and many scandalous irregularities abounded, Children were brought up in the grossest ignorance for want of catechizing.”<sup>34</sup>

The Reverend Gideon Johnston, the Bishop of London’s first representative (commissary) to South Carolina, since the province had no bishop of its own, was horrified by what he saw. “The People here, generally speaking,” he wrote, “are the Vilest race of Men upon the Earth they have neither honour, nor honesty nor Religion enough to entitle them to any tolerable Character, being 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 [the West Indies], New England, Pensylvania &c; and are the most factious and Seditious people in the whole World. Many of those that pretend to be Churchmen are strangely crippled in their goings between the Church and Presbytery, and as they are of large and loose principles so they live and Act accordingly.” Other missionaries characterized the inhabitants as living “worse than the heathen” and that Carolina was “spoiled with blasphemy, Atheism and Immorality.” There was clearly much to be done.<sup>35</sup>

The Church Act might have given Anglicans preferential treatment, but they soon found themselves outnumbered. By 1700 Anglicans accounted for about 42 percent of the population, and dissenters, the remaining 58 percent. Scotch Irish Presbyterians were the largest dissenter denomination, estimated at about one-third of the population. Next were the French Calvinists or Huguenots, Baptists, and Quakers, at one-fourth. The percentages of these denominations remained constant through the middle of the eighteenth century. Political, social, and religious tensions between minority Anglicans and majority dissenters, within this Anglican-centric government, would flash throughout the colonial period and mirror the same disagreements that engulfed the British Isles.<sup>36</sup>

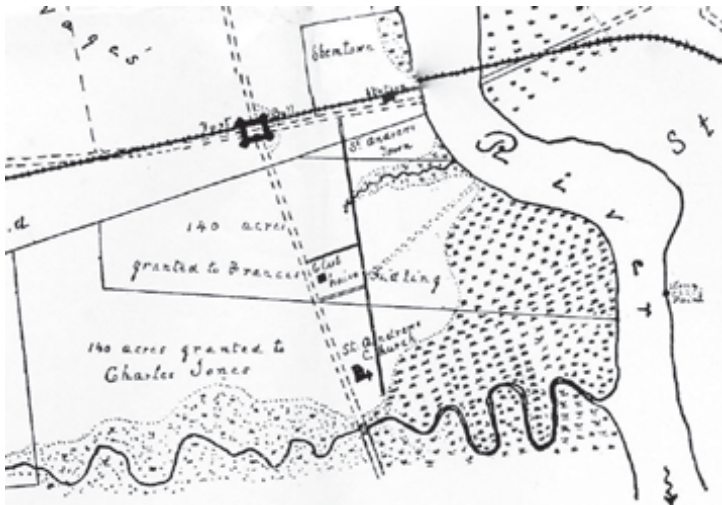
In December 1705 Reverend Thomas sent the SPG a status report of the religious makeup of six areas of the province. Two were overwhelmingly Anglican—Goose Creek and the eastern branch of the Cooper River. In two more—on the Wando River and the western branch of the Cooper—Anglican families made up about 60 percent of the total. But in another two areas—on the Stono River and the Ashley River—dissenters were the majority. Of the 100 families along the Ashley, Presbyterians and Anabaptists greatly outnumbered the 30 Anglican families. There were about 150 slaves there, one of whom Thomas had baptized. There had never been a minister, Holy Communion had never been administered, and there was no church. It would not take long before sectarian tensions would erupt along the Ashley.<sup>37</sup>



## DIFFICULT BEGINNING

1706 – 1717

**T**HE CHURCH ACT STIPULATED that churches and glebe buildings would be constructed in six of the parishes, including St. Andrew's, and funded by a tax on skins and furs. St. Andrew's would receive £333 *Curr.* (\$27,600), an equal one-sixth of the total allocation. The location of the parish church was near the middle of the tall, skinny parish. Although the decision where to situate it might have been based on achieving geographic balance, more likely it resulted from timely bequests. In July 1703 Charles Jones was granted 140 acres of land north of and adjoining Coppain Creek (also called Cuppain or Hooper's Creek and later, Church Creek). He set aside part of his lands for a new church, but exactly when is unknown. The land where the church would sit was flanked by marshland to geographical east and southwest along the creek. In January 1708 John and Mary Miles deeded 26 acres of a 300-acre parcel on Coppain Creek for use as the parish's glebe lands.<sup>1</sup>



Charles Jones's grant for a church along Coppain Creek (From the Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society)

## BUILDING A CHURCH

Construction of the Anglican church that would serve Ashley River planters dates to 1706, before parish boundaries had been delineated or the first minister had arrived. The Reverend Francis Le Jau, rector of St. James's, Goose Creek, and one of the most prolific writers among the earliest Anglican clergy in the province, noted in a letter of September 1707 that "we have a new Church ready built in the Parish near Ashley River."<sup>2</sup>

Church histories have uniformly dated the building of the church to 1706. But since the Church Act was passed on November 30, 1706, how could St. Andrew's have been constructed the same year? Was Le Jau suggesting completion in 1707?

His observation, while helpful, is imprecise enough that either a 1706 or 1707 completion date could be argued. The most reliable documentary evidence comes from the third rector, the Reverend William Guy, who wrote the SPG in 1728 that St. Andrew's "was built in the year 1706 ... the charges of it was defray'd out of the publick treasury by a law ratify'd in open assembly the 30th of November, 1706." He did not have an issue with the seemingly incompatible timing.<sup>3</sup>

When Guy wrote his letter, the Julian calendar was in effect. The new year did not begin on January 1, but on March 25. So if construction began in the weeks that followed the Church Act, between January 1 and March 24, would he have considered it the end of 1706? It is possible, but unlikely. Year notations between January 1 and March 24 were identified by a double date, separated by a slash (e.g., Guy dated his letter January 22, 1727/8). Since Reverend Guy routinely used the double-date convention in his correspondence, he would have referenced the date of the building as *1706/7*, not *1706*.

A more plausible explanation is that, with land for the church already secured, construction was begun before the act was passed. One of the church commissioners named in the act, Jonathan Fitch, was a parishioner, member of the assembly, and along with Thomas Rose, supervised the building project. Fitch would have been familiar with progress on the pending legislation and, knowing that public money would be available, started work well before November.

Some have contended that the date on the white marble memorial over the south door, installed in the nineteenth century, refers to the year the church was established, not the year of its construction. If so, then why would the initials of the building supervisors and their role also be included

*Difficult Beginning (1706–1717)*

with the date? The date 1706 on the memorial is clearly linked to the building of the church, not its establishment. In fact, worshippers who enter the church through the south door are constantly reminded of supervisors Fitch and Rose.<sup>4</sup>



Memorial to church builders Jonathan Fitch and Thomas Rose (Photo by the author)

Captain Jonathan Fitch (*J. F.*) was the second of four men of this name in St. Andrew's Parish in the span of fifty years. His father was a Quaker, but his son became an Anglican and prominent landowner. Fitch acquired two plantations on the east side of the Ashley: one, 905 acres opposite Magnolia, later called Maryville or Soldier's Retreat; the other, 452½ acres south of Maryville called Andrews, part of which he acquired from Rev. Ebenezer Taylor, the second rector, in 1714. Fitch also owned 1,110 acres west of the Ashley on the river, later known as Vauclose, which abutted Drayton Hall to the south. In addition to his Ashley River holdings, Fitch owned 1,855 acres in Colleton County and another 233 acres in Berkeley County. A captain in the militia, Fitch was four times elected to the assembly for Berkeley and Craven counties and was one of the twenty-four commissioners named in the Church Act of 1706. Fitch, who died in October 1723, would live to see construction begin to expand his small, rectangular church into the shape of a cross.<sup>5</sup>

There were at least five men named Thomas Rose (*T. R.*) who settled Carolina, but the Thomas Rose of St. Andrew's Parish was a planter who lived just north of the church on thirty-eight acres west of the Ashley that he acquired near Ashley Ferry in 1701. The road from Willtown on the South

Edisto ended at Rose's plantation on the Ashley before it resumed on the east side of the river. In 1718 Rose procured a larger plantation, Accabee, on the west side of the river where it makes a sharp eastward bend, today where Sam Rittenberg Boulevard (S.C. 7) crosses the Ashley at North Bridge. Rose lived until 1733, long enough to see his simple church expanded to more than twice the size of its original footprint.<sup>6</sup>

The church of St. Andrew was erected on a spot twenty-three feet above mean sea level at Church Creek and seven-tenths of a mile from the Ashley River. It was a modest edifice, a small forty by twenty-five foot rectangle. Such a "longitudinal" plan was modeled after rural English churches and was the way most churches in the South Carolina countryside were built until the 1740s. Three other rural churches had similar dimensions to the 1706 St. Andrew's: Christ Church, forty by twenty-four feet; St. Thomas's, thirty-seven by twenty-seven feet; and neighboring St. Paul's on the Stono River, thirty-five by twenty-five feet. By comparison, the parish church of St. John's, Berkeley, was the largest of the earliest country churches (at forty-seven by thirty-four feet), but the city's massive St. Philip's dwarfed them all.<sup>7</sup>

St. Andrew's had a simple pine roof. It had five small, square windows set high on the walls—two on the north, two on the south, and one on the east. Two doors led into the church. The main entrance, the "great" door, faced north toward the river, which the gentry and their families used for their access. A second entrance, the "small" door, was located on the west side; commoners and clergy used this entryway. Having doors of different sizes denoting different uses (a "hierarchy of access") was a common feature of the earliest colonial churches. This west-north configuration deviated from the standard used in early rectangular Virginia churches, whose west door served as the main entrance and a south door provided secondary access. The church "was not near finished in the inside" until sometime later. In a letter to the SPG, Reverend Taylor mentioned a pulpit with a canopy over it and a reading desk inside the church. There was a burying ground of seven acres.<sup>8</sup>

Nearby St. Paul's, built in 1707, also featured great and small doors but the number and orientation differed from St. Andrew's. The great door at St. Paul's was oriented along the west wall. Two small doors were located on the north and south walls, with the latter facing the Stono River.<sup>9</sup>

The exterior of St. Andrew's was made of brick. As simple as the church was, making bricks by hand was an enormous task. "Brickmaking in the

*Difficult Beginning (1706–1717)*

eighteenth century,” said Roy Underhill, Master Housewright at Colonial Williamsburg, “remained as labor intensive as it had been in the stories of the Old Testament. Every brick, of the tens of thousands required for a building, had to be handled at least seventeen times before the builders even touched it.” While white parishioners supervised the process, their black slaves undoubtedly played a central role in making the bricks, forming the wall structure, and fabricating other building materials such as nails and roof timbers.<sup>10</sup>

That was all anyone knew about the original building until 2004, when the vestry of St. Andrew’s commissioned Richard Marks Restorations (RMR) of Charleston to undertake archeological work as part of an extensive restoration of the church. Pews and flooring were removed, and the walls, foundation, and roof structure exposed. Excavation was performed both inside and outside the church. This research provided a fascinating and heretofore unknown glimpse into the 1706 structure.<sup>11</sup>

Investigators found that bricks were made on site, fired in a clamp, or kiln, located just outside the east wall. Today this is the center of the transept at the crossing of the aisles. The bricks were laid in an English bond and held together with lime mortar joints in a “grapevine” rule. This type of masonry showed that the builders did not plan to stucco the walls, which occurred later. The great door on the north wall of the nave was six feet wide, and the small door on the west side, three feet wide. At St. Paul’s, by comparison, the small doors were the same width as at St. Andrew’s, but the great door was a foot narrower.<sup>12</sup>

Four discoveries suggested features that might have been present in the original church or sometime before it was expanded in 1723, but have since disappeared. First, a wooden chancel, or rood, screen might have separated the chancel from the nave. Two “blind pockets” were found set into the north and south walls that would have held a wooden beam that supported the screen. This would have been “one of the very few documented of such a feature in the Deep South,” since chancel screens were thought to have been used only in Virginia.<sup>13</sup>

Second, a post mold was discovered between the north wall and chancel aisle, just beyond the rood screen. The mold was centered between the great door and the window in the north wall of the chancel. “This may indicate the presence of either a triple-decker pulpit [along the north wall of the nave] or a reading desk with the pulpit across the chancel aisle adjacent to the small southern door.” But only the one post mold was found: “Unfortunately,

no investigation of the southeast quadrant of the nave was undertaken.” In his architectural survey of Anglican colonial churches in Virginia, Dell Upton concluded that pulpits and reading desks could be found either stacked together, as in a triple-decker arrangement, or placed in separate locations within the church.<sup>14</sup>

Third, a vestry, or small room where the minister changed into his vestments before conducting divine worship, might have been attached to the south wall of the church. The “small southern door” that RMR referenced in the possible location of the pulpit and desk would have led from the interior of the church into the vestry. There would have been no outside access, as there was with the great door to the north and the small door to the west. Penetrations into the wall were found, as were the remains of a vertical corner post in a test pit, dug ten feet out from the wall. This vestry would have been made of wood because a brick foundation was not located.<sup>15</sup>

Protruding vestries were not uncommon in colonial South Carolina churches. Two chapels of ease had them—Pompion (pronounced *punkin*) Hill, serving St. Thomas’s, and Strawberry Chapel, serving St. John’s, Berkeley. The parish church of St. Thomas’s also had what was called a vestry, built about the same time as the church in 1708. But it was a free-standing building on the grounds that the church’s governing committee, called the vestry, used as an office. Nearly 150 years later, parishioners added an extension, or what they called a sacristy, to the east end of the church that functioned as a storage and vesting room.<sup>16</sup>

Until the Civil War more than a century later, clerical vestments consisted of a simple black gown with white linen bands worn at the neck. With fine cloth at a premium in the colonies, gowns might have also been homemade and dyed blue or gray. The surplice was less common, since the SPG or minister’s parish would have provided it. The third rector of St. Andrew’s, the Reverend William Guy, reported to the SPG in 1724 that one of the liturgical items he lacked was a surplice.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, a wooden porch, or “stump tower,” might have been attached to the west wall, over the small door, between 1706 and 1723. Two vertical “ghost lines,” where layers of lime wash had been applied to the bare brick, were found under the stucco and on the brick of the exterior west wall, eight feet on each side of the door, thus outlining the tower. Post molds were found in two test pits dug sixteen feet out and in line with each ghost line. Such a tower would have been slightly higher than the roof line and included a room

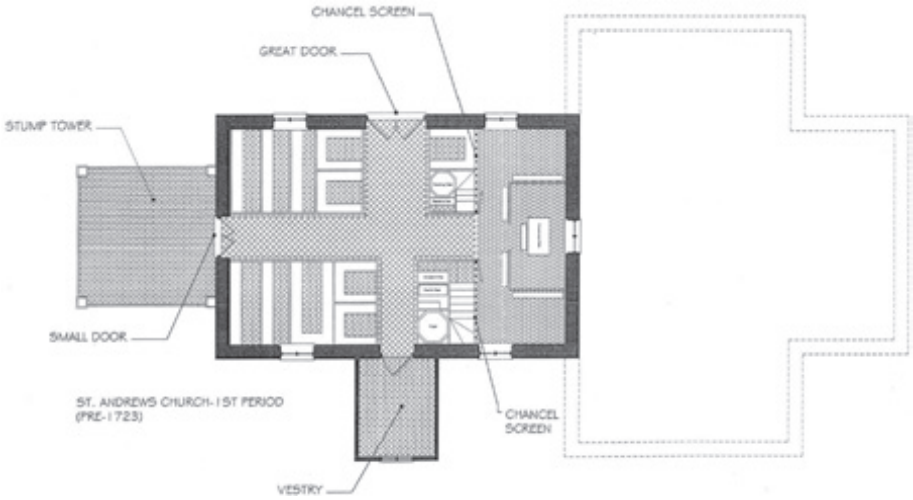
above an open entryway. It would have been unique to rural South Carolina churches.<sup>18</sup>

Larry Leake, RMR's principal researcher of the archeological study, outlined a chronology of the tower's construction: "bare brick initially; lime wash (perhaps several campaigns) over the whole of the building; stump tower built; more lime wash campaigns to the outside of the tower area [leaving the ghost lines]; roughcast up to the tower but not inside of it (perhaps several campaigns) ..."<sup>19</sup>

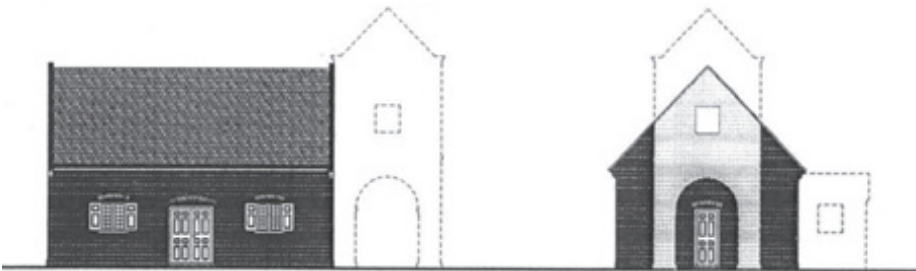
RMR developed a conjectural floor plan of the original church based on its investigation. On the east end, a communion table was set before a window on the wall behind it. Kneelers or an altar rail with kneeling cushions enclosed the communion table. A chancel screen separated the sanctuary from the nave. In front of the screen were a reading desk, reader's pew, pulpit, clerk's desk, and minister's pew. The aisles of the nave formed a cross. The east-west aisle ran from the chancel to the small door. The north-south aisle led from the great door to the vestry. Behind the aisle from the great door were five sets of box pews on each side. The stump tower extended over the small door to the west.<sup>20</sup>

St. Andrew's was the fifth Anglican church constructed in South Carolina. The other four no longer exist. The first was built in the city in 1681 or 1682 at the corner of Meeting and Broad streets, the site of present-day St. Michael's. It was made of black cypress and became St. Philip's Parish Church in 1704. It was torn down in 1727. By then St. Philip's was being rebuilt on its present location on Church Street (1711–33); the present-day building dates from 1838. The other three churches were in the country, like St. Andrew's. One was made of wood and sat on a brick foundation, built by French Huguenots along the Santee River by 1700. It became the parish church of St. James's, Santee, after the Church Act of 1706, and was used until brick churches replaced it, first in 1754 and then in 1768. A wooden church was constructed in Goose Creek in 1702, but soon became "too little and not Solid." A grand brick church named St. James's, begun in 1708 and completed in 1719, replaced it. It is the oldest church structure in the state to retain its original size. Bishop Albert Sidney Thomas, who wrote the history of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina from 1820 to 1957, claimed the new church at Goose Creek "is our oldest Church," but he acknowledged that the walls of the nave of St. Andrew's were older. The baroque church at Goose Creek is used infrequently; regular services have not been held there for more than a hundred years.





Conjectural floor plan, 1706–23 (Courtesy of Richard Marks Restorations and St. Andrew's Parish Church. Drawn by Larry S. Leake, Richard Marks Restorations)



Exterior plan, with great and small doors and conjectural stump tower and vestry, north and west elevations, 1706–23 (Courtesy of Richard Marks Restorations and St. Andrew's Parish Church. Drawn by Larry S. Leake, Richard Marks Restorations)



*Difficult Beginning (1706–1717)*

A wooden church at Pompion Hill, situated at a commanding bluff on the Cooper River, was built in 1703 as a chapel of ease in St. Thomas's Parish. It was used until the 1760s, when a magnificent brick church replaced it.<sup>21</sup>

There were older congregations organized in Charleston—St. Philip's (1680), French Huguenot (1681), Circular Congregational (ca. 1681), Quaker (ca. 1682), First Baptist (1686), and Pompion Hill (1703) among them—but no surviving church structure in continual use is as old as St. Andrew's. Not only is St. Andrew's the oldest church building in use in South Carolina, it is the oldest south of Virginia. It predates St. Thomas, Bath, North Carolina (built 1734); Jerusalem Ebenezer Lutheran, Rincon, Georgia, near Savannah (built 1767–69); and the Cathedral Basilica in St. Augustine, Florida (built 1793–97). But compared to Virginia's oldest church, St. Luke's in Smithfield, built in 1632, St. Andrew's is a relative newcomer.<sup>22</sup>

1ST RECTOR:

REV. ALEXANDER WOOD (1708–10)

St. Andrew's Parish and its new church needed a rector. In September 1707 the Reverend Henry Gerrard arrived in Charles Town from the Bahamas. Governor Nathaniel Johnson recommended him for the Ashley River parish, but Chief Justice Nicholas Trott wanted him to work among the Yamassee Indians. Whether Reverend Gerrard ever worked among the Yamassee or at St. Andrew's is unlikely. In 1710 Le Jau informed the SPG that Gerrard ("his temper is inconstant") did not stay long in Carolina. He went back to the West Indies, this time to Jamaica.<sup>23</sup>

The Reverend Alexander Wood arrived from England two months after Gerrard. Like many SPG missionaries, Wood was a university graduate, with an AM (artium magister, or master of arts) degree. His assignment from the Bishop of London was to assume the rectorship of St. Philip's, the mother church in Charles Town. But the Church Act had authorized parishioners to elect their own rectors and, despite the bishop's directive, the parishioners of St. Philip's had exercised that right. They rejected Wood, unanimously selecting the Reverend Richard Marsden of Maryland. Wood did not find his ministry in the city as he had expected, but at a country church along the Ashley, where he arrived in February 1708. Little did he know that a life so filled with hope and promise in the city would be so scarred by difficulty and frustration in the country.<sup>24</sup>

The month after Wood arrived at St. Andrew's, Stephen Bull, son of William and Mary Bull, was born. William would become the first lieutenant governor of that name, and his son Stephen would serve as a captain in an expedition to St. Augustine, a justice of the peace, and a member of the assembly. Stephen's birth on March 18, 1708, was the earliest fully-dated event recorded in the St. Andrew's Parish register.<sup>25</sup>

Reverend Wood's welcome was inauspicious, with salary an immediate concern. Because the rector was not an SPG missionary, but sent directly by the Bishop of London, Wood was not entitled to the customary stipend that SPG missionaries counted on to supplement their publicly-funded annual salary of £50 *Curr.* (\$5,500). The governor and council petitioned the SPG to approve Wood and provide him the same status as its other missionaries, including a salary. Without the added compensation the SPG could offer, Wood, who had brought his family with him to America, found it taxing to live. Like other Anglican clergy in the province, he feared asking parishioners to contribute toward his salary, believing that it might provoke them into joining the dissenters. To make matters worse, the new rector had been ill but had recovered by the fall of 1708. It took a year and half for the SPG to agree to give Wood an annual stipend for two years.<sup>26</sup>

If salary were a concern, Reverend Wood's relationship with his parishioners was even more difficult. Le Jau described Wood as "a Gentleman of Great Parts, and Sweet humour" and "very ingenious and honest and universally beloved." Despite Wood's good reputation with his fellow clergy, his parish gave him "little encouragement" and showed him "little or no care." Wood faced the same problem at St. Andrew's as he had at St. Philip's: the governor and council had imposed him on the parish from the outside. The first time the parish needed a rector, expediency prevailed, and the vestry was bypassed. Wood's appointment meant that the parish had no say in choosing him and no recourse if his performance were found to be unacceptable. Vestry resentment over being circumvented in choosing their rectors was not unique to St. Andrew's, and the clergy took the brunt of the abuse.<sup>27</sup>

By early 1710 there were about 180 families in the parish, but Reverend Wood was "not well used." He considered becoming a schoolmaster in or around Charles Town. "T'wou'd be a Loss to this Province," Le Jau said, "that he shou'd be forced away."<sup>28</sup>

During the summer of 1710 illness and death raged in the province. Wood's future plans became moot; by July he was "desperately ill of the flux

*Difficult Beginning (1706–1717)*

[diarrhea or dysentery], and in great danger.” Commissary Johnston, who reported on Wood’s condition, said that, “This Distemper is one of those incident to this Climate, and has been fatal to a great many this Year. . . . I dread it more than any other disease, and pray to God to give me Grace to prepare myself for that Change, which I am in this place almost every day threatened with; and which I know, wherever I am, will swiftly and unavoidably come upon me.” The following month, in August 1710, Wood died. He had been in South Carolina only three years. His was the first known interment in the graveyard at St. Andrew’s, although the site is unknown.<sup>29</sup>

Wood’s short tenure, the way he was treated, and his sudden death did not go unnoticed. Le Jau warned the SPG to “prepare [clergy] to suffer great hardships & Crosses our Poor Brother Wood perish’d of meer. misery.” “Batchelors,” said Le Jau, “do well enough if they be young and healthy, [but] the poorman [Wood] was somewhat Elderly & broken & no care was taken of him.” Summarizing Wood’s short tenure, Sidney Charles Bolton, in his doctoral dissertation on the Anglican Church in colonial South Carolina, said, “All of the ministers sent to South Carolina in these early years learned about the New World through practical experience, but Alexander Wood’s lesson was the hardest. In England his ‘interest’ with the bishop would have guaranteed him the town post to which he was sent. In the colony the popular will drove him to the country and, if Le Jau were correct, to his death.”<sup>30</sup>

2ND RECTOR:

REV. EBENEZER TAYLOR (1712–17)

St. Andrew’s needed a new rector, and it needed a specific kind of new rector. To overcome a tenuous start, the parish required a stable influence and someone who could establish traditional Anglican customs in the new church. The vestry wanted someone it could evaluate and approve, not merely accept. Instead, Commissary Johnston repeated the same mistake that had made Wood’s tenure “meer misery.” He took a bad situation and made it worse, much worse.

Johnston focused his attention on a most unlikely candidate—the Reverend Ebenezer Taylor, a Presbyterian minister. The commissary nominated Taylor as a candidate for ordination in the Church of England, calculating that bringing Taylor into the Anglican fold would appeal to the parish’s large Presbyterian population. But such a move was incredibly risky: the two denominations had been bitter enemies since the early days of the province. “To some orthodox

Anglicans, Presbyterianism did not qualify as a religion,” wrote Robert Weir in his history of colonial South Carolina. And some Presbyterians viewed Anglican clergymen as contemptible rogues in black gowns masquerading as men of God.<sup>31</sup>

Taylor had caught Johnston’s eye as a beacon of moderation among his antagonistic Presbyterian counterparts. When Presbyterians learned of Taylor’s impending conversion, however, they were indignant. The Presbyterian minister Mr. Livingston and a lay congregant assailed Taylor in Charles Town, with the congregant charging, “Ay Ay, he is going to Swallow Popery and the Devil.”<sup>32</sup>

Johnston was not dissuaded, but his opinion of Taylor vacillated. Johnston wanted the SPG’s evaluation before he formally committed to his experiment. “I think I have gain’d Mr. Taylour to our Church who is a truly good Man,” Johnston wrote to the SPG in January 1711, “but being sure of nothing in this World but that I shall dye, I will say nothing more of him, till he has the honour of waiting on you in London, & has qualified himself by Ordination for the Venerable Society’s favour.” At the same time, Johnston was eager to close the deal, reporting in the same letter that, “I think I have him now pretty sure.” By April Johnston was less equivocal: “the more I know him the more I like him & I can truly say that from the very first moment of my acquaintance with him he ever spoke with all respect immaginable of the Church of England.” Johnston urged Taylor to brief the SPG on dissenters in Charles Town when he was in London for his ordination, just as he had done for the commissary.<sup>33</sup>

Taylor’s lack of formal education was an obstacle, given the SPG’s penchant for university graduates. The commissary had heard Taylor speak and had listened to him converse in Latin. Also in his favor, Taylor had a large personal library. “But as to his Learning, I can say nothing of that,” Johnston wrote, “tho’ I believe he has enough to make him an honest Minister.” Johnston encouraged the SPG not to test him as rigorously as it would its own novices and missionaries. Johnston admitted that Taylor was “not so very learned as might be wish’d yet the innocence of his life woud make abundance of Compensation for this defect.” Summing up his evaluation of Taylor and giving him every benefit of the doubt, Johnston said, “But the thing, which I can chiefly speak to, and most value him for, is his unexceptionable way of life, and this with a competent Stock of learning, is beyond all the learning in the World without it.”<sup>34</sup>

### *Difficult Beginning (1706–1717)*

Commissary Johnston mentioned that Taylor might be suited for a vacancy at Christ Church. St. Andrew's was another possibility. Taylor wanted to wait until he had returned from England after his ordination before making a decision. He put his faith in Johnston, the Bishop of London, and the SPG to place him in the right parish. Taylor was ordained in 1711 and named an SPG missionary. He arrived back in South Carolina on April 26, 1712. Perhaps as a trial run for the candidate to meet with his potential parish, Taylor preached at St. Andrew's on two Sundays in May. On June 4, Johnston accompanied him to meet the parishioners there, when Taylor faced election as rector.<sup>35</sup>

The commissary was glad he went. The vestry had formally requested a new rector from the SPG in October 1711, but only after Johnston had "with great difficulty extorted a Promise from his [Wood's] Parishioners to send for a Minister." The situation at St. Andrew's sounded similar to that of Christ Church: the need for a minister was great, given the lack of religion in the area and a nearby Presbyterian who was attracting parishioners. Presenting a former Presbyterian minister to the people of St. Andrew's as its new rector was more challenging than Johnston had envisioned. Taylor had not helped his own cause, his preaching leaving a lackluster first impression. The commissary found Captain William Bull leading nearly half of those assembled to oppose Taylor's election. Johnston, who had been seriously ill, at one point both blind and lame, nevertheless came ready for battle. Using all his powers of persuasion, Johnston argued that Taylor had done nothing to merit their displeasure. Moreover, the commissary said that rejecting Taylor would bring dishonor to the Bishop of London and the SPG that had recommended him. Bull and his men changed their votes, but they were willing to go only so far. They voted *neutral*, and that was enough to get Taylor elected. The "underhand and above board [tactics] by the Sectaries of all kinds & some unhappy half faced Church men," Johnston reported, were defeated. Johnston called the parishioners of St. Andrew's "a sad crew [Taylor] has to deal with and I pray God to support & comfort him for nothing but an Invincible Patience & a fixt resolution of doing good can enable any Ministr to hold out for any time or to live among them." A week and a half after the election, Taylor left Johnston's house, where he had been living, to settle in his new parish.<sup>36</sup>

#### EARLY MINISTRY AND WORK AMONG THE SLAVES

Taylor immediately sent a note to the SPG that retaliated for the embarrassment he had suffered. He described St. Andrew's as full of dissenters and "luke-warme

conformists.” By August 1712 Francis Le Jau noted that the furor over Taylor’s election had subsided. Taylor had taken “quiet” possession of the parish, but not before “pretended Sons of the Church,” his opponents, were calmed. Le Jau, who sided with Taylor, “render[ed] them sensible of better things than they knew and now they are silent.”<sup>37</sup>

At the end of July 1713, a full year after assuming his duties at St. Andrew’s, Reverend Taylor wrote his first parochial report to the SPG. Assessing the religious makeup in the area was problematic, he said, because the parish was so large. There were many dissenters but no Catholics that he knew of. Few in the parish conformed to the Church of England, and there were too few communicants for him to celebrate the Eucharist. But Taylor remained optimistic, believing his ministry would attract dissenters. In the month of July alone, he baptized twenty-four people, including seventeen children and seven people over the age of ten, one of whom was a fifty-year-old Quaker woman. Taylor advised that the Anglican policy of requiring godparents was a major impediment for parents who wanted to baptize their children. Some chose not to baptize their young children at all, while others joined the dissenters. He also spoke of his efforts to baptize black slaves and Indians.<sup>38</sup>

Christianizing enslaved people was one of the SPG’s primary missions, but it was also one of the Society’s biggest disappointments. So few ministers in South Carolina were successful in this ministry that the SPG, in a history of its work published at the end of the nineteenth century, mentioned only four parishes that engaged in this work: St. Bartholomew’s; St. James’s, Goose Creek; St. Paul’s, Stono; and St. Andrew’s.<sup>39</sup>

Many plantation owners opposed efforts to instruct their slaves, giving reasons from racial (slaves were incapable of learning much of anything) to religious (slaves would equate baptism with physical freedom), economic (instruction would take the place of work), behavioral (instructed slaves would become less efficient and uppity), and finally, safety (slaves who met in groups could plot insurrection). Some masters considered slaves “no other than beasts.” Less brutal in expression yet dismissively ignorant in outlook were the comments Reverend Le Jau heard from two of his parishioners in Goose Creek. A lady asked, “Is it possible that any of my slaves could go to Heaven, & must I see them there?” A gentleman commented on what he would do while on earth: he would never come to the communion table as long as slaves were received there.<sup>40</sup>

But other planters were more amenable. Le Jau captured the range of sentiments on the issue: “among many of our Inhabitants that are remiss in

promoting the Instruction of their Slaves, and some who shew an absolute unwillingness that they should hear any thing of God and Jesus our Saviour, yet there is a good number of Honest Masters and Mistresses Sincerely Zealous in that Important point.” Persuading planters was not enough. Ministers had to convince the slaves themselves, some of whom were scarcely enamored with the idea of religious conversion and were said to scoff at the idea.<sup>41</sup>

Such obstacles did not deter Taylor, who felt duty-bound to instruct and convert slaves on the plantations in his parish, who were, he said, “in a most pitifull deplorable and perishing condition.” He was courageous in his work, since many masters resisted his efforts, became angry, or simply ignored him. Taylor’s ministry thrust him into a delicate situation, especially considering the tenuous standing he held with his parishioners. Nonetheless, Taylor pursued his slave ministry vigorously. The success he achieved would be the highlight of his rectorship.<sup>42</sup>

Taylor recognized two women, Mrs. Haige and Mrs. Edwards, for their efforts to provide religious instruction to their slaves. After reviewing their knowledge of the Creed, Lord’s Prayer, and Ten Commandments, Taylor baptized fourteen of their slaves. “I hope the good example of these two Gentlewomen,” he said, “will provoke at least some Masters and Mistresses, to take the same care and pains with their poor Negroes.” Two years later, Taylor reported his continuing efforts to encourage plantation owners, both from the pulpit and in person, to instruct their slaves. Again he recognized Mrs. Haige and Mrs. Edwards for instructing their slaves and the slaves of Alexander Skene, who was Mrs. Haige’s brother. Taylor baptized twenty-six slaves who knew the catechism and Lord’s Prayer.<sup>43</sup>

## YAMASSEE WAR

Three years after Taylor had arrived at St. Andrew’s, the Yamassee War engulfed the province. Abundant white-tailed deer had provided settlers with their most lucrative source of wealth in the early eighteenth century. But trade in deerskins was accomplished only through an uneasy alliance with the Native Americans. The relationship was marked by rampant abuse of indigenous peoples—they were made slaves, their lands were taken by white settlers, they were cheated, and their indebtedness to white traders mounted. On April 14, 1715, the colony’s Indian agent, Thomas Nairn, and two traders, William Bray and Samuel Warner, met with the Yamassee to address their grievances. The next morning, Good Friday, the Indians fell upon the three



men, killing Bray and Warner outright. Nairn received special treatment reserved for such an important man. The Yamassees embedded splinters into his body and then lit them, watching for signs of fear. Then he was roasted alive by a small fire, his agony ending three days later.<sup>44</sup>

The killings triggered a massive uprising against the English that involved all the tribal nations in the Southeast except the Chickasaw and Cherokee. The war started at Pocatigo where Nairn, Bray, and Warner were murdered (near today's town of Yemassee, near the junction of Interstate 95 and U.S. 17) and quickly spread to Port Royal on the coast. The war laid waste to St. Bartholomew's and St. Helena's parishes. In the first month of fighting, 90 percent of the colony's Indian traders were killed. Settlers fled to Charles Town, where the crowded conditions led to "flux & fever . . . We have been Sick all of us." Famine loomed. Settlers abandoned farms and plantations. Indian raids swept east toward the city and occurred almost as far as the Ashley River. St. Andrew's Parish was spared the worst of the fighting. Writing to the SPG on May 21, 1715, Francis Le Jau said, "Some few People are on Ashley river Mr Taylor's Parish & Mr Bull [at St. Paul's] is this side Port Royall a good way, & safe enough at present." The safety of St. Andrew's buffer to the west proved short-lived; by August St. Paul's Parish was decimated. By April 1716 most of the fighting was over, after Governor Charles Craven induced the Cherokee to unite with the colonists and attack their enemy, the Creek, relieving pressure on the English settlers. Sporadic raids continued through 1718. The Indian slave trade was over.<sup>45</sup>

The war devastated the lands west of the Stono River, some of which were not resettled until the 1730s. The financial impact was staggering: £353,000 *Ster.* (\$56.6 million) in property losses and military defense costs, more than three times the value of the province's balance of trade. "One of the bloodiest and most costly of the colonial Indian wars" resulted in the deaths of 400 colonists. Although low in absolute numbers, fatalities numbered 6 percent of the population, by comparison far greater than losses suffered on both sides of the Civil War.<sup>46</sup>

The Yamassees War would be forever planted in the memory of St. Andrew's Parish Church. Both Thomas Nairn's wife and son Thomas were buried in the graveyard, their stone markers the oldest in the churchyard and the fifth and sixth oldest in Anglican churchyards in South Carolina.<sup>47</sup> The nearly illegible inscription on Elizabeth Nairn's tombstone tells the story of this influential colonial family:

*Difficult Beginning (1706–1717)*

Here Lyes the Body  
of Mrs. ELIZABETH NAIRN, who died the 9th day of  
March 1720/1 Aged 63 Years. She was Eldest Daughter of  
the Learned and Religious Divine ROBERT EDWARD A:M:  
of DUNDIE, and Minister of MURROSE. She was married first  
to HENRY QUINTINE, by whom She had one Son HENRY,  
who dyed in the service of his Country in the Year 1716 And  
two Daughters MARY and POSTHUMA;  
Her Second Husband, was THOMAS NAIRN,  
Judge of the Vice Admiralty of this Province, who was  
barbarously murdered by the Indians, whilst He was Treating  
with them in the Year 1715, and by him She had  
one Son THOMAS.

Here Lyeth [the body of]  
THOMAS NAIRN born ye 15th  
of January 1697 and dyed ye 30th  
of Novem. 1718.

PARISH IN TURMOIL

Tensions between Ebenezer Taylor and his parish that began with his election as rector and continued with his ministry to the slaves erupted in the midst of the Yamassee War. The situation got so bad that Taylor was asked to leave St. Andrew's for a vacant post in North Carolina. Instead of accepting his new position, he fought the decision for a year and a half. During that time, the parish endured what amounted to a civil war with its rector. Taylor became the nightmare that vestries feared: an ineffective and combative rector they could not dislodge.

The SPG had asked the clergy of South Carolina to identify one of its own for the position in North Carolina. On January 25, 1716, eight clergy recommended Ebenezer Taylor as best qualified. Much work had been expended in trying to get him to accept the position, but to no avail. Just two days after the clergy wrote its letter, Commissary Johnston vented his frustrations to the Society. The decision to send Taylor to North Carolina had been unanimous, but he refused to go. He later agreed, then backpedaled. Johnston threatened to suspend Taylor for remaining, although the commissary said he never intended to go that far.<sup>48</sup>

Taylor cast a different light on the story. He said that the clergy unanimously favored three unmarried ministers, since the SPG had ordered that the candidate should be unmarried. These were the Reverends William Guy, rector of St. Helena's Parish who had narrowly escaped to safety during the Yamassee War; William Tredwell Bull, rector of adjoining St. Paul's, Stono, Parish (and later commissary following Johnston's death); and Robert Maule, rector of St. John's, Berkeley. Taylor said the assembled clergy voted for him to leave, even though he was married and had never left St. Andrew's during the Indian war, because they wanted to placate problems in his parish. Taylor finally agreed to go if three conditions were met: that he be allowed to remove his effects to his new post, that he receive the SPG's "bounty money" for taking the position, and oddly, that he remain rector of St. Andrew's Parish, drawing his current salary. In an even stranger demand, Taylor stipulated that St. Andrew's be supplied by ministers who would receive no pay for their work, that is, if the SPG wanted him to go. But he said he would not remove himself until the SPG had reached a decision.<sup>49</sup>

The situation in St. Andrew's reached the point where parishioners stayed away from the church as long as Taylor was there, and yet Taylor insisted on remaining in the parish but refused to come to the church and officiate when he was asked to do so. Taylor claimed that Johnston tried to silence him, a charge which Johnston denied. When Taylor asked for an advance of half a year's salary to make the move, Johnston fumed over this attempt at bribery, especially since Taylor did not need the money. Johnston then asked the SPG to withdraw Taylor's salary entirely. Taylor's parishioners wanted him gone and brought charges against him. "The plain truth," Johnston said, "(for I dare not conceal a thing of this importance from my most Honour'd Superiors), we are all of opinion, that he woud do better elsewhere than here, neither his peevish and uneasy temper, or his self conceit and obstinacy, or his way of Preaching which is alltogether upon the old Presbyterian way, or his too penurious and covetous rate of life being at all agreeable to his Brethren, his Parishioners, or indeed to any one in the whole Country."<sup>50</sup>

Rather than accepting his share of the blame for his bold experiment gone awry, the commissary tried to deflect responsibility. "It may perhaps be objected, that he [Taylor] is my Convert," wrote Johnston, "but I hope this will never be turn'd to my disadvantage, in regard I was not the only Person that was deceiv'd in him; and it is no wonder I shou'd be mistaken this way, since even the wisest Men are often so." Johnston asked the SPG to revoke Taylor's

license. The clergy even had a replacement in mind for Taylor—William Guy—with the caveat that, after two false starts, the parish would be allowed to choose a rector of its own liking.<sup>51</sup>

What happened to make Ebenezer Taylor a pariah in his own parish? Taylor ran into trouble on two fronts. Clerically, he was a newly-ordained, ex-Presbyterian minister with scant understanding of Anglican preaching style or customs. He was let loose on a parish without the benefit of a prior apprenticeship or curacy, where he could hone his skills under an experienced mentor. (The Reverend Paul Trapier would relate to this very concern more than a hundred years later.) Personally, he was ill-suited for the give-and-take of a parochial calling. His obstinacy and rough demeanor made him a difficult person to support.

On February 11, 1716, parishioners wrote to Commissary Johnston with a detailed list of Taylor's misdeeds. The accusations included a host of issues relating to Taylor's preaching, liturgical conduct, reverence, pastoral care, customs, interaction with the vestry, abuse of parishioners, and abdication of his clerical duties. Those who signed this manifesto were livid at having to endure "so unqualified a minister." As Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses began the Protestant Reformation almost a hundred years earlier, these thirteen charges brought the stewing cauldron at St. Andrew's to a boil.<sup>52</sup>

The letter included twenty-nine signatures, representing some of the most powerful people in the parish. At the top was Alexander Skene. Close by were the signatures of Skene's wife Jemima and the two women who had worked so closely with Taylor among the slaves on Skene's plantation, Lilia Haige and Arabella Edwards. There were William Cattell and his wife Mary. (Taylor would help modern readers with the pronunciation of Cattell's name by calling him "worse then any Beast of his name" in one of his rants against him.) A frequent churchwarden, Cattell was a prominent landowner who would become one of the wealthiest men in the province. Among the signers were William's brother Peter and his wife Catherine. There were James and Jane Starnyarne, who lived on Vaucluse plantation and had extensive landholdings on the Ashpoo River in Colleton County. From 1710 to 1717, James Starnyarne served as an assemblyman for Colleton, Berkeley, and Craven counties. William Fuller (of Pierponts and Fullers plantations) was a churchwarden and had been elected to the thirteenth and fourteenth assemblies from 1711 to 1713. John Williams, a churchwarden in the 1720s, would own 2,278 acres on the Ashley River in St. Andrew's Parish and later, in St. George's, Dorchester, and serve in two assemblies. John Miles

had provided the parish's glebe lands eight years earlier. Thomas Rose was a churchwarden and one of the supervisors for building the parish church.<sup>53</sup>

Alexander Skene was not a man to be trifled with. He had been secretary to the Governor of Barbados before arriving in South Carolina in September 1715. Prior to 1711 Skene had acquired land on the Ashley River near Dorchester. When Taylor was rector, Skene likely secured 750 acres on lands that would become Drayton Hall. From Taylor's accounts, Skene's behavior mirrored that of a Barbadian aristocrat, accustomed to living, as some observers noted, "like sovereigns on their plantations" and as "absolute lords of all things—life and limb of their servants excepted—within their own territory." The personalities and emotions of the two men combined to produce a volatile mix: Taylor, the incompetent, headstrong, ex-dissenter priest who spent time on Skene's plantation with Skene's sister, and Skene, the prominent High Church Scotsman, reared in the feudal culture of Barbados, now living among Presbyterian Scots in a majority dissenter parish. Taylor crossed the wrong man, and he paid dearly for it.<sup>54</sup>

#### TAYLOR RESPONDS

Reverend Taylor was in the midst of writing a letter to the SPG when he learned of the parishioners' charges against him. Dated February 15, 1716, on the first page, it must have taken him a full month to write this rambling, repetitious rebuttal, since the date March 15 appeared under his signature (*Eben-Ezer Taylor*) on the last page. He referred to letters he had previously sent and hoped the SPG had received them. Taylor detailed a litany of wrongdoing he had suffered. The provincial assembly had paid him nothing, unlike his fellow clergy. "Contrary to any expectation," Taylor said, "and to my wofull Experience, I have found that I made a very ill Choice, when I chose St. Andrew's Parish for my parish." Taylor believed that many of the problems stemmed from his conversion to the Church of England, with which neither the majority dissenter population nor the Anglicans in the parish could abide. He continued: "Ever since my Election, my disaffected & prejudiced Parishioners have been using the worst of means to blast & ruine my Reputation."<sup>55</sup>

Taylor claimed that a bounty of £50 *Curr.* (\$2,600) was offered to anyone who could get him to leave the parish. (Later in the same letter, he said that the bounty was twice that.) He alleged that a parishioner tried to get him drunk and failing that, tried to kill him by slipping poison into his wine. He charged that parishioners had libeled him but would not let him read the charges. He

claimed that Skene was the instigator who set parishioners against him by giving a great feast where he pressed people to sign the libel.<sup>56</sup>

Some parishioners would never be satisfied with him or any minister, Taylor believed. His libelers took him to task “because I preach so much against the Sins they know themselves guilty of; this they call Railing.” (The Reverend Charles Boschi would later say the same thing of his parishioners in St. Bartholomew’s Parish.) “Thus I have been fighting with St. Paul’s Beasts of Ephesus,” Taylor said, “& casting my Pearls before some Swine for near 4 Years, and they have been trampling them under their feet.” Taylor’s ramblings cast logic aside: he said he had no problems until Skene arrived, but claimed he was poisoned three years before and had been fighting with his parishioners ever since he had arrived at St. Andrews.<sup>57</sup>

Taylor said that Skene had turned the commissary against him: “My best Friend [has] become my worst Enemy.” Taylor feared that Johnston would demote him, force him to leave, send him home, and suspend him. Johnston had already demoted the rector to a “hearer,” Taylor said, and had sent for other ministers to supply his church. Taylor was forced to endure the commissary’s “Punishment of Silence” by not being allowed to preach in his own church the previous Sunday. Taylor asked the SPG to reinstate him, saying that his parishioners were kind to him and disapproved of the commissary’s actions. Taylor claimed that those dissatisfied with him were “presumptuous and arrogant” with someone approved by the Bishop of London and SPG. He said that if he were ousted, the same treatment would happen with the minister who replaced him. He asked the Society not to remove him over the trouble that 25 people had caused in a parish of 500. Taylor ended his letter by telling his side of the efforts to remove him to North Carolina.<sup>58</sup>

Commissary Johnston could not hide his exasperation. “Mr Taylor continues Still the Same unhappy Man,” Johnston wrote the SPG on April 4, 1716, “and has added that of a notorious & common Reviler and Slanderer of all his Parishioners and Bretheren, to the rest of his good Qualities; and has been so spiteful and Malicious as not to converse with some of his Parish or even be in the same company with them at my house; tho’ it was his undoubted Interest to compose & Setle things by all the mild and Christian Methods he could. He uses me very Sourily and threatens me, as he does all the rest of Mankind; but this, I thank God, gives me not the least uneasyness.”<sup>59</sup>

The back-and-forth continued. Taylor again wrote the SPG on April 18, just three days after he had completed his earlier missive. The microfilm

version of this letter contains the following notation from the transcriber, who wrote on the first page: “The first twelve pages of this long wordy letter are so similar to No. 53 dated 15 February [1716] that it seems unnecessary to copy.” Taylor said that his poisoning three years before still caused him pain. Alexander Skene wanted to replace him with a “better” minister, Taylor believed. The rector accused Skene of disloyalty to the king, which lay at the heart of the problem. He reiterated the attempts to force him to leave for North Carolina. Taylor described two instances when Commissary Johnston summoned him to appear to answer his parishioners’ complaints. The first time, Taylor walked the twelve miles to Charles Town in “much Pain & Misery.” On neither occasion did his accusers appear. Taylor’s letter reflected a tormented soul. His parishioners had driven him to the point of despair, and he voiced his plight for pages. A researcher who summarized his letter said parenthetically, “The coherence and logic of Taylor’s letter break down considerably ... and he simply repeats the charges he has already made.” Another author was less charitable: “The book-like letter, rambling and redundant, would give a psychiatrist pause.”<sup>60</sup>

Taylor had become insufferable. His letters to the SPG grew longer, shriller, and more repetitious. Little wonder that Alexander Skene and other parishioners would have walked out of church just as Taylor began to deliver his sermon. What Taylor saw as an affront, others saw as a situation so intolerable that they could not bear to listen to their rector preach.<sup>61</sup>

#### LITURGICAL OFFENSES

If Taylor’s unstable personality were not enough to alienate his parishioners, his approach to Anglican liturgy infuriated them. The parish was approaching the tenth anniversary of the building of its church, yet its rector failed to establish the custom of worship his parishioners expected. He seemed insensitive or even oblivious to the consequences of his actions. Taylor’s casual approach to Anglican liturgy became the flashpoint.<sup>62</sup>

Many of the physical elements of the church were involved in the parishioners’ feud with Taylor. “Since his arrival at that parish in 1712,” wrote Louis P. Nelson in his dissertation “The Material World: Anglican Visual Culture in Colonial South Carolina,” “the minister had actively resisted the governance of the vestry, but the very building in which he served reinforced their authority.” The doors were more than access points into the church—they were status symbols. The gentry entered through



the larger door on the north side. The minister and commoners used the smaller door to the west. “The social chasm between the parish gentry and the remainder of the parish inhabitants, among whom Taylor found himself counted,” Nelson said, “was so deeply embedded in the Anglican material landscape that the church itself became a stage, an agent reinforcing the performances of local hierarchy.” Every time Taylor entered the church he was reminded that he was not of the ruling class. (At the same time he was chastised for not dressing the part of a gentleman.) But Taylor was shrewd enough to avoid a quarrelling Skene by exiting through the door that Skene did not use. Not only were the doors of the church part of this stage, but so too were the pulpit and canopy, reading desk, kneeler, and even the pins that held the rector’s hat.<sup>63</sup>

Using the physical elements of the church as weapons, parishioners took dead aim at their rector in the summer of 1716. Taylor charged that on Saturday, June 13, Charles Brewer, on Skene’s order, removed all of the nails in the bench of his desk except for one, which held it up. The ledge and the board that supported it were taken out. “This was done on purpose,” Taylor said, “that when I went to sit down (which I seldom did before the first Singing,) the following Lord’s Day, the Bench might give way, and I might fall down on the Floor of my Desk, and Mr. Skene, and all the People might set up a Laughter at it, & I might make a sport for them in the Church in the time of Divine Service ... making a Merry Andrew’s Stage [a clownish circus] of St. Andrews Church.” Taylor claimed that his enemies broke the pins where he hung his hat and removed his kneeling board, making him “kneel on the bare Bricks when I was serving God at the Communion Table.”<sup>64</sup>

After the episode with the bench and desk, Taylor was afraid to walk up the steps of the high pulpit to deliver his sermons. He feared that his enemies would loosen its canopy, so it would fall on his head while he preached. So Taylor brought his own desk into the church and preached from it the next two Sundays, instead of the pulpit. With the Eucharist offered only a few times a year and preaching the word of God central to worship, the focal point of eighteenth-century Sunday devotion was not the altar or communion table but the pulpit and reading desk, from which the minister and clerk read the service. By bringing in his own desk, Taylor had violated Anglican custom by altering a key liturgical element of the church. His opponents struck after Taylor left for home the second Sunday, smashing his desk in the churchyard and burying the pieces.<sup>65</sup>

The time for discussion was over. In November 1716 the SPG wrote to Taylor and confirmed the decision of the South Carolina clergy to send him to North Carolina.<sup>66</sup>

#### LAST ACT

Taylor was still at St. Andrew's at the beginning of the new year. In January 1717 the churchwardens and vestry wrote the SPG for help, their letter a follow up to the prior year's petition to the commissary. Calling St. Andrew's "the most unhappy parish in The Colony By having a minister so unqualified," the vestry cited Taylor's "Scurrulous and Gross Language." The church leaders then cut their rector to the quick, saying, "Mr. Taylor is not only a prejudice to the Church of England, but the Christian Religion in General." In the event the Society did not receive a copy of the earlier petition, the vestry enclosed one with its letter. Copies of both sets of grievances were given to Taylor. The letter again asked for a new minister and was signed by churchwardens William Cattell and Thomas Rose and vestrymen James Stanyarne, John Williams, Manley Williamson, John Girardeau, and Richard Godfrey.<sup>67</sup>

The churchwardens and vestry pointed out Taylor's financial wealth, reporting that he had accumulated £1,500–1,600 *Curr.* (\$79,100–84,400), which he loaned at 10 percent interest. They were peeved that Taylor was renting out the twenty-six-acre glebe provided him, instead of using it for his own needs. Moreover, in 1715 Governor Craven had granted Taylor two adjoining 500-acre plantations on the east side of the Pon Pon River in Berkeley County, as the South Edisto was known in the eighteenth century, set aside for the "privilege of hunting, Hawking Fishing and fowling." Given Taylor's comfortable financial status and an increasingly tenuous position within the parish, the churchwardens, vestry, and Alexander Skene lobbied the SPG and provincial assembly to withhold Taylor's annual salary. "But as to Voluntary Contributions," the churchwardens and vestry added, "We doe not know of any made him, nor doe we believe there ever will." The idea of not receiving a salary, when every other minister did, enraged Taylor.<sup>68</sup>

Letters to the SPG documented the weekly battles that ensued between Taylor and his antagonists from April through June 1717, when events spiraled further out of control. At first Taylor decided to leave. Then he decided to stay. So the churchwardens asked Rev. William Tredwell Bull to conduct divine worship on Sunday, April 7. Caught by surprise, Taylor "declared publicly that I would preach my Self in St. Andrew's Church while I stay'd in St.

Andrews Parish, to the last Lord's Day, because it was my Church & Parish." He refused to allow the supply clergyman Rev. Gilbert Jones of Christ Church Parish to perform worship services, but later permitted Reverend Bull to do so. Speaking from his reading desk, Taylor publicly challenged his libelers to prove their charges against him. They would not do it, he said. Then there was the matter of the church library: Bull said that Taylor took with him books that belonged to the church, after initially returning them. Taylor said he had returned everything. Taylor requested that he take an old Bible to North Carolina since the church had two. The churchwardens and vestry refused and, according to Taylor, claimed that he stole it after one of his enemies had removed it from the church.<sup>69</sup>

The following Sunday, April 14, Taylor arrived at the church to find the Bible and Book of Common Prayer he used for worship missing from his desk. Hearing that Thomas Rose had taken them, Taylor tried to get them back in time to conduct the service. Taylor learned that William Cattell had forbidden Rose to release the books. The rector swallowed his pride and tried to enlist Alexander Skene to intervene on his behalf, but he refused. Rose eventually relented and a messenger brought the books to Taylor, who then conducted the worship service.<sup>70</sup>

When the two books were back at their usual places in his desk the next Sunday, April 21, Taylor thought that some semblance of peace had been restored. He performed worship without incident. That idea was shattered on the following Sunday, and events to oust him gathered momentum. Taylor came to church and was pleased to see the Bible and Book of Common Prayer in their usual location in his desk. During the previous week, however, the vestry had met and issued two orders that Taylor found inconceivable. First, they instructed churchwardens Cattell and Captain William Fuller (who had just replaced Rose) to take into their possession the Bible and prayer book until a new minister was found. Second, they demanded that the church doors be locked and nailed shut to prevent Taylor from ever again preaching at St. Andrew's. "The Devill himself," Taylor said, "could not make Two Orders more wicked then these are."<sup>71</sup>

Incessantly stubborn, Taylor arrived at the church to preach the following Sunday, May 5, only to find the place shut tight. The lock and key to one of the doors had been changed, the other door nailed tight, and the window shutters hasped or nailed shut. Learning that Rose had the key, Taylor went to see him. Rose said he would give it to Taylor if churchwarden Fuller agreed. They both

walked back to the church and met with Fuller, but he refused. Taylor now called Fuller, whom he had baptized three years before, “one of my very worst enemies.” Worship was not held that Sunday.<sup>72</sup>

Taylor appeared before the governor and council the following Tuesday and implored them to intervene. This they did, issuing an order that countermanded the churchwardens: Taylor was to be given access to the church and withdrawn Bible and prayer book. The governor and council demanded that the churchwardens appear before them to explain themselves. When Taylor came to church the following Sunday, May 12, he was full of anticipation that he would again preach in his church. But his enemies were a step ahead of him. The churchwardens showed him an order issued the day before, which nullified the original order. The parties were directed to meet with the governor and council on May 23. Until then, the churchwardens would retain the Bible, prayer book, and keys to the church. Taylor was not to interfere with another minister who would conduct services in his place. Who had turned the governor and council against Taylor so quickly? It was Alexander Skene. Taylor was beside himself.<sup>73</sup>

Ignoring the order, Taylor went to church the next Sunday, May 19, again seeking entrance to conduct the worship service. Skene told Taylor that his presence called into question his obedience to the government. Taylor countered that the reason why Skene was ousted from his position in Barbados was his disloyalty to King George. Then the churchwardens made Taylor suffer a humiliating indignity: they told him that he could only enter the church if he sat in a pew and watched Reverend Bull, whom they had asked to preach that day, lead the service. Taylor would have none of it: “When I am in my Church, I will sit where I please.” The churchwardens stood fast. They made Taylor stand outside and watch them unlock the door for parishioners, then lock it again to prevent him from entering. Only after Bull had passed by Taylor, without even speaking to him, and entered the church through the great door, a rarity for a minister and an intentional insult, was the embattled rector allowed to enter the church through the small door. “I now suffer’d Mr. Bull to take my Desk, & my Pulpit from me,” he said, “& to read Prayers, & to preach, without the least Interruption.”<sup>74</sup>

Taylor, Skene, and the churchwardens met with the ruling parties on May 23. After a lengthy hearing, the governor and council, citing the SPG’s letter of dismissal the previous November, ordered Taylor to leave St. Andrew’s Parish. “They discharg’d me from my Parish,” Taylor wrote, “& took away my Parish

*Difficult Beginning (1706–1717)*

from me, against Proof, against Knowledge, against Reason, against Justice, & against their own Consciences, & without any Cause, onely to gratifie and please Mr. Skene.” Worship was not held the following two Sundays. Reverend Jones, who had to endure a ten-mile journey from his parsonage to a ferry, cross a river “four miles over,” and then the Ashley to reach St. Andrew’s, preached and administered the Eucharist on Whitsunday (Pentecost), June 9. There were no more services in the parish church until after Taylor departed on June 25.<sup>75</sup>

After Taylor vacated the parish, the Reverends Jones and Bull continued to conduct worship services at the church. Jones petitioned the SPG, unsuccessfully, to place him at St. Andrew’s because Christ Church was too small to require a regular minister.<sup>76</sup>

The North Carolina where Taylor ventured was raw backcountry. Governor Charles Eden was distressed by the “deplorable state of religion in this poor province,” weakened by Indian wars and threatened by Quakerism. Taylor finally arrived at Chowan, near present-day Edenton in the northeast part of the province, on September 25, 1717. There he learned that the minister he was to replace never had a settled parish, but was an itinerant traveling the countryside. Governor Eden asked him to travel to Bath Town to become minister of St. Thomas’s Parish (where the state’s oldest church would be built in 1734). Taylor’s physical infirmities made him unable to make the trip, so he stayed in Chowan.<sup>77</sup>

There Taylor wrote the SPG his longest, most convoluted letter. In it he defended his honor and recounted his troubles at St. Andrew’s, beginning June 13, 1716, and ending a year later when he was ordered to leave. His March 24, 1718, tome consisted of 24 pages of densely packed script; transcribed and microfilmed, it runs to 101 pages. It is both a rich source of information and a sad commentary on so tormented a man. “I had never expected to meet with such Vipers in the Church of England,” wrote Taylor. He referenced his opponent Alexander Skene more than a hundred times, calling him, among other names, “that most malicious & revengefull man,” “horrid Calumniator,” “a most notorious Lyar,” “a Common Drunkard,” and “the most mischievous & poysonfull Snake in the Grass.” A year later, he wrote the Society from Perquimans precinct, just northeast of Chowan, “with the greatest Joy and Gladness” for being “remove[d] from that Seat of Warr to this place of Peace.”<sup>78</sup>

Rev. Ebenezer Taylor died in the winter of 1720, while traveling in a canoe with three other men from Pamlico Sound to Core Sound. He was carrying

a large sum of money, which disappeared after his death. He was buried on a sand hill on the southwest end of Cedar Island, near the easternmost point of Carteret County. Today Cedar Island is one of the terminals of the North Carolina Ferry System, where passengers can embark on the two-and-a-quarter-hour journey from the mainland to Ocracoke on the Outer Banks.<sup>79</sup>

## OUTCOME

In a twist of fate, Ebenezer Taylor's chief antagonist, Alexander Skene, disappeared from parish life shortly after Taylor left St. Andrew's. On December 11, 1717, an act of the assembly split St. Andrew's parish in two. The new parish of St. George's, Dorchester, was created to serve the northern half of St. Andrew's Parish. Inhabitants who lived far to the north of their parish church wanted a place of worship and a minister closer to them. Skene's troubles with Taylor raise the possibility that Skene used his influence with the assembly to create the new parish. In 1718 Skene sold his property in St. Andrew's Parish, and two years later bought a sizeable tract of land from Samuel Wragg, which fell within the southern boundaries of St. George's. He sold part of his holdings and kept 1,300 acres (called New Skene), where he lived until his death in 1740. The boundaries between the two parishes were redrawn about four years later.<sup>80</sup>

Alexander Skene would become a leading political figure in the province. Intensely loyal to the king, contrary to Taylor's claims, Skene helped overthrow the proprietors. He was rewarded with an appointment to the first council of the first governor following proprietary rule and would continue to serve on the royal council. He held many posts in St. George's Parish, including that of commissioner appointed to direct the building of a new church. St. George's would become the first sister church to St. Andrew's, established on lands previously part of St. Andrew's Parish. As he did in his old parish, Skene allowed religious instruction of the slaves on his plantation in St. George's. He would remain tied to the name of his old parish long after he left it—as a member and president of the St. Andrew's Society of Charles Town.<sup>81</sup>

The Reverend Frederick Dalcho, who wrote the history of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina prior to 1820, attempted to minimize the embarrassment Taylor had caused. "Mr. Taylor," Dalcho said, "unfortunately was uncourteous in his manners, and disoblighing in his conduct towards his Parishioners. This produced disputes, and at length such a mutual dislike, that, in 1717, he removed, with the Society's permission, to North-Carolina."<sup>82</sup>



*Difficult Beginning (1706–1717)*



The truncated St. Andrew's Parish, 1721–1865 (*Mills' Atlas*, 1825)

The tumultuous rectorship of Ebenezer Taylor is a case study of a newly-conceived parish struggling to define itself, gone wrong in every way. The parish became the stage for a struggle of wills between an obstinate rector and frustrated churchwardens, vestry, and people. In the end, the laity won; they ran the parish, in matters both civil and ecclesiastical. They were comprised by the kind of strong-willed pioneers who settled South Carolina and were not about to submit to this truculent stranger in their midst. They did not want Taylor in 1712, and when he disappointed them, they wasted no time trying to get rid of him. The Anglicans in St. Andrew's Parish felt under siege;



they were living in dissenterland, led to ruin by a reformed dissenter as their spiritual leader.

For more than five years, charges and countercharges flew along the banks of the Ashley River. Ebenezer Taylor left a legacy of convoluted and hysterical claims that professed his innocence, yet he refused to alter his liturgical style or his combative nature. The churchwardens, vestry, and, if Taylor is believed, a small group of people in the parish set out to ruin him. They complained about the rector's distasteful actions and delighted in inflicting pain and embarrassment on him. The rest of the parish that did not participate in this thrashing did little to stop it. Capt. Bull was the only person Taylor mentioned who refused Skene's appeals to join the denouncing herd.<sup>83</sup>

Commissary Johnston used Taylor as a pawn to win over dissenters, but when his plan turned sour, he distanced himself from his failed experiment. While the commissary kept the SPG apprised of trouble in the parish, the Society never responded to any of the rector's letters of complaint about his mistreatment.<sup>84</sup> The SPG chose not to mediate, stepping in only to approve Taylor's ouster to North Carolina four years into his rectorship.

It would be another twenty-five years until a Presbyterian convert to the Anglican ministry would again serve in South Carolina. The newly-ordained Rev. William Orr would assist Commissary Alexander Garden at St. Philip's for four years before he was allowed to venture into a parish of his own. Unlike Ebenezer Taylor, however, Reverend Orr would serve three parishes faithfully for fourteen years before his death. In 1739, two years after Orr was named Garden's assistant, another instance of a Presbyterian-turned-Anglican priest surfaced in St. John's, Colleton, Parish, which had been created from St. Paul's Parish five years earlier to serve Johns, Wadmalaw, and Edisto islands. This time, however, the laity tried to stop the placement before the situation could gather momentum. Commissary Garden responded by asking the Bishop of London for a more suitable missionary. "In a similar situation [with Ebenezer Taylor] Gideon Johnston, Garden's predecessor, had attempted to use the conversion to a partisan advantage;" said Charles Bolton in *Southern Anglicanism: The Church of England in Colonial South Carolina*, "Garden valued peace more than controversy."<sup>85</sup>

## CHAPTER 3

# STABILITY, EXPANSION, AND PROSPERITY

1718 – 1750

**F**OR THE FIRST DECADE OF ITS EXISTENCE, St. Andrew's Parish Church had been in turmoil. Both Ebenezer Taylor and his predecessor Alexander Wood had been disappointments, and the vestry and churchwardens did not want to be disappointed again. A minister in Charles Town was available for immediate assignment. The commissary had considered him for Taylor's posting to North Carolina, but his fellow clergymen had rejected the move because he was married. Now was the time to consider the Reverend William Guy for St. Andrew's.

3RD RECTOR:

REV. WILLIAM GUY (1718–50)

Reverend Guy was different from Ebenezer Taylor in every way. The vestry was familiar with Guy and, unlike Taylor, wanted him as its rector. Guy was educated at Cambridge; Taylor had no university training. Guy served his people as an Anglican minister following the prescribed liturgy. Taylor came with an agenda—to win over dissenters. A converted Presbyterian minister, Taylor kept to his old preaching ways and failed to understand the deep meaning that Anglican liturgy held with his parishioners. Guy lost his material possessions three times, once to the Indians, then to pirates, and later in the great fire of Charles Town in 1740. Taylor angered the vestry by asking for more money when he was loaning out his personal fortune at interest. Guy was devoted to his wife Rebecca, whose family the Basdens were among the earliest settlers of Charles Town; they would have ten children. Taylor left his wife behind in England when he came to South Carolina. Guy's temperament was measured and even; his parishioners loved him. His demeanor was a welcome relief from Taylor's obstinacy. Guy was respected in the province and was selected for important assignments beyond St. Andrew's Parish. Taylor had little influence in his own parish, and none outside of it. Guy would lead his parish through thirty-two years of prosperity and growth, a tenure ended

only in death. Taylor was a lightning rod for five years before he was exiled. Guy would become one of the most influential rectors in the church's history; Taylor, one of the least.

Many of South Carolina's early inhabitants experienced difficulties in their new surroundings, but few like Rev. William Guy. He arrived in Charles Town in 1712, sent by the SPG to serve as a schoolmaster. But there was a problem—the position was occupied. So he served at St. Philip's under Commissary Johnston until a suitable post could be found. Not long afterward, Guy began ministering to the people in the new St. Helena's Parish in Beaufort. Although he was only a deacon, he was elected the parish's first rector in March 1713. His parishioners encouraged Guy to return to England for his ordination to the priesthood. He did so and returned by May 1714.<sup>1</sup>

When the Yamasee War erupted in the spring of 1715, Port Royal was enveloped in the fighting. Residents of St. Helena's fled the fighting and made their way to Charles Town. "I very miraculously escap'd [the Indians'] Cruelty," Guy wrote, "being forc'd to venture out to Sea in a very small canoe with one white man & three slaves, in which with no small hazard I got safe to Charlestown." Once again, he assisted at St. Philip's. Commissary Johnston wrote that Guy "lost all but his Cloathes & books; his Parish being the first that felt the Enemies fury: And had not his wife help'd him out with her Small fortune, he woud have found it Extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to Subsist in so crowded and dear a Place, as this Town then was and Still is & therefore was forced to do as others did, and run in debt."<sup>2</sup>

Reverend Guy volunteered to move to Pennsylvania to serve a vacant parish, and then to North Carolina, when he crossed paths with Ebenezer Taylor. In April 1716 Guy received word from the SPG that he would be placed far away, in Narragansett, Rhode Island. Unlike the good relationship he had had with his parishioners at St. Helena's, Guy felt "abused by some false Brethren" in Rhode Island. He requested a return to South Carolina to escape this unpleasant assignment and to please his wife, who preferred the warmer climate of her home province.<sup>3</sup>

Guy was back in Charles Town by November 1718, but not before he experienced his second narrow escape. This time it was not from Indians, but pirates. Nearly all his earthly possessions were stolen while he was aboard the ship bringing him home—clothing, furniture, provisions, most of his books, anything of value. He returned with his wife Rebecca and two young children (two year-old William Jr. and five month-old Edward Basden), but

with little else. He was assured of an appointment to St. Philip's and, for the second time, found the post already occupied. The Reverend William Wye, recently arrived from Ireland, had taken over ministry in the city and would not part with it.<sup>4</sup>

Destitute and physically weak, Guy found a parish that embraced him with open arms. The vestry of St. Andrew's, having rid itself of Ebenezer Taylor, asked Guy to officiate in the parish. Rather than contest Wye in Charles Town, Guy accepted the vestry's offer to join them in the country. He immediately sought permission from the SPG to join St. Andrew's on a full-time basis so he could support his family. On December 22, 1718, Rev. William Guy was elected the third rector of St. Andrew's, a great relief to both clergyman and vestry alike. The vestry sent news of Guy's appointment to the SPG the following month. Guy's joy was tempered by sadness when, three months after his installation, little Edward Basden died.<sup>5</sup>

#### CHRONICLES OF PARISH LIFE

The SPG demanded to be kept abreast of events in the province, a task that many ministers, overextended and ill and their parishes in flux, found difficult to do. Reverend Guy was among those who sent regular dispatches to London describing life in his parish. He left a rich legacy of his tenure at St. Andrew's.

In September 1719 Guy sent the SPG a brief account of his work since arriving in the parish. He had baptized about thirty children, both white and black, two Baptists, and the wife of a Mr. Capers. Most of the parish consisted of Baptists or Presbyterians. There were two or three Quakers but no Papists. There were sixteen communicants. Guy thanked the Society for sending an additional £40 *Ster.* (\$5,900) to help offset his personal losses from the Indian war and piracy.<sup>6</sup>

Eight months later, in May 1720, Guy reported that he was getting along well with his parishioners. He believed he could do more good here than in the city, where Wye was still at St. Philip's. He saw life in the country as less dangerous for his health than city living. Soon enough, he would discover that no one was immune from the variety and severity of illnesses that plagued the inhabitants.<sup>7</sup>

In July 1721, more than two years after arriving at St. Andrew's, Reverend Guy provided a detailed vignette of his parish. It was twenty-one miles long by seven miles wide and located thirteen miles from Charles Town. There were 180 families, most of which were dissenters; only 60 or 70 were Anglican.

There were now eighteen communicants. Guy had baptized twelve people since Christmas. He had inherited from Ebenezer Taylor a church library of sixteen books that was left in good order. His annual salary paid from the public treasury was £150 *Curr.* (\$4,700), but its value in sterling and purchasing power was far less. He was hesitant to ask parishioners to contribute toward his subsistence, fearing that both dissenters and Anglicans might take offense. The small, wooden parsonage he was bequeathed was located a mile from the church. It was “at present in good Repair,” but the glebe was “Scarcely Sufficient.” (Today’s Old Parsonage Road takes its name from the location of the rector’s house.) A seven-acre graveyard surrounded the church. Only fifteen years after the brick church had been built, the congregation had outgrown it. The building could hold only half of those who wished to attend services, and the parish was making plans to enlarge it. Guy reported that £500 *Curr.* (\$15,500) had already been subscribed.<sup>8</sup>

In March 1724 Guy responded to a questionnaire that the Bishop of London had sent to his ministers in South Carolina. Some of the information was a recap from his previous letters (e.g., geographic size, number of families, and condition of the parsonage and parochial library). Other material provided details of liturgical life in the parish. Anglican families attended divine worship every Lord’s Day. Feasts and fasts of the church were not celebrated, given the great distances many parishioners had to travel to reach the church. Guy administered the Lord’s Supper four times a year—at Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and the first Sunday in October. The number of communicants had risen to twenty-three. Guy instructed youth in the catechism each year during Lent. Teaching the great number of slaves in the parish was another matter. Guy said that he had tried to convince masters of their obligation to Christianize their slaves, “but few or none will be prevailed upon.” Several liturgical items were lacking: a surplice, communion table cloth, pulpit cloth, and cushion. Parishioners were unable to purchase these items due to the costs they were incurring to enlarge the church. Guy noted that he had been serving vacant and adjoining St. Paul’s Parish monthly “till my Indisposition, which I have for some time labour’d under, prevented me.” (Anglican clergy were called upon to conduct worship services in parishes other than their own that were without a minister due to vacancy, travel, or illness.) Ministers’ salaries had dropped to £100 *Curr.* (\$2,300). The vestry and churchwardens had available £25 *Curr.* (\$600) annually for the maintenance of the parsonage, which remained in good order. There were no public schools in the parish,

but two or three private schools, funded by wealthy inhabitants, which taught reading, writing, and arithmetic.<sup>9</sup>

In January 1728 Guy wrote the most comprehensive of his parochial reports. It is also the most accessible, reproduced in full in H. Roy Merrens's *Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697–1774*. Guy's letter provided the first detailed description of the establishment of St. Andrew's Parish Church. In 1706 Jonathan Fitch and Thomas Rose had supervised construction of the church, which was "40 feet long, and 25 broad, built of brick, the roof of pine, with 5 small square windows in it, and not near finished in the inside." Guy discussed efforts begun in 1723 to enlarge it. William Fuller Sr. had donated a number of needed liturgical items: a silver cup, salver and paten, and scarlet broad cloth for the communion table and pulpit. (In 1734 Richard Wright would donate cloths for the pulpit, reading desk, and communion table.) Charles Hill had contributed a small silver bell to be hung in the steeple once it was built. The glebe was expanded. The parish's affection for its rector was such that, three years after Guy had arrived at St. Andrew's, several congregants supplemented his salary with a gift of £160 *Cur.* (\$4,700).<sup>10</sup>

The population of the parish was slightly larger than he had reported almost seven years earlier—200 white families, consisting of 800 men, women, and children. Their living conditions had improved, but their attitudes toward religion were "very unsettled, and generally latitudinarian [i.e., more relaxed in their attitudes towards liturgy]." Guy estimated there were 1,800 black slaves who received little instruction. Only three had been baptized. Travel conditions to the church (long distances, poor roads, and insufficient access to bridges) impeded church attendance. The closest Anglican churches were St. Philip's, twelve-to-thirteen miles away via Ashley Ferry; St. Paul's, ten miles to the west, requiring two bridge crossings; and St. George's, to the northeast and about as far as St. Paul's, requiring a crossing over the upper Ashley at Bacon's Bridge. By this time, Guy estimated that Anglicans had become the majority denomination, accounting for two-thirds of the population.<sup>11</sup>

There were three dissenter houses of worship in the parish—two Baptist and one Presbyterian. Ashley River Church was closest to St. Andrew's. Established in 1727, the Baptist meeting house was located on Tipseeboo or Clear Spring plantation on the east side of the river, just south of St. George's Parish. A group known as the General Baptists had split from the main denomination in 1735 over doctrinal differences. Eleven years later, they began conducting their worship services at a meeting house on the Stono

River in the southern part of the parish. James Island Presbyterian Church, on the distant coastal island, was established in 1706, the same year as St. Andrew's. Presbyterian ministers served there every four-to-six weeks, did not live in the parish, and were paid by their congregations. Guy discussed traveling to the southern part of the parish in James Island and the efforts made by the residents there to attract a full-time Anglican minister.<sup>12</sup>

In the same letter, Reverend Guy lamented that St. Andrew's had been significantly impacted by the redrawing of parish boundaries. After St. George's Parish was created from the northern half of St. Andrew's in 1717, the boundaries were redrawn in 1721, as depicted in the parish map in Chapter 2. These changes were "to the manifest prejudice of this parish," Guy said, since a large tract of land previously in St. Andrew's was redistricted to St. George's. Landowners there had been prominent members of St. Andrew's Parish Church, owning pews and contributing to the church's expansion.<sup>13</sup>

#### PARISH REGISTER

The Church Act mandated that colonial parishes maintain the official record of vital statistics. William Guy began keeping the listing of births, baptisms or christenings, marriages, and burials in a register for St. Andrew's Parish beginning January 1719, immediately after becoming rector. If either of Guy's predecessors had kept a register, there was no mention of it. If the books ever existed, they have long since disappeared.<sup>14</sup>

The parchment-bound colonial register, measuring 13½ inches long by 6½ inches wide, included entries before 1719 that Guy himself or his parishioners knew about. The earliest were two from the seventeenth century: the 1697 baptism of Isabella van Kinswilder and the 1699 birth and baptism of Daniel Welshuysen, inscribed as transfers in 1731–32 from Curacou and Sweden, respectively. The register spanned the rectorships of Guy, Charles Martyn, Thomas Panting, and Christopher Ernst Schwab. The last dated eighteenth-century entry was the death of Richard Park Stobo in February 1785.<sup>15</sup>

As a historical document, the register is a simple, static listing, page after page, of names, dates, and events. But it provides a valuable montage of St. Andrew's Parish, albeit a sketchy one, as home to the rich and the poor, the famous and the unknown, landowner and tradesman, young and old, white and black, freeman and slave. Like inscriptions on gravestones, entries in the register ensured that the people who were recorded in its pages would not be forgotten, their lives remembered.



*Stability, Expansion, and Prosperity (1718–1750)*

It is fitting that the first sixty-nine entries recorded the celebration of birth. The first was the undated birth of Elizabeth Hill, daughter of Charles and Elizabeth Hill. The births of five other Hill children immediately followed—Charles, Jane, John, Sarah, and Mary. That Charles Hill's children would be the first register entries was not accidental. Hill was a wealthy Charles Town merchant and Indian trader. He supported the overthrow of the proprietors, was elected to the assembly three times, and was chief justice in the province from 1722 to 1724. He owned a number of plantations, including Hillsborough in St. Andrew's Parish, just north of John Lucas's plantation, The Bluff, the site of Eliza Lucas Pinckney's later experiments with indigo. Hill was the man that Guy said would provide a bell for the planned steeple.<sup>16</sup>

Following the Hill children were the births of five of William and Rebecca Guy's ten children—William, Edward Basden, Mary, Christopher, and Charles. Soon after these entries were the births of daughters Rebecca, Jane, and Sarah, and then Sophia-Sarah and Jayne-Baynes. Immediately below the first grouping of Guy's children were the births of five children of William and Mary Bull. Their son Stephen's birth on March 18, 1708, was the earliest complete entry in the register for someone born in the parish. The second oldest entry was the birth of William Bull, another son of William and Mary, on September 24, 1710. Stephen's younger brother William would become a medical doctor, lieutenant governor of South Carolina, and one of the most prominent figures in the province. There were births less notable—Joseph Stent, “a poor boy,” and Emanuel, son of Mary Tobias, widow. There were births of twins. Two boys were born to Thomas and Mary Holman: the first, John, at three o'clock in the morning on March 16, 1747, followed by William at two o'clock in the afternoon. Seven years later the Holmans were presented with another set of male twins: Joseph-Thomas was born first, with Walter following ten minutes later.<sup>17</sup>

Entries for baptisms recorded the spiritual birth into Christian life. It was not uncommon for the rector to conduct multiple baptisms on the same day. Reverend Guy baptized seven children belonging to six sets of parents on October 21, 1722. Seven children of Samuel and Elizabeth Ladson were baptized on June 10, 1736. Guy baptized nine people “belonging to Capt. Richard Fuller” on April 16, 1742—Judith, “an Adult negro woman & Seven of her Children Slaves” (children Mary, Charles, and Catherine, and adults Abraham, Phebe, Judith, and Isaac) and a boy, Samuel. The baptisms of Judith and her children were so noteworthy that Guy mentioned them in a letter to the SPG.<sup>18</sup>

Of the 953 baptismal entries, those for Judith and her children and the boy Samuel were among the 19 that referenced people of color. The first slave entry in the register recorded the baptisms of John and Mary, “both belonging to Mr. John Godfrey,” in April 1723. Six years later and now freed, they were married. A year later, in 1730, their son John was baptized, as was another son Thomas, in 1741. Recorded were the baptisms of Mary, “an Adult Molatto belonging to Col. William Bull”; Caesar, “an adult negro Man belonging to Mr. Edmund Bellinger”; and Samson and Pompey, “2 free Negroes and their Wives.” Although both rectors Guy and Martyn were slave owners, there was only a single entry for the baptism of one of their slaves—William, an adult belonging to Reverend Martyn, was baptized in 1757.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the appalling rate of infant mortality, many parishioners chose not to have their children baptized. In 1739 Guy thanked the SPG for sending two dozen abridged copies of William Wall’s acclaimed *History of Infant Baptism* that he had requested. He gave the books to resisting parishioners in the hope that they would change their ways.<sup>20</sup>

Entries for marriages recorded the joining of two families, often influential ones. As the births of the Hill children were the first listed in the register, the marriage of their parents Charles Hill and Elizabeth Godfrey in January 1715 by Ebenezer Taylor was the first recorded marriage. Men and women with family names that are well-known in the Lowcountry today came together in marriage: Richard Fuller and Mary Drayton in 1721, Arthur Middleton and Sarah Morton in 1723, William Middleton and Mary Izard of Goose Creek in 1730, Thomas Drayton and Elizabeth Bull in 1730, and Stephen Bull and Martha Godin, married by Commissary Garden in 1731. The Miles and Ladson families joined to celebrate two marriages just six months apart in 1735: John Miles and Elizabeth Ladson in February and Thomas Miles Jr. and Ann Ladson in August. The register listed the marriages of four of William Guy’s children. Mary married William Chapman of James Island in 1741 at the age of twenty-one. Rebecca married Richard Godfrey at age seventeen in 1744. Five months later her older brother Christopher married Mary Godfrey. They were together nearly six years, when Mary died. The following year Christopher wed Jane Chapman. Sophia-Sarah, only fifteen years old, married John Miles in 1751. A year later she was dead. Three marriages in the register joined black couples, two free and one slave.<sup>21</sup>

Death and disease were “a constant attendance on God’s Alter” in colonial South Carolina. Observers called Carolina a paradise in spring, an inferno in

summer, and a hospital in autumn and “one of the most unhealthy climates in the world.” A person’s health was uncertain even in the best of times, when illness and death could strike without warning. European settlers, unaccustomed to the harsh Lowcountry climate, confronted malaria, yellow fever, smallpox, diphtheria, dysentery, typhoid, typhus, and scarlet fever. Mosquitoes around the Ashley River and tidal marshes carried fatal disease, but their role was unknown. Yellow fever was more prevalent in Charles Town, while malaria (often called country fever) was more widespread around the marshlands. If a person could survive the first few years of life in the province, called “seasoning,” life expectancy improved, but only somewhat.<sup>22</sup>

Two brick burial vaults remain at St. Andrew’s. They date to either the eighteenth or nineteenth century, and little is known about them. They could have been used as family tombs, or as temporary, underground holding places for the remains of the deceased prior to burial, or both. Such holding vaults served an important function in the days before refrigeration. Similar style vaults, all owned by families, remain at Circular Congregational Church in the city (the Simmons family vault is the oldest tomb structure in Charleston, dating to 1695) and in the country along the Cooper River, with the Beresford family vault at St. Thomas’s and the Ball family vault at Strawberry Chapel. The Jonah Collins (1723–1786) vault is located in the churchyard of St. James’s, Santee.<sup>23</sup>

Burials were far more common in the colonial register than births or marriages. Only the number of baptisms, which prepared the faithful for a life, and then death in God, exceeded the number of burials. The peak years for burials, with thirty or more, were 1739 and 1740, which coincided with smallpox and yellow fever epidemics in the province, and 1750, when a diphtheria epidemic struck. Officiating at burials put clergy at grave risk to their own well-being. Their devotion to their parishioners was a testament to their calling. Sometimes clergy were not available for burials; the register notation “interred without a minister” marked these unfortunate occurrences. By its nature, the register recorded each death or burial dispassionately, but the impact of those deaths was far from a dispassionate event to the affected mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, families and friends.<sup>24</sup>

Death was a “constant attendance” for the young and the old. There were the burials of Elenor, “a young Wooman who died at Mr. Claypool”; John Leafe, “a young man Died at Doctor Deerings”; “Old Mr. Ferguson”; and the ninety-year-old widow Mary Hull, who lived an extraordinarily long life by eighteenth-century standards.<sup>25</sup>

Death was a “constant attendance” for the rich and the poor. There was the October 1723 burial of Jonathan Fitch, who supervised the construction of St. Andrew’s Parish Church in 1706. The prominent family of William and Mary Cattell buried their son Benjamin and daughter Elizabeth on the same day in February 1726. In a three-month span in 1729, William’s wife Mary died, followed by Peter Cattell Sr., and another of William’s sons, Edward. The following year, burials were listed for the Godfrey, Stanyarne, Fuller, Miles, and Yonge families. Twenty-three-year-old Charlotta Bull Drayton, daughter of Lieutenant Governor William Bull and wife of John Drayton, was buried on the first day of 1744, just a week after giving birth to a son, Charles. Her “afflicted husband,” as the words were etched onto her tomb, had suffered the loss of his first wife, then his second wife Charlotta, two children, and mother in the span of four years. Charlotta was buried in the parish churchyard; her tomb remains the most impressive gravesite at St. Andrew’s. William Miles Sr. buried his wife Martha and one-year-old daughter Elizabeth the same January day in 1749. Elizabeth Miles buried her son Edward in October 1765. His death notice in the register was just three lines below his father, also named Edward, who had died seven months earlier. Less remembered and



Chest tomb of Charlotta Bull Drayton, 1744 (Photo by the author)

sometimes nameless were the deaths of Martha Jennings, “a poor woman”; Christopher Savage, “a poor Man”; “A Servant of Mr. John Drayton”; “a Swis servant boy belonging to Doctor Bull”; Elizabeth Mock, “a Dutch Girl that Lived at Capt. Thomas Fullers”; “An Indian Woman, named Eliz: belonging to Mr. Godfrey’s Family”; and “One Mr. Howard on James Island.” One of the most poignant entries in the register identified “A Poor Man, a mender of broken China who died at Doctor Dearing’s.”<sup>26</sup>

Death was a “constant attendance” for men and women of the sea—Charles Gervais, “Armorer of the Hawk man of War”; Charles Ransom, “he belonged to the Fowey Man of War”; “a Young Gentleman belonging to the Scarborough man of war”; and the unnamed widow of John Robertson, “who died aBord the Marlborough Privatteeer of Rhode Island Capt. Benjamin Car Commander.” Burials were noted for apprentices, poor children bound to an adult that provided for them (“One Crofts,” John Wood, Joseph Stent, and William Murdaugh), and overseers (“One Griffith” at John Cattell III’s, William Smith at Mrs. Yonge’s, John Wood at Mr. Cartwright’s, and Robert Mc:hain at William Miles Sr.’s). There was a bookkeeper (Edward Smith), a fishmonger (William Bull), and schoolmasters (Jonathan James at William Cattell’s, James Parmenter at Major Fuller’s, John Penyman at Thomas Drayton’s, and John Liston at Captain Isaac Ladson’s). Doctors, too, were listed among the dead—Dr. Robert de Arques, Dr. Thomas Henry Johnson, and Dr. John Lining, one of the most acclaimed scientific investigators of his day.<sup>27</sup>

Death was a “constant attendance” for clergy. The register included the burials of five Anglican ministers—Rev. Richard Ludlam of St. James’s, Goose Creek (1728, two weeks after his wife had died); Rev. Francis Varnod of St. George’s (1736); Reverend Guy himself (1750); Rev. Thomas Panting, the fifth rector of St. Andrew’s (1771); and Rev. Christopher Ernst Schwab, the sixth rector (1773). The burials of four of William and Rebecca Guy’s ten children were noted in the register—Edward Basden (1719, age nine months), Jane (1728, three months), Sarah (1730, seven months), and Sophia-Sarah (1752, age sixteen). Guy’s beloved wife Rebecca was buried in 1741.<sup>28</sup>

The register provided sketchy guidance for the location of these burials. For all but a few entries, there was no mention of where a person was laid to rest. At times burials were noted as occurring on someone’s property: “buried at” Mrs. Anne Cattell’s, Mrs. Hill’s, Mr. Saxbey’s, or Mr. Stanyarne’s, for example. Reverend Schwab’s burial entry is the only one to denote interment in the churchyard. He was laid to rest “near the side of the Church, in the

Yard Opposite to the Communion Table”; his grave marker has not survived. The register mentions nothing about the burials of Rev. Alexander Wood, the parish’s first rector, or Rev. William Guy, his first wife, and children. But research conducted in the 1970s at SPG offices in London by the sixteenth rector, the Reverend John Gilchrist, indicated that both Wood and Guy were interred in the St. Andrew’s graveyard.<sup>29</sup>

Burying the dead at their homes rather than on church grounds was common practice in rural parishes. Colonial Virginians who lived on plantations were often buried there, and the churchyard left to the poor. One of the reasons people shunned the churchyard was that it might be unfenced and thus open to desecration. “If I was buried here,” a planter’s tutor remarked, “it would grieve me to look up and see *Swine* feeding over me.” Few parishioners were buried in the graveyard at nearby St. Paul’s Parish Church, and its rector Rev. William Orr said that burials were “generally done on the Plantation where they lived, a Custom hardly to be remedied in Country Parishes, where People live so many miles from the Church.” Dalcho observed that the graveyard at St. James’s, Goose Creek, “like most other cemeteries in the country, is open to the beasts of the field, and but for some tomb-stones, could not be distinguished as a repository for the dead.” And he was reporting in the nineteenth century. The churchyard at St. Andrew’s was not fenced until 1755.<sup>30</sup>

Wooden markers commonly used to identify gravesites would not have survived long. Only five monuments to the dead from the eighteenth century remain in the St. Andrew’s graveyard, and these were from people of wealth who could afford the luxury of a stone tomb or marker: Elizabeth Nairn (1721) and her son Thomas (1718), Charlotta Bull Drayton (1743), Mary Elliott (1760), and Joseph and Elizabeth Williams, whose deaths (1768 and 1796, respectively) are recorded on the same tombstone. Legend has it that Benjamin Elliott was so distraught by his wife Mary’s death in 1760 at age thirty-one that he buried her so close to the south wall of the nave that he could see her gravestone from his pew. Mary’s grave is visible through the window in the fifth pew from the crossing of the aisles, on the south side of the nave.<sup>31</sup>

## PROSPERITY

William Guy came to St. Andrew’s as the parish entered an era of unparalleled prosperity. African slaves that cleared and cultivated the land transformed rice into the most important cash crop in the province. The number of slaves in St.



*Stability, Expansion, and Prosperity (1718–1750)*

Andrew's Parish increased from about 150 in 1705 to as many as 2,500 in 1720. In 1728 the Reverend Brian Hunt of St. John's, Berkeley, included St. Andrew's as one of the wealthiest parishes in South Carolina. By some measures St. Andrew's became *the* wealthiest. Its planters owned more land and slaves in 1720 than any other parish. The size of its estates was 50 percent larger than average in the period 1722–26 and nearly twice the average in 1742–46.<sup>32</sup>

Prosperity brought an influx of Europeans into St. Andrew's. By 1721 its population had grown to 180 families. Two new settlements were established less than a mile north of the church at the western terminus of Ashley Ferry. Neither survived beyond colonial times.

Ashley Ferry Town was situated just north of the ferry and was the earlier, larger, and more prosperous of the two sites. Also called Butler Town or Shem Town after its developer, Shem Butler, Ashley Ferry Town was established in the early 1720s. One hundred two numbered lots were laid out in the town. Public markets were held on Wednesdays and Saturdays for the sale of cattle, grain, provisions, and other merchandise, and four-day fairs were held in May and September. It is likely that the town had the typical public amenities—a tavern, inn, rest house, blacksmith shop, and general store. Reverend Guy owned three-quarter acre lot #8 in Ashley Ferry Town, which he transferred to his wife Rebecca in 1736. When a smallpox epidemic raged in Charles Town in 1760, the general assembly met at Shem Town to conduct business. The residential subdivisions of Drayton on the Ashley and the northernmost part of Ashley Towne Landing are currently located on the site of old Ashley Ferry Town. A CSX railway track passes through the southern part of the town, and a trestle crosses the Ashley River slightly north of the site of the old ferry.<sup>33</sup>

St. Andrews Town was established about ten years after Ashley Ferry Town and was half its size. St. Andrews Town was laid out from the public road (today's Ashley River Road) to the river. Church (or High) Street was the main thoroughfare through town. Less than a mile south was the parish church. From there, people could walk on a path east through the churchyard and follow it as it turned north to the town. Today this colonial path approximates a line from Rice Pond Road to Ashley Ferry Road in the Ashley Towne Landing subdivision. Developers were William Cattell and Charles Jones, the former a prominent churchwarden and the latter the parishioner who provided the land for establishing the church. Reverend Guy also owned property in St. Andrews Town, quarter-acre lot #16, which sat on the corner of Church and Little streets. He deeded it to his wife Rebecca in 1737, the year after he



conveyed his Ashley Ferry Town lot to her. “It is doubtful if its existence ever went much beyond its plan,” said Henry A. M. Smith of St. Andrews Town, who published detailed descriptions of landholdings in colonial South Carolina at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>34</sup>

#### EXPANDING THE CHURCH

From 1705 to 1721, the parish went from having no church, to building a small one in 1706, to needing a larger one fifteen years later. Expansion required both a growing economy to provide the funds and a sound relationship between the rector and his parishioners to provide a stable environment. Reverend Guy was “well esteem’d of in [his] Parish,” wrote Commissary William Tredwell Bull to the Bishop of London. When Guy returned to England in 1725 to recover from illness that had nearly incapacitated him, the churchwardens and vestry wrote the bishop a letter supporting their rector. The affection was mutual: Guy called his Anglican following “a mightily well behav’d People, constant in their attendance on the Publick worship of God & very kind, & affectionate to me their minister.”<sup>35</sup>

The expansion project took about two years to get started. By July 1721 parishioners had subscribed about £500 *Curr.* (\$15,500). It was a good start, but not nearly enough. Public funds became available a year later, when St. Andrew’s was named a beneficiary of Governor Francis Nicholson’s support for Anglican church building in the province. Nicholson backed four such projects at this time—a church in the newly-created Prince George’s Parish and expansion projects in St. Andrew’s, St. Paul’s, and St. George’s. When the assembly allotted St. Andrew’s £400 *Curr.* (\$11,900) from the public treasury, the project began to take shape. By August 1722 the vestry appointed commissioners to supervise construction. They immediately secured workers to begin preparing bricks and timber, but hard rains in September delayed the work. The following spring Guy reported that the enlargement was moving ahead, most of the building materials were prepared, and many of them were on site.<sup>36</sup>

The rectangular 1706 church was enlarged to a cruciform shape that is the footprint of today’s Old St. Andrew’s. This style was a popular way to expand a church in South Carolina—all three building additions funded by the assembly were constructed in the shape of a cross. Work at St. Andrew’s and St. Paul’s was underway by 1723, but it would be a decade before St. George’s began its enlargement. The Wassamassaw chapel of ease for St. James’s, Goose Creek,

built 1724–27, was also constructed in cruciform design. St. Andrew's was the longest and narrowest of the four cruciform churches.<sup>37</sup>

The majority of Anglican churches in the Leeward Islands and more than 80 percent in Jamaica were cruciform in design. But cruciform churches were oddities on the colonial American mainland outside of Virginia, where they accounted for one-third of the Anglican churches by the mid-eighteenth century. The Latin cross design was used most often, with the nave longer than transept and chancel; fewer churches employed the Greek cross of equal length nave, transept, and chancel. Of the cruciform churches in colonial South Carolina, only the Latin cross St. Andrew's remains.<sup>38</sup>

At almost 3,000 square feet, excluding an interior gallery, or balcony, the expanded church measures eighty-two feet long by fifty-two feet wide at the outermost points. The nave accounts for about 40 percent of the floor space and is forty-two feet long by twenty-eight feet wide. The transept, at twenty-eight feet long by fifty-two feet wide, comprises nearly half of the total space. The chancel or sanctuary (11 percent of the space) is twelve feet long by twenty-eight feet wide. Each arm of the cross is twenty-eight feet long by twelve feet wide.<sup>39</sup>

Recent archeological excavations on the site of the original St. Paul's, Stono, Parish Church have revealed its cruciform outline. The size of the Latin cross St. Paul's was about three-fourths the size of St. Andrew's.<sup>40</sup>

Most of the project was completed within a year, but letters to England reported that work continued for at least ten years. In August 1723 Commissary Bull noted that construction had begun. By January 1724 the walls of the enlargement were finished, the roof was ready to go up, and the glass for the windows had been purchased. Guy was so encouraged that he thought the church would soon be ready for services. His optimism abated when the realities of construction hit—the job demanded more money. Six months later Guy wrote the SPG that his parishioners had begun a second subscription, “notwithstanding the great cost” already incurred, to raise a total of £1,200 *Curr.* (\$27,400), which included the public funds received. With his letter he enclosed a model of his church; unfortunately, it has not survived. In 1726 Guy thought that, “My Church (I thank God) is now near quite finish'd.” But the work lagged on. In his historical account of the parish two years later, Guy said that the enlargement “began in the year 1723 [is] since carried on by the contributions of the parishioners,” implying that work was continuing. In 1733 he said the church was “nearly finished,” with the walls still needing to be

roughcast and a steeple added. By now construction costs were up to £3,500 *Curr.* (\$89,600), seven times the original subscription raised twelve years earlier.<sup>41</sup>

Structural changes were made to the walls and roof. The east chancel wall of the 1706 church and its window were taken down to open up space for a new transept and relocated chancel. Builders used broken brick from the original walls to level the construction area up to grade. New brick, or what Guy called “good brick,” closely matched the original and was used for filling in the old walls near the square windows that were replaced along the north and south walls and for building new walls and foundations. After the masonry work was finished, the brick walls were roughcast in white, or applied with stucco, although that was never the original intention. Using stucco on the walls served two functions—to hide the differences between the original and new brickwork and to emulate a grander stone façade. Although Guy mentioned in 1728 that roughcasting was to proceed “with all convenient speed,” five years later, it remained to be done. The quoins were added when the walls were roughcast. The original roof was torn down. The old pine roof was replaced by a new one made of cypress, a tree common to the Lowcountry known for its water resistance.<sup>42</sup>

The doors changed dramatically. The great door on the north side and the small door on the west were replaced by three double doors of equal size, six feet wide by eight feet high, one on the north and south transept walls and one on the west wall. As great and small doors reflected early eighteenth-century design (St. James’s, Goose Creek, and St. Thomas’s also featured them), the equal-access design of the expanded St. Andrew’s was replicated throughout the province.<sup>43</sup>

The windows also changed. Over the doors were placed eighteen-paned semicircular (or “compass-headed”) windows measuring six feet wide by three feet high at the center. The five square-headed casement windows that were set high on the walls were replaced by “neatly arch’d and well glaz’d” compass-headed windows. Thirteen windows were set into the walls, recessed eighteen inches to produce a stunning effect. Three windows were set along the north wall, and three along the south. The areas where the great door on the north side and the vestry door on the south side had been located now were used for window space. Windows were placed in the wings of the transept, two on the north side, and two on the south. Two windows were set on either side of the communion table in the chancel walls.<sup>44</sup>

“A large east end window,” as Guy described it, provided space for sunlight to stream into the chancel, the most sacred part of the church. It is likely that a

rectangular window was situated beneath the eighteen-paned arched window that today sits above the reredos, just as every other compass-headed window (except for those above the doors) had a matching rectangular window beneath it. The rectangular window below the arched chancel window would have measured about ten-and-a-half feet high. The inclusion of this window meant that the reredos, the altarpiece that contains three of the most important expressions of Christianity—the Lord’s Prayer, Ten Commandments, and Apostles’ Creed—was not part of the 1723 expansion, but added later. The tablets without their large casing might have flanked each side of the east-end window, as they do at St. James’s, Goose Creek, for example, but no documentary evidence exists to support this theory.<sup>45</sup>

Along with the new equal-access door arrangement, compass-headed windows became a defining feature of Anglican church architecture. Dissenter denominations “consciously embraced the arch for their gravestones but almost universally rejected this form in the construction of their meetinghouses,” said colonial church historian Louis Nelson. “Such decisions were entirely consistent with the theological embrace of the ascent of the spirit to the heavens in death and their theological rejection of the descent or special presence of God in the place of worship.”<sup>46</sup>

Molded plaster ornamentation was added to the interior. Twenty-first century archeologists found plaster corner beads that “would have decorated the wall/window jamb edges. Such gothic revival elements are seen in mid-18th century churches, but are rare in colonial structures. However, since the 1706 church featured several truly gothic stylistic elements such as the tower, attached vestry and square casement windows, inclusion of gothic moldings in St. Andrews may be a holdover rather than a revival.”<sup>47</sup>

The additions of a steeple and bell were planned as the finishing touches to the exterior. By the time of Guy’s 1728 report, Charles Hill, a prosperous merchant who was listed in the opening entries of the parish register, had donated a small bell “to be hung up in the steeple when that is built.” Since the height of the existing wooden porch or stump tower over the west entrance was slightly taller than the roof, a steeple would have been constructed over the existing tower. “Nothing is known about the tower above the 14’ mark,” said Larry Leake of Richard Marks Restorations, “since any evidence was destroyed when all the original gable ends were lost during the 1886 Charleston Earthquake.” RMR provided an intriguing illustration of what the church might have looked like with a bell tower at the west end. Dalcho said that the steeple was never realized.<sup>48</sup>



Exterior plan, with large east end window and conjectural bell tower, east and south elevations, 1733–62 (Courtesy of Richard Marks Restorations and St. Andrew's Parish Church. Drawn by Larry S. Leake, Richard Marks Restorations)

Entering the interior of the church through the west door, worshippers would have noticed a small red tile placed in the wall overhead. Like its later counterpart over the south door, the memorial commemorated 1706 church builders Jonathan Fitch and Thomas Rose. Rev. Frederick Dalcho first recounted the inscription in his 1820 history of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina:

J. F. ∴ T. R.  
 SVPER. VI  
 1706.<sup>49</sup>

Parishioners would have then noticed the flooring on which they walked. Floors of brick, tile, slate, or stone were common in American colonial churches, with wooden flooring beneath the pews. A description of this feature is absent in Guy's 1728 report, leaving much to conjecture. The Reverend George Tompkins, eighteenth rector of St. Andrew's (1987–2006) and who wrote much of his doctoral dissertation on the history of his parish church, believed that the large stone pavers of the modern church floor dated to 1723 and the smaller, red clay tiles from 1706. Glenn Keyes Architects, in a preservation plan submitted in 2002, thought the red tiles dated to 1723 and bricks found under the floor during a 1969 restoration comprised the original 1706 floor. Keyes was unsure of the date of the large stone pavers.<sup>50</sup>

Likewise, there is uncertainty over the dating of the glazed tiles on the floor of the altar, tan squares with red diamonds at the corners. Keyes suggested that these dated from a major restoration supervised by Col. William Izard Bull in 1855. Tompkins believed they might be of Dutch origin and date to Guy's expansion. Or the altar tiles could have been added after the church was rebuilt following a fire in the 1760s. Such an expensive chancel floor treatment would have been a testament to the parish's wealth. St. John's, Berkeley (Biggin Church) reported in 1753 having "Glaz'd Dutch Tile of Two colours" on the floor of its chancel. Looking upward, we can be more certain of the ceiling. It was, Guy described, "well arch'd ceiled and plaister'd."<sup>51</sup>

The pulpit and reading desk were relocated. In the 1706 church, the pulpit was close to the south wall near the vestry, and the reading desk opposite, on the north side near the point where the aisles crossed. Or a single pulpit and reading desk configuration could have been located along the north wall of the nave. Archeological evidence has suggested that when the church was expanded, the pulpit and reading desks were repositioned on opposite sides. That is, the pulpit was moved forward into the north transept, and the reading desk, into the south transept. Today the 1723 pulpit would have been located in the first pew on the left side of the nave nearest the sanctuary, which is directly across the north transept aisle from the present location of the pulpit and reading desk. The 1723 reading desk would have been located in the first pew on the right side of the nave nearest the sanctuary, which is directly across the first two choir pews.<sup>52</sup>

Cedar pews filled the church; or as Dalcho's prose described it, the church was "neatly furnished and commodiously pewed." Lowcountry craftsmen frequently used cedar for seating and pulpits in Anglican churches. Col. Bull, who removed the colonial pews as part of a mid-nineteenth century church restoration, called them the "high old fashioned double" type. These pews would have had bench seating facing not only the front of the church toward the altar, but to the back and side as well. A gallery was "design'd to be built forthwith at the west end for those people who have no pews," meaning those who were not wealthy enough to buy their seating space in the nave or transept. *Forthwith* might have been the intention, but there was no money to carry this out. The idea of a gallery faded, until it was resurrected thirty years later under Guy's successor, the Reverend Charles Martyn.<sup>53</sup>

Parishioners entering the church from the west might have seen a baptismal font. "A decent font bespoke, and intended to be placed on a pedestal," Guy

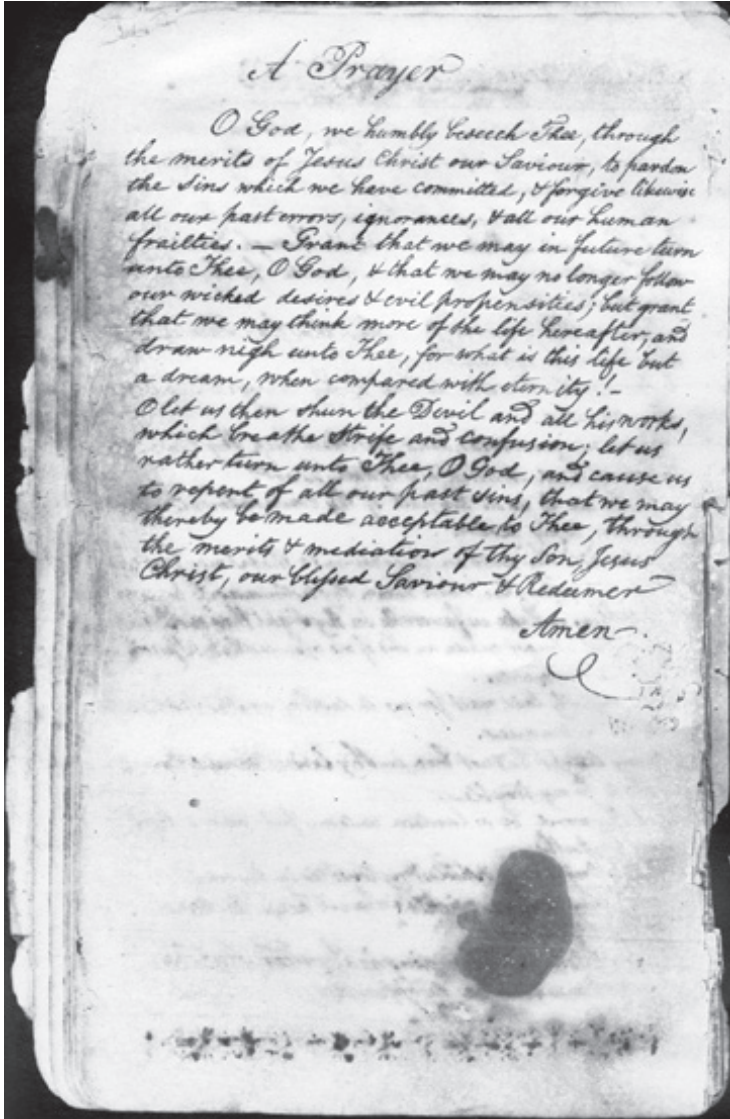
said, “3 steps high in a semicircle at the entrance of the church.” The location just inside the doors was not accidental, but “symboliz[ed] the entrance into the church through baptism.” Fonts in small Anglican churches were not commonplace because of their added cost, so one at St. Andrew’s would have been special indeed. They were made of stone or marble and those occasionally made of wood included a ceramic, silver, or pewter basin. But it is unknown whether a custom-crafted, *intended* font was actually placed in the church, because a colonial font has not survived. The present baptismal font dates to 1842.<sup>54</sup>

When the enlarged St. Andrew’s Parish Church had been completed, the effect was one of simple elegance, or as a commentator on early English churches in America put it, “a quaint severity combined with great charm.” The church “reflected many of the essential design features that characterized eighteenth-century church architecture in South Carolina,” said Louis Nelson:

The uniformity of its elevations and its use of semicircular windows and doors typified church design in the colony throughout the century. The extension of the arched form to the ceiling was also typical, but . . . only for the first half of the century. Its construction in brick was common, but both its English-bond masonry and its roughcast finish would fall from favor by the later eighteenth century, to be replaced by simpler and more highly refined Flemish bond. And finally, its original design included a western tower, a typical feature of medieval and post-Reformation English church design that would be dropped from the lexicon of design options in rural parishes in South Carolina.<sup>55</sup>

Nelson envisioned the effect of the cruciform church on devout parishioner Edward Brailsford. A medical doctor, Brailsford owned 1,270 acres on Coosaw Island near Beaufort. His wife Bridget was buried in the churchyard at St. Andrew’s in 1729, and Edward’s will stated his intention to join her there on his death. His handwritten, 46-page devotional book, inscribed 1710 to 1744 and housed at the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina, is the oldest surviving religious document from St. Andrew’s. “For Brailsford,” said Nelson, “the church in rural St. Andrew’s Parish, South Carolina, was home of the perfect, sovereign, triune God. . . . Once inside, the lofty, vaulted ceiling lifted Edward’s spirit; it seemed to him to be the cope of heaven itself. . . . For Brailsford, this building demanded pause and reverence as no other building in the colony could.”<sup>56</sup>





"A Prayer," from Edward Brailsford's devotional book (Edward Brailsford, "Devotions," 1710–1744, Edward Brailsford Papers. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.)

### GLEBE AND PARSONAGE

As the church was improved, so was the glebe. Ebenezer Taylor had rented out the twenty-six acre glebe where the parsonage was located, but his tenants

had stripped it bare of timber and firewood. Compounding the property's despoiled condition was its small size, which Guy complained was "Scarcely Sufficient to maintain one fourth of the horses and Cattle necessary for a family." The rector's assessment was accurate: the glebe *was* small compared to others in the province. The glebe in adjacent St. Paul's Parish was seventy acres, and it was the next smallest of those in the country parishes. Glebes of 100 acres in St. James's, Goose Creek, and Christ Church parishes were almost four times larger than St. Andrew's, but even these were dwarfed by those in St. George's (250 acres), St. Bartholomew's (300 acres), St. John's, Berkeley (300–360 acres), St. Thomas's (two glebes, 600 acres), and St. James's, Santee (1,000 acres). Only the glebe for St. Philip's Parish in the city, at seventeen acres, was smaller than that of St. Andrew's.<sup>57</sup>

Parish leaders recognized the need for more land. Using £600 *Cur.* (\$12,100) of their own money, Col. William Bull and William Cattell added fifty-seven acres to the glebe in 1727, purchasing the land from Samuel and Dorothy Jones. The parcel was bounded on geographical northwest by marsh and Cuppain Creek; on the northeast "on the Broad Road leading by St. Andrews Church," an early name for today's Ashley River Road; to the southeast by the lands of William Fuller Sr. (Pierponts); and to the southwest by the existing glebe.<sup>58</sup>

Ten years after Guy's initial report, the parsonage house, as did many others in the province, required repairs. In 1731 the assembly provided eight parishes, including St. Andrew's, with £100 *Cur.* (\$2,500) each toward renovations. But the house deteriorated to the point where it could no longer be occupied or repaired, and in 1738 the assembly provided funding of £300 *Cur.* (\$6,700) to rebuild it. Crop failures the prior two years had strapped parishioners financially, which led the vestry to petition the assembly for assistance. It was not until the summer of 1750 that a new parsonage was completed. An expensive, spacious, two-story brick house replaced the small, wooden structure that had been built more than thirty years before.<sup>59</sup>

Nothing else is known about the St. Andrew's parsonage, but descriptions of ministers' houses in seven rural parishes provide clues as to its possible size and plan. Buildings were as small as seventeen by twenty-nine feet in St. Bartholomew's Parish and as large as twenty-five by thirty-four feet in St. George's. The parsonage at St. George's had three rooms, at St. James's, Santee, was one and a half stories high, and at St. Bartholomew's had a Dutch roof. Parishioners at Christ Church built a two-story house; a cellar was contemplated but omitted, but a kitchen was added. St. John's, Berkeley, had

a two-story building, with two rooms on each floor plus a garret and cellar. The residence at St. James's, Goose Creek, was a similar design to St. John's but had three rooms per floor. Recent archeological work undertaken at the site of St. Paul's Parish indicates that the size of its parsonage was thirty-five by eighteen feet. Built between 1707 and 1715 when it was burned in the Yamasee War, it was made of brick in a two-room or three-room hall and parlor design and included glazed casement windows and plastered interior walls. Such a house "rivalled that of a wealthy planter family" in an effort to "display the power and wealth of their parish and the South Carolina Anglican Church." The St. Paul's parsonage would have far eclipsed St. Andrew's first house, but by midcentury, St. Andrew's second and more refined parsonage would have matched any in the province.<sup>60</sup>

The parsonage not only provided living quarters for the rector and his family but it also served as a social gathering point for the parish, especially in rural areas. With the parsonage house near the church, parishioners would have met there after services to catch up on recent events and eat, drink, and smoke. The vestry likely met there too. Indeed, artifacts found at the St. Paul's parsonage "more closely resembled that of a tavern or other social meeting place than a domestic residence." Socializing also occurred on the church grounds, and at St. Paul's, along a dirt path that ran parallel to the marsh that fronted the Stono River. It is easy to imagine the same scene taking place at St. Andrew's, near the marsh at Church Creek or farther down on the banks of the Ashley.<sup>61</sup>

Socializing of another kind occurred at parsonages, much to the chagrin of their occupants. As perhaps the only quasi-public house for miles, the parsonage was also expected to serve travelers who needed lodging. Finding visitors at the door was commonplace for rectors such as Rev. William Orr of St. Paul's Parish whose houses lay on a frequently traveled road. He complained that people "will not hesitate to call me and my Family out of Bed in the middle of the Night to accommodate them: which if a Clergyman refuses to do, tho' he be put poorly provided himself, 'twould be the great Crime and Reproach in the World; many people imagining, he ought to keep open House." With the parsonage in St. Andrew's Parish just off the main north-south road through the parish and only a mile from Ashley Ferry and its changing tides, Reverend Guy likely fared no better than his counterpart in St. Paul's in opening his home to strangers at all hours of the day and night.<sup>62</sup>

## CHAPEL ON JAMES ISLAND

Even before Guy directed the expansion of his church, he extended his outreach to parishioners on James Island. The southern end of the parish, today an easy drive of about twenty to thirty minutes from the church, was then considered a distant outpost. Guy conducted services in a house on land he described as “extraordinarily good and well timber’d and very advantageously situated, being not above three miles by water from Charles Town, to which you pass over Ashley River.” James Island had a strong Presbyterian presence, and the Anglican residents had neither the physical nor clerical resources of the Church of England on which to draw for their spiritual sustenance.<sup>63</sup>

Guy began traveling to James Island in August 1721, visiting every third Friday. Writing the following January, he said he had baptized seven children at one time and that people wanted to build a chapel. As soon as he had finished supplying the vacant cure at St. George’s, Dorchester, he wanted to come to James Island every fourth Sunday, anticipating better attendance on the Lord’s Day than on Friday. By August he had finished his duties at St. George’s. Guy’s congregation on James Island soon outgrew the small house where he preached, so a subscription was begun for building a chapel—at the same time parishioners were raising money to expand the parish church. Given the amount of activity on the island, Guy believed that the assembly might even create a new parish in James Island, as it did with St. George’s, but this failed to happen.<sup>64</sup>

Reverend Guy continued to keep a close watch on dissenter activity on the island. In 1724 a Presbyterian minister had moved there, and Guy said he would, health permitting, travel there once a month on Sundays and also on weekdays to “use all possible ways & means to prevent my people being seduced by him.” Reporting in early 1728, Guy continued to conduct worship services once a month at the house, which was situated on land intended for a glebe. By October a chapel had been built: “my [parish] Church is in a flourishing Condition, that there is a pretty great Congregation which constantly attend it, as there is likewise at the Chappel of ease, where I officiate every fourth Sunday.”<sup>65</sup>

Guy continued his monthly travels to James Island for many years, despite the inconvenience and his often poor health. Tragedy struck in 1730, only two years after the chapel had opened, when a hurricane destroyed it. It was rebuilt by 1733. The new chapel was made of brick but not finished on the inside. A significant addition, Guy called it “the largest of the Country Churches, except my own.” Dissenter activity demanded constant vigilance from the Anglicans

### *Stability, Expansion, and Prosperity (1718–1750)*

on James Island. Two more dissenter meeting houses had been built there by 1740, and the Anglican inhabitants feared that young people would be drawn away from the Church. That year islanders asked the SPG for their own minister. To prove their seriousness, they purchased a 300-acre glebe next to the chapel, where they intended to build a wooden house.<sup>66</sup>

#### MINISTERING TO THE SLAVES

With his parishioners close to home and on far away James Island occupying much of William Guy's energy, he did not forget about the slaves who labored on the plantations. Yet attempts to catechize them remained a difficult task, not only in St. Andrew's Parish but throughout the province. The results were disappointing; a miniscule number of slaves were baptized in relation to their overall numbers. Slave baptisms were noted in the parish registry and the *Notitia Parochialis*, the semiannual status reports the rector submitted to the SPG. During a tenure six times longer than his predecessor, Guy was much less successful in baptizing people of color than was Ebenezer Taylor.

Yet Guy sought out innovative ways of reaching slaves in his parish. He gave white parishioners a dozen books that were originally intended to convert the Indians (there being none in the parish, he said) for their use in teaching black slaves. In 1742 the SPG purchased two black teenagers to teach other slaves reading and the fundamentals of Christianity. With the cost of the boys equal to twice a rector's annual salary, plus the need to build a separate school in Charles Town, it was not an inexpensive undertaking. Ironically, Harry and Andrew were purchased from the estate of Alexander Skene, who had recently died. Harry, the brighter of the two, taught in the city school for twenty-five years. The churchwardens and vestry of St. Andrew's petitioned the SPG for the use of one of the boys, presumably Andrew, as a schoolmaster to instruct slaves in their parish. The plan had the full backing of Lt. Gov. William Bull Sr., who served on the vestry. The Society agreed, subject to Commissary Garden's approval, but what happened after that is unknown.<sup>67</sup>

#### PROVINCIAL LEADER

William Guy was not only well-liked and well-respected in his parish but he enjoyed the same reputation in the province. He had persevered through the most difficult of circumstances before arriving at St. Andrew's, and he managed its ongoing responsibilities with distinction. Within a year of Reverend Guy's election as rector, the vestry wrote the Bishop of London

praising their minister's work. His efforts did not go unnoticed, and in 1725 the SPG tapped Guy as its attorney in South Carolina to handle its business matters. He soon became immersed in the disposition of wills and estates and in collecting money owed the Society. Two weeks after he had received his appointment, Guy was instructed to collect the legacies that two prominent men had bequeathed the SPG. His duty as provincial attorney required a significant amount of his time. Resolving these first two matters alone took him more than five years. His letters to the SPG, so full of news about life in St. Andrew's Parish, increasingly focused on the status of outstanding business matters under his jurisdiction.<sup>68</sup>

Guy took an active role in other church matters that affected the province. In 1727 he spoke out against Rev. Brian Hunt's illegal marriage of Robert Wright and sixteen-year old Gibbon Cawood, saying that Hunt had "given great Scandal & offence." Hunt, rector of St. John's, Berkeley, had performed the union against the wishes of Cawood's legal guardians, at midnight, in her mother's home in Charles Town, when her mother was away. In 1734 Guy sat on the first ecclesiastical trial in the province. He served with Commissary Garden and the Reverend Thomas Hassell and suspended Rev. John Fulton of Christ Church Parish for chronic drunkenness.<sup>69</sup>

The Great Awakening, called "the most important religious movement in eighteenth-century America," directly involved William Guy. The Reverend George Whitefield, an itinerant Anglican priest, challenged the Anglican establishment wherever he preached—whether in England, Pennsylvania, Georgia, or the Carolinas—with his own brand of charismatic evangelism. In the late 1730s and early 1740s, he preached to overflowing audiences at dissenter houses of worship in Charles Town. But Whitefield ran afoul of Commissary Alexander Garden with his deviations from the Book of Common Prayer, criticism of the way slaves were instructed in the faith, and his slights toward his fellow ministers. In 1741 Guy and three other clergy served on an ecclesiastical trial that suspended him. Preaching in the "Whitefieldian manner," as the commissary branded this zealous style of preaching, would never make an appearance at St. Andrew's Parish Church, whose rector was an important figure in the Anglican establishment. The nearby Ashley River Baptist congregation, however, embraced Whitefield.<sup>70</sup>

The rector served vacant parishes that were without a minister or needed counsel. As many of his fellow clergymen were asked to do, Guy supplied other parishes as time and health permitted, officiating at St.



*Stability, Expansion, and Prosperity (1718–1750)*

James's, Goose Creek; St. George's, Dorchester; St. Paul's, Stono; St. John's, Colleton; and St. Bartholomew's. At the request of Governor Woodes Rogers, he sailed to the Bahamas in the spring of 1731 and baptized 125 children and 3 adults. The following year Reverend Guy provided the SPG with an assessment on conditions in St. Bartholomew's Parish, an area that had remained decimated seventeen years after the Yamasee War had begun. The vestry of St. John's, Colleton, asked Guy for help in 1739 to secure a minister from the SPG.<sup>71</sup>

Not only did Guy serve beyond his parish, but his people shared their wealth beyond St. Andrew's. Despite the continuing cost of expanding their church, parishioners in 1733 subscribed £500 *Curr.* (\$12,800) toward the settlement of Georgia. After a devastating fire that engulfed Charles Town in November 1740, Guy preached two "charity sermons" at St. Andrew's, which raised £368 14d 6s *Curr.* (\$8,500) for rebuilding. The fire, which destroyed more than 300 houses and countless warehouses at an estimated cost of more than £200,000 *Ster.* (\$36.9 million), was not just a tragedy viewed from afar. The rector of St. Andrew's was among those affected, losing property valued at £171 *Ster.* (\$31,600). "Among the unhappy Suffers," Guy said, "I had the misfortune to be one myself, having lately finish'd a House at a considerable Expense; which joint to the Loss of some Slaves of late years, makes the misfortune the greater to me, who have a pretty numerous Family to maintain. But in this, as in all other Events which may happen to me, I desire humbly to submit to Gods will."<sup>72</sup>

IN SICKNESS AND IN HEALTH

William Guy's work in his parish, other parishes, and the province was exceptional. But his accomplishments were even more impressive given the constant state of illness under which he labored. In January 1724 he wrote the SPG that the difficult travel to St. Paul's, where he served in the absence of a minister there, had left him sick. "I am oblig'd to acquaint you," he said, "that the extraordinary fatigue in riding thither, & in being forc'd sometimes to goe by water by reason of the badness of the roads, together with my being very often caught in the rain, has occasioned me such an ill habitt of Body, which, (tho' hitherto it does not render me altogether incapable of serving my own Cure, & that of St. Paul's,) yet I am afraid that in a short time, it will; It being so difficult a matter here to regain one's health." He asked to return with his family to England to recover.<sup>73</sup>



That spring Guy reported bouts of “Quinzey and a Distemper” that had proven fatal to many who had suffered through it. The illness that inflamed his throat made it difficult to preach. Although he was getting good medical care, it did not help, and he was afraid his condition might become incurable. By July he again asked to return to England. In December he received a letter from the SPG dated three months earlier that granted him permission to return home. During Guy’s absence, ministers from adjoining parishes took turns supplying St. Andrew’s as Guy had done for them. In March 1725 the churchwardens and vestry wrote the SPG a letter commending their rector and blaming his illness from overwork, caused by visiting other parishes that were without a minister.<sup>74</sup>

In 1730 only five ministers, of whom Guy was one, were able to attend a clergy meeting. Everyone else was sick. In 1739 Guy was too weak with a fever to acknowledge receipt of anniversary sermons the SPG had sent him. His cherished wife Rebecca, mother of his ten children, died in 1741. Guy would not remarry until nearly six years later, when Commissary Garden presided at his wedding to Elizabeth Cooper of Goose Creek at St. Philip’s. In 1743 Guy was able to supply St. George’s “as often as my Health, & the affairs of my own [parish] will permit.” Two years later Guy wrote that he had “recover’d from a long & dangerous Fit of Sickness,” but the following year he was “being now reduc’d to a very weak & low Condition by the great Fatigue of attending this Cure, as also in supplying vacant Cures, as Occasion requir’d.” As he had done for twenty-one years, Guy again asked for six months leave to regain his strength in England or the northern colonies. In March 1748 he thanked the SPG for allowing him to return to England.<sup>75</sup>

#### THE END

William Guy’s long tenure at St. Andrew’s Parish Church ended with his death on December 9, 1750. The Reverend William Orr, rector of St. John’s, Colleton, presided at the burial two days later in the parish churchyard. The location of the gravesite is unknown. Guy’s obituary in the *South Carolina Gazette* testified to the mark he had made with his people: “Yesterday departed this Life, aged 62 years, very much lamented, particularly by his Parishioners, and by every one who had the Pleasure of an Acquaintance with him, the Rev. Mr. *William Guy*, Rector of *St. Andrew’s* Parish for upwards of 30 Years past. Of whom it may be truly said, *He lived the Life of the Just, and died the Death of the Righteous.*”<sup>76</sup>

*Stability, Expansion, and Prosperity (1718–1750)*

In an age where death was always near and the average life expectancy at birth was about thirty-five, Guy's tenure at St. Andrew's was extraordinary. One-fourth of the ministers the SPG sent to South Carolina did not survive its deadly climate five years after arriving. Most parishes suffered frequent clergy turnover, either by illness, death, or transfer. During Guy's tenure at St. Andrew's, five ministers served St. Bartholomew's; St. Paul's; St. James's, Goose Creek; and St. John's, Berkeley. Six served St. George's, and nine came and went at Christ Church. In the history of St. Andrew's Parish Church, only one rector's tenure was longer than Guy's thirty-two years—that of the Reverend John Grimké Drayton, who served with periods of interruption for forty years in the nineteenth century. At mid-century William Guy had left his parish church in good order for the next generation.<sup>77</sup>

## CHAPTER 4

# PROSPERITY, FIRE, AND REVOLUTION

1751 – 1785

**T**HE MONTH AFTER REVEREND GUY'S DEATH, in January 1751, the vestry and churchwardens petitioned the SPG for a new minister. Their choice was the Reverend Samuel Quincy, then living in England. Quincy, known for his memorable preaching style, had been rector of St. John's, Colleton, and St. George's before becoming Commissary Garden's assistant at St. Philip's. Guy had known Quincy and had liked him, sending the SPG a testimonial on his behalf. In March the Reverend William Langhorne asked to be transferred from St. Bartholomew's to replace Guy, partly to escape a parsonage in ruins. The new brick house that had been completed for Guy the previous summer at St. Andrew's certainly enticed him. But neither Quincy nor Langhorne was selected. The Reverends William Orr from St. John's, Colleton; Robert Stone from St. James's, Goose Creek; and John Rowan from St. Paul's, Stono, supplied St. Andrew's alternately on every third Sunday until a replacement could be found.<sup>1</sup>

4TH RECTOR:

REV. CHARLES MARTYN

MINISTER (1752–53), RECTOR (1753–70)

“After a most dangerous as well as tedious Passage of three Months,” the Reverend Charles Martyn arrived in South Carolina in February 1752. Soon afterward the twenty-seven year old cleric met with the parishioners of St. Andrew's and was encouraged that he might serve among them. Vestries in many parishes required a new minister to serve a year's probationary period before being considered for election as rector, since once installed, it was nearly impossible to get rid of him, regardless of his competence or behavior. St. Andrew's had experienced such a situation first-hand with Rev. Ebenezer Taylor, and the memories of that disagreeable time lingered. So Martyn began at St. Andrew's as a non-tenured minister.<sup>2</sup>

In June he sent the SPG a detailed account of his new parish. He reported 115 families, most of which were dissenters (forty Presbyterian, seventeen

Anabaptist, two Quaker, two Independent, and one “reputed” Roman Catholic). He estimated there were at least 1,500 black slaves and 100 Indians. Efforts to Christianize them would be difficult, Martyn reported. Indians were shy and not open to instruction. Enslaved blacks were not taught the tenets of the faith because their masters had found that, when instructed, they “had become lazy and proud, entertaining too high an Opinion of themselves, and neglecting their daily Labour.” Martyn believed that his predecessor had been too lax in baptizing infants without proper sponsors. He sought guidance from the SPG for dealing with the situation, since parishioners would either follow Guy’s easier custom or not baptize their children at all. Martyn praised the fidelity of his Anglican parishioners, with the number of communicants increasing from about ten to twenty-one in the four months he had been at St. Andrew’s. The parsonage was in good shape; parishioners were amenable to making improvements he might desire. The library he inherited was another matter. Although the number of books was sufficient, they were unusable, “being quite eaten out with worms.”<sup>3</sup>

At the end of 1752 Martyn filed another report, coming after two serious bouts of illness. The number of Anabaptists attending Martyn’s worship services gave him confidence that he could convert them to the Church of England. He traveled to James Island once a month to serve his Anglican parishioners there. Some of them had strayed during the vacancy between Guy’s death and his arrival. The number of baptisms Martyn performed increased to fifteen, “which tho’ inconsiderable in itself, yet is very extraordinary considering what few Families reside in this old settled Parish.” An adult black man was christened, “a very sensible Fellow, and who gave me a rational Account of the Principles of the Christian Religion.” The number of communicants had risen to thirty. Martyn requested that the SPG provide half a year’s salary to Reverend Guy’s widow Elizabeth. Guy’s executors had sold his slaves and books, so to support herself, his wife had opened a boarding school near Ashley Ferry that specialized in spelling, reading, and needlework. Her financial situation, however, remained tenuous.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE RECTOR AND HIS WORK

Reverend Martyn felt comfortable enough to apply for election as rector at the end of January 1753. In March the vestry ended his provisional status, unanimously electing him the parish’s fourth rector. He, like Guy, would have a long tenure—seventeen years. Born in 1725, Martyn graduated from Balliol

College, Oxford, at age twenty and later earned an AM degree. Following his father Roger into the ministry, Martyn was ordained a deacon in 1746 and a priest two years later. He served with his father as curate to Anlescombe Parish in Devon before the SPG assigned him to St. Andrew's in July 1751. He was the last priest the Society would send to the parish. Martyn married Sarah Fuller, a member of one of the parish's prominent families, and they had one son, Charles Fuller Martyn, born in 1758. About this time Martyn owned 250 acres of land at Courtauld or Courtlands plantation, on the east side of the Ashley opposite Runnymede.<sup>5</sup>

With a capable rector in place at the wealthy parish, parishioners began to enhance the interior of their church. A subscription was raised to buy an organ, build a gallery, and make needed repairs. In 1755 parishioners purchased an organ (one of only five in the province), fenced in the churchyard, and anticipated a school for poor children. Despite intentions to build a gallery during the 1723 expansion, the project had gone unrealized until now, when money was allocated for its construction. St. Philip's, St. Michael's, St. Stephen's, St. John's, Berkeley, and St. James's, Goose Creek also provided room upstairs for additional seating. "Galleries were fitted with box pews and functioned as an extension of the floor space of the church," said architectural historian Louis Nelson. "These box pews were sold or rented, just as were those on the floor, although generally at lower rates.... But church worship was not limited only to those who could afford pews; most churches made allowances for those who could not afford pews by providing benches, usually in the west end or in the aisles and sometimes in galleries." The type of seating arrangement when the gallery was first constructed at St. Andrew's, whether box pews or benches, is unknown.<sup>6</sup>

Dalcho said that the gallery was installed for parishioners without pews, "but afterwards appropriated to People of Colour." Enslaved people might have sat in the gallery in the late eighteenth century; in 1773 St. Michael's relegated slaves to the gallery or the vestibule of the church. Since "eighteenth-century South Carolina integrated slaves into their spatial order very slowly," Nelson said, St. Andrew's might not have begun using the gallery for slave seating until the early nineteenth century. In either case, it would have been, according to Dalcho's 1820 account, one of the earliest country churches to have used its gallery for slave seating. The next earliest documentation of seating of blacks in the gallery of a rural church was the 1824 vestry minutes of Holy Cross Church in Sumter County.<sup>7</sup>

PROSPERITY CONTINUES

When Martyn arrived in the parish, most people were economically sufficient. The province in mid-century, according to Governor James Glen, could be divided into four socioeconomic classes. The top 20 percent, consisting of elite planters, merchants, and professionals, had “plenty of the good things of Life.” About 40 percent of the population, including small planters, overseers, and artisans, enjoyed “the Necessaries of Life.” Another 20 percent, including some artisans, small merchants, and shopkeepers, had “some of the Conveniencys of Life.” At the bottom, about 20 percent of the people lived a “bare subsistence.”<sup>8</sup>

Rice and indigo were the fuel for the economic engine that made St. Andrew’s the wealthiest parish in South Carolina in the late 1750s and early 1760s. Planting required constant attention, and its demands could interfere with Sunday worship. Martyn complained to the SPG that parishioners worked the indigo fields on Sunday instead of coming to church. But prosperity brought with it surplus cash that the churchwardens could use to generate income. In 1758 they advertised that £500–600 *Cur.* (\$10,000–12,000) was available for loan at 8 percent interest. Three years later the debt was called, and borrowers were informed they had to pay off the interest.<sup>9</sup>

Wealthy parishioners in the province divided their time between their country plantations and their city homes. Maintaining a city residence allowed them to escape plantation life during the “sickly season” of the hot-weather months and to enjoy Charles Town’s lively social scene. Worship patterns likewise shifted from country to city churches and back again. Pew subscriptions at St. Michael’s for the year 1758 illustrated this dual nature of attendance. The listing included notables from Charles Town and from the outlying areas of Goose Creek, Santee, Johns Island, Stono, Ashpoo, and St. John’s and St. Andrew’s parishes. Four planters from St. Andrew’s Parish were listed—William Branford, Thomas Middleton, Thomas Drayton, and Thomas Rose—and each occupied a prominent pew at St. Michael’s. Branford’s pew #35 was located at the crossing of the aisles next to that of Ralph Izard, a wealthy planter who lived at The Elms in Goose Creek. Middleton’s #61 was adjacent to pew #1 reserved for the governor and council. Drayton’s #50 was opposite Governor James Glen’s #34. Rose’s pew #80 was less expensive, and he sat opposite Daniel Ravenel Jr., a planter from St. John’s Parish, and Samuel Prioleau, “merchant, wharf mogul.”<sup>10</sup>

At the bottom end of the economic ladder, poor men, women, and children tried to survive each day. As early as 1712 the assembly passed a

law requiring churchwardens and vestries to care for the poor among them. Although colonial vestry records for St. Andrew's Parish no longer exist, it is likely that its leaders amply supported their poor. In a study of extant vestry minutes for eight rural South Carolina parishes, Tim Lockley found that these parishes provided for the poor better than anywhere else in the entire English-speaking world. The realities of rural life in the colony, he believed, were motivated by more than mere altruism, however. South Carolina's "elite vestrymen had deep-seated concerns about the position of the white poor in a society that was dominated by African slavery," Lockley said. "Generous relief of adult paupers was therefore a public demonstration of the privileges of race to which all whites were entitled." Attempts to establish free schools were a way to improve the lives of poor children and thereby reduce their need for public assistance.<sup>11</sup>

#### MINISTRY ON JAMES ISLAND

The chapel on James Island gained official status as a chapel of ease to St. Andrew's by an act of the assembly in 1756, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the parish church. This designation mandated that the rector of St. Andrew's conduct worship there every fourth Sunday. Moreover, it stipulated that *all* ministers who had chapels of ease in their parishes conduct worship at their chapels every fourth Sunday. The assembly used the act to correct a nagging problem: clergy's infrequent visits to their outlying chapels. If ministers failed to provide monthly chapel worship, churchwardens and vestries could file a complaint against them, with a penalty of £10 *Cwr.* (\$200) assessed for each Sunday missed. A single infraction bore stiff consequences, since it amounted to 10 percent of a minister's annual salary. Charles Martyn, like William Guy before him, was diligent in his attention to the chapel on James Island. Martyn was encouraged to find among those attending worship there "a considerable number of persons, educated in the Presbyterian way . . . and several of them produced Prayer Books, and made the Responses."<sup>12</sup>

About this time, Martyn added five communicants and baptized thirty-six children and two black adults in the parish, one of whom was likely his slave William.<sup>13</sup>

#### BEYOND ST. ANDREW'S AND VYING FOR COMMISSARY

As was his predecessor, Reverend Martyn was well-known throughout the province. He was given the honor of preaching the sermon at the seventh



annual meeting of the clergy in South Carolina in 1755, and again at the eleventh meeting. His frustration with the way ministers were appointed in their parishes and assigned to the backcountry led him to seek the vacant post of commissary. The last and third person to hold this position, the Reverend Alexander Garden, considered his commission expired in 1749 upon the death of the Bishop of London, and the post had remained unfilled. One of the actions Martyn would undertake to impress the SPG and the new bishop would backfire, causing a furor among his fellow clergymen.<sup>14</sup>

Since he had arrived in South Carolina, Martyn had commented on the tenuous position that ministers held in the parishes they served. He himself had been subjected to a trial period before elected rector of St. Andrew's. In December 1752 Martyn noted that the practice of "keeping their Ministers dependent" led to clergymen moving about from parish to parish in search of a permanent posting. Adding to these difficulties, the SPG had stopped sending missionaries to the province in 1759 to fill clerical vacancies. In the spring of 1762 Reverend Martyn lamented how ministers were selected: "The Method used by the Parishes in order to be supplied with Clergy whenever a vacancy happens, is generally by an Application to some Merchant in Charlestown, who writes to his Correspondent in England, & devises him to export some Clergyman or other for that purpose. In consequence of this Method, the Parishes, instead of regular & decent Ministers are sometimes furnished with very worthless & wicked ones, who are sent abroad by Persons, that can be no competent judges at all upon the occasion."<sup>15</sup>

Martyn requested that the Bishop of London appoint a commissary to handle these and other ecclesiastical matters. Demonstrating his broader knowledge of church affairs, Martyn appended to his letter a status report of the parishes in the province. It was also a subtle way of advancing his own suitability. At the same time, Governor Glen took a more direct approach with Bishop Osbaldeston, writing the bishop's brother to recommend Martyn, "the Senior Clergyman in the whole Province," as commissary.<sup>16</sup>

Martyn wrote the bishop in 1763 complaining that St. John's, Colleton, "which has a reputation for ill-treating the clergy," sought a new minister "but resolved to keep him on permanent probation." These kinds of abuses could be rectified if a commissary were in place. The following year a frustrated Martyn bemoaned that clergymen were exported like bales of goods. He thought that a commissary would have been named before this time, noting that the bishop had mentioned him as a candidate.<sup>17</sup>

In the summer of 1759 Reverend Martyn traveled through the primitive South Carolina backcountry. The inland area, beginning about fifty miles from the coast, had attracted Scotch Irish, French Huguenot, German, and English settlers, along with immigrants from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Many were Presbyterian. Law and order were in short supply; frontier customs and behavior could be crude. Echoing the sentiments of the Reverend Charles Woodmason, an itinerant Anglican minister who would later travel extensively through the backcountry, Martyn was appalled at the “infelicity” and “hedonism” he saw. Preaching twice in Augusta, he complained about the lack of ministers in the backcountry. In 1764 Martyn asked the SPG to send him Bibles and prayer books to distribute to new immigrants who flooded the interior. These materials were sent to French and Irish Protestants who were 200 miles from Charles Town.<sup>18</sup>

If Martyn’s analysis of ecclesiastical life in the Lowcountry and the backcountry were designed to impress the Bishop of London, another action thrust him into the spotlight, but with vastly different results. By May 1761 illness that often plagued Anglican ministers sent Martyn home to England for a twelve-month recovery. While he was there, he attended the general assembly of the SPG. He took the unprecedented action of returning to the Society his annual salary of £30 *Curr.* (\$600). Martyn said that the funds he received from the provincial treasury adequately met his needs, and he did not need the SPG’s stipend. His action so impressed the Society that it began to wonder if it were paying too much for the work of its missionaries, since they also received funding from the province.<sup>19</sup>

Unlike his fellow ministers, however, Reverend Martyn was affluent. He had married into the Fuller family and was the beneficiary of at least one inheritance. When Benjamin Cattell Jr. died in January 1761, Martyn was bequeathed land in Colleton County that he had been leasing from Cattell, as well as other parts of Cattell’s estate. (Cattell also left £500 *Curr.* [\$9,900] to St. Andrew’s Parish for a free school.) Two years later as part of the “land fever” that drove the settlement of coastal Georgia and north Florida, a 1,000-acre plantation located south of the Altamaha River on Amelia Island was surveyed for Martyn. Abutting Martyn’s site was land belonging to Thomas Mellichamp, whose primary residence was in St. Andrew’s Parish and who was well-known for the production process he developed that significantly improved the quality of indigo.<sup>20</sup>

Martyn’s position with the SPG hardly endeared him to his fellow clergy, although news of his action was not discovered until three years later,

when the Reverend Alexander Garden Jr. (ironically the nephew of the last commissary) read about it in the *Abstracts* of the SPG. In March 1764 Garden complained to the SPG that the £100 *Cur.* (\$1,900) ministers received from the province was inadequate to live on. Because the assembly paid ministers who were not supported by the SPG the same £30 *Cur.* as the SPG's stipend it provided for its own missionaries, Martyn was sacrificing nothing. He would receive his £30 regardless of whether it was issued by the public treasury or the SPG. In fact, he would get his money quicker, since it was issued locally. The Reverend Levi Durand of St. John's, Berkeley, could not hide his disgust, writing caustically that Martyn "could not burn incense to himself without singeing the wings of his Brother Missionaries."<sup>21</sup>

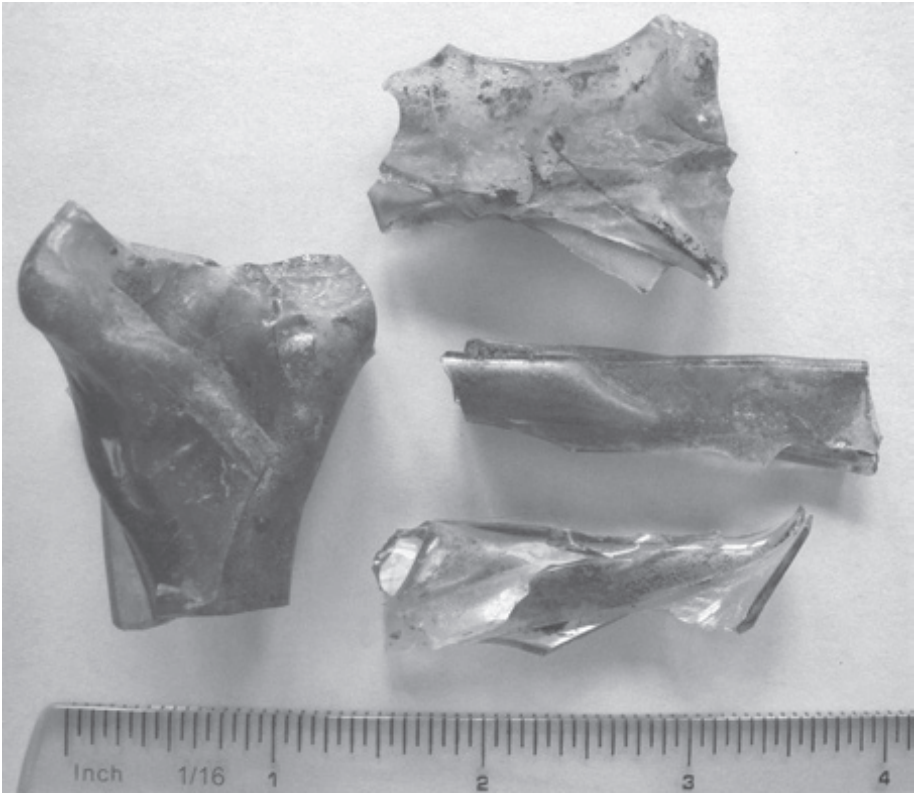
Martyn continued to comment about the uneasy status of non-tenured ministers into 1765. Despite all his lobbying, neither Martyn nor anyone else would become commissary. The position would remain vacant.<sup>22</sup>

#### THE FIRE

About halfway through Charles Martyn's rectorship, a devastating fire burned the church. The interior was gutted, but the exterior walls were left standing. The church was rebuilt soon afterward.

Richard Marks Restoration, which conducted the archeological exploration of the church in 2004, said that its "discoveries conclusively prove that St. Andrews suffered from an intense conflagration sometime during the Eighteenth Century," which it dated to around 1762. The scientific evidence was overwhelming. There was "scattering of fine charcoal fragments covering the entire interior of the church at the boundary between disturbed and sterile soils, charcoal and brick fragments in scaffold and furniture post molds, scorched plaster on brick fragments, ... [and] scorched wooden nailers sheltered within the brick walls." The most conclusive evidence: "Melted window glass ... was found to the outside of window openings at both the 1706 and 1723 footprint (including the now bricked in east chancel wall window). Since glass melts at a minimum of 900° Fahrenheit, all of the existing interior and exterior woodwork, including the west tower [and vestry], surely would have been destroyed."<sup>23</sup>

William Drayton, justice of the peace in Berkeley County and likely a churchwarden, placed three ads in the *South Carolina Gazette* in April 1763 soliciting materials and labor for the rebuilding. Another ad was placed the following March, asking subscribers who provided funds to meet at Edward



Melted window glass found during the 2004 archeological investigation (Photo by the author)

**ANY** persons willing to engage the materials  
for rebuilding the parish church of St. An-  
drew; and workmen who will undertake to  
finish the inside, are desired to send in their  
proposals to **WILLIAM DRAYTON.**

Rebuilding the parish church. *South Carolina Gazette*, April 23, 1763 (Charleston County Public Library)

Legge's to choose their pews and to bring money they owed, so the workmen could be paid. There was one hitch, however. Pews could not be granted or secured by title without sanction of the colonial assembly. So on August 10, 1764, the assembly granted the churchwardens and vestry the authority they needed to sell pews to their subscribers. The preamble of the act confirmed that a fire had occurred: "Whereas, the church of St. Andrew's parish, which was lately destroyed by fire, is nearly rebuilt, and many persons have subscribed to the expence of rebuilding the same ..." <sup>24</sup>

Charles Martyn never reported the fire in his letters to the SPG; he might have been in England for his recuperation when it happened. In the aftermath of the fire, he seemed preoccupied with advancing his candidacy for commissary. The Reverend Charles Woodmason provided the earliest clerical account. Woodmason had been a planter, merchant, and well-known civic figure in Charles Town before leaving for England, with Martyn's recommendation, for his ordination. He then began a new life as an itinerant minister serving settlers in the backcountry. Soon after he had arrived from England following his ordination, Woodmason performed worship services at St. Andrew's Parish Church, three times in August and September 1766. The same year, Woodmason sent the SPG a short sketch of each parish in the province. "*St. Andrews*," he said, "Was lately consum'd by Fire, but is rebuilt, and is a pretty Edifice. It has an Organ.—This parish has also a Chapel of Ease." He singled out St. Andrew's as possessing a "valuable" glebe and "inhabited by Rich Planters." <sup>25</sup>

The fire and its aftermath demonstrated the resiliency and determination of the parishioners to keep alive their physical place of worship. The wealthy parish had plenty of money to rebuild the church, and a thorough restoration was completed with breathtaking speed. The church was completely rebuilt only two or three years after the fire, including the gallery which had been added less than ten years earlier. In contrast, the majority of the expansion work begun in 1723 was completed in the first few years, but it took about ten years before the entire project was finished. <sup>26</sup>

Visitors marvel at the craftsmanship of the rebuilt church. But some of the most beautiful architectural elements are hidden from view. High above the pews, covered by the barrel vaulted ceiling, are the hand-adzed or pit-sawn joists that support the roof. Builders inscribed all but a few of these with roman numerals. "Generally, timber frames were constructed off-site, assembled, numbered, disassembled and transported and then reassembled," said RMR's

Larry Leake. “Even if fabricated on-site, roof rafters would be numbered as pairs so that they could be reassembled upon the roof as matching pairs and in the correct order.” These inscribed rafters remain a testament to the care and skill that went into the rebuilding of the church after the fire.<sup>27</sup>

The burning of St. Andrew’s during colonial times has been one of the most debated topics in the church’s history. A century after the fire occurred, a prominent member of the Bull family would argue passionately that there had been no fire. In an 1889 letter to his cousin, Miss Elizabeth McPherson Ravenel, Col. William Izard Bull sketched his recollections of St. Andrew’s Parish Church over the course of his lifetime. Bull had played an active role in church affairs for decades before the Civil War, before losing everything. Now old and living with his son in the upstate, he relied on nothing but his memory. Dalcho, who had reported the fire in his 1820 history, was wrong, Bull said. The church had never burned. Dalcho must have confused St. Andrew’s with another church in the parish that had burned at the time. There were no marks on the walls of the church to indicate a fire. None of the oldest inhabitants remembered a fire. Tombstones near the walls of the church had not been burned, which they would have if there had been a fire. Generations of parishioners accepted Bull’s arguments without question, and his belief solidified into fact. But of all the events in the history of St. Andrew’s that can be well-documented, the fire is among them.<sup>28</sup>

#### THE REREDOS

If anything made of wood burned during the fire, then the the reredos, or altarpiece, with its tablets mounted on a large wooden casing, or surround, was most likely built during the restoration that followed. As with the fire, Charles Marytn never mentioned this magnificent adornment in his letters. The earliest documented references of the tablets were made well into the nineteenth century. One was an 1860 newspaper account: “Facing the congregation are tablets on which are the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostle’s Creed and the Ten Commandments, in gilt letters.” Another appeared sixteen years later and included a one sentence description of the tablets among other observations of the church when it was reopened for the first time since the end of the Civil War. A third was a reference in Col. Bull’s 1889 letter that asks more questions than it answers—“The Tablets, (except relettering) are the original.” The first mention of the surround was in 1878 when the bishop visited the church for the first time since the Civil War.<sup>29</sup>



In 1604 the Church of England promulgated in Canon 82 that every church display the Ten Commandments on its east wall. Tablets containing the sacred text, sometimes encased in a surround, served as a basic instructional tool in an era when books were scarce. Churches throughout the American colonies that displayed the Decalogue commonly added the Creed and Lord's Prayer to either side. But the difficulty of securing materials and the expense involved meant that Canon 82 was followed sporadically. Nothing is more impressive inside St. Andrew's Parish Church than the massive (sixteen feet wide by fourteen feet high) reredos containing the four tablets that display the tenets of the Christian faith.<sup>30</sup>

The design of the reredos underscores the beauty of its symmetry. The surround is made of mahogany and white pine. Dentil molding runs across the top of the frame, and torus molding underneath. Ionic capitals sit atop seven-fluted pilasters at each end. The four tablets are made of yellow pine or cypress, painted black with gold lettering and outlined in double frames, the inner, gold, the outer, brown. The two outside panels feature the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed. The astragal heads of the two interior panels that depict the Ten Commandments draw the eye upward to the elegance of the arched window above. The torus and fillet moldings of the framing above them project outward, adding depth to the structure.<sup>31</sup>

Who built the reredos, and when did it become the centerpiece of the sanctuary and indeed the entire church?

Colonial Anglican churches in South Carolina used a variety of distinctive designs for their altarpieces. The predominant style was placement of the sacred texts on tablets on either side of the altar, with a window in the center. At St. James's, Goose Creek, for example, the Ten Commandments were placed on an astragal-topped tablet on one side of the altar, and the Lord's Prayer and Creed together on a similar tablet on the opposite side. Only two churches surrounded the tablets with a large wooden casing along the east wall of the chancel— St. Andrew's and St. Stephen's in rural Berkeley County.

St. Stephen's Parish was created from St. James's, Santee, by an act of the assembly in 1754. Eight years later the assembly authorized the building of a new Anglican church in the parish. Commissioners engaged prominent masons and carpenters William Axson and Francis Villepontoux to build the church. Axson and Villepontoux's nephew Zachariah had recently collaborated on the magnificent church at Pompion Hill, the chapel of ease in St. Thomas's Parish. Axson also worked on a number of other churches. The St. Stephen's





Reredos of St. Andrew's Parish Church (Photo by the author)



Reredos of St. Stephen's Parish Church (Photo by the author)

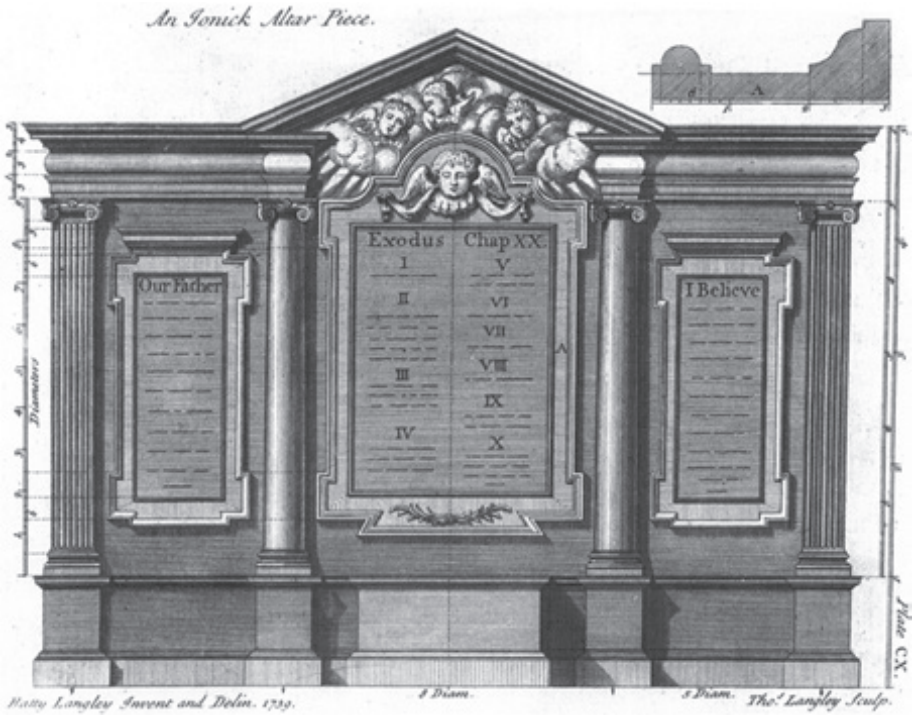
vestry minutes showed that Axson and Villepontoux were paid for their brickwork and woodwork in 1767–68, and Axson was commissioned for the woodwork of the gallery in 1769. The appearance of the finished church was quite different from St. Andrew’s—broad and rectangular, with a smaller chancel, heavy roof and baroque gable ends, and a tray, not arched, ceiling.<sup>32</sup>

The altarpiece at St. Stephen’s, at twenty-four feet wide and sixteen feet high at its peak, dwarfs the St. Andrew’s reredos. The rectangular tablets at St. Stephen’s that display the Lord’s Prayer and Creed are placed within a large casing that uses pilasters and entablature of the Doric order. The Ten Commandments are notably absent. The focal point of the St. Stephen’s reredos is its peaked midsection. Two smaller, rectangular windows flank a large compass-headed window, which brings light into the sanctuary. Above the windows is a stunning rendition of “gilded sunbursts” or a “‘glory,’ a golden sun with golden beams.”<sup>33</sup> Two angled crowns or sunbursts on opposite corners shine upward toward the top and center of the altarpiece. They stretch toward the downward-pointing rays of the sun, capped with “HIS,” a monogram for Jesus Christ.

At St. Andrew’s the overall effect is simple yet elegant. The tablets fill most of the altarpiece. The large rectangular window centered on the east wall from the 1723 expansion was not replaced after the fire, and the area was bricked in. Light now enters the chancel through the arched window high above the reredos. Both churches use the same style of lettering for the texts. If the embellishments and triangular pediment at St. Stephen’s were removed, its overall design would closely resemble that of St. Andrew’s.

The similarity of these altarpieces suggests that they were constructed about the same time, perhaps by the same master craftsman, William Axson, using the same pattern designs. Vestries, church commissioners, and builders used architectural pattern books from this period to draw inspiration for designing altarpieces, pulpits, and other furnishings and details integral to eighteenth century Anglican churches in South Carolina. Designers often enhanced the models they found in these books to produce distinctive pieces for a particular church. In *Legacy of Beauty*, Louis Nelson linked Axson’s design of the reredos at St. Stephen’s to specific plates in pattern books produced by Batty Langley, Robert Morris, and William Pain in the mid-eighteenth century. Langley’s Ionic altarpiece bears the closest resemblance to those in both St. Stephen’s and St. Andrew’s. Since the interior woodwork of St. Stephen’s was completed about 1767–69, the reredos at St. Andrew’s

might have been built first, as part of the rebuilding following the fire. Its simpler design would have allowed Axson to experiment with these patterns before elaborating on them for the altarpiece at St. Stephen's.<sup>34</sup>



An Ionick Altar Piece, Plate 110, Batty Langley (*The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs*, 1741)

Other hypotheses date the reredos from the early nineteenth century under rector Thomas Mills, to around 1820, or as part of an 1855 restoration led by Col. William Izard Bull. None of these scenarios is as credible as the building of the reredos shortly after the fire. The striking similarities between the altarpieces at St. Andrew's and St. Stephen's, based on designs reproduced in colonial pattern books, the in-filled chancel wall with the semicircular window high on that wall, and the flourishing economic condition of the church, make the strongest case for the 1760s.<sup>35</sup>

Five hundred miles to the north, altarpieces in four Virginia colonial churches also bear a striking similarity to St. Andrew's. They feature four side-by-side tablets with no east end window separating them; three include

a triangular pediment like St. Stephen's. But the variations among them attest to the uniqueness of design that the architect and builders sought for each church. The tablets at Little Fork Church, St. Mark's Parish, Culpeper County (1773–76), are all rectangular; those at Aquia Church, Overwharton Parish, Stafford County (1754–57), are all compass-headed. A rectangular frame encompasses the four tablets at Abingdon Church, Gloucester County (ca. 1751–55), with the two interior tablets compass-headed within their rectangular frames. The tablets at St. Mary's White Chapel Church, Lancaster County (1702–18), are mounted directly on the wall and not on a surround. All four have curved heads: the inner two, astragal, and the outer two, in the compass design.<sup>36</sup>

#### PEW SUBSCRIPTIONS

The money to operate a church, and especially to rebuild one after a fire, came not only from the public treasury but also from the purchase of pews. Seating in colonial churches followed a prescribed order. Pews were typically reserved for the minister and clerk, and in a large city church such as St. Michael's, for the assembly and governor and council. The churchwardens and vestry had their own pews in St. Michael's and St. James's, Goose Creek. Parishioners had to buy their own pews with a one-time payment, receiving a title for their purchase. At St. Andrew's and other churches, this title was issued to the purchaser "and his heirs and assigns forever." Pew holders often upholstered or furnished their spaces to make them more distinctive and comfortable. Those who could not afford a pew were seated in the gallery or at the back of the church along the west wall. Slaves who attended services with their masters sat nearby, perhaps in the aisle or, if space were limited, receded to an unoccupied standing area in the west end. In Virginia there was generally no set pew arrangement that designated the best seats. In South Carolina, however, the location of pews indicated the social hierarchy in the parish. The most expensive seating was located at the front of the church at the crossing of the aisles and in the east chancel end.<sup>37</sup>

Four St. Andrew's pew titles have survived. Issued between 1764 and 1778, each indicated a specific pew number assigned the owner. The men who owned these four pews wielded immense power and influence throughout the province. Three were from one family, a father and his two sons-in-law, who themselves were part of one of the Lowcountry's oldest and most respected families. The younger men had their own substantial landholdings, and their

primary residences were far from St. Andrew's. The properties of these four pew holders were contiguous to each other along the Ashley River, south of Ashley Hall—at Old Town, Accabee, and Westpenny plantations.<sup>38</sup>

William Branford purchased pew #13 on September 24, 1764, only six weeks after the assembly had authorized the sale of pews following the fire. His title specifically mentioned that his pew was part of the subscription being undertaken to rebuild the parish church. Branford had bought one of the most expensive pews in the city church of St. Michael's six years earlier (£350 *Cur.* [\$7,000]), and he also bought an expensive pew at rural St. Andrew's (£300 *Cur.* [\$5,800]). The comparable price of pews at these churches was one indication of their parishes' wealth. By contrast, pew prices at Christ Church and Prince Frederick's Parish Church (£15–25 *Cur.* [\$400–600] in the 1730s) were a mere fraction of those at St. Andrew's and St. Michael's.<sup>39</sup>

Branford owned vast estates in St. Andrew's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. James's, Goose Creek, parishes, totaling 7,134 acres. Called "one of the best planters in the Province," he traveled to his various properties using his schooner *Horseshoe*. Branford's primary residence was in St. Andrew's Parish, at the 1,012½-acre Old Town plantation. At Old Town's southeastern tip lay Albemarle Point, site of the founding of Charles Town in 1670. Before he bought his pew at St. Andrew's, Branford had represented his home parish as churchwarden, bridge commissioner, and representative to two royal assemblies. When he died in 1767, a grand house in the city was being built for him, today known as the Branford-Horry House at 59 Meeting Street, on the corner of Tradd. This magnificent Georgian, three-story, "double house," brick and stucco building was designated a National Register property in 1970.<sup>40</sup>

Francis Rose purchased pew #22 on April 11, 1771. The son of Thomas Rose, who along with Jonathan Fitch supervised the building of the church in 1706, owned the 400-acre Accabee plantation to the east of Branford's Old Town. His pew was less expensive than Branford's, at £130 *Cur.* (\$2,400), but its cost was not insignificant. It amounted to the rector's annual salary from the provincial treasury plus his SPG stipend.<sup>41</sup>

In 1778 two Horry brothers bought pews—Thomas on May 25 and Elias Jr. on October 7. These men were the third generation of French Huguenots who had settled along the Santee River in St. James's, Santee, and Prince George's, Winyah, parishes. They owned Old Town plantation through an inheritance to their wives, the daughters of William Branford. At Branford's

death, Old Town passed to his son William. When the son William died in 1772, the land passed to daughters Ann and Elizabeth Branford.<sup>42</sup>

Ann Branford had been married to Thomas Horry almost six years when he bought pew #4. She had inherited 489¼ acres of Accabee plantation but transferred it to her sister Elizabeth in 1774. Ann and Thomas would acquire a 424-acre plantation called Westpenny. The lands took various names: originally the Indians called them Wespanee (a modern-day residential subdivision at that location also bears this name), but settlers altered the name to Westpenny in the early eighteenth century, and after 1776, the Horrys changed it to Fairfield. Outside of the St. Andrew's properties, Thomas Horry owned five plantations in Prince George's and St. James's, Santee, in addition to a town house in the city, along with 416 slaves. He and his brother Elias Jr. inherited his father-in-law's schooner; Thomas himself owned another which he called *Dispatch*. Thomas represented St. James's, Santee, in four royal assemblies, two provincial congresses, and seven general assemblies. Of the couple's children, only a son named Elias lived to adulthood. Elias Horry (1773–1834) would become one of the most prominent figures of his generation. Like his Horry predecessors, Elias was a prominent landowner. Among his many public and private positions, he served in seven general assemblies, was twice intendant (predecessor to mayor) of Charleston, was a trustee of the Medical College of South Carolina, and was president of the South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company, the State Bank, the College of Charleston, and the Charleston Library Society. After he inherited 59 Meeting Street in the nineteenth century, Elias Horry added a two-story covered portico over the sidewalk.<sup>43</sup>

Elizabeth Branford had been married to Elias Horry Jr. nearly eight years when he bought pew #20. She had inherited 519 acres of Old Town, and with the Accabee acquisition regained ownership with her husband of the more than 1,000 acres originally held by her father along the Ashley River. Elias Jr. “created a planting empire” of more than 5,000 acres, including his Ashley River holdings, and had 240 slaves. He was elected nine times to represent Prince George's, Winyah, Parish in royal (later general) assemblies and provincial congresses.<sup>44</sup>

The Horrys paid £200 *Cur.* for their pews. By this time, however, local currencies were fast losing their value from the inflation of the Revolutionary War. In 2012 dollars their pews were valued at only \$500–600. So while the Horrys paid 54 percent more for their pews than Francis Rose did seven years earlier, their pews were worth only about one-fourth as much as Rose's.<sup>45</sup>



Where would these pews have been located in the church? Pew plans have survived for Prince Frederick's (1735), St. John's, Colleton (1744), and St. Michael's (1758–62). Christ Church, nearly the same size as the rectangular 1706 St. Andrew's, had nine pews along the north side of the nave and seven on the south side. But no plan exists for St. Andrew's or the other colonial cruciform churches. Since so many pew numbering variations existed in colonial churches, developing a conjectural pew plan for St. Andrew's, although tempting, would be highly suspect.<sup>46</sup>

#### ILL HEALTH AND RESIGNATION

In the fall of 1766, South Carolina was an "exceeding sickly" place. Charles Woodmason mentioned in a letter to the Bishop of London that the rector of St. Andrew's was among the ministers suffering for their health. "All are now down," he said, "and I doubt of their Recovery." Reverend Martyn sought the assistance of Governor Charles Greville Montagu in 1768 for a return to England to recover his health. In May of that year, the governor sent the bishop a letter of recommendation on the rector's behalf. Martyn sailed to England and returned to Charles Town in June 1769.<sup>47</sup>

But his health worsened, and he began making plans to leave the province for good. From November through the following May, he advertised the sale of his slaves, household furnishings, books, horses, cattle, and sheep, and the availability of renting his Ashley River plantation and seventy acres of cleared land. Martyn resigned as rector on April 10, 1770. He returned to England to serve at Octagon Chapel in Bath. Seven years later he died in the mother country.<sup>48</sup>

#### 5TH RECTOR:

##### REV. THOMAS PANTING (1770–71)

After Martyn departed, the Reverend Thomas Panting, who had supplied St. Andrew's during periods of Martyn's absence, continued serving the parish as rector. He had just resigned from an agreement to perform a worship service every second Sunday at Christ Church. He was incensed that a parishioner had engaged the charismatic and antiestablishment Rev. George Whitefield to preach at Christ Church, refusing to work "in any Church whose Vestry can submit to such an Indignity."<sup>49</sup>

The son of a medical doctor, Panting was born in Oxford in 1733, graduated from Merton College, Oxford, at age twenty, and later took his AM. In March 1769 Panting arrived in Charles Town and the following month was appointed



headmaster of the Free School there. (Well-educated Anglican priests often became teachers in colonial South Carolina. Martyn had supplemented his ministry by collaborating with his fellow ministers to offer instruction in a variety of subjects.) In the seventeen months he served St. Andrew's as rector, Panting officiated at four marriages, three burials, and two christenings. In 1770 the Reverend Hugh Alison, pastor of James Island Presbyterian Church, was in charge of one of the earliest documented free schools in the parish.<sup>50</sup>

Reverend Panting died on September 23, 1771, and was buried the following day. Thomas Elfe, a prominent Charles Town cabinetmaker whose sons Panting had instructed, supplied Rev. Robert Cooper of St. Michael's a coffin for the burial. The *South Carolina Gazette* related that his passing was "much regretted by all his Acquaintance, and the Public in general." The parish register included this expression of the depth of Panting's character—*Virtus Post Funera Vivit*—his virtue lives beyond his death.<sup>51</sup>

Dalcho's assertion that Reverend Panting "officiated occasionally in this Parish" after Martyn departed had relegated his role to that of an interim minister. Contemporary accounts, however, indicated that Panting was indeed rector of St. Andrew's. Francis Rose's deed for pew #22 that he bought in April 1771 listed "Thomas Panting Rector" along with the vestry and churchwardens as the sellers. The inscription in the parish register that recorded Panting's death called him rector, as did his death notice in the *Gazette*. Reverend Cooper, who secured Panting's coffin from Thomas Elfe, was the executor of Panting's sizeable estate, valued at more than £3,000 *Curr.* (\$54,800). A section of Cooper's accounting listed the credits due Panting, "the late Rector of St. Andrews Parish." In fact, line items owed Panting's estate included rent due for the glebe land on James Island, which he would have collected as parish rector, and two months' salary as rector of St. Andrew's.<sup>52</sup>

#### 6TH RECTOR:

#### REV. CHRISTOPHER ERNST SCHWAB (1771–73)

Two months after Thomas Panting's death, on November 25, 1771, the Reverend Christopher Ernst Schwab was elected the sixth rector of St. Andrew's. As did other Anglican ministers before him, Reverend Schwab paid the Bishop of London a £40 *Ster.* (\$5,100) "missionary bond" before coming to America. Schwab would receive half of it back in the form of a bounty if he made the trip within three months of his payment. A Bavarian from Franconia, he worked as a tutor to the counts of Rectern and Limpurg before

he became a missionary. He was assigned to serve among Dutch settlers in the backcountry at Orangeburg, to begin August or September 1771. Shortly afterward he came to St. Andrew's.<sup>53</sup>

During his tenure fifty acres of marshland were added to the glebe in May 1773. Schwab served only nineteen months before he died suddenly of country fever (malaria) on July 5, 1773. Schwab's funeral service was held the following day, and he was buried "near the side of the Church, in the Yard Opposite to the Communion Table." His was the only notation of a burial in the churchyard found in the colonial register. With no marker to denote the site, its exact location is unknown.<sup>54</sup>

Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, St. Andrew's Parish continued to prosper. By 1777 the slave population in the parish, including James Island, had reached 3,460. Nine of the ten wealthiest people in all thirteen colonies lived in the Lowcountry; one was from St. Andrew's Parish. John Cattell, who had inherited extensive landholdings and whose family had provided the parish with five churchwardens, ranked sixth, with a net worth estimated at £8,534.6 *Ster.* (\$1.1 million). That same year a free black man named Cyrus who resided in St. Andrew's Parish had a net worth of £152 *Ster.* (\$19,100). Almost all of his wealth was concentrated in the slaves he owned.<sup>55</sup>

After the short tenures of Reverends Panting and Schwab, the rectorship of St. Andrew's was vacant for the next fourteen years. Entries in the register stopped with Schwab's death, and Dalcho was silent about this period. Yet the waterways and plantations of St. Andrew's Parish were far from quiet during the American Revolution. The war came to the church, parsonage, and the chapel of ease on James Island.

## REVOLUTION

The populace was deeply divided. Two-thirds of the Anglican clergy in South Carolina sided with the patriot cause, unlike neighboring North Carolina and Georgia, where all but two Anglican ministers supported the crown. Yet one of the most respected leaders in South Carolina—and St. Andrew's Parish—did not take up the cause. William Bull Jr. of Ashley Hall, speaker of the Commons House of Assembly, general of the militia, and like his father, lieutenant governor, returned to England during the war, came back to Charleston during the British occupation in 1781, and left for good the following year. He died, ironically, on July 4, 1791, and was buried, ironically, in the chancel vault at St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, London.<sup>56</sup>

Another leader of St. Andrew's Parish did take up the cause, and he made the ultimate sacrifice. In June 1779 Colonel Owen Roberts, a churchwarden before the revolution, died of wounds sustained in the Battle of Stono Ferry. Roberts had been active in the provincial military since the Cherokee War in 1760, serving in the artillery. He had also been a member of the first provincial congress of South Carolina in 1776.<sup>57</sup>

St. Andrew's, South Carolina, was situated along the route of two British advances into Charles Town, across the Ashley River and down the peninsula. In April 1779 the British army under General Augustine Prévost advanced from Savannah toward Charles Town, leaving Patriot General Benjamin Lincoln to the north, in Georgia along the Savannah River. Continental General William Moultrie, whose troops lay in Prévost's path, retreated across the Lowcountry to Dorchester. From there he and his troops fled down the peninsula to the safety of the city. Moultrie's decision to leave the British an unopposed opening at a vitally strategic point across the Ashley River, at Ashley Ferry, allowed Prévost to enter Charles Town on May 11. Only Lincoln's imminent advance from the west and Prévost's reluctance to enter into a civilian agreement with South Carolina Governor John Rutledge and the privy council kept the city out of British hands. Retreating before Lincoln could trap him on the peninsula, Prévost went back to Georgia the same way he came—up the neck, across Ashley Ferry, and westward across the Lowcountry. His army left a path of destruction. Its troops stole slaves, ravaged farms and plantations, and burned one of the most magnificent churches in the American colonies, Sheldon Church in Prince William's Parish.<sup>58</sup>

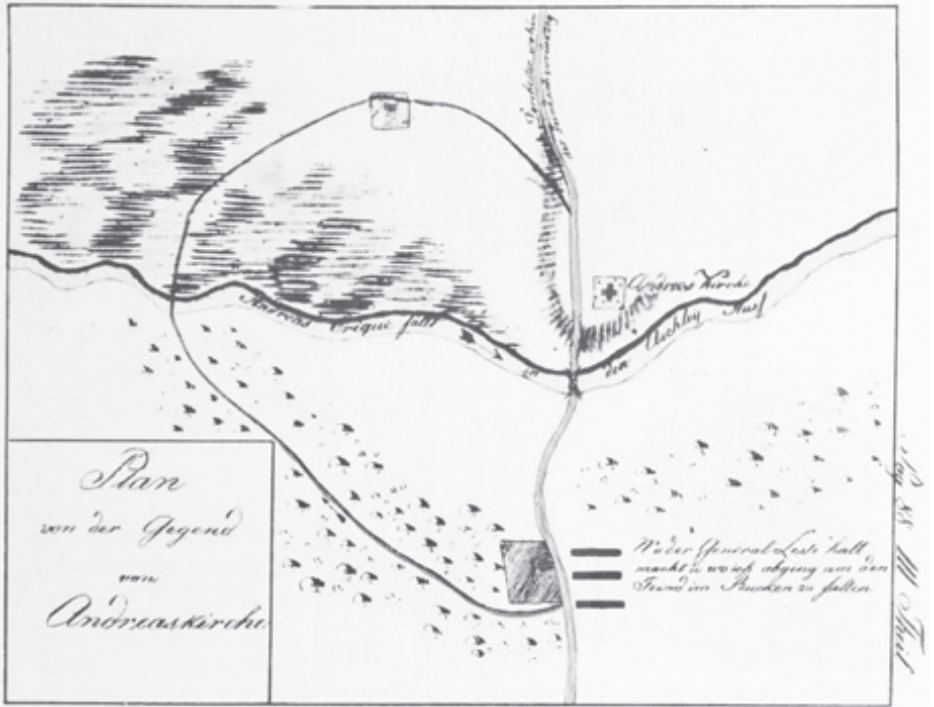
In 1780 the British repeated their assault on Charles Town. As they did the previous year, they marched through the heart of St. Andrew's Parish, but this time threatened the church. British General Sir Henry Clinton sailed from New York in December 1779 and landed at Simmons (Seabrook) Island on February 11, 1780. The British advanced up Johns Island to Stono Ferry, then across to James Island later that month, capturing Fort Johnson. In early March the British crossed Wappoo Creek. Johann Ewald, a captain in the elite Hessian *Jäger* troops fighting alongside the British, was part of the assault. The diary he kept during the war included a detailed record of his foray into St. Andrew's Parish.

Captain Ewald found it a forbidding place. Wolves, snakes, and poisonous insects were everywhere. Soldiers tried to keep them at bay by lighting

large fires at night. They discovered alligators ten to twelve feet long in a marshy pond that connected to Wappoo Creek. At daybreak on March 15, 1780, more than 500 British soldiers set out on a foraging expedition. As they approached the parish church, which was situated in the midst of rice fields, they discovered that Continental troops had destroyed the bridge over Coppain Creek. The insurgents had positioned themselves along the north side of the creek and began to fire on the advancing British. Three days later a Prussian deserter from the American troops stationed at the church warned Ewald that patriot cavalry would soon launch an attack on the Hessians. On the twenty-first, Ewald heard that Gen. Lincoln and 7,000 men had taken refuge in Charles Town, leaving Ashley Ferry with only a “warning detachment.”<sup>59</sup>

On the afternoon of March 22, the British and Hessians again advanced toward the church. Cannon fire erupted on the north side of the creek. British General Alexander Leslie asked Ewald if he would mount an attack away from the main action further up the creek. “If not,” Ewald recounted, “cannon must be brought up.” Ewald accepted the challenge, and his decision spared the church from possible destruction. At 7:00 p.m. he and his men crossed the shallow creek, but the swamp he found on the other side (“a good half hour wide”) was “so muddy and deep that many of our men sank in up to their chests.” With the Hessians struggling in the swamp, the patriots fled. “We quickly took post in the churchyard,” Ewald said, “and began work on the bridge at once.”<sup>60</sup>

The action at the church was a prelude to events that would lead to the siege and fall of Charles Town. At noon on March 23, the British and Hessians reached “the zoological garden of Drayton’s plantation” (today’s Magnolia Plantation and Gardens) and Drayton Hall, where they took post. “An army advanced to St. Andrew’s Church,” Ewald said. On the twenty-fourth, they moved to Middleton’s plantation, foraging for provisions. On the afternoon of the twenty-eighth, the entire British army occupied Drayton’s plantations, awaiting the invasion of Charles Town. At daybreak the following foggy morning, 8,000 light infantry and *Jägers* boarded flatboats and crossed the Ashley River to Ashley Bluff, Benjamin Fuller’s plantation on the east side. Having bypassed trouble at Ashley Ferry, the British marched down the neck. By May 12, cut off by land and sea, Gen. Lincoln surrendered with 5,000 Continental troops. Drayton Hall would become the headquarters of British General Charles Cornwallis in the summer of 1780.<sup>61</sup>



Hessian Captain Johann Ewald's sketch of the engagement at St. Andrew's Parish Church, 1780 (Johann Ewald, *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal*, Yale University Press, copyright © 1979 by Yale University. Used by permission)

The war in St. Andrew's Parish did not end with the surrender of British forces under Cornwallis at Yorktown in October 1781. The following year Continentals used plantations along Ashley River Road for encampments and bases of operations. In March 1782 fourteen patriot soldiers captured and destroyed the British galley *Alligator* on the Ashley River, at a location near the parish church. The patriots steered a boat, presumably laden with provisions but actually concealing most of their men, toward the galley. Four men who were disguised as slaves and who spoke Gullah to the British allowed the rest of the Americans to board the *Alligator*. They captured the crew and killed four of the enemy.<sup>62</sup>

The British Army used the colony's church buildings for hospitals, garrisons, and barracks, or set them on fire. Along with Sheldon Church, the British burned Biggin Church, Christ Church, St. George's, St. Mark's, and Prince George's, Winyah. St. James's, Goose Creek, was the only Anglican

church to escape damage, spared by the royal coat of arms that hung over its altar. For Anglicans and Presbyterians alike in St. Andrew's Parish, the revolution would leave a bitter legacy. On James Island, the British destroyed both the Anglican chapel of ease and James Island Presbyterian Church. To the north, St. Andrew's Parish Church was "much Injured and pulled to pieces by the British Army," as residents described it, and the parsonage was burned to the ground.<sup>63</sup>

The damage did not stop there. Churchwarden Richard Park Stobo kept in his home bonds that the congregation had issued to hire a new minister. Stobo, the grandson of Archibald Stobo, the Presbyterian preacher and church planter who drove Commissary Gideon Johnston to lure Ebenezer Taylor to the Church of England and to St. Andrew's Parish, had been elected to the first three general assemblies and appointed justice of the peace. British soldiers destroyed the bonds when they plundered his home. With them went the church's wealth. Not only were the bonds destroyed but interest payments due from borrowers were disrupted. The postwar future looked bleak.<sup>64</sup>

## ANTEBELLUM REORIENTATION

1785 – 1851

**W**ITH THE PARISH CHURCH SEVERELY DAMAGED, the chapel of ease and parsonage burned, and the money gone, the task of rebuilding was overwhelming. St. George's, Dorchester, Parish to the north suffered a similar fate and never recovered. After the revolution, its parishioners partially repaired the burned, brick church with its majestic bell tower, but the population soon moved away.

Not only was church property a wreck, but so was the entire Anglican Church establishment that had governed South Carolinians since the Church Act of 1706. Backcountry dissenters had been enticed to join the patriot cause with promises to end the Church of England's preferential treatment. The momentum behind disestablishment continued to build through the revolution. In the new state's first constitution enacted in 1778, the Church of England lost its privileged status. All Protestant denominations were now treated equally under the law. The final act of disestablishment occurred in 1790, when church and state were clearly separated. This meant the end of state funding for ministers, churches, parsonages, and everything that required money to run a parish. If that were not bad enough for Anglican churches, most of them outside the city, including St. Andrew's, had been damaged, destroyed, or abandoned, their ministers gone.<sup>1</sup>

The Anglican Church in America faced another hurdle. It needed a new identity and governing structure in the post-revolutionary world, separate from but aligned with the Church of England. As the new states along the eastern seaboard grappled with this issue, representatives from eight parishes in South Carolina convened for the first time on May 12, 1785. Thus was born the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina. Four years later the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America was established with the ratification of its constitution and canons and adoption of a revised Book of Common Prayer.<sup>2</sup>



How would parishioners in St. Andrew's Parish react? Would they fight to restore their church or simply walk away?

They responded with the same kind of determination they had shown twenty years earlier, when the church was damaged by fire in the 1760s. Parishioners of St. Andrew's and its neighbor to the west, St. Paul's, began working together to raise voluntary contributions for restarting their churches. They looked to the new state House and Senate for help. On March 1, 1785, fifteen men from St. Andrew's submitted a petition to John Lloyd, president of the Senate, to raise funds for hiring a minister, repairing the church, and rebuilding the parsonage. They did not ask the government for public funds, as they would have done during colonial rule, but only for its support in beginning the rebuilding process. They asked that the churchwardens and vestry be given the authority to sell one of the glebes, require people owing money to the parish to repay it, and do whatever was needed to benefit the church.<sup>3</sup>

Lloyd was also one of the signers of the petition, and the state acted quickly. Later that month legislation was enacted to help both parishes, making them among the first to be incorporated after the revolution. The law "required and empowered" a newly-named entity, *The Vestries and Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Andrew*, to completely repair the church. Nothing was mentioned about selling a glebe or requiring debtors to repay their obligations; instead the law required pew holders to bear the cost of repairs in proportion to the value of their pews. If they refused to comply, the vestry and churchwardens could sell their pews to the highest bidder. The law, however, granted St. Paul's the right to do what St. Andrew's had asked—sell its glebe. The law granted the vestry and churchwardens of both parishes full authority over a wide range of matters affecting their churches, including the ability to hire and fire their ministers and other paid employees, determine salaries and benefits, purchase and maintain real estate and buildings and the income that previous vestries and churchwardens had held for their congregations, accept and hold gifts and bequests, and sue and be sued in court. Vestries and churchwardens would enjoy these rights in perpetuity.<sup>4</sup>

Documentary evidence that described the postwar rebuilding of the parish church and the parsonage has not survived. Yet the inhabitants' seriousness of purpose makes it likely that a new rector chosen by the vestry would have found a reconstructed place of worship and a place to live, in progress or completed, when he arrived. Two years later a new minister would emerge,

an Englishman who had staked his reputation and indeed his freedom on the new nation across the Atlantic.

7<sup>TH</sup> RECTOR:

REV. THOMAS MILLS (1787–1816)

When the Reverend Thomas Mills arrived in Charleston in June 1786, he carried impeccable credentials. John Adams, Ambassador to Great Britain and later second president of the United States, had written Reverend Mills a letter of introduction that described him as a person “who had suffered for the cause of Justice and America.” Governor John Rutledge received Mills warmly. Mills found work that summer and fall helping Rev. Henry Purcell at St. Michael’s. The vestry unanimously elected him rector of St. Andrew’s in early 1787.<sup>5</sup>

Mills was the son of an Anglican minister. His father, the Reverend Giles Mills, was an Oxford graduate and vicar of Miserden Church, Gloucestershire, for fifty-five years. Thomas followed his father’s path, receiving a Bachelor of Arts from Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1768. In December of that year he was ordained a deacon by the Bishop of London. His first clerical assignment was as curate to his father’s church. On August 11, 1771, the Bishop of Exeter ordained him to the priesthood. Mills then served as curate and resident for an absentee vicar at Ringmore, a thirteenth-century church near Plymouth and a mile from the English Channel. Soon after arriving at Ringmore, Mills married Honoria Knapman; they would have six children. Mills and his family moved back to Gloucestershire by 1774. There he served a number of churches, including his father’s at Miserden, where he ran the daily operations. With his father nearly eighty years old, Mills expected to become the next vicar of Miserden. It was about this time that Mills became involved in politics.<sup>6</sup>

As did many of his countrymen, Mills sided with the colonists in their grievances against the crown. In 1776 and 1777 he delivered sermons that defended the revolutionary cause, joined the Whig party, and became active in public political debate. During a sermon he preached at Abbey Church, Bath, the indignant organist played the British national anthem in an attempt to silence him. He was, according to family tradition, forced to flee from his home to avoid arrest. The natural choice for vicar of Miserden, Mills was shunned after his father died in 1785. With his options limited, he sought “asylum in this land of civil and religious liberty.” The year after he became rector of St. Andrew’s, Mills sought for and received citizenship in the state of South Carolina.<sup>7</sup>

## PROSPERITY VANISHED

The asylum Reverend Mills found was first in the city, then in sparsely-inhabited St. Andrew's Parish. The parish's economy changed drastically after the war. Fighting along the Ashley River had destroyed plantations, many of which had been plundered and then abandoned. Rice and indigo, which had brought immense wealth to the area, were no longer profitable to grow. The primary method of rice production switched from cultivation in swamps to the more efficient and profitable planting along rivers, where the changing tides could irrigate the fields. Most of the rice production along the Ashley River area had been in swamps; the river proved unsuitable for tidal cultivation, the water too brackish, the riverbanks containing too much marl, and the upper sections of the river providing insufficient drainage. Even today abandoned rice fields can be found in unpopulated areas west of the Ashley. The plantations near Georgetown, using tidal cultivation, became the top rice producing areas in the United States. Most of the rice plantations along the Ashley began growing long staple, or sea island, cotton. Production of indigo ceased within ten years after the war. Not only did planters lose the benefit of the British bounty, which had subsidized their product in world markets, they could not compete with low-cost, high-quality indigo that had become available from India. As late as the 1840s, an observer commented that "for a long time the Ashley river plantations were the most highly appreciated & productive lands in the colony. Now these lands are almost left untilled.... & the whole presents a melancholy sense of abandonment, desolation, & ruin."<sup>8</sup>

The inaugural census of the United States taken in 1790 provided a demographic snapshot of the decimated rural area that was St. Andrew's Parish. Of the twelve parishes in the Charleston District, four contained fewer than 3,000 inhabitants (St. Andrew's, St. Stephen's, Christ Church, and St. James's, Goose Creek). The parish's agricultural economy continued to run on slave labor. The population was almost 90 percent black, with 2,546 slaves, 370 free whites, and 31 "other free persons." The proportion of slaves to free whites in St. Andrew's Parish mirrored that of the other rural parishes. Indeed, slaves would comprise about the same percentage of the parish's population until the beginning of the Civil War seventy years later. Few households in the parish did not own slaves; the median was thirteen per household. Three families owned nearly one-fifth of all the slaves in the parish (Thomas Middleton owned the most, 243). About one-fourth of slave owners owned nearly two-thirds of all slaves. Reverend Mills owned seven slaves.<sup>9</sup>

THE NEW DIOCESE

Establishing the Episcopal Church in South Carolina was slow work. Vestries tested their footing and guarded their rights. Getting parishes to agree on the constitution and canons for the new diocese was painful. “In contrast to what we find before the Revolution,” Bishop Thomas wrote in his history of the diocese, “for a generation after the Church’s light burned low in South Carolina.” It was not until the second decade of the nineteenth century that “the 40 years of wandering in the wilderness was over.” Two events signaled a new day: the creation of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina (1810) to engage in missionary work and to attract men to the ministry and the consecration of the Reverend Theodore Dehon as second Bishop of South Carolina (1812), filling the post that had remained vacant for eleven years following the death of the first bishop, the Right Reverend Robert Smith.<sup>10</sup>

With no rector in place, St. Andrew’s Parish was absent from the first four diocesan conventions held in 1785 and 1786. Soon after Reverend Mills arrived, he attended the fifth convention in February 1787, where he and James Ladson, as deputies for St. Andrew’s, ratified the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina. (Ladson would become lieutenant governor in 1792. He is memorialized with a street bearing his name between Meeting and King streets, south of Broad.) After attending only one of the next eleven conventions through 1798, delegates regularly represented the parish from 1804 through 1815.<sup>11</sup>

Reverend Mills became actively involved in the affairs of the new diocese. He was appointed with Bishop Smith and five others to serve on a committee to form the rules that would govern the diocese. Mills led the worship service at the 1813 and 1815 conventions and preached the sermon in 1814. He was elected to the Standing Committee (the bishop’s council of advice, akin to a diocesan vestry) every year but one from 1807 to 1816, the first minister of St. Andrew’s to serve in that prestigious position.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to organizing the structure of the new Diocese of South Carolina, these conventions produced an ancillary benefit of significant value to future generations. The journals that recorded their proceedings also provided a glimpse into the parishes attending them. Just as Anglican ministers had shared parochial reports with the SPG and the Bishop of London before the revolution, Episcopal priests and deacons now submitted their reports on parish life to the diocese. These parochial reports, which

became more detailed as the diocese became more established, became a fixture in annual diocesan convention journals well into the twentieth century. For a church like St. Andrew's, whose vestry minutes prior to 1950 have not survived, these reports are indispensable in telling its story.

#### REESTABLISHING THE PARISH CHURCH

The first report from St. Andrew's Parish did not come until the twenty-third convention held in 1810. It was a brief one. Reverend Mills indicated that he had conducted five baptisms and five marriages from February 1809 to February 1810. At the next convention, in 1812, Mills reported only seven communicants, the lowest number of any church reporting. Membership in the city churches far surpassed that of St. Andrew's, and while rural churches were small, none was smaller than St. Andrew's. Prince George's, Winyah, reported thirty-eight white communicants and eight of color; St. Stephen's and the two upper churches in St. John's, Berkley, sixteen; and Edisto Island, twelve white, three of color.<sup>13</sup>

The small size of the congregation meant it had little money to pay its minister. Reverend Mills found himself in court on at least four occasions between 1797 and 1804 for failing to satisfy his debts. The issues involved an unpaid promissory note and money due for books and supplies and on two occasions, rent for his house.<sup>14</sup> Two strange cases illustrate just how far the wardens and vestry would go to keep the parish financially viable.

In one of the most bizarre episodes in the church's history, the wardens and vestry sued an Episcopal priest for failing to fulfill his financial promises. The Reverend Edmund Matthews, one of the first priests to be ordained in the new Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina, had subscribed the sum of \$35 (\$600) to repair St. Andrew's Parish Church. Rector of the Church on Edisto Island, Matthews lived in St. Andrew's Parish and knew Reverend Mills, who had officiated at his marriage to Mary Ann Teasdale. In 1809 Reverend Matthews acknowledged that he owed the church \$60 (\$1,100) plus interest. When the wardens and vestry were unable to collect, they sued him in 1811. They claimed fraud and deception and sought to recover \$200 (\$3,500) in damages. By this time Matthews had left the state, settling in a new position as the first rector of Christ Church, Saint Simons Island, Georgia. A judgment in the case was not reached until June 1813, when the church was awarded \$141.46 (\$2,000) in damages.<sup>15</sup>

The second case involved a novel approach by the wardens and vestry to raise funds shortly after judgment in the Matthews case was reached. In

November 1813 they petitioned the general assembly for the right to operate the toll ferry across the Ashley River just north of the church. Sarah Freazer, who had operated the ferry for many years and whose contract expired at the end of the year, had been using the income as her livelihood after her husband had died. The vestry remained sensitive to her situation, but asked that her “individual interest ought to be set aside for public benefit.” The committee on roads, bridges, and ferries thought otherwise and denied the request.<sup>16</sup>

#### OTHER MINISTERIAL AND SECULAR ACTIVITIES

In his first years in the parish, Reverend Mills spent a great deal of time on James Island, serving the people that were without a minister. He traveled there on the last Sunday of the month, conducting worship services at the home of Mrs. Mallory Rivers. Most who attended his services were Presbyterians or Independents. The physical arrangement proved inadequate, so a chapel of ease was built from subscriptions, with the rector himself contributing. Mills continued to travel to James Island until a minister was assigned and a church was built there. After about 1800, however, the congregation became inactive.<sup>17</sup>

Mills occasionally led worship services east and west of his home parish. His “accidental attendance” in Prince William’s Parish allowed him to participate in a unique service held at a Baptist meeting house near the ruins of Sheldon Church, which had been burned by the British during their retreat from Charleston to Savannah in 1779. Each of the three orders of ministry celebrated the worship service. The Right Reverend Theodore Dehon (bishop) preached, the Reverend Thomas Mills (priest) read prayers, and the Reverend Christian Hanckel (deacon) read the Communion service. Mills was one of four ministers to conduct divine worship for the people of Sullivan’s Island during the summer, when the coastal area offered a respite from the heat. Services were held in a large brick building, originally built for a lazaretto, or quarantine hospital, for slaves; pews were later added. Mills’s work there preceded the building and consecration of Grace Church in 1819. Today’s Church of the Holy Cross is Grace’s successor on Sullivan’s Island.<sup>18</sup>

Reverend Mills supplemented his ministerial work with teaching, as did predecessors Charles Martyn and Thomas Panting. He served as master of the Grammar School in Charleston from 1790 to 1797 and published a Latin grammar book. He was elected Grand Chaplain of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in the State of South Carolina. In 1809 Mills was

awarded an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from South Carolina College (today the University of South Carolina).<sup>19</sup>

Not much else is known about Reverend Mills's ministry, other than a few snippets. In 1800 the *City Gazette* reported the marriage of Charles Drayton's daughter to Joseph Manigault of the prominent French Huguenot family, with Mills performing the ceremony at Drayton Hall. In 1803 the couple took residence in an exquisite, new, three-story townhouse in Charleston designed by Gabriel Manigault expressly for his brother. Today the Joseph Manigault House at 350 Meeting Street is a National Historic Landmark managed by the Charleston Museum. From 1807 to 1813, Reverend Mills acted as the administrator of the estate of Esther Chamberlayne, after the woman's sister asked him to intervene. He sought to pay off any debts and recover what was left of the estate. Mills's most enduring legacy, tradition maintains, was his planting of an avenue of oaks leading to the parsonage. Today the remnant of this stand of trees is visible on the property of St. Timothy's Anglican Catholic Church on Old Parsonage Road. Bitter divisions in the 1970s would inextricably link St. Timothy's with St. Andrew's.<sup>20</sup>

#### FAMILY, RESIGNATION, AND MILESTONES

Mills had arrived in Charleston alone, leaving his family in England. When his wife decided to join him in 1801, the blessed reunion turned into a nightmare. Just after Honoria set sail, Thomas tried to warn her to stay home; yellow fever was rampant. She never got the message. On her arrival in Charleston, she contracted the disease and died four days later, at the age of forty-six. She was buried at St. Philip's. In June 1803 Mills married Eliza (Elizabeth) Timmons at the parish church, with the same Reverend Matthews who was later involved in the legal action officiating the ceremony. Thomas and Eliza had three children. The eldest, Dr. John Ladson Frazier Mills, who died in 1831, was buried in the St. Andrew's churchyard.<sup>21</sup>

In the spring of 1816 Thomas Mills resigned, citing illness in the family, and moved to Rocky Mount, north of Columbia in Fairfield County. Eliza died the year after they moved. Mills would marry twice more, the final time at age eighty to eighteen-year-old Maria Walker, as family tradition has it, to keep house for him. Thomas Mills died at the age of eighty-four on September 19, 1830. He was buried at St. Paul's Church in the city. "He was always a benevolent and upright man," the Right Reverend Nathaniel Bowen said of Mills. "He was constant and exact in the discharge of his duties as Minister of



*Antebellum Reorientation (1785–1851)*

a parish—and, especially in the more advanced stages of his life, was meekly, devoutly, and I have reason to believe, *happily* pious.”<sup>22</sup>

Reverend Mills was associated with early two milestones in the history of St. Andrew’s Parish Church. He was rector when Charles Fraser painted his April 1800 watercolor *A View of the Church of Saint Andrews Parish*. A prolific portrait artist, Fraser also depicted houses in the city and country around Charleston and seven churches or meeting houses. At the bottom of his sketch of St. Andrew’s, Fraser inscribed: “Built 1706. There was a fine organ in this church. Destroyed by the British.” This drawing, completed nearly a century after the church was constructed, is the earliest visual representation of the church in existence. Mills was also rector during the centennial of the establishment of the church in 1806.<sup>23</sup>



Charles Fraser’s watercolor of St. Andrew’s, 1800 (© Image courtesy of the Gibbes Museum of Art/Carolina Art Association)

After suffering through fourteen years of ministerial vacancy beginning in 1773, St. Andrew’s Parish Church had found stability in the twenty-nine-year tenure of Rev. Dr. Thomas Mills. But his departure in 1816 ushered in another period of uncertainty. There would be no regular minister for eleven of the next thirteen years. In September 1818 the Protestant Episcopal Society for the

Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina offered to help a number of “destitute” parishes, among them St. Andrew’s, pay for occasional clergy visits. The parish did not respond. In 1820 there were 389 free white people living in the parish, about the same number reported 30 years earlier, but the slave population had increased to 2,710. The parish church that year “was at a low ebb, the Church was in disrepair.” Parishioner William Izard Bull remarked many years later that, “After Parson Mills’ time the Church was closed until I remember it was not safe to walk about in the Church it was so delapidated.” The church continued to be used as a polling place, as it had been for many years. It would not be until the 1830s that polling was moved to the Club House on the Main, located just north of the church on the main public road (Ashley River Road).<sup>24</sup>

8TH RECTOR:

REV. JOSEPH M. GILBERT (1824)

Eight years after Thomas Mills left for the upstate, the Reverend Joseph Gilbert was appointed the eighth rector of St. Andrew’s in 1824. Ordained a priest four years earlier, Reverend Gilbert was rector of Edisto Island before becoming rector of Grace Church, Sullivan’s Island. When he came to St. Andrew’s, he served the parish seasonally in the winter and spring, and Grace in the summer. In addition to his two parochial duties, Gilbert was professor of mathematics at Charleston College (today the College of Charleston).<sup>25</sup>

At the 1824 diocesan convention, Gilbert issued the first parochial report in nine years, listing one baptism, three marriages, and one burial. The church census included about fifteen families and sixty persons, but most of them attended the city churches of St. Philip’s, St. Michael’s, and St. Paul’s in the Radcliffeborough district of the city (also known as the “Third Church” and the “Planters’ Church” for attracting members from country plantations). Seasonal church attendance was common practice in rural parishes, among them St. Andrew’s; Grace on Sullivan’s Island; and St. Thomas’s and St. Denis’s. Simon Magwood, for example, an immigrant from the north of Ireland who had made his fortune as a Charleston merchant and had strong ties to St. Andrew’s Parish as a property owner and lay delegate to six diocesan conventions, maintained pews at both St. Andrew’s and St. Paul’s.<sup>26</sup>

Reverend Gilbert served St. Andrew’s for less than a year, dying in October 1824, “among the many victims of pestilence,” most likely from yellow fever. Bishop Nathaniel Bowen eulogized Gilbert as “a pious, able

and much esteemed and respected minister... his loss is greater than I can express. He was in every relation and character which Providence had given him to sustain, well entitled to the esteem he so largely enjoyed. As the father of a family, as a minister of Christ, and as an instructor of youth, his death has been, and must continue to be deeply felt, and reasonably deplored.”<sup>27</sup>

The Reverend Charles Pinckney Elliott followed Gilbert. He served the parish for only a year, in 1825, as deacon and missionary, dividing his duties between St. Andrew’s and St. James’s, Goose Creek. St. Andrew’s was without a regular priest for four years after Elliott departed. The Reverend Philip Gadsden, a visitor to the church and deacon at nearby St. Paul’s, Stono, described parish life during the interlude. Reporting at the 1828 diocesan convention, Gadsden said that only four Sunday worship services had been held at St. Andrew’s Parish Church the previous year. Since the death of Reverend Gilbert, various clergy had supplied the parish without asking for pay. They did so hoping that the vestry would set aside money for much needed repairs to the church, and later for supporting a full-time minister. This proved a daunting task, however, given that there were only fifteen families (and ten communicants), most belonging to city churches. Securing voluntary subscriptions from such a small number of people had been the sole source of income for the church, yet parishioners “have made a gratifying effort for the thorough repair of their venerable Church,” Gadsden said. Just as gratifying was the great number of slaves who attended church services, “with encouragement from the Parishioners, and are well accommodated.”<sup>28</sup>

Although St. Andrew’s was without a rector in 1828, Bishop Bowen presented the church with an 1823 pulpit Bible inscribed with his name and date. The Bible survived the Civil War; a parishioner who had found it returned it to the church on the day it reopened in March 1876. Mrs. Sarah B. Gist gave the church an even older pulpit Bible in 1830; it was dated 1772. Sarah’s husband, States Gist, had been a church warden in 1813. The Bowen and Gist Bibles are two of the oldest artifacts in the possession of the church today.<sup>29</sup>

#### 9TH RECTOR:

REV. PAUL TRAPIER

DEACON (1829–30), RECTOR (1830–35)

Into this void came the Reverend Paul Trapier, first as deacon then as the parish’s ninth rector. “The life of Paul Trapier began in affluence and ended

in poverty, began in happiness and ended in misery,” wrote George Williams in his introduction to Trapier’s autobiography. Paul Trapier, who grew up in the elite circles of Charleston society, found his first parochial position, at St. Andrew’s, unsettling. He felt ill-prepared for the task and was harshly critical of his own performance. He found rustic life in the country a difficult transition from the comforts of the city. While he served at St. Andrew’s, he would also minister to two other churches. He is remembered for capital improvements, big plans, and lost opportunities.<sup>30</sup>

Twenty-three year old Paul Trapier inherited a parish in disarray when he was assigned deacon and minister of St. Andrew’s in November 1829. Membership remained small: twenty families and ten communicants. The parish records had been lost. Col. Simon Magwood, chairman of the vestry, gave public notice that owners should come forth to claim their pews; seating not spoken for would be sold or rented. “The Church was nearly in ruins,” Trapier wrote in 1830, but his parishioners wasted no time repairing it. Many continued to live in the city during the winter and attended church services there. Trapier hoped to begin instructing the children of the parish in the spring of 1830, despite the distances they lived from the church. He also wanted to start a Sunday school.<sup>31</sup>

Public worship was held twenty-four times in 1830, compared to nine times the prior year, and Trapier administered the Eucharist on three occasions. Church attendance had increased to the point where almost all the pews were occupied. Separate instruction for blacks continued on Sundays “until the beginning of the unhealthy season.” Trapier was not satisfied, however. He could be doing much more among the slaves, he said, if only he could live in the parish instead of the city. He hoped to settle near the church, after repairs to the parsonage that the vestry had begun were completed.<sup>32</sup>

As Philip Gadsden had noted, Trapier found significant numbers of black worshippers present at Sunday services. About half of the 150 seats set



Rev. Paul Trapier (From the Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society)

aside for them were filled. He taught them orally after divine worship, which included preparation for receiving Holy Communion. “We have great need of more labourers for this especial duty,” Trapier wrote his New York friend Benjamin Haight in May 1830. “I have seen the Negroes only on Sunday and then not more than 100 out of perhaps 1500—and not the same individuals every Sunday, so that I have made very little progress in their instruction, and do not expect to make much more until I can live in the parish, as I hope to do next winter.”<sup>33</sup>

Rebuilding the struggling church and its congregation fell to an unsure apprentice. Although Trapier was making headway, he felt inadequate to handle his parochial responsibilities. His training at seminary, he said, failed to give him the practical experience he needed to preach the Gospel. Trapier was not afforded the luxury of first serving as an assistant elsewhere but was plunged, alone, into St. Andrew’s. “My embarrassments were, in consequence, extreme,” he confided. “I was at a loss how to converse on the subject of religion, and my sermons were essays. I felt oppressively that I was falling far short of what I owed to the souls for whom I was set to watch, and I would have given worlds to have become the assistant to some experienced Presbyterian.” To Haight he lamented that “every day has convinced me most painfully of my incompetency—my sermons have never pleased me, and my delivery of them has seemed absolutely disgusting. Indeed so far I have enjoyed little comfort in my profession, everything has been so lamely performed and as to the most important part of my duty, parochial visiting, I have had scarcely any of that.” Trapier ended on an ominous note: “My engagement at St. Andrew’s terminates June 1 [1830]. Whether I shall be re-engaged depends upon the probability of my being able to live in the parish. If I am to be as little among them as I have been I shall go elsewhere.”<sup>34</sup>

The rector’s anxieties were a function of the high expectations of a privileged upbringing and a desire to please his parents. Paul Trapier was born in 1806 into a prominent Lowcountry family at Belvidere, situated on the Cooper River on Charleston neck. Trapier was the fourth person to carry his name, and he was very close to his parents. He attended Harvard when he was fifteen years old. On the trip north, the young man was introduced to a society far removed from slaveholding South Carolina. Stopping at New York City enroute, Trapier was astonished to find that white men served him dinner at the large hotel where he was staying. “I felt so awkwardly,” he recounted, “that

I should have been relieved if I could have asked them to take seats at the table beside me.” He found that students from New England constructed a rigid barrier between themselves and southerners. He joined the Hasty Pudding Club, a debating society, but left it when his fear of public speaking overcame him (“a neglect of which I have felt through life the disabling effects”). Trapier excelled in the classics but was less proficient in mathematics. Elected to Phi Beta Kappa, he graduated in 1825.<sup>35</sup>

While Trapier was at Harvard, his uncle delivered stunning news. Father had died. It struck Paul like a thunderbolt, and only intensified his longing to return home after graduation. Trapier had had scant religious upbringing, but when his mother told him that she and his father wanted him to become a minister, he acceded to his parents’ wishes. “I yielded to her desire,” he said, “and decided to become a candidate for orders, more I think from a wish to please her and from respect for my father rather than any right impression of the awfulness of the work itself, though I do believe I had a sincere desire also to be useful, and I certainly had no thought of pecuniary profit or of position of respectability.” Trapier studied under Bishop Bowen and attended General Theological Seminary in New York. He was ordained a deacon in August 1829 and, after becoming a priest in December 1830, was named rector of St. Andrew’s.<sup>36</sup>

Trapier’s devotion to his wife, Sarah Dehon, brought him much happiness. He first met Sarah on a farm near Newport, Rhode Island, in the summer of 1826. She was twelve; he was twenty. “I think there sprang up then an incipient attachment,” Trapier said, “which, unconsciously probably to both of us, took deeper root than would seem likely from our difference of ages.” In 1831, as Sarah was taking lessons at his house with his sister Alicia, Trapier “was charmed by her appearance and manners at the age of 17.” They were engaged in August 1832 and married the following April. His admiration for his wife, “my chief earthly treasure,” was immeasurable. With his marriage “I secured a blessing second only to that of acceptance with my Saviour, whom I thank unceasingly for giving me *such* a wife.”<sup>37</sup>

Like her husband, Sarah was a product of the Charleston elite. Her mother was Sarah Russell, daughter of the wealthy Charleston merchant Nathaniel Russell. Her father was the Right Reverend Theodore Dehon, the second bishop of the Diocese of South Carolina. With no parsonage available in St. Andrew’s Parish, the Trapiers lived in the city with Sarah’s parents at their mansion on Meeting Street. Today the house is one of the finest restored antebellum homes in Charleston, the Nathaniel Russell House.<sup>38</sup>



The year 1831 brought a drastic change to Trapier's life. Repairs to the parsonage continued; he hoped to be living in the parish by November 1832, when he believed the parsonage could be occupied. Bishop Bowen visited St. Andrew's that year, a first for the parish. Worship services were conducted on alternate Sundays sixteen times during the winter of 1831, but new duties left Trapier no time for instructing slaves. That spring he was elected the first rector of the new St. James's Church on James Island, formerly the chapel of ease to St. Andrew's that had served the southern end of the parish. He now had to divide his time between two parishes.<sup>39</sup>

The inhabitants of James Island, weary of crossing Elliott and Wappoo cuts to travel north to the parish church, had petitioned St. Andrew's for the right to establish their own Episcopal church. They wanted to choose a minister, elect their own wardens and vestry, and collect glebe rents. The vestry of St. Andrew's, with its blessing and encouragement, gave the petitioners the deed for the chapel and glebe lands, providing that the new vestry and its successors continued to support a minister and that the church would be used only for Episcopal worship. St. James's became the second sister church to St. Andrew's, after St. George's, Dorchester. The small, wooden church had thirteen pews that held ninety people. Two pews were reserved for slaves, and a gallery was envisioned, but few attended services. The establishment of St. James's demanded a significant amount of Trapier's time.<sup>40</sup>

Before he could assume these duties, however, he was asked to accompany Bishop Bowen to Europe. Prior to leaving, Trapier rode from his house in the city to see his people in St. Andrew's Parish. It was a difficult trip. "The long ride cost me my horse which died that night," he said, "and has cost me many a pang of self-reproach at having left my Mother needlessly alone, instead of being with her to cheer her on the eve of so long an expected absence." He returned from Europe in the fall of 1831.<sup>41</sup>

In 1832 he was still unable to instruct the children or slaves in St. Andrew's. Most of the white children went to school in the city and were seldom in the parish. They received instruction in the summer at the churches they attended in Charleston. The ladies of the church began a Working Society, which set aside funds for a parish library. (This group would be the forerunner of the Woman's Auxiliary and later, Episcopal Church Women, organizations that would play a significant role in church life beginning in the mid-twentieth century.) Trapier focused increasingly on St. James's, where he conducted divine worship forty-seven times, compared to only sixteen times at St. Andrew's.<sup>42</sup>



By 1833 the rector's quarters were still not ready. The congregation remained status quo. The Working Society raised \$130 (\$3,500) and divided the contributions among the parish library, domestic missions, and making its rector a life member of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina. Public worship was celebrated eighteen times at St. Andrew's and fifty times at St. James's and in private homes near Fort Johnson. In 1834 the parish was "in an unsettled state." Many plantations were put up for sale. Inclement weather hampered attendance at worship. But the number of congregants remained steady, with deaths and removals offset by immigration from other parts of the state. Enslaved blacks began receiving instruction after morning service during the spring, "but whether to their good, has not appeared." In April 1834 Trapier baptized one of his own slaves, named Kate, in St. Andrew's Parish Church. He now split his time among three churches—St. Andrew's, St. James's, and beginning in November 1834, temporarily at St. Stephen's, Charleston, with its eighty families, created to serve those who could not afford to rent seats in other churches.<sup>43</sup>

Repairs to the parsonage, begun soon after he had become rector, were advanced enough by the end of 1834 that Trapier and his family could move in. This was the moment he had been waiting for—to spend time closer to his parishioners. Trapier, his wife, and new daughter Sarah Alicia (the first of twelve children) moved into the renovated parsonage soon after the baby was born in December. Trapier's autobiography captured his enthusiasm. "We enjoyed the seclusion very much, as it enabled us to see so much more of each other," he said, "and many were the happy days we passed in our diminutive parlour, or in walking about under the trees around the house, with our then only child, the very perfection in our eyes of infant loveliness." Everyday reality, however, soon clashed with his idyllic dream. "But we found this 'lodge in the wilderness' would not answer for a permanent residence." There were problems of maintaining the property when Trapier was absent, distance from the city which hindered communication with servant-caretakers, few nearby sources of supply, and "we had to trouble our mothers in the city so much for purchases for us." The difficulty of country living clashed with the city comforts they were accustomed to. "We gave up the experiment in house-keeping there after two winters," he said, and moved back to Meeting Street to live with Sarah's mother. When he traveled to the parish, Trapier often stayed with the Arthur Middletons, who were Sarah's aunt and uncle, at their Bolton plantation on the Stono River.<sup>44</sup>

Trapier's struggles as a parish priest serving a rural church reached a climax in 1835. He preached the sermon at the worship service on the last day of the diocesan convention that year and was nominated a trustee of the theological seminary. Any positives he gained from these accolades were short-lived. If Trapier felt unfit for his assignment at St. Andrew's, his vestry was likewise concerned about its rector's suitability. Later that year Trapier resigned, after the vestry had secured Bishop Bowen's agreement to replace him with the Reverend Doctor Jasper Adams, principal (president) of Charleston College.<sup>45</sup>

Life for Paul Trapier and his family after St. Andrew's was emblematic of the hopes and dreams of the prewar South, only to be crushed by the war's bitter aftermath. Reverend Trapier continued at St. Stephen's and St. James's, James Island, before he was elected rector of St. Michael's in 1840. His six-year tenure there was rocky, and he left to found Calvary Church, the city's first Episcopal church specifically for blacks, and remained there for ten years. He then served on the faculty of the Diocesan Theological Seminary in Camden. A staunch supporter of the Confederacy, he saw his home there plundered by the Union army under General William Tecumseh Sherman in 1865. He lost almost everything he owned, but his love for his wife and family never wavered. After the war, he received a Doctor in Sacred Theology (STD) degree, accepted a call at the Church of the Nativity in Union, South Carolina, for a short time reopened the diocesan seminary in Spartanburg, and took a parochial position in Kent County, Maryland. Feeling removed from everything and everyone he had known in his home state, he transferred back to the Diocese of South Carolina in January 1872 but died in July at the age of sixty-six. He was buried in the graveyard at St. Michael's alongside two of his children.<sup>46</sup>

The year Paul Trapier departed St. Andrew's, a second church of the same name appeared in the diocese. St. Andrew's Chapel was consecrated in the village of Mount Pleasant, across the Cooper River, in Christ Church Parish. A new chapel would be dedicated in 1857. Nearly a century later it would attain parish status. St. Andrew's, Mount Pleasant, would become the largest congregation in the Diocese of South Carolina before disaffiliating with the diocese and The Episcopal Church in 2010 over matters of Christian orthodoxy. St. Andrew's on the Ashley would itself grapple with the same issues a few years later.<sup>47</sup>

#### 10TH RECTOR:

REV. JASPER ADAMS (1835–38)

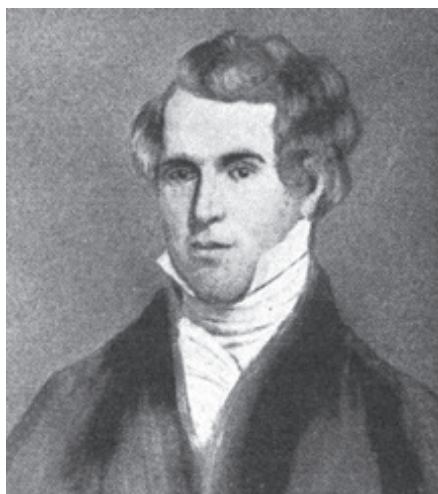
The tenth rector of St. Andrew's Parish, Jasper Adams, served for a little more than two years, one of the shortest tenures in the church's history. But he was

one of the most renowned people to hold the office, and the first to be raised in the North. Born in 1793 of the prominent Adams family of Massachusetts (John and John Quincy were distant cousins), the new rector was an academic and writer in addition to being an Episcopal priest. He was raised on a farm in East Medway, Massachusetts, and attended Brown University, graduating second in his class in 1815. He later received honorary degrees from Yale (AM, 1819) and Columbia (DD, 1827). After Brown, Adams taught at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, for three years, when he also studied at Andover Theological Seminary. Adams returned to Brown as a tutor, then professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. Following a call to religious life, he was ordained in 1820.<sup>48</sup>

While he was at Brown, Adams was approached with an offer to become principal of the College of Charleston. Although the school was not prospering, it offered two unbeatable advantages: an excellent, guaranteed salary of \$2,500 (\$57,700) a year and a less taxing climate. Adams served two stints in Charleston, 1825–26 and 1828–36. In the intervening eighteen months, he was named the first president of Geneva College (now Hobart and William Smith Colleges) in New York.<sup>49</sup>

While he was in Charleston, Jasper Adams became embroiled in one of the great issues of his day: the relationship between church and state. President Andrew Jackson strongly supported the Jeffersonian belief that the First Amendment strictly segregates religion and government. Closer to home, Thomas Cooper, president of South Carolina College, criticized the influence of Christianity in public life. Adams was appalled, believing that church and state should be closely linked, as they had been since the founding of America. Like his political cousins, he felt duty-bound to enter the public debate.<sup>50</sup>

On February 13, 1833, he responded with a sermon delivered at St. Michael's Church before the forty-fifth convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church



Rev. Jasper Adams (Courtesy of the College of Charleston)

in South Carolina. Published as *The Relation of Christianity to Civil Government in the United States*, Adams said that the Europeans who had settled the new world made Christianity the foundation of the social and political structures they were forming. In fact, all twenty-four state constitutions at the time of his address recognized Christianity as their established religion. Adams's central thesis, bold enough to be typeset in capital letters, proclaimed that, "THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE RETAINED THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION AS THE FOUNDATION OF THEIR CIVIL, LEGAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS; WHILE THEY HAVE REFUSED TO CONTINUE A LEGAL PREFERENCE TO ANY ONE OF ITS FORMS OVER THE OTHER." The French Revolution and its aftermath, Adams said, laid the groundwork for an "attitude of open and uncompromising hostility to every form and every degree of the Christian faith." Such a notion must be stopped: "No nation on earth," he said, "is more dependent than our own, for its welfare, on the preservation and general belief and influence of Christianity among us."<sup>51</sup>

Adams and the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina sent more than 200 copies of his sermon to many of the most influential figures in America, including President Jackson and Vice President Martin Van Buren, ex-Presidents John Quincy Adams and James Madison, and United States Senator and former Vice President John C. Calhoun. Adams received letters of support from justices John Marshall and Richard Story, but was derided by Cooper and James Madison, another staunch advocate of separation.<sup>52</sup>

Jasper Adams gave his final baccalaureate address as president of the College of Charleston on November 3, 1835, at St. Paul's Church. Following an Advent Sunday sermon at St. Michael's later that month, this well-known public figure accepted the call as rector of St. Andrew's—"this ancient parish," as he called it—in December 1835.<sup>53</sup>

Shortly after becoming rector, Adams left the college. He lived in the parish part of the winter of 1835–36 and was assisted by the Reverend Cranmore Wallace, a recently ordained deacon, teacher at the South Carolina Academy, and Trapier's successor at St. James's. Worship services were held in the parish church about half the year, from December through the middle of May. Adams reported that church attendance had increased, especially among plantation managers and slaves. "Nearly all the pews have been occupied." He listed twenty-four communicants and twenty-seven families in the parish in 1837. Most parishioners belonged to churches in the city as well as St. Andrew's,

Adams pointed out, and presumably were reported with the statistics of the city churches.<sup>54</sup>

Why would Jasper Adams, a national figure and university president, seek a position at a small, seasonal, rural church? St. Andrew's was the only pastoral assignment he would ever take. The most plausible answer is that his retreat to an undemanding country posting gave him ample time to finish writing his only book, *Elements of Moral Philosophy*. Completed during his stay at St. Andrew's, the 492-page treatise was published in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in late 1837. The title page listed the author's positions as president of the College of Charleston and *ex officio* Horry Professor of Moral and Political Philosophy, member of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, and member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, "&c." Perhaps Adams viewed his position as rector of St. Andrew's as insignificant or merely a short interlude before pursuing the next phase of his career, so his only ministerial posting was unceremoniously hidden within the *et cetera*.<sup>55</sup>

Once his book was published, Adams was ready to move on. St. Andrew's had given him an opportunity to pause, take stock, and finish his writing before embarking on another university assignment. At the February 1838 diocesan convention, Adams was one of twelve clergy and laymen appointed to develop an Episcopal school in the city. The ink had barely dried on the minutes before Adams left St. Andrew's. He sold his four slaves and joined the faculty at the United States Military Academy at West Point, where he served as chaplain and professor of ethics. Adams returned to South Carolina in 1840, where he planned to open an Episcopal school in Pendleton. After a brief illness, he died on October 25, 1841, and was buried at St. Paul's, Pendleton.<sup>56</sup>

#### 11TH RECTOR:

REV. JAMES STUART HANCKEL

DEACON (1838-41), RECTOR (1841-49, 1849-51)

St. Andrew's had had little clerical continuity in the more than twenty years since the lengthy rectorship of Thomas Mills ended in 1816. There were periods of vacancy and a procession of ministers that served for short periods of time. But stability was reestablished with the thirteen-year tenure of the Reverend James Stuart Hanckel, the third child of the Reverend Doctor Christian and Ann Stuart Hanckel. Only twenty-one years old when he came to St. Andrew's, Stuart Hanckel succeeded Jasper Adams, the man who, as principal of Charleston College, had delivered the baccalaureate address to his

graduating class just four years earlier. Hankel was as inexperienced as Paul Trapier had been before him, but unlike Trapier, Hanckel got the opportunity to work with an acclaimed mentor, his father.<sup>57</sup>

Membership at St. Andrew's approached thirty white families when Reverend Hanckel arrived. He could have settled into a quiet, comfortable life with few demands, as did his predecessor, but he did just the opposite. He continued to work among the slaves, this mission becoming the focus of his ministry. The legacy he left would take even deeper root under his successor.

Stuart Hanckel followed his father into the ministry, the path that Charles Martyn and Thomas Mills had chosen. Born in Beaufort, South Carolina, on July 1, 1817, Hanckel graduated at age seventeen with first honors from Charleston College. He studied law for two years before entering General Theological Seminary. He was ordained a deacon in July 1838, and on November 25 arrived as minister of St. Andrew's. Hanckel wasted no time getting started. In addition to holding worship service in the parish church every Sunday, he focused his attention on the enslaved people. He provided them instruction after Sunday service in the parish church, conducted worship services for them at one or more of the plantations on Sunday afternoon, and instructed their children once a week in the afternoon.<sup>58</sup>

In 1839 Hanckel began a seasonal schedule of worship services that he would follow throughout his tenure at St. Andrew's. Weather permitting, services were held in winter and spring from mid-November through mid-May, and on Good Friday and Christmas Day. During the summer and early fall, he assisted his father, the eminent Rev. Christian Hanckel, at St. Paul's, Radcliffeborough, Charleston. (As a deacon, Christian had officiated the worship service at the Baptist church in Prince William's Parish with Bishop Dehon and Thomas Mills.) The city church had ten times the number of communicants and families as St. Andrew's. Stuart's father and brother, the Reverend William Henry Hanckel, assisted Stuart in his duties at St. Andrew's. Stuart continued to teach his black congregation after Sunday services. He visited slaves at three plantations every other week during the winter months, providing instruction "adapted, it is hoped, to their capabilities and wants." He reported that repairs to the church, which delayed its seasonal reopening, were completed in 1840. "And this, one of the oldest Churches in the Diocese," the deacon said, "is [now] in a good state of preservation." In 1841 Deacon Hanckel was ordained a priest and became the eleventh rector of St. Andrew's.<sup>59</sup>



Newly-elected as Bishop of South Carolina, the Right Reverend Christopher E. Gadsden visited the parish along the Ashley in 1840. It was the first time a bishop had traveled to St. Andrew's in nine years. He returned in January 1843 to confirm one white and five black congregants in the restored church, the first time the rite of confirmation was ever held in the parish. (The first confirmation in the diocese had been conducted on Edisto Island thirty years before.) Bishop Gadsden would return five years later to confirm the second class, numbering twenty-four.<sup>60</sup>

A noteworthy liturgical element was added to the church in 1842—"a neat baptismal font." The six-inch high marble basin sits atop a three-foot high cast iron pedestal featuring three pelicans. For centuries the pelican, which draws its own blood to feed its young, has been a Christian symbol of atonement, piety, and charity, in general, and Christ's passion and the Eucharist, specifically. It is unknown whether this font replaced one that was intended to be part of the 1723 expansion or whether the colonial font was ever realized. Today the antebellum font sits near the pulpit and reading desk and is used for all baptisms held in the church. Its chipped, worn basin can only hint at the struggles it has witnessed.<sup>61</sup>

In the early 1840s an unassuming man began the job of maintaining the church and its grounds. Billy Fludd, a thirty-five year old black man born about the same year as Rev. Paul Trapier, became church sexton. "Daddy Billy" would live through the difficult times before, during, and after the Civil War, and into the twentieth century. He would be fondly remembered for his devotion and loyalty to St. Andrew's that spanned more than sixty years.<sup>62</sup>

#### PLANTATION SLAVE CHAPELS

Throughout the antebellum period, this once prosperous parish had been reduced to a shadow of its former self. Clerical instability and vacancies were more the norm than the exception. While a minority of wealthy landowners continued to play key roles in church affairs, ministry shifted to the vast majority of the population, the enslaved Africans.

Many colonial South Carolina planters had resisted the Anglican clergy's attempts to instruct slaves in the tenets of Christianity. In the nineteenth century this mindset changed, and religious instruction and worship among the slaves increased significantly. Episcopal clergy serving rural parishes viewed this ministry as a way to bring the saving grace of Christ to slaves where they lived and worked, on their plantations. Ministers functioned within



the cultural setting, not to change the parameters of the plantation system, but to work within it. They reinforced the central tenet of slavery, duty to masters, while trying to enrich numbingly routine lives. While some planters encouraged slave ministry for missionary and humanitarian reasons, most realized that religious instruction would be in their self-interest—to make their slaves more efficient and docile and to keep them in check. Most whites loathed the thought of emancipation and feared that slaves would “overtake the ramparts of civilization if unrestrained.” Slave instruction also mitigated the demands of the abolitionists, with one writer calling it “the South’s conscious alternative to antislavery activity—the Church’s peculiar work in the ‘peculiar institution.’” Denmark Vesey’s aborted slave uprising in 1822 and the fear of another brought renewed emphasis to converting the enslaved.<sup>63</sup>

Writing anonymously the following year, Rev. Frederick Dalcho, a medical doctor, assistant minister at St. Michael’s, and author of the history of the Anglican/Episcopal Church in South Carolina, argued for the religious instruction of slaves. “If the Masters of the slaves will unite in the great Christian scheme of conversion,” he said, “means may be devised for that purpose. I confess, however, that many difficulties and discouragements present themselves to my mind; but still, I trust, there are none that may be overcome by prudence and perseverance, under the blessing of God.” Dalcho thought it best for slaves to worship at churches where they lived and at which their masters attended. Black preachers at black places of worship would only produce ignorance, foster superstition, and ignite passions.<sup>64</sup>

The earliest Episcopal instruction of plantation slaves in antebellum South Carolina was reported in 1817, when the Reverend John Jacob Tschudy, rector of St. John’s, Berkeley, Parish began his work at Biggin Church. By 1820 he was holding Sunday evening services on plantations near Biggin and Strawberry Chapel. That same year the earliest known slave chapel was built at William Clarkson’s plantation at Wateree in Richland District. Most chapels were simple, wooden structures. Worship and instruction in parish churches were also opened to slaves, and some buildings or galleries had to be expanded to accommodate the increased number of worshippers. St. Andrew’s Parish Church, however, had plenty of room for its black congregants.<sup>65</sup>

Slave ministry was not the exclusive domain of the Episcopalians. In fact, their work was often surpassed by the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists. In 1845 on Edisto Island, for example, the Methodist minister traveled to 11 plantations where 345 slaves were church members. The Presbyterians

commanded 157 black communicants, the Baptists 100, and the Episcopalians another 100. On James Island, long a Presbyterian stronghold, the 18 black Episcopalians were nearly invisible among the 300 black Presbyterians.<sup>66</sup>

In 1848 Bishop Gadsden held worship services for slaves in the diocese thirteen times, in churches and on plantations. He was especially taken with the efforts on the plantations:

In my visitations, nothing was more gratifying to behold than the *Chapels*, which had been erected on plantations, at central points, for the more special accommodation of the blacks. There are now ten such Chapels—may they be greatly multiplied, and the day not distant, when each large plantation, or two or more smaller ones united, shall have a Chaplain, and “daily service.” What a blessing might thence result to the proprietor, his children, his overseers and their children, his servants, and the poor whites in the neighborhood! In our “fatherland,” the man of wealth has for his family and his servants their proper Chaplain, and appropriate Church. Why might it not be so in our land?<sup>67</sup>

It took time to establish Episcopal slave chapels in rural areas, but once the structures began to be built, the momentum increased rapidly. The state’s ten chapels in 1848 grew to fifty ten years later. The most fruitful parish was All Saints’, Waccamaw, near Georgetown, where thirteen chapels were built under the care of the Reverend Alexander Glennie. A visiting bishop was so impressed that he remarked, “The black children of a South Carolina planter know more of Christianity than thousands of white children in Illinois.” St. Andrew’s was one of the earliest of many Episcopal churches that ministered to its plantation slaves during this period. Following the halting efforts of Paul Trapier and Jasper Adams, outreach began in earnest under Stuart Hanckel. During his rectorship, Hanckel and his parish planters established three slave chapels, and possibly as many as five.<sup>68</sup>

Simon J. Magwood opened a chapel on his plantation in 1845. After Col. Simon Magwood died in 1836, he left his pew in St. Andrew’s and his lands to sons James Holman and Simon John. James owned 677 acres proximate to the church’s glebe until he sold the property in 1853 to brothers Peter and Arthur Gaillard. Simon John owned lands south of his brother’s. It was on his plantation that he established a chapel for slaves that would be open for

decades. He, like his father, would figure prominently in parochial affairs, serving as a diocesan convention delegate from St. Andrew's Parish in 1853–54, 1860, and 1875. St. Andrew's Mission Episcopal Church, a predominantly African American congregation south of St. Andrew's Parish Church on Ashley River Road, claims its beginnings from the chapel located on Magwood plantation.<sup>69</sup>

Activity at Middleton Chapel also began in 1845. This chapel was situated on the grounds of Nathaniel Russell Middleton's 2,994-acre plantation, Bolton-on-the-Stono. Today the property would be found off U.S. 17 east of its intersection with Bees Ferry Road. N. R., or "Rus," as he was called, studied at Geneva College, New York, about the same time that Jasper Adams was president in the 1820s. He graduated from the College of Charleston, studied law, and became the college's chair of moral philosophy and logic, then its president from 1857 to 1880. He also served as a state legislator. Middleton had inherited the land from his father Arthur in 1837, lived on the plantation, and grew cotton on the reclaimed marshes.<sup>70</sup>

Rus Middleton continued the tradition of his father's service to St. Andrew's Parish Church. He played a prominent role in diocesan affairs, at various times serving on one or more of four committees: as a trustee of the fund for "infirm and decayed clergymen" and of the General Theological Seminary, and as a member of committees on the Board of Missions and on establishing a new congregation in Charleston, one including both blacks and whites, called Calvary Church. Middleton provided points of levity at the 1847 diocesan convention, when on the third day, he introduced a motion to ban the preaching of sermons at



Nathaniel Russell Middleton, 1842 (Pencil sketch by Nancy McEuen. Alicia Hopton Middleton, ed., *Life in Carolina and New England during the Nineteenth Century*, 1929)

services held during the convention, except on the first day. He also had the temerity to ask that delegates begin their meetings an hour earlier than the designated starting time of 10:00 a.m. Neither motion passed.<sup>71</sup>

Diocesan records from 1847 to 1852 included multiple references to slave services held at N. R. Middleton's plantation. Seventeen-year-old Harry Middleton and his mother Annie provided eyewitness accounts of a Sunday when services were held at the family's chapel. In separate letters to Rus Middleton, who was away at the time, they wrote that Harry had traveled to the parish church to attend services on December 1, 1850, the first time it was reopened for the winter season. No one else came but a Mr. Ramsey, who was likely John A. Ramsay, a diocesan convention delegate from the parish in the 1840s. So Reverend Hanckel chose not to hold services, but rode to the Middleton's plantation at Stono to conduct worship at the slave chapel. Because dinner conflicted with the three o'clock afternoon service, Harry and his brothers Arthur and Walter missed it; otherwise they would have gone. With darkness approaching, Hanckel spent the night with the Middletons. He was engaged in lively conversation when Annie came downstairs to see him at eleven o'clock.<sup>72</sup>

Rus Middleton not only allowed the rector to work among his slaves, but his entire family was involved. On Sunday afternoons Rus would read the worship service and provide religious instruction; on Wednesday evenings he would teach those who voluntarily came to him; and "constantly during the week" Annie and his sons would teach catechism and hymns to the children. "Among my people vicious habits have certainly been weakened, and a moral sense reawakened," he said. "In every respect I feel encouraged to go on."<sup>73</sup>

Stuart Hanckel was the only minister of any denomination who worked among the slaves in St. Andrew's Parish north of James Island. Reporting in 1845, Hanckel said that he held instruction once every two weeks at the parish church and at Magwood and Middleton plantations, where the numbers ranged from 50 to 120. He employed an expository style of teaching using the catechism and found that religious instruction made a marked difference on the lives of the enslaved. As Alexander Glennie found that none of the thirty-nine black couples he had married in the last five years had been unfaithful, so did Stuart Hanckel comment that only one of his black communicants in the last seven years had been "disciplined for immorality." Hanckel echoed a belief common among Episcopal clergy that blacks teaching blacks was

unacceptable: “There are coloured Methodist and Baptist teachers, and the ‘practical results’ of the teaching of these preachers, or class-leaders, or watchmen, (so far as my experience goes) is decidedly bad.”<sup>74</sup>

Samuel Gaillard Barker, a wealthy Charleston merchant, bought Bolton-on-the-Stono in January 1852. He continued operating the slave chapel that Rus Middleton had begun until 1859 or 1860. Barker Chapel reopened after the Civil War but burned in 1876 and was not rebuilt. Annual diocesan convention journals contained references at various times to Middleton and Barker chapels; these are the same chapel at the same location, only operated by different plantation owners.<sup>75</sup>

A third chapel, at Magnolia plantation just three miles north of the parish church, was located on the grounds of a diocesan candidate for Holy Orders, John Grimké Drayton. It was begun in 1849 and completed the following year. Drayton had actually started his slave ministry much earlier, in the 1830s, at Magnolia or in the city or both. During these years, he devoted significant time to the religious instruction of his slaves. He spent Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday evenings with the adults (“and when the days are long, three times on the Sabbath.” Like Hanckel, Drayton used exposition with the catechism to teach the adults, but what captured their attention were illustrations and anecdotes. Drayton and his wife instructed the children two evenings during the week and on Sunday mornings. In 1843 Drayton brought an Episcopal missionary from Africa to speak to his slaves. The visit made such an impression that they planted a “missionary crop,” which raised \$16 (\$500) for the support of African missions.<sup>76</sup>

From the earliest days, John Grimké Drayton possessed an unshakeable faith in his slave ministry. He was convinced that religious instruction made his enslaved workers better people; in fact, he made it clear that they were indeed *people* and not merely disposable assets. His slaves, Drayton said, could teach their white masters a thing or two about living their faith.

Almost all the adults have become savingly acquainted with the truth as it is in Jesus: they give evidence of this in regulated lives; a perceivable improvement appears in all their domestic relations—in their virtue, honesty and fidelity. For years I have not been robbed of the value of a pin.... Much has been said slightly of the piety of our negroes. Many suppose it little better than a compound of psalm-singing and animal excitement. I take a different view. I have

never seen clearer examples of undoubting faith—of holy love, and of a meek and consistent walk than among them.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to Magwood, Middleton, and Magnolia chapels, Bishop Gadsden noted work at Mrs. C. Faber's plantation in the 1840s. Maria C. Faber owned a 300-acre tract of land called Milton Lodge, later known as "the old Faber Place," in the southeastern tip of St. Andrew's Parish, east of the Ashley. Faber's place was located across the river from Pierponts, just south of the parish church. She owned sixteen slaves according to the 1850 census and twenty-one in 1860.<sup>78</sup>

In his journal entry for March 16, 1851, the bishop wrote that he had preached to the slaves on N. R. Middleton's plantation and added that, "For this class, three chapels have been erected [Magwood, Magnolia, and Middleton], and a fourth is nearly completed within the bounds of this Parish." Perhaps he was referring to a chapel on the Faber plantation, but whether one was ever built there is unknown.<sup>79</sup>

Another slave chapel was located not in St. Andrew's Parish, but just outside its northern boundary in St. George's, Dorchester. This worship space was a second Middleton Chapel—located on the grounds of Williams Middleton's plantation, Middleton Place.

Williams Middleton, whose father Henry had been governor of South Carolina, United States congressman, and minister to Russia, was Rus Middleton's cousin. Williams inherited Middleton Place in 1846. A spring house had been built on the property in the eighteenth century, and a second floor, used to store dairy products, was added later. It was the second story that was converted to a slave chapel in the winter of 1851. The chapel was used until 1865 when Union troops torched it.<sup>80</sup>

Bishop Gadsden's March 16, 1851, journal entry about a fourth nearly-completed slave chapel might have also described the Middleton Place chapel. Just a week earlier, Williams Middleton had written to his brother-in-law J. Francis Fisher in Pennsylvania describing activity in the chapel he had constructed for the slaves' religious instruction and worship: "I had built a pretty good room with a vaulted ceiling over the dairy with the intention of placing a billiard table in it one of these days. This has been converted into a Chapel by particular request, & the neighbourhood Parson is at this moment holding forth there in full swing to a large & fashionable congregation of all colors."<sup>81</sup>

This unnamed parson leaves open the question of denominational affiliation, but he could have been Rev. Stuart Hanckel, whose parish church was located just seven miles south of Middleton Place. When the chapel at Middleton Place was established in 1851, there had been an Episcopal presence among the slaves in St. Andrew's Parish for six years at Magwood's and N. R. Middleton's plantations, and a new chapel had just opened at Magnolia the year before. Given his activity in the community, Hanckel could have been characterized as "the neighbourhood parson." Williams Middleton's wife, Susan Pringle Smith Middleton, was the granddaughter of the first Episcopal bishop of South Carolina and herself a devout Episcopalian, which would lend credence to the chapel being used for Episcopal services. None of the three neighboring Episcopal parish churches was a likely candidate for providing this missionary work. St. George's, Dorchester, was extinct. St. Paul's, Stono and Summerville, had but one mention in diocesan convention journals from 1852 into the Civil War of services occasionally held on plantations. St. James's, Goose Creek, had no rector of its own, much less minister to a slave chapel.<sup>82</sup>

On the other hand, an Independent church was located not far from Middleton Place in St. George's Parish, and Methodist and Presbyterian circuit riders were known to frequent the area. Methodists and Baptists frequently used black exhorters and class leaders among slave assemblies. The slaves themselves could have influenced who their preacher would have been. Williams Middleton mentioned a female slave named Parson Louisa numerous times in his letters. She would have been far more likely to have held worship services "in full swing" than a conservative priest like Stuart Hanckel, steeped in the traditional Episcopal liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer. Moreover, services or confirmations at Williams Middleton's plantation were never mentioned in the bishop's or rector's annual diocesan reports of the period. Such omissions would have been unusual, given the regular descriptions of chapel activity reported for St. Andrew's Parish. Given these considerations, it is doubtful that Hanckel was the "neighbourhood Parson" in Middleton's letter to Fisher or that the chapel was used for Episcopal ministry. Regardless of denominational affiliation, the Middleton Place chapel, today beautifully restored and one of the few, if any, to survive, provides an important window into the world of slave ministry in antebellum plantation life.<sup>83</sup>





Plantation ministry to the slaves, St. Andrew's Parish (Plan by the author. Illustration by Michael Porwoll)

Stuart Hanckel cast a wide net in his efforts to be a fisher of men. He, as did Jasper Adams, recognized that all the white families in the parish also belonged to congregations in the city. The number of white communicants averaged only twenty-four per year when Hanckel was rector. With his increasing efforts at the slave chapels, he saw the number of black communicants grow from eight in 1842 to sixty-nine in 1851. During his tenure he baptized nine whites and fifty-six blacks.<sup>84</sup>

#### ANTEBELLUM LIFE AT THE PARISH CHURCH

For the white parishioners who attended services at St. Andrew's, what was an antebellum Sunday like for them? Nathaniel Russell Middleton and his third daughter, Alicia, described the setting in rich detail. To Rus Middleton, as with Edward Brailsford a century before, this place captivated him:

One of my most interesting memories was the Sunday morning visit to St. Andrew's Church ... The church was retired from the road about forty or fifty yards with a fine growth of trees, some of them large mossy oaks, grouped picturesquely around the building, which was a stuccoed brick structure in the form of a cross, without ornament except the

arched doors and windows, which redeemed it from plainness. On a bright spring morning, when Nature was doing her best to beautify and enliven the scene and the neighboring planters with their wives and children gathered in groups under the oaks, with the servants gossiping apart or looking after the horses tethered to the trees and low-lying branches around, it was a scene which an artist would have liked to reproduce. The service itself, relieved from the oppressive formality of city worship, affected me with more real interest and brought me more naturally into the unseen sacred presence than I ever felt under the influence of architectural ornament and organ accompaniment. . . . The whole of Sunday was with us a sacred season, our usual work and play were suspended, and we were only permitted a walk around the grounds or to the settlement in the afternoon.<sup>85</sup>

In her twentieth-century memoirs, Alicia Hopton Middleton recounted her mother's recollections of "this ancient little church" south of Middleton Place, Magnolia, and Drayton Hall. "Here, of a Sunday morning, would gather, from miles around," Alicia said, "the planters and their families, some in carriages with liveried coachmen and footmen, many on horseback, always in time for a neighborly chat and exchange of gossip before, as well as after, service. My mother writes of what a brilliant scene it seemed to her, the first time she joined them." Alicia's younger sister Anna Elizabeth was baptized in St. Andrew's on Easter Day 1847, "our mother taking a handful of roses from the garden which she placed in the font."<sup>86</sup>

If N. R. Middleton thought the parish church and its lively social life were "a scene which an artist would have liked to reproduce," a famous Charlestonian did just that. In the 1840s Lewis R. Gibbes, a professor at the College of Charleston and great-grandson of John Drayton, builder of Drayton Hall, sketched the southern exposure of the church. That Gibbes would be taken with the church was no accident. The eminent scientist, natural historian, and medical doctor had a lust for learning. "He loved study," a contemporary remarked, "and for eighty years was learning every day from books and observation. The art of using his eyes was a natural gift." Moreover, he had just become an Episcopalian.<sup>87</sup> Gibbes's pencil drawing is the second-earliest extant visual representation of St. Andrew's Parish Church. Not long after Gibbes sketched the church, Rus Middleton would become president of the College of Charleston.



Lewis R. Gibbes's pencil sketch of the church, 1840s (Drayton Family Papers, Special Collections, College of Charleston. Used by permission of Drayton Hall, a historic site of the National Trust for Historic Preservation)

Early in his ministry Reverend Hanckel assumed diocesan responsibilities, preaching sermons at the 1841 and 1842 conventions. His work in the parish did not go unnoticed; being Christian Hanckel's son probably did him no harm either. Stuart was the second rector from St. Andrew's, after Thomas Mills, to be elected to the Standing Committee, where he served from 1845 to 1851. His father was its longtime president.<sup>88</sup>

Toward the end of Hanckel's tenure, the rector participated in one of those pastoral duties he would long remember. In March 1847 he baptized a black convict in the Charleston jail before he was executed. Two years later Hanckel resigned his ministry at St. Andrew's, for reasons unknown. He returned the same year, in November 1849, but departed a final time in 1851.<sup>89</sup>

#### THE CURIOUS CASE OF CHRISTIAN HANCKEL

Was Hanckel formally replaced as rector during his year-long absence? Some have claimed that his father assumed that role. The Reverend Christian Hanckel, DD, was an educator and one of the most esteemed Episcopal ministers in South Carolina. He was born in Philadelphia in 1788 after his

physician father had emigrated from Germany five years before. Christian was the first rector of Trinity Church, Columbia (1815–21) and professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at South Carolina College. He then moved to Charleston, where he served St. Paul's, Radcliffeborough, as rector, and after retirement, as honorary rector, for forty-nine years (1821–70) and as chairman of the Free Schools (1844–54). He was president of the Standing Committee, a diocesan delegate to the General Convention, and the first president of the House of Deputies of the Confederate Episcopal Church.<sup>90</sup>

“He had the sweetest voice, I had ever heard,” recounted Frederick Adolphus Porcher, a professor at the College of Charleston and a founding member of the South Carolina Historical Society, “and without an effort he filled his immense church so that not a word he uttered was lost.” Another contemporary said of Christian Hanckel: “Courteous in demeanor, grand and imposing in personal form, pleasing in countenance, with a powerful, yet singularly sweet and musical voice, few men impressed others more favorably at first sight, and still fewer had the enviable faculty of preserving and augmenting the first favorable impression as casual acquaintance ripened into admiration—friendship—love.” Dr. Hanckel's character was indeed a striking one.<sup>91</sup>

Father and eldest son were linked by blood, calling, and proximity. Not only was Stuart rector of St. Andrew's, serving primarily from November through May, but he was also assistant minister at his father's church. Stuart recounted later in his life that “my father and self, therefore, attended [“old St. Andrew's Church”] during the winter. In the summer my services were confined to St. Paul's.” When Stuart resigned as rector of St. Andrew's in 1849, it is possible that Christian filled in for him there. Christian had purchased 280 acres at Hickory Hill plantation near St. Andrew's Parish Church in 1825, so he was familiar with the area.<sup>92</sup>

Col. William Izard Bull, in his 1889 letter to his cousin Elizabeth Ravenel, remembered Christian Hanckel at St. Andrew's. “Succeeding Mr. Gilbert,” said Bull, “[were] Paul Trapier, Rev. Jasper Adams, Stuart Hanckel, Christian Hanckel and Rev. John Drayton.” For twentieth-century parishioner-historians, Bull's simple listing of ministers evolved into proof that Christian Hanckel had been rector of St. Andrew's. Given Reverend Dr. Hanckel's striking character, it is not surprising that Bull remembered him helping his son at the country church during the winter months. Entries in the parish register showed Christian Hanckel assisting at St. Andrew's in the mid-1840s. But there is no evidence that links him as rector in his son's absence.<sup>93</sup>

## CHAPTER 6

# INTO THE STORM

1851 – 1865

SUCCESSING STUART HANCKEL was a man in his mid-thirties from another of South Carolina's renowned families. He would live a dual life, as an Episcopal priest and world-class horticulturalist. After completing seminary in New York, he continued his training under Rev. Stuart Hanckel at St. Andrew's. He then contracted tuberculosis. As a cure, he developed a passion for gardening and landscape design at his plantation just north of the parish church. Like "Daddy Billy" Fludd, he would watch the storm clouds rise over succession, see them erupt in fury, feel the shock of their aftermath, and rebuild amid the wreckage. He would faithfully serve his black congregants, both as slaves and freedmen, during a forty-year ministry. He would serve St. Andrew's Parish Church longer than any other rector. He was John Grimké Drayton.

### 12TH RECTOR:

REV. JOHN GRIMKÉ DRAYTON (1851–91)

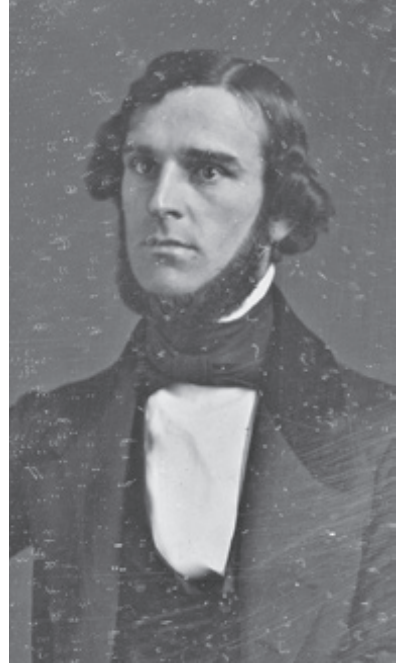
Like Paul Trapier twenty years before him, Reverend Drayton was a product of privilege. He was born in 1816 in Charleston, but as a Grimké. John's father was Thomas Smith Grimké, a prominent attorney and state senator, who studied the law to please his father, associate chief justice of South Carolina John Faucheraud Grimké. Thomas Smith Grimké felt his real calling was to the ministry; his life as a devout Christian certainly made an impact on his son. "On religion he had built the whole structure of his moral character," read a tribute from the South Carolina Bar Association in 1834 on his death, "to be worthy of his profession as a Christian, was the chief object of his existence." John's mother was Sarah Daniel Drayton, whose parents Thomas and Mary Wilson Drayton owned Ocean plantation on the Coosawhatchie River and Magnolia-on-the-Ashley in St. Andrew's Parish. John had an older brother Thomas and four younger brothers. Among extended family were two aunts, the notorious abolitionists Angelina and Sarah Grimké.<sup>1</sup>

John's association with Magnolia began early and developed in unusual circumstances. He spent much of his youth at Magnolia, playing on the grounds of the plantation. But it was a clash between his grandfather Thomas Drayton and his only son William Henry that would put John Grimké in line to inherit Magnolia. William Henry Drayton was not the sort of young man to settle down, marry, and raise a family, much to his father's disappointment. Thomas Drayton bequeathed his plantations to William Henry in his will of 1820, provided that William Henry produce a son. If not, the properties would pass to Thomas Grimké, Thomas Drayton's grandson and John's older brother. But there was a catch: Thomas Grimké would have to change his family name to Drayton. If Thomas died, the estates would pass to John, if he too took the Drayton name.<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Drayton died in 1825. He left his properties to William Henry, but he died without a son the following year. Thomas Grimké changed his surname to Drayton in 1832 and inherited the lands. When Thomas Grimké Drayton accidentally shot and killed himself during a hunt four years later, the 1,872 acres of Magnolia-on-the-Ashley went to John. He, like his brother, had assumed the Drayton name.<sup>3</sup>

Before he inherited Magnolia, John graduated from the Southworth School in Charleston, and then the College of Charleston in 1833, the year before Stuart Hanckel. John had been studying and traveling abroad when he heard the news of his brother's death in 1836, and he returned home. Despite the responsibilities of plantation ownership, Drayton felt a calling to the ministry and decided to become an Episcopal priest.<sup>4</sup>

The following year he became a candidate for Holy Orders in the Diocese of South Carolina. Drayton moved to New York to attend General Theological Seminary and, along the way, stopped in Philadelphia to visit his cousins, the William Draytons. There he met Julia Ewing, a vivacious woman



Rev. John Grimké Drayton (Courtesy of Magnolia Plantation and Gardens)

from a prominent family, who pursued an active social life. He fell in love with her. Drayton enrolled in seminary in 1838 but left in June of the following year. He continued his preparation for the ministry in Charleston under Rev. Stuart Hanckel of St. Andrew's Parish Church and Bishop Nathaniel Bowen. John and Julia were married on July 9, 1840, and moved to Magnolia soon afterward. The couple divided their time between Magnolia and the Grimké family's Charleston town house at 42 South Bay fronting the harbor. Today the house is a national historic landmark known as the William Gibbes House located at 64 South Battery.<sup>5</sup>

Drayton then became ill, contracting tuberculosis about 1840. John had just been married and had moved to Magnolia with Julia. The proximity of the disease manifesting itself after he returned from seminary raises the possibility that he contracted it there. An environment where men lived and studied together in close and often cold, damp, and unventilated quarters was an ideal breeding ground for such a contagious disease. But tuberculosis can remain dormant for years before symptoms appear, so Drayton might have contracted it earlier without noticeable signs.<sup>6</sup>

One of many treatments offered for tuberculosis in the first half of the nineteenth century was exercise and farming. "The dilemma was frustrating and ongoing," wrote Sheila Rothman in a study of tuberculosis and its social effects, "how to reconcile an invalid's moral and medical obligations with personal ambitions and goals. Was it necessary for those who yearned to become ministers or teachers to take up farming?" That is precisely what John Grimké Drayton did.<sup>7</sup>

Drayton refocused his energies into the landscape of Magnolia and away from the ministry. He set about rebuilding the deteriorating gardens for his wife. In 1848 he began importing camellias from France and England. The rare Indian Azaleas he acquired were the first to be planted outdoors in the United States. The Romantic Movement, which captivated the arts in the mid-nineteenth century with its focus on emotion, the dramatic, and the spectacular, deeply impressed Drayton. Romanticism turned away from established formal, geometric elements of landscape design and embraced a natural, informal approach. Drayton's "picturesque" style of Romanticism, "expressed by striking, irregular spirited forms," was a stark contrast to the formal style of nearby Middleton Place and a naturalistic expression at Drayton Hall, where "man exert[ed] control over the natural environment." Drayton's Magnolia became an innovative showcase for unbridled natural beauty, "which



allowed man and nature to co-exist. Wildness was glorified and enhanced, not tamed.” John Grimké Drayton’s vision and genius, brought to life by the labor of his slaves, developed Magnolia plantation into one of the world’s most impressive cultivated landscapes.<sup>8</sup>

Coping with his illness and driven by his work at Magnolia, Drayton did not enter clerical life until more than a decade after he had left seminary. Year after year, diocesan convention journals listed Drayton as a candidate for orders. By early 1851 he had passed the necessary examinations, but ill health interfered. He soon recovered, and later that year was twice ordained by Bishop Gadsden. On March 16, 1851, Drayton was consecrated a deacon in St. Andrew’s Parish Church, and with his entry into ordained ministry became the parish’s twelfth rector, replacing Stuart Hanckel, who had resigned a second and final time. Seven months later, on October 26, Drayton became a priest at Grace Church, Charleston. His father would have been pleased. Drayton was the first rector in the church’s history to have resided in the parish when he was elected.<sup>9</sup>

#### EARLY MINISTRY

Missionary work among the slaves begun by Drayton’s predecessors blossomed under the new rector. John Grimké Drayton was among the most successful of the clergy who ministered not only to their own slaves but to others as well. Drayton was a product of the wealthy, aristocratic Charleston establishment, like Paul Trapier, but he was able to forge a deep relationship with his black congregants. For many years he had provided religious instruction for his own slaves and had worked closely with them in designing his gardens at Magnolia. He knew them as people. He realized that he had to adapt his teaching and sermons to fit the needs of his willing but illiterate followers. The care he took with his slave communicants before the Civil War would reap untold benefits afterward. Many of the freedmen in St. Andrew’s Parish would choose to remain Episcopalian and return to Drayton after the war, when blacks would flee white churches en masse to establish new ones of their own.<sup>10</sup>

At Magnolia Chapel, the third of the parish chapels and opened in 1850, a Sunday school was established for slaves. In 1852, Drayton’s first full year as rector, the number of communicants (138) significantly increased from the previous year. Eighty-six percent were black. Twenty-nine of the thirty baptisms were to slaves. Ten white Sunday school teachers at Magnolia Chapel instructed sixty-to-eighty black students. The school was open during the winter and

spring. Although the parish church closed at the beginning of May, services at the chapels continued year-round. Unknown but through praise of his work, Mr. Shokes assisted the rector as catechist at the chapels for many years.<sup>11</sup>

The year 1854 was a difficult one, as Reverend Drayton reported to the diocese:

I was absent from my Parish a part of the Summer, during which time I preached on 33 occasions, and assisted in 12 other services. During a portion of this time, I supplied a vacant Church.

I was sick during the entire month of January, and from various causes up to March there were no congregations at St. Andrew's. The Parish was almost utterly deserted. The services during the present Winter, for similar reasons, did not commence until Dec. 10th.

From inclement weather and other causes, I failed on many occasions to find congregations at Magwood's and Barker's Chapels.

Mr. Shokes labored during the Winter and Spring, wholly at Barker's Chapel. During the remainder of the year he alternates with me at the three.

Sunday school instruction at Magnolia Chapel generally from November to May, every other Sunday.<sup>12</sup>

#### COL. WILLIAM IZARD BULL'S RESTORATION

The parish church had fallen into disrepair. Drayton noted in the parish register, on the occasion of a baptism he conducted on November 29, 1854, that St. Andrew's had become "very dilapidated." The next year one of the parish's most distinguished personalities, Col. William Izard Bull, would lead one of the church's most significant restorations.<sup>13</sup>

The colonel, a member of the South Carolina militia and later the Confederate army, was a direct descendant of Stephen Bull who had come to Carolina in 1670. In addition to plantations in Mississippi and Louisiana, Bull had inherited Ashley Hall, an impressive 1,080-acre estate with notable gardens on the banks of the Ashley River, just south of St. Andrew's Parish Church (today near Interstate 526 where it crosses the Ashley). Two years before he began the restoration of St. Andrew's, Bull had enlarged his own plantation house at Ashley Hall. From 1834 to 1865 Bull served as a South Carolina state representative and then senator from St. Andrew's Parish. He was warden or vestryman of his parish church even longer.<sup>14</sup>

The man was a living legend, who lived life to the fullest. “William Izard Bull,” wrote a contemporary, “had the personal qualities which endear a man to his fellowmen. He was kindhearted to a weakness, generous to a fault and a man without guile. His wrath and indignation was like the summer thunderstorm; he knew no such feeling as revenge. He delighted in hospitality and had a host of friends who enjoyed his entertainments.” A. B. Williams, a journalist with the *Greenville News*, described Bull as “king of his parish, master of an army of slaves, a leader of as proud and pure an aristocracy as has ever existed, a lord of the chase and hunt, the lavish dispenser of magnificent hospitality.”

Reprinted in the *Charleston Mercury* were the recollections of a northern visitor to Ashley Hall in 1860: “Bull is probably one of South Carolina’s best beloved sons; a more amiable and upright gentleman does not exist, and among his immediate neighbors, and those friends who know him best, he ranks so high, socially

and politically, that they would have no scruples in elevating him to the highest honors in the gift of a free and intelligent people. He is honored alike by masters and servants, rich and poor, the learned and unlearned.” Of his relationship to his church, Bull was described as “a strong Church of England man, and firm in his faith and hope of salvation through our blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.”<sup>15</sup>

In his 1889 letter to his cousin, Bull described how the project began:

Some thirty odd years ago the Church became very much out of repairs. I made an offer to the Vestry if they would appoint me a Committee of one with sole discretion, I would undertake to raise a subscription and have the Church repaired, our good cousin William Bull Pringle, was Chairman at the time; he said “If you were to accept



Col. William Izard Bull (Henry DeSaussure Bull, *The Family of Stephen Bull of Kingburst Hall, County Warwick, England, and Ashley Hall, South Carolina 1600–1960, 1961*)

Bull's offer he would bankrupt the Church with his extravagance." After a lapse of a year, the Ladies held a meeting and requested me to renew my offer. I assumed the undertaking, the duties and work were every part conducted personally by me, and it was done by day [slave] labour, my constant attendance was necessary.<sup>16</sup>

Col. Bull repaired the entire inside of the church, except part of the chancel. The reading desk, pulpit, and pews (the "high old fashioned double" type) had deteriorated to the point that they had to be taken out and replaced. "The pulpit and [reading] desk which were in the northeastern angle were placed in their present position," Reverend Drayton observed. His seemingly casual remark holds great significance, since it indicated that the pulpit and desk, which had been on opposite sides at the crossing of the aisles in the 1723 church, had sometime later been repositioned together in the first two pews on the north side of the nave, where the pulpit alone had been. This repositioning could have been part of the rebuilding after the fire in the 1760s. So after the desk was removed, the first pew on the south side of the nave where it had been located would have been opened for seating. Then in 1855 both pulpit and desk were moved across the north transept aisle to their present location.<sup>17</sup>

The eight-and-a-half-foot high octagonal pulpit that Bull installed and still in use today provides the rector with a towering presence over the congregation. Seven cast iron steps, at sixteen inches wide, provide a narrow access to the speaker's platform. A small bench seat was built into the back of the pulpit along the wall. Bull's pulpit resembles one of Batty Langley's colonial-era models, but without a canopy. He might have used a standard design like Langley's, a design of his own, or more likely replaced the one he found with a replica.<sup>18</sup>

The five-foot-high reading desk was set immediately in front of the pulpit. The two pieces were not joined, although it appears that way when viewed directly from the front. Like the pulpit, the side entry to the reading desk is narrow, at seventeen inches. The lector takes one small step up to reach the platform. A bench seat located behind the desk is invisible to most of the congregation. A single pull-out drawer was placed in the center of the desk.

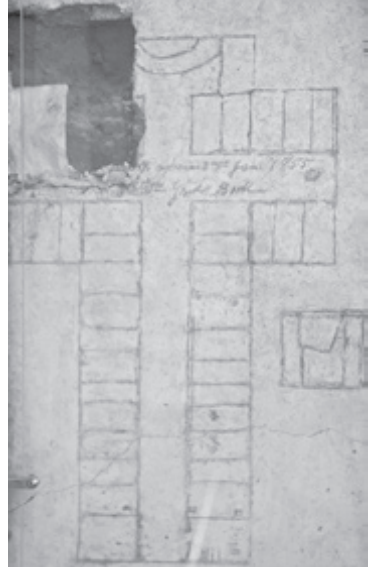
A black cast iron railing encloses both the pulpit and desk, likely added at the time the speakers' platforms were moved to their new location. The addition of the railing raises an intriguing question: did the cast iron base of the font also appear at this time? The designs of both the railing and pedestal work well together. The announcement of a new "neat baptismal font" in 1842

left much unsaid. The pelican base likely accompanied the marble basin in 1842, and the railing that came later was modeled to complement the base.

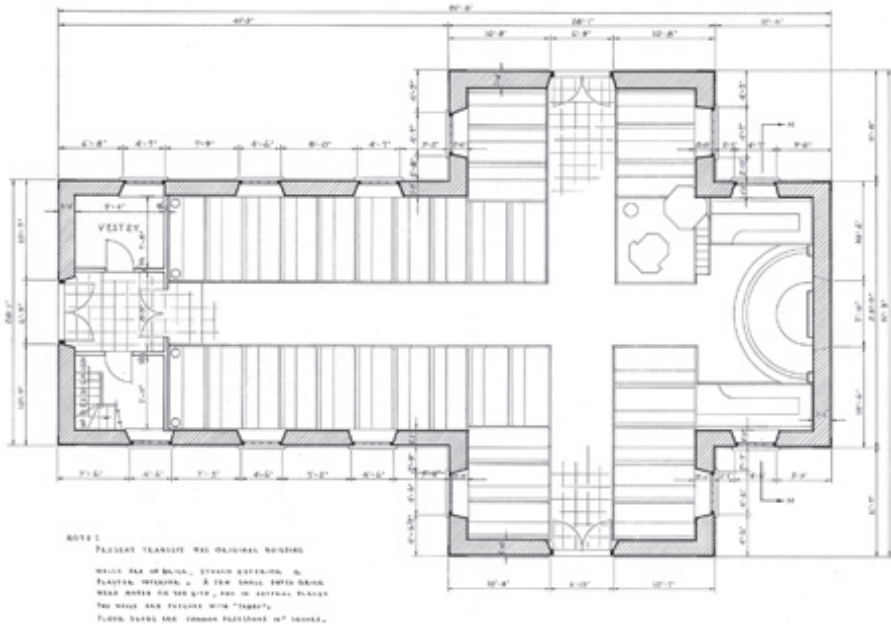
“The the old square pews gave place to those now in use,” Drayton continued. “The chancel was handsomely furnished, and a marble font and a Bible and Prayer Book were presented.” On January 2, 1855, Bull sketched his pew plan in pencil on the north wall of the nave, an artifact that would remain hidden for nearly a century. Bull’s pews with their swinging doors that are found in the church today date, with interim repairs, from the 1855 restoration. The symmetry is unmistakable, with pews aligning uniformly against each window.<sup>19</sup>

The plan depicts Bull’s pew configuration, not the colonial one; the inset shows a side view of his pew’s seat and back. Twelve rectangles, each presumably representing a pew, were drawn along each side of the nave. Yet today’s church has ten pews in the south side of the nave and nine in the north side. (There were also ten pews on the north side until the one against the gallery wall was removed; a chest for storing altar frontals now occupies that space.) The westernmost “pews” would have been the sacristy and stairwell to the gallery. That would still leave one set of pews unaccounted for, but Col. Bull’s sketch on the wall was more likely intended as a rough guide than a precise measurement.

When the wooden pew kneelers were added to the church remains a mystery. Kneeling had been part of the Anglican worship experience from colonial days and included kneeling on the bare floor, a cushion, or a prayer board.<sup>20</sup> Bull left no record about kneelers, whether he had inherited them from his ancestors, made new ones, or noted their absence. The first mention of pew kneelers at St. Andrew’s was in the mid-twentieth century, when women of the church covered or recovered them after the church had survived a long period of dormancy. Given the extent of Bull’s restoration, it is probable that any kneelers that remained in the church were as dilapidated as the pews. He would have discarded them, built new ones, or left congregants to fend for themselves.



Col. Bull’s pew plan, 1855 (Photo by Matt Porwoll)



Pew plan, 1940. Ten pews are shown along each side of the nave. (Drawing by C. S. Rubira, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, HABS, SC-4, Sheet 1)

“The Tablets, (except relettering) are the original,” Bull reported. When plastering was removed from the walls on the cruciform extension to the church, he found the walls to be “exclusively of foreign brick (several sizes Dutch and English Brick), and from where the addition began, the entire structure was of entirely different material and workmanship; the brick of the extension were common red brick, evidently made near the spot, over the north door a rude common red tile was bricked in the wall.” This red tile over the door was marked *J. F. and T. R. Supervisors*, whom he attributed erroneously to John Fraser and Thomas Rivers, not Jonathan Fitch and Thomas Rose. He mentioned a second memorial, which is the one visible today: “The marble with similar inscription over west door is modern. I remember when it was placed there.” Bull’s placement would correspond to ecclesiastical west for the red tile, and ecclesiastical south for the white marble memorial.<sup>21</sup>

Prior to his restoration Bull noted that “an *old* painter named West, he was a scene painter, *daubed* the Church with all sorts of scenes, scenery and all kinds of Cherubs, all to the horror of grandma and the other ladies.”<sup>22</sup> If these scenes remained on the walls in 1855, Bull assuredly painted over them, given the dislike of this style of ornamentation.



Col. Bull set two marble tablets on the south wall of the chancel, dedicated to his ancestors. Nearest the east wall is a memorial to the Izards, his mother's family, and next to it is a tablet dedicated to his parents, William Stephen and Rosetta Margareta Bull.<sup>23</sup>

The visual presentation of today's St. Andrew's remains essentially the same as when Bull stood back and admired his completed work, with the exception of the organ, its pipes and case, and a few embellishments.

While Bull was restoring the church, Reverend Drayton spent the first Sunday in June through the first Sunday in November in Flat Rock, North Carolina, ministering to St. John in the Wilderness Church. Two years before, he had made his first visit to "little Charleston in the mountains" near Hendersonville, a summer retreat for wealthy Charlestonians who sought relief from the heat, humidity, and insects of the Lowcountry. After returning to Magnolia, he formally reopened the parish church on December 16, 1855. In one of his few surviving sermons, Drayton described the wretched condition of his parish, the causes as he perceived them, and his hope that the restoration would ignite a spiritual reawakening. Because his sermon encompassed a broad swath of the church's history, exemplifies his gift of language, and remains just as relevant today, it deserves close attention.<sup>24</sup>

"We are assembled to-day," Drayton began, "to hold our first services in this renewed—this sanctified—we had almost said, this rebuilt house of our forefathers; and, while we look down the long vista of its existence, more than three half centuries, we discover abundant material for solemn, sad and cheering reflection." Recalling the work of the earliest settlers "to lay the foundation of that enlightened civil, political and religious liberty which we enjoy," he recognized the men of God who "here lived and laboured and sickened and died [and were] some of the earliest Missionaries of that noble Society of our Mother Church, which, through so many generations, has urged on her work of mercy in distant lands." He then contrasted the depressed state of St. Andrew's Parish with that of colonial days, his melodic words conveying profound melancholy:

This Parish, now so stript—so denuded of inhabitants, once swarmed with a thickly settled and increasing population. These fields and swamps, which nature has long since reclaimed, and where solitude now reigns, save when broken by the shriek of the water-fowl, or the hunter's horn, once resounded with the hum of busy industry; and



bear upon their faces even now the marks of old-time enterprise and energy and skill. Those lawns and pleasure-grounds,—those walks, once beautiful with imported gravel brought from the shores of Holland, but now thickly matted with the pine and the oak and the myrtle, were once the resorts of refinement and elegance and beauty. Those moss-encrusted piles, those fallen arches and solitary chimney-tops scattered through our woods tell of many a former abode of the humble peasant, and of more than one residence of wealth. The seams in these walls disclosed of late, the sepulchres around this house of God, its moth-eaten register, with its almost fabulous files of multitudes, who once, from year to year, were received into the congregation of Christ's flock, and pledged affection's vows, and here received the last offices of the dead, speak of palmy days of prosperity, when Zion's worshippers thronged these aisles, and found not room, and cried, "The place is too strait for us," and lengthened her cords and strengthened her stakes; when the little one became strong and vigorous and self-supporting, nor asked, nor needed longer the aids of English generosity; when at these doors were taken up on a single occasion, in aid of the sufferers from a ruinous fire in Charleston, a sum nearly equivalent to the entire cost of these repairs just completed.

How did the parish reach such a deplorable condition? Asking that he not be branded a fanatic, Drayton laid the blame squarely on a people who had lost sight of God in pursuit of earthly pleasure. So that no one would miss his point, he summarized the root cause in bold capital letters when his sermon was reprinted in *The Southern Episcopalian*, the diocesan monthly magazine: "FOR THE WICKEDNESS OF THEM THAT DWELL THEREIN." "The fluctuations of trade, the changes in agriculture, emigration's flood and the fever's miasmatic breath," he said, "are all of God—all are instruments in His hand wherewith he visiteth for sin. . . . so here amid doubtless much redeeming good, prosperity seems to have begotten a growing carelessness and disregard of God." From St. Andrew's, "from this house of prayer and its solemnizing services, equipage after equipage swept away to scenes of worldly dissipation." The results were tragic: "This temple was consumed with fire, of which its walls bear witness. Fevers assumed a deadlier type and extended their periods of activity. The horrors of the Revolutionary struggle left here their impress, and growing causes of decline began to manifest themselves on every side."

But there was hope:

Bretheren, God might have made this Parish an utter desolation. He might have “swept it as with the besom of destruction”—He might have poured upon it the full measure of Israel’s woes. But He “retaineth not his anger forever.” He “hath showed us Grace—He has left us a remnant to escape”—He has still given us a nail in His Holy Place—He has “lightened our eyes”—He has “given us a reviving.”

Reverend Drayton condemned slavery but commended his parishioners’ spiritual work among the enslaved. As he recounted slavery’s hold in the earliest days of the parish, the work of Mmes. Haige and Edwards on Alexander Skene’s plantation during the rectorship of Ebenezer Taylor seemed planted in his consciousness. “With here and there and honorable exception,” he said, “shining out like stars in a night of clouds, the mantle of Pagan darkness, which wrapt the children of Africa upon their native soil, was permitted to enshroud them on the plantation here.” Drayton was gratified by the efforts of his own parishioners on the plantation chapels: “Witness ye sons and daughters of wealth and refinement, who are bending your energies to evangelize the negro!”

As Drayton began his sermon citing Ezra 9:9 (“Our God hath not forsaken us, but hath extended mercy unto us, to give us a reviving, to set up the house of our God, and to repair the desolation thereof.”), he ended it by saying, “Let us honor Him in his Temple by coming hither, not from custom, not from constraint, not from curiosity, but from love and gratitude, to seek before His mercy-seat, peace and pardon, faith and grace, guidance and protection.... “Then shall our land bring forth her increase; and God, even our own God, shall give us His blessing.” As the church approached its 150th anniversary, Reverend Drayton would possess a newly refurbished house of worship to lead his parishioners into the future.

#### SLAVE MINISTRY GROWS

The parish church had been restored, yet ministry continued to thrive at the slave chapels. Through the first six years of Drayton’s rectorship, communicants of St. Andrew’s were overwhelmingly black (an annual average of 119 compared to 21 white). Ninety-eight slaves were baptized, almost eight times the number of whites. Black participation at St. Andrew’s was

significantly higher than the diocese as a whole, where slaves represented half the communicant strength.<sup>25</sup>

From 1856 to 1860, services were held May through November, more often at the rector's Magnolia Chapel (an average of twenty-nine times a year) than the parish church (twenty times a year). Worship was conducted at Magwood Chapel twelve times annually, but sporadically at Barker Chapel (only seven times in 1856–57). Mr. Shokes remained the chapel catechist. Inclement weather hampered church attendance. In 1856 services were cancelled nine times due to heavy rains. The following year cold weather reduced the congregation to zero three or four times. In the "last campaign of the Ice King," as Drayton wrote, temperatures plunged to 16 degrees.<sup>26</sup>

Slaves regularly received the rite of confirmation at one or more of the chapels. The Right Reverend Stephen Elliott Jr., Bishop of Georgia, confirmed forty enslaved parishioners in March 1853. Bishop Thomas F. Davis regularly came to the plantation chapels in January to preach to and confirm slaves. He was impressed with the "increasing spirit of religion among the colored population" after he visited Magwood and Home, or Magnolia, chapels in 1855, when he confirmed thirty-one blacks. In 1858 the bishop preached and confirmed thirty-two black people at Barker, Magwood, and Magnolia chapels. The following year he attended night service at Magnolia Chapel, and two days later preached at the parish church in the morning, at noon at Magwood Chapel, and in the afternoon at Magnolia Chapel. He confirmed two black people.<sup>27</sup>

#### MINISTRY AT CITY CHURCHES

Reverend Drayton began working in city churches in addition to his own parish church and chapels. Twice he nearly left his rural posting along the Ashley. From 1857 to 1860, he tended St. Peter's Church on Logan Street in Charleston. In March 1857 Drayton wrote his northern friend and fellow Episcopal priest and horticulturalist, Rev. Samuel Crawford Brincklé of Wilmington, Delaware, that the possibility of serving St. Peter's was making it difficult to plan for his summer visit to Flat Rock. Drayton's uncertainty was soon resolved, and he remained at St. Peter's from June through September. A new rector, the Reverend Henry M. Denison, took over in October but died of yellow fever the following September. Despite the efforts of a clergyman from Virginia who had been helping St. Peter's find a new rector, Drayton believed that St. Peter's would remain vacant that summer. Beginning June 1, 1859, Drayton again served St. Peter's and became its fourth rector on December 11. He remained in that capacity for almost a year,

until the Reverend William O. Prentiss succeeded him on November 1, 1860. Reverend Drayton was not happy that he had been replaced, writing Brincklé in January 1861, “I have been too for some six months in rather a depressed condition of mind, owing to circumstances connected with my former charge in the city and my present one in this Parish [St. Andrew’s]. Thro’ inadvertence on the part of the Vestry the terms of my connection at St. Peter’s were strangely overlooked and I became separated from those whom I had learnt to love.”<sup>28</sup>

Drayton also became involved with St. Philip’s, the city’s oldest Episcopal congregation. He was reluctant to leave St. Andrew’s again, after supplying St. Peter’s, but he did so at the bishop’s request. He served St. Philip’s part of the summer of 1858 after the rector of eighteen years, the Reverend John Barnwell Campbell, resigned over a dispute with his congregation over use of a new, shortened service. Reverend Drayton himself had encountered his own problems with the vestry of St. Andrew’s using an abbreviated service. He quipped that he could satisfy them “if anything was to be omitted, that it might be ‘The Sermon.’” He survived, unlike his counterpart at St. Philip’s: “I was small game. I was let alone.” At St. Philip’s, he tried to “get thro’ my term of trial without any special explosions.”<sup>29</sup>

In January 1859 the Reverend William Dehon was elected rector of St. Philip’s, after concluding a secret understanding with some of the vestry. Drayton had been called to the rectorship there before, and he believed he would have again, if not for the deal struck with Dehon. In fact, he had decided to accept the position if an offer were made. “Whether I could have stood the demands of such a Parish, was a question,” he said, “but I had determined to jump over-board sink or swim. However, Providence interposed and saved me and it from the experiment.” He had no regrets. St. Philip’s would have been “a very heavy responsibility.” So he remained at St. Andrew’s, writing to Brincklé in January 1859, “still in my rural corner at work among the Ethiops and the flowers. The first are very black and the second since last night’s freeze seem disposed to emulate them.”<sup>30</sup>

The mild winter of 1858 had produced a profusion of camellias at Magnolia, providing Drayton a gardening analogy to describe his work among the slaves: “My black Roses are prospering. I am preparing some for baptism and some for confirmation.” On his way to one of the slave chapels, Drayton was taken aback to meet “an old aunty ... walking barefooted with a dashing pair of shoes on *her head*.” The scene inspired him to write a sermon on “your

feet shod,” from Ephesians 6:15. That summer Drayton spent the hot weather months at Flat Rock. There he built a home and gardens, Ravenswood, which adjoined Rock Hill, the residence of Christopher Gustavus Memminger, who would become the first Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States of America. Today Rock Hill, renamed Connemara, is the site of the Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site.<sup>31</sup>

After Drayton returned to Charleston, he spoke to the Young Men’s Christian Association in November 1858. He preached a sermon on Ecclesiastes 12:1: “Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth.” He challenged the audience to use its youthful energy and talents and develop rightful habits to serve the Lord. “The prime reason then why God presses upon you early piety,” Drayton said, “is that Youth is the Crisis of Man’s Character and Destiny. Seize upon it and improve it in his fear, and your pathway through life will be not only onward, but upward.”<sup>32</sup>

#### COMING OF WAR

The year 1859 was the first time that Reverend Drayton failed to provide an annual report to the diocese on his work in St. Andrew’s Parish. The year began as usual, with the bishop’s January visitation, preaching and confirming at the parish church and at Magnolia and Magwood chapels. But conditions worsened as the year progressed. “This Parish has of late passed through one of those great changes which at periods come over it,” Drayton reported in May 1860.

One chapel has been closed [Barker], nearly the whole congregation having been removed [sixty-one black congregants]. Another has been sadly decimated, and the third has suffered much. Property is changing hands in all directions, and in some respects, the field another year will be new. The services during the last winter were very much interrupted by the tardy coming in of the parishioners, by very inclement weather, and at times by my indifferent state of health.... On only two Sundays during the six months [when he was in residence] had I anything more than the barest fragments of a congregation.<sup>33</sup>

If Drayton’s slave ministry had faltered, activity at other parishes flourished. Black communicants numbered 250 or more at St. James’s, Santee/

McClellanville; rural St. Stephen's; St. John's, Berkeley; All Saints', Waccamaw; and St. John's, Johns Island.<sup>34</sup>

As relations deteriorated between North and South, it was ironic that visitors from New York provided the last prewar description of St. Andrew's Parish Church. They were guests of Col. William Izard Bull and traveled by carriage from Ashley Hall to see the old church. R. B. Rhett Jr. related their account in the April 10, 1860, issue of the *Charleston Mercury*. Although he got a few of the details wrong, he captured the affection for the church that so many residents and guests alike felt for this special place:

*St. Andrew's Church*—This is a small but substantial edifice, built in the form of the cross of St. Andrew, in 1706. The immense doors, and the general appearance of the building, would impress the visitor with the idea that the original worshippers had something besides the devil to contend against, in the form of hostile tribes of Indians—bloody and treacherous. Facing the congregation are tablets on which are the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed and the Ten Commandments, in gilt letters; there are also two tablets commemorating the death of the ancestors of the Hon. Mr. Bull. Around the Church are several vaults—one of Thomas Nairne, who was murdered by the Indians in 1718, while treating in their behalf. Some of the vaults sadly need repairing—the dry bones of their occupants being visible. An old cedar post in front of the Church door has nobly stood the blasts and storms of more than one hundred and fifty years; we tried to break off it an old nail, but the metal was too strong. We could bend it upward and downward, but there was no break in it.<sup>35</sup>

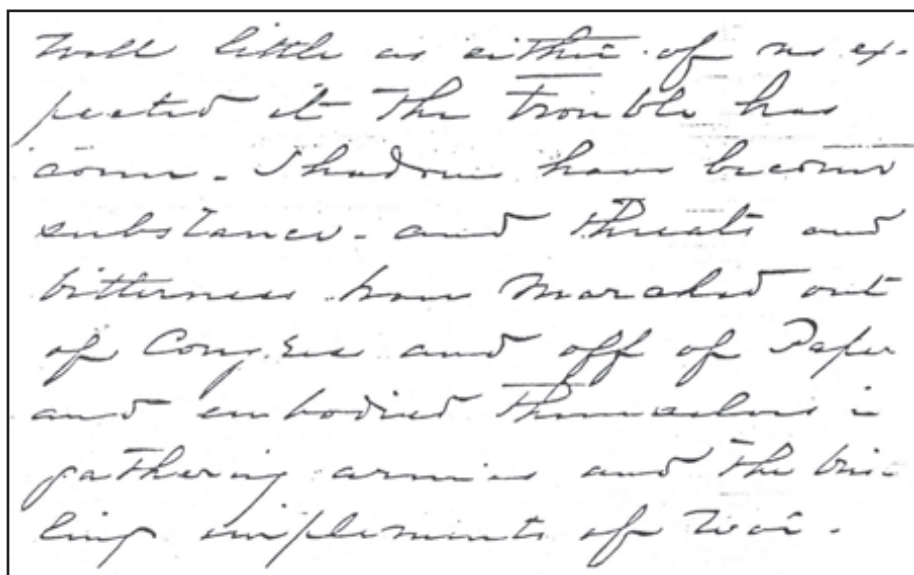
The year 1860 ended on a touching note for Reverend Drayton, and one that would provide sustenance for him in the difficult times to come. For Christmas that year, twelve-year-old Julia presented him with a Bible, small enough at five-by-eight inches to be easily carried. Inscribed on the inside: "A Christmas present for my Dear Father, from his child, Julia, Dec. 25, 1860."

Public worship in the parish church in 1860–61 was held on nineteen days, at Magnolia Chapel on twenty-one Sundays, and at Magwood Chapel on twelve Sundays. Sunday school at the chapels was offered with its usual complement of seven-to-eight white teachers and about sixty black students. The year 1861 began with the bishop's customary visitation to Magwood

and Magnolia chapels, but this would be the last year that services would be conducted in the parish with any regularity. Drayton revealed to Reverend Brincklé in January that the parish had been “sadly marred by denominational prejudice. However enough remains, to employ me fully and I trust my labour will not be wholly in vain.”<sup>36</sup>

In the same letter, Drayton contended that “the trouble has come.”

Shadows have become substance—and threats and bitterness have marched out of Congress and off of Paper and embodied themselves in gathering armies and the bristling implements of war. The die is cast and the fears of the Father of his country have been realised—We are no longer one People—a gulf yawns between us—a gulf which, I very much fear the largest concessions can henceforth never bridge.... Everything here looks very dark.... our population walking as if it were upon the crust of a volcano.<sup>37</sup>



Well little as either of us expected it The trouble has come. Shadows have become substance. and threats and bitterness have marched out of Congress and off of Paper and embodied themselves in gathering armies and the bristling implements of war.

Excerpt of a letter from John Grimké Drayton to Samuel Crawford Brincklé, January 16, 1861 (Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

Two months later Drayton was disconsolate. Tensions at Fort Sumter had mounted. He knew the relationship with his northern friend and brother in Christ would never be the same. His distinctive, flowing script revealed his



anguish. As pen scratched paper, he emphasized his fears by underlining word after word. He ended with an ominous inference to war that loomed on the horizon.

We have seceded—but we have been driven to it. And my conviction is that no compromises and no promises can ever bring us back.... The men of Ft. Sumter cannot be reinforced and must surrender or starve.... we are doomed to be foreigners to each other. For I take it that Delaware will hardly follow even Maryland to the South. You are too near Philadelphia to keep out of the Northern Malstrom Mind; wherever our Sections may stand, we need not be divided.... We have had a very destructive winter to our gardens. What the frosts of November spared the sleet and snow storm of Tuesday last finished.<sup>38</sup>

The election of Abraham Lincoln as the sixteenth president of the United States on November 6, 1860, was the flash point that forever changed South Carolina. Within five months a rapid succession of events led to a downward spiral that launched a civil war. South Carolina seceded from the Union; cadets from the Citadel, the state's military academy, fired on the Union steamship *Star of the West* in Charleston harbor; six more southern states left the Union; the Confederate States of America were born; and on April 12, 1861, Confederate forces on James Island fired on Fort Sumter.

Long-time vestryman and warden William Izard Bull offered his services to General P. G. T. Beauregard, commander of the Confederate forces around Charleston. Beauregard assigned him as a colonel on his staff and later to the brigade of General Johnson Hagood on James Island. Earthworks named after the Bull family were constructed at the site of today's CSX railroad overpass on Ashley River Road, between Bees Ferry Road and St. Andrew's Parish Church. The fort was located in a strategic position, near the place where, in 1779 and 1780, British forces had crossed the Ashley River on their way down Charleston neck to attack the city. Of the Confederate fortifications located throughout the parish, three were on or near Church Creek close to St. Andrew's Parish Church—Batteries Banks, Gaillard, and one unnamed.<sup>39</sup>

As South Carolina had seceded from its political union, it now proceeded to secede from its ecclesiastical one. In June 1861 the diocese and its churches left the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Eight

months later it aligned itself with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States. St. Andrew's would have welcomed this change in national affiliation, but such matters soon paled before the parish's struggle to survive.<sup>40</sup>

"The troubles of our country have affected this Parish in common with others upon our sea-board," John Grimké Drayton reported to the diocese. "It was not until December [1861] I succeeded in gathering a portion of our St. Andrew's congregation, and it is likely to continue a fragment throughout the winter and spring. At the Chapels services have been held since November [1861]."<sup>41</sup>

#### THE DEMON OF CIVIL WAR

War came home to St. Andrew's in the spring of 1863 when Corporal Edward W. Clement of the Third South Carolina Cavalry was buried in the churchyard. His is the only Confederate grave known to exist at the church. That June, Drayton was appointed rector of St. John in the Wilderness in Flat Rock for the summer months. In the winter and spring of 1864 he preached to large congregations at St. Andrew's Parish Church. These were not parishioners, most of whom had fled, but troops who were quartered in the area and refugees who had moved inland after Union troops had captured Morris Island. Back at Flat Rock in September 1864, Reverend Drayton witnessed the confirmation of his slave Adam, who had been instrumental in creating the gardens at Magnolia. In January 1865 Bishop Davis confirmed eight men of the Marion Artillery at the Farmfield residence of Charleston businessman and banker William Ravenel overlooking Wappoo Creek. Just as the bishop began his sermon, he was interrupted with a military order that transferred the soldiers. The congregation disbanded.<sup>42</sup>

Reverend Drayton remained in the parish until the end of the war, along with the last of his parishioners. Years later he would recall his final wartime worship service at the parish church, on February 12, 1865: "On the Sunday before the evacuation of Charleston, we gathered here for the last time, and when the end was reached I sorrowfully took up my pen and wrote in my record book, 'My mission to Ethiopia is closed.'" He left for Flat Rock immediately after Confederate forces surrendered, leaving Adam to care for Magnolia.<sup>43</sup>

Retribution was swift in the hotbed of secession. The evacuation and surrender of Charleston laid open the plantations along the Ashley River to Union forces and freed slaves. Fort Bull was abandoned, and the advancing

*Into the Storm (1851–1865)*

army marched in unopposed. After Drayton had fled for Flat Rock and Ravenswood, his house at Magnolia was burned; the gardens were spared. Nearby mansions at Runnymede and The Oaks were destroyed. Col. William Izard Bull torched his own plantation house at Ashley Hall rather than see it fall into Union hands. He also burned the bridge over the Ashley River that connected his parish to Charleston. With a bounty on his head, Bull fled to continue the fight in North Carolina. Upriver on the east side of the Ashley, homes at Cedar Grove and Oak Forest were burned. Just inside St. George's Parish, Middleton Place fell into the hands of troops from the 56th New York Volunteers. They burned the main house, the flanker buildings, and the slave chapel, but not before throwing the contents out the windows, including paintings, art, and books from the Middletons' vast personal library. Tombs on the grounds of Middleton Place, as well as at Hillsborough, south of Ashley Hall, were opened and coffins plundered. "It is almost too shocking for me to relate," wrote Dr. John Drayton to Williams Middleton in June 1865, after surveying the damage at Middleton Place. One of the three plantation houses on the Ashley that survived was Drayton Hall, most likely because it was being used as a hospital treating smallpox or cholera patients. The other two, Archdale and Jenys on the east side of the river, were in St. George's Parish. William Ravenel's was one of the few houses in St. Andrew's Parish that remained.<sup>44</sup>

# THE BEAUTY OF SAINT ANDREW'S PARISH CHURCH



Church exterior, northwest elevation (Photo by the author)



Aerial view of the cruciform church (Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

*The Beauty of Saint Andrew's Parish Church*



Church exterior, southwest elevation (Photo by the author)



Church exterior, southeast elevation with cruciform view and brick vault (Photo by the author)





Through the west door (Photo by Matt Porwoll)



Center aisle of the nave (Photo by Matt Porwoll)

*The Beauty of Saint Andrew's Parish Church*



Detail of tablets and reredos (Photos by Matt Porwoll)



AGAINST ALL ODDS

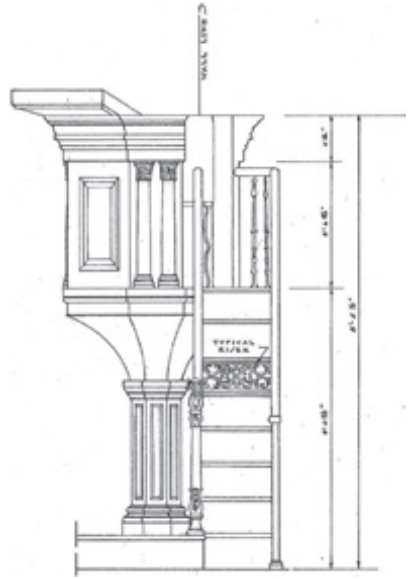


View from the gallery (Photo by Matt Porwoll)

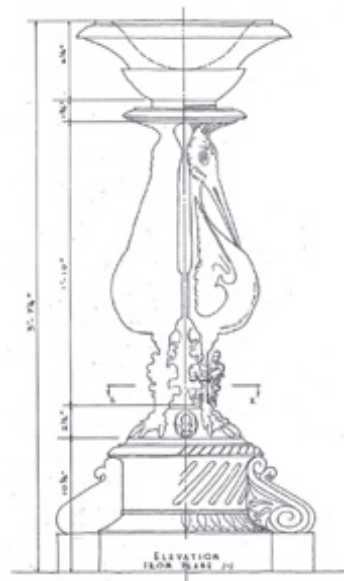


View from the chancel (Photo by Matt Porwoll)

*The Beauty of Saint Andrew's Parish Church*



Pulpit and reading desk, with elevation of pulpit (Photo by Matt Porwoll. Drawing by C. S. Rubira, J. L. Burnett, and H. J. Furman, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, HABS, SC-4, Sheet 3)



Font, with elevation (Photo by Matt Porwoll. Drawing by C. S. Rubira, J. L. Burnett, and H. J. Furman, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, HABS, SC-4, Sheet 10)

AGAINST ALL ODDS



Gallery (Photo by Matt Porwoll)



Organ pipes and case (Photo by Matt Porwoll)

*The Beauty of Saint Andrew's Parish Church*



View from the pulpit (Photo by Matt Porwoll)



Magee House (Photo by the author)

## RUIN AND RECOVERY

1865 – 1891

**T**HE OLD ORDER HAD VANISHED. Whites awoke to a strange world; the enslaved were now free. Many left their plantations and masters, roaming from place to place. Others stayed where they were. Some looked for work; others simply did nothing, foraging for whatever they could find to survive. The diocese wanted first-hand information on the condition of the freedmen, and Bishop Davis appointed Rev. Stuart Hanckel, John Grimké Drayton's predecessor at St. Andrew's, to provide it.

### EXODUS FROM MAINLINE CHURCHES

As agent to the Board of Missions to the Colored People and Freedmen of South Carolina, Hanckel found there was ample work for all. Returning black soldiers, exposed to strict military discipline, made good workers. The system of "hiring," where workers were paid wages for the work they performed, was more suitable than "cropping," which encouraged idleness, because all shared equally regardless of the work expended. Sometimes Hanckel witnessed idle and lazy freedmen. Other times he found that white plantation owners were simply unable to equate freedom with the right for black men or women to accept or reject work on their own terms.<sup>1</sup>

Conditions varied throughout the diocese. Hanckel traveled to Beaufort, Waccamaw, Grahamville, Hilton Head, and beyond. Visiting St. Andrew's Parish on foot, Hanckel met a northerner who, with some neighbors, expected to be staying in the parish for a year. He wanted the church reopened and worship services resumed. Freedmen in the parish with whom Hanckel spoke "expressed a strong desire to resume their church relations, and would attend any services that may be held. Two schools could be organized in this parish, one to be taught near Bee's Ferry, by a colored man, recommended by Rev. Mr. Drayton, the rector of the parish; the other at a point near the city." Hanckel said that James Island, "when reduced to order, might be united with St. Andrew's, under the same



missionary. At present the condition of the Freedmen is in every respect deplorably bad.”<sup>2</sup>

Hanckel was convinced that freedmen would remain with the Episcopal Church if “suitable missionaries” could be located. Using the Bible, now that blacks were being taught to read (which had been illegal under the slave code), was already becoming a source of “pardonable pride.” But the style of worship had to change. “The old catechetical mode of instruction may have to be modified or abandoned.... New and more attractive, and enlivening modes of approach and instruction must be adopted ... services and teaching [must] be rendered in actual administration as ‘lively oracles,’ and not as cold and lifeless forms.”<sup>3</sup>

Hanckel’s optimism belied reality. Freed slaves wanted to exercise their freedom in every way they could, putting as much distance as possible from every aspect of their prior lives. They wanted to create their own society, choosing where to work, whom to work for, where to live, what to do with their free time, and where to worship. Freedmen had had enough of the white church experience. They had been given little or no say in church affairs, sat in segregated seating, and endured bland sermons, an uninspiring worship experience, and a Christian doctrine manipulated to justify slavery. African Americans now embraced segregation in their worship experience; it meant freedom from white interference. Black churches would fill their praise with emotion, dancing, and mysticism. Sunday services would become all-day affairs. Black churches would become not only a place of worship but also serve the social, entertainment, educational, political, and welfare needs of their members.<sup>4</sup>

Northern denominations wasted no time in evangelizing among the freedmen in South Carolina. Migration to these churches proceeded at an astonishing pace. The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, founded by Richard Allen in 1786 specifically for blacks and active in antebellum Charleston, would count 44,000 members statewide by the end of Reconstruction. The Northern Methodist Church would attract 36,000 members by 1881, only 69 of whom were white. The largest to make inroads would be the AME Zion Church, with almost 46,000 members by 1890, largely located in areas near North Carolina. Three other northern churches (Presbyterian, Baptist, and Reformed Episcopal) would capture less attention.<sup>5</sup>

As a result, the established Protestant denominations in South Carolina witnessed a “black exodus of biblical proportions.” Southern Methodists, the largest of all prewar churches with more than 44,000 black members in 1860,

saw its black membership fall to 1,500 ten years later and to less than 100 five years after that. Twenty-two thousand black Baptists in 1858 were reduced to 1,614 in 1874. With an unemotional worship style that had little appeal to freedmen, the Presbyterian Church saw its black membership decline from 5,000 in 1860 to “only a few” at the end of Reconstruction.<sup>6</sup>

Black membership in the Episcopal Church had been among the lowest of all Protestant denominations in the state. In 1860 about half of the 6,126 Episcopal communicants were black. After the war, the number of black communicants plummeted. Even if freedmen wanted to return to their old churches, rural parishes were in such disarray that opportunities for worship were nearly impossible. The unsteady state of the church caused wide annual fluctuations in membership. In 1868, only three years after the conflict had ended and much of the diocese was in ruin, only 291 black communicants were reported at the diocesan convention. By 1875 the number had risen to 829, but then nosedived to 262 the following year. By 1885 black communicant strength had rebounded to 746. But the fluctuating numbers could not hide the apparent: less than 20 percent of Episcopalians were now black, and most Episcopal parishes had few if any black worshippers.<sup>7</sup>

The war had all but shut down activity at the plantation chapels. Rev. Alexander Glennie’s thirteen chapels at All Saints’, Waccamaw, had been abandoned; likewise seven in another parish, five in another, and two or three in still others.<sup>8</sup>

Along with its loss of assets and members, the Episcopal Church in South Carolina lost its national identity with the defeat of the Confederacy. Bishop Davis thought his diocese could remain part of an “independent, united and self-sustaining Southern Church,” yet such an arrangement proved unworkable. On February 11, 1866, the Diocese of South Carolina rejoined the U.S. Episcopal Church, which welcomed returning southern dioceses. The bishop urged his people to accept their new relationship with magnanimity: “Let us rise to our new responsibility, not sluggishly, reluctantly or opposingly, but with clear judgments, the spirit of alacrity, and Christian confidence.”<sup>9</sup>

#### THE DIOCESE DEVASTATED

The condition of diocesan properties was sobering. Fire had consumed ten churches and eleven parsonages. Burned by the British in 1779, Sheldon Church in Prince William’s Parish was burned again in 1865 by Union troops on their march from Savannah to Charleston. Shelling damaged the city churches and



left Grace Church on Sullivan’s Island in ruin. Union troops converted St. Helena’s, Beaufort, into a hospital, and colonial Christ Church into a stable for their cavalry. Federal forces used the wood floor from the Ashepoo Church in St. Bartholomew’s Parish to build a bridge over the river. Confederates also used churches for their purposes: in nearby St. Paul’s Parish, Christ Church, Wilton, and St. Paul’s, Stono, were used as commissaries. Activity in twenty-two parishes was suspended. Only four parishes still conducted worship services, and none outside the city.<sup>10</sup>

Few parishes in the Lowcountry suffered like St. Andrew’s. “The ravages of war have left St. Andrew’s a desolation,” Reverend Drayton reported in 1866. “But one dwelling has survived [Drayton Hall], exclusive of the parsonage. All are in ashes.” Although the church was in one piece, Drayton did not know when it could be opened for services. He had not been able to visit his parish, since both of its bridges had been burned. A diocesan report on the destruction of churches painted a grim picture.

ST. ANDREW’S PARISH.—This venerable Church, built in 1706, survives—but in the midst of a desert. Every residence but one, on the west bank of Ashley River, was burnt simultaneously with the evacuation of Charleston, by the besieging forces from James Island. Many of these were historical homes in South Carolina; the abodes of refinement and hospitality for more than a century past. The residence of the Rector was embowered in one of the most beautiful gardens which nature and art can create—more than two hundred varieties of camelia, combined with stately avenues of magnolia, to delight the eye of even European visitors. But not a vestige remains, save the ruins of his ancestral home [Magnolia-on-the-Ashley].

The demon of civil war was let loose in this Parish. But three residences exist in the whole space between the Ashley and Stono rivers. Fire and sword were not enough. Family vaults were rifled, and the coffins of the dead forced open in pursuit of plunder.

It must be many years before the congregation can return in sufficient numbers to rebuild their homes and restore the worship of God.<sup>11</sup>

How, amid all this destruction, did the parish church survive? There are no answers; we can only speculate. Two possible explanations involve black

people saving a predominantly white church. Did sexton “Daddy Billy” Fludd stand his ground and persuade marauding Yankee soldiers and freed slaves who were roaming with them to spare the place he tended? Did the slaves on nearby plantations, now freed, claim St. Andrew’s, a place where they had worshipped, as their own, thus making it off limits to pillagers? Either case illustrates the complex relationship between master and slave, white and black, each sharing the love of a common meeting place to worship their God.

St. Andrew’s Parish was left virtually empty, especially of whites. Overwhelmingly black before the war, the parish was even more so afterward. The 1860 census had recorded 3,258 residents, 2,940 slave and 318 free. Parish voter registration rolls eight years later listed 548 names—533 black and 15 white.<sup>12</sup>

Unlike the rest of the diocese, there was no black exodus from the Episcopal Church in St. Andrew’s Parish. Reverend Drayton came home to find his “black roses” eagerly awaiting the renewal of their Episcopal ties. Their religious life was one of the few things that remained familiar and comforting in this time of extraordinary uncertainty. Reverend Drayton did not abandon them in his own time of uncertainty, as he returned to his burned out home. By contrast, Reverend Glennie, who had so successfully ministered to the slaves in All Saints’, Waccamaw, Parish before the war, found it impossible to return: “Poverty has overtaken these desolated homes; the rice fields, rich as any land between the Mississippi and the Nile, lie desolate; their former laborers can scarcely be induced to work.” Glennie left All Saints’ to become rector of Prince George’s, Winyah, in Georgetown. In his postwar work among the freed men and women, John Grimké Drayton was a shining light among Episcopal ministers.<sup>13</sup>

#### ST. ANDREW’S DESECRATED, MINISTRY TO THE FREEDMEN

Reconstruction forces appropriated St. Andrew’s Parish Church, one of the few public buildings left standing along the Ashley. Beautifully restored just ten years before, the church became off limits to worship and was turned into a polling place. The last time the building had been used for public voting had occurred well before Reverend Drayton’s time, and undoubtedly a great deal of respect had been shown for it then. Not now. A delegate to the 1868 diocesan convention reported that “he attended the recent election at this Church, and found three freedmen holding the poll in the chancel, while a door of the Church, laid across the chancel rail, formed the table for the reception

of votes. This needless desecration, it is hoped will not be continued.” That year Drayton observed that “the filth accumulated upon such occasions is left undisturbed.” He was incensed that “where the Gospel was once preached, the voice of blasphemy and profanity is now heard.” Especially galling was that the parsonage, which was still standing, could have been used for this purpose instead. In 1871 Drayton lamented that, “With other places quite as conveniently situated, this [the parish church] is still held as the most proper place for all political gatherings of the neighborhood.” As late as 1873, he reported, “I am sorry to add that our beautiful old English Church built 1706, still remains unoccupied, the door and windows open, and the work of destruction still going on.”<sup>14</sup>

With Drayton unable to use the church, he ministered to other parishes and reestablished the chapels in his own. He served Calvary and Holy Communion, Charleston (1867); St. Thaddaeus’s, Aiken (1869); and Church of the Ascension, Combahee (1870–75). As rector at Combahee, he officiated there on the second and fourth Sundays of the month, alternating with the chapels at St. Andrew’s, where he was now designated missionary to his home parish. He continued to serve as rector of St. John’s, Flat Rock, from May through November.<sup>15</sup>

When Drayton could travel at last to St. Andrew’s Parish in 1867, he met a large group of freedmen at Barker Chapel, who wanted worship services restarted. There he baptized ten adults and one child. (Although Barker plantation was sold to D. K. Jackman and Milton Courtright that year, diocesan convention journals continued to refer to the chapel there as “Barker’s” into the 1870s.) Drayton visited all three chapels in 1869, preaching to “overflowing congregations.” Two years later he was leading worship services at the chapels on the first, third, and fifth Sundays of the month from November through May. Unknown but not to be discounted was the influence that long-standing sexton “Daddy Billy” might have had with the freedmen to remain with Reverend Drayton and the parish church.<sup>16</sup>

Reverend Drayton never failed to praise his black congregations for their spiritual devotion. “Our progress here is very decided and encouraging,” he reported in 1871. “The congregations are large and growing, and the colored people have retained, through all the upheavals of the recent past an unaltered attachment to our Church.” That year Bishop Davis made his first visit to the parish since the war, confirming forty blacks at Barker and Magwood chapels. He was impressed with the congregants “most cordial greetings and

expressions of affectionate regard; they had never forsaken the Church, and may be considered as permanently related to it.” The white population was virtually non-existent: “only a small fragment of the congregation [remains] which once worshiped in the old Parish Church.” By 1873 the two chapels in disrepair were patched up, but the parish church remained in a sad state.<sup>17</sup>

On March 30, 1873, the Right Reverend William Bell White Howe, DD, confirmed twelve at Barker Chapel and six at Magwood Chapel. “I had feared lately,” Drayton said, “that the efforts of political preachers and exhorters would tell fatally upon my chapel congregation. But [I] am glad to say that after a full investigation and a face to face talk with my people, I find them determined to abide in the communion of the Church in which they have so long worshipped.” The following year he joyfully related that “the devotion of my people to our Church continues firm and unabated. They are with *rare exceptions, very poor*; yet they are doing what they can to aid in restoring our places of worship, and in sending the Gospel to those at home and abroad.” Sending a message to those who would follow him, Drayton continued: “May our Church never neglect to foster those who, amid so many, so peculiar, so strong temptations to leave her have yet remained steadfast.”<sup>18</sup>

Despite inclement weather, Drayton wrote in 1875, “the interest of my people has not flagged, and, with great distances to overcome, they have continued ‘the assembling of themselves together.’” He baptized twenty-five people and the bishop confirmed thirty. The condition of the chapels remained a constant problem. The middle chapel (Magwood), he hoped, could be “wholly restored” in another year, but Barker, called “the third Chapel,” was in a “sad state of dilapidation.” In March 1876 fire destroyed Barker; it was not rebuilt. Those who had attended services there and who could make the journey now used Magwood Chapel, where repairs had been completed. The spirit of his parishioners never wavered in the face of hardship. “The last summer’s drought,” Drayton reported, “brought great distress and suffering among my poor people, but they have continued to give in spite of their poverty.”<sup>19</sup>

Reverend Drayton’s people were not the only ones who were suffering. The rector, who by now was in his sixties and living with tuberculosis, had to walk from his home in Charleston sixteen to eighteen miles to the chapels on Sunday, “eating my dinner from my pocket.”<sup>20</sup>

The vitality of the parish’s plantation chapels was even more remarkable given the tension that existed in the diocese over the struggle to admit St.

Mark's, Charleston, into union as a full member of the diocesan convention. Founded only months after the end of the Civil War, St. Mark's was an all-black congregation. Eager to gain status for the new church and full rights for its delegates, St. Mark's applied for union with the convention in 1866. For the first time, blacks would join whites as equal delegates at diocesan conventions. It was too much too soon, and Bishop Davis advised St. Mark's to wait. Its leaders did so for six years before attempting again under Bishop Howe. He too counseled delay. After waiting another three years, St. Mark's formally made its application to the convention in 1875, with the bishop's consent. Although the clergy voted to approve, the laity said no, killing the application. The bitter years of Reconstruction had fueled the opposition. The rejection "had a depressing effect upon diocesan life and activity" for many years. That the failure to admit St. Mark's had no negative repercussions in St. Andrew's Parish was further testament to the bond between Drayton and his black congregants.<sup>21</sup>

#### THE CHURCH REOPENED

While the published accounts of the 1870s focused on activity in the chapels, work was proceeding to ready the parish church for its reopening. "Notwithstanding the thorough renewal of this old Church in 1855," Reverend Drayton reported to the diocese, "decay and ruin were again about to seal it as their own, when in God's good providence, we came once more to reclaim this heritage of our fathers." He chose a most appropriate date on the 1876 church calendar for this observance: Laetare Sunday, the Fourth Sunday in Lent, a day of rejoicing in the midst of the penitential season. On March 26, 1876, St. Andrew's Parish Church was reopened for worship after eleven years of dormancy.<sup>22</sup>

With rain threatening, worshippers from Charleston arrived at Bee's Ferry. They proceeded toward the church through the graveyard, recently cleared, past "mouldering vaults, the moss-covered tombstones, the broken tablets, with the rude lettering, the strange devices and the quaint spelling, are all silently eloquent of the good old Colonial days." They observed memorials over two doors to the men who supervised the building of the church in 1706, one in red tile and one in white marble. In the chancel were an octagonal pulpit, tablets with the sacred texts, and memorials to the Bulls and Izards. Noted above the arched window high on the east wall was a "winged cherub and ornamental stucco." This was the first mention of the striking cherub with its decorative grapevines. The colonial register was "preserved." On the day of

the service “a pious lady of the congregation” had returned to St. Andrew’s the Bible that Bishop Nathaniel Bowen had given the church in 1828. Apparently another woman had found the Bible after the Civil War “in the possession of a colored person.” Although the inference was that the Bible might have been stolen, it is more likely that, given the freedmen’s seriousness of purpose toward religion, someone wanted to safeguard it instead.<sup>23</sup>

**REOPENING OF ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH, ST. ANDREW'S PARISH.—This old English church, whose foundations were laid in 1706, and which has been closed since the evacuation of Charleston, will be reopened on Sunday next, the 26th instant, services to commence at 12 o'clock. It is hoped that those who once worshipped there will make an effort to be present and thus revive the happy memories of the past. A sermon appropriate to the occasion will be preached by the Rev. J. G. Drayton. The steamer Republic will leave Southern wharf at 10 A. M. for the church to York an opportunity to persons in the city to attend this very interesting service.**

The church reopened, 1876 (*Charleston News and Courier*)

By the time the worship service began at noon, the weather had brightened. Reverend Drayton recounted the storied past of his parish church. The “white inhabitants you can almost number on your fingers” were a stark contrast to the 180 families who lived here during colonial times. “Fortunes were amassed,” he said, “noble residences reared their walls among these now thickly matted woods, while various trades found occupation here, from the English gardener, who adorned the pleasure grounds of the wealthy, to the poor man, of whom we read in the old moth eaten register, who supported himself by mending broken china.”<sup>24</sup>

As he did in his sermon on the reopening of the church twenty-one years earlier following Col. Bull’s restoration, Drayton painted a depressing picture of parish life before and after the revolution:

The Indian war, the fluctuations of trade, the changes in agriculture, the fever’s miasmatic breath, and lastly, the revolutionary war, all

combined to impoverish and depopulate this once prosperous parish. The lands abandoned gave growth to natural vegetation which sowed the seeds of disease so that a parish, once the resort of visitors escaping the city fever of Charleston became, from June to November, Death's richest harvest. The scenes of former days were past. St. Andrew's sun had set; but the twilight was still beautiful. Our fathers gathered up what misfortune had left, and grappled once more with the difficulties of life.<sup>25</sup>

He recounted the bitter legacy of the most recent war: "But this was not to be. The lovely vision vanished.... Scarcely a home was left. The congregation was scattered. The old church silver, its books and adornments, perished in the flames. The vestry room [today the sacristy] was occupied by those stricken down with the small pox. And this temple of the Most High became the scene of impurity, obscenity, blasphemy and profanity." Amid this desolation, many had fled, never to return. Drayton challenged those who remained not to lose heart, preaching on 1 Kings 21:3: "The Lord forbid it me that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee."<sup>26</sup>

In closing, Drayton recounted his last service in the church before the war ended, on the Sunday before the evacuation of Charleston. He thought his "mission to Ethiopia" was closed, "[b]ut He in whose hands are all hearts ordered it otherwise. At the solicitation of my people I have returned to the charge of this parish."<sup>27</sup>

The parish remained in a precarious position, but Reverend Drayton remained as busy as ever. Three months before he reopened St. Andrew's, he did the same at St. James's, Goose Creek, after many years of dormancy. He drew on the same Bible verse (Ezra 9:9) that had provided the inspiration to celebrate William Izard Bull's restoration of St. Andrew's twenty years earlier. Drayton served at Goose Creek until 1878, alternating Sundays between the two churches. On one Sunday, he would hold services at 11:00 a.m. in St. Andrew's Parish Church, 1:30 p.m. at Magwood Chapel, and 4:30 p.m. at Magnolia Chapel. On the next, he would hold services at Goose Creek before returning to the west side of the Ashley for a 4:30 p.m. service at Magnolia. He continued to hold services on Thursday nights at the chapels. Drayton divided his time between the Lowcountry (November through May) and St. John in the Wilderness, Flat Rock, and St. James's, Hendersonville (May through November).<sup>28</sup>



On Palm Sunday, April 14, 1878, Bishop Howe made his first visit to the church, where he celebrated Holy Communion, preached, and confirmed ten people. He remarked that the church “has been put in good repair, and is no longer exposed to the desecration which waited upon it immediately after the close of the war, and there seems to be at present every prospect of maintaining Divine Service in it during the winter months.” Like the visitors from New York who walked through St. Andrew’s in 1860, the bishop was taken with the tablets in the chancel, but also remarked on the altarpiece onto which they were affixed: “Behind the Lord’s Table is a long screen of mahogany, in which, in gilded letters, are printed the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.” Later the same day the bishop confirmed seventeen people at Magwood Chapel and five at Magnolia. He described both chapels as “very neat” and noted that the congregation at Magwood had furnished it at its own expense. He appreciated the contributions from those attending, despite their poverty, remarking that offerings from Magnolia Chapel that day were “most liberal.”<sup>29</sup>

Reverend Drayton’s enthusiasm was palpable. “This old Parish,” he said, “so long a desolation, seems to be feeling the quickening influences of a new life, and under the impulse of new industries, to be looking forward to a brighter future.” More repairs to the church had been undertaken: plastering and window glazing were completed, and work on the roof was almost finished. Remaining projects included restoration of the pulpit, reading desk, and chancel, which he hoped to finish by next winter. The two remaining chapels, Magwood and Magnolia, had been restored “as to greatly eclipse their former state.” Twenty-two black congregants were confirmed at the chapels in 1878. More people were attending services at both the chapels and the parish church. Drayton again pointed out the fidelity of his black parishioners. “Some of our brethren warned us, not long since, that the exodus of our colored worshippers was near at hand,” he said. “I wish that they could come and spend a Sunday with us.” The chapels now had 172 black communicants, while an average of 35 to 40 people attended services at the parish church. White residents began attending services at Magnolia. A new vestry was elected. Reverend Drayton shed the title “Missionary to St. Andrew’s Parish,” a designation given him in 1870, and once again became its rector.<sup>30</sup>

But the resumption of this status brought no financial reward. For all his labors at St. Andrew’s and the chapels after the Civil War, Drayton’s services were “gratuitous.” He received no pay “in this life,” except for \$50 (\$1,100) the vestry gave him in 1880. In fact, Drayton’s granddaughter Marie Clinton

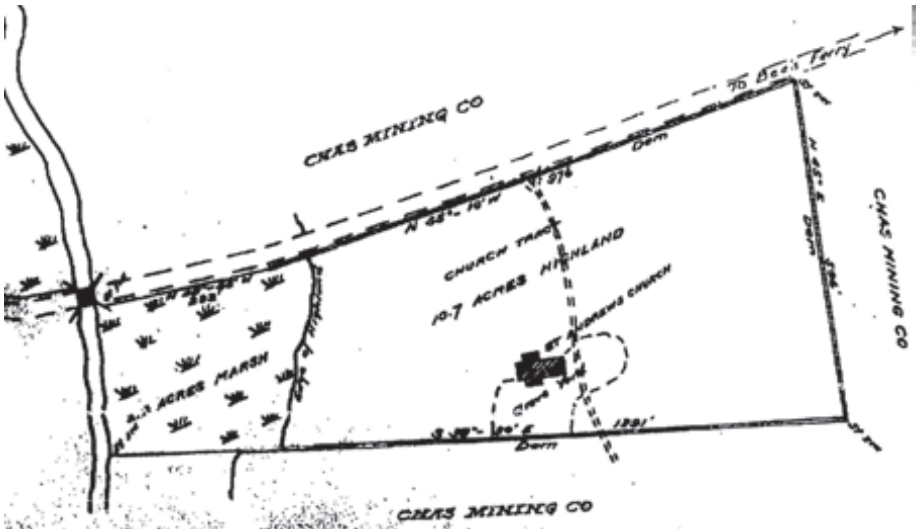
Hastie related years later that he opened his gardens at Magnolia to the public in the early 1870s primarily to use the income he received to support his black congregations.<sup>31</sup>

#### PHOSPHATE MINING ALONG THE ASHLEY

“The quickening influences of a new life ... under the impulse of new industries ... looking forward to a brighter future” could mean only one thing: the arrival of the phosphate mining boom along the Ashley River. Riches found under the soil and in the river muck would propel the parish into the epicenter of one of the most important events in Charleston’s postwar history.

Scientists had discovered phosphate in the soil around Charleston by the end of the eighteenth century. Francis Holmes, who owned the 811-acre Springfield plantation near St. Andrew’s Parish Church, found his environs perfect for pursuing his passion for geology and paleontology. In November 1837 he found “rolled or water-worn nodules” containing phosphate in an old rice field just west of the Ashley River. Edmund Ruffin, a Virginian with a burgeoning interest in phosphates, was barely interested in Holmes’s discovery when he visited St. Andrew’s Parish in 1843, but he was fascinated by the marl he found. Ruffin began mapping the location of local phosphate deposits the following year, followed by Michael Toumey in 1846. It was not until after the Civil War, however, that the use of phosphates for fertilizer was seriously considered. The days of plentiful land tilled by slave labor, which had negated the need for fertilizer, were gone. Holmes and Dr. Nathaniel Pratt of the University of Georgia sought financial backing from the Charleston business community to mine phosphate. When that failed to materialize, they secured \$1 million (\$16.1 million) in capital from Philadelphia entrepreneurs in 1868 to start the Charleston Mining and Manufacturing Company.<sup>32</sup>

Charleston Mining and Manufacturing dominated phosphate operations in the Lowcountry. The company leased 10,000 acres along both sides of the Ashley River, much of it from debt-ridden plantation owners. St. Andrew’s Parish Church found itself surrounded by lands rented or owned by Charleston Mining and Manufacturing. As large as this one company was, there were eleven others in short proximity to the church, most located along a stretch of the Ashley from Bee’s Ferry ten miles to the north. These included six other land mining companies on the west side of the river, three on the east side, and two fertilizer plants. Two mines sat directly opposite each other on each bank of the Bee’s Ferry railway bridge.<sup>33</sup>



Surrounded by phosphate mining, 1916 plat (Register of Mesne Conveyance, Charleston County)

Phosphate mining was an economic lifeline that cash-strapped landowners could not afford to pass up. The income was not only vital for maintaining their way of life but also to pay the increasing taxes levied by an expansionist Reconstruction government.

Beginning in 1881 Charles H. Drayton formed a company bearing his name to mine phosphate at Drayton Hall. He built a narrow gauge railroad, houses, and stores, and mined phosphate within 1,000 feet of the magnificent Georgian-Palladian style plantation house. Drayton would also have interests in Bear Swamp Mining Company, Chicora Phosphate Company, and Etiwan Fertilizer Company.<sup>34</sup>

Magnolia plantation reaped the financial rewards from phosphate and suffered the physical consequences. Phosphate was found to lie under all of Magnolia's lands. Its high quality commanded \$60 (\$1,000) per ton, a price too high for an almost destitute John Grimké Drayton to ignore. In 1869 he sold 1,482 acres—80 percent of Magnolia and everything west of Ashley River Road—to Charleston Mining and Manufacturing for \$25,000 (\$418,400), so he could provide for his family and parishioners, rebuild his house, and improve his gardens. A railroad on the property transported the phosphate deposits that were unearthed when the land was dredged. Well into the twentieth century the scars remained. Just north of Magnolia was Runnymede

plantation, where C. C. Pinckney operated a phosphate mine (named Magnolia Mines), which employed 350 men. Formerly a lawyer, Pinckney was an early entrant into phosphate mining, beginning in 1869.<sup>35</sup>

Williams Middleton formed his own processing company, the Ashley Mining and Phosphate Company of South Carolina. “In time,” wrote Tom Shick and Don Doyle in a history of the South Carolina phosphate boom, “Middleton Place began to take on the look of an industrial site as wharves, washers, drying sheds and a tram railroad were constructed on the property.”<sup>36</sup>

Samuel G. Barker’s cotton plantation, Bolton-on-the-Stono, the site of one of the parish’s chapels, became a mining operation that his successor, Milton Courtright, operated for twenty years. In 1884 Bolton Mines used 200 black and Italian workers, extracted 15,000 tons of rock, and was valued at \$25,000 (\$581,600).<sup>37</sup>

Production continued to increase until the second major event of the era occurred—the Great Earthquake of 1886—which damaged many of the buildings along the river used to process phosphate. Not long afterward, phosphate mining along the Ashley River began a rapid decline. It had brought prosperity to the Charleston area but was short-lived; the state’s production fell dramatically by 1920. After the boom times were over, the area settled back into a period of economic stagnation that did not improve until the coming of the Charleston Navy Yard decades later. For many of today’s residents, Ashley Phosphate Road in North Charleston provides the only tangible reminder of this brief economic stimulus that changed much of the Lowcountry, including St. Andrew’s Parish.<sup>38</sup>

Phosphate mining not only dominated the economic life of the parish, but it also involved some of the parish church’s most influential lay leaders. Documents have not survived to indicate who the wardens were during this period, but the annual diocesan convention journals listed the lay delegates from each parish, influential men in their own right. Nearly all of those from St. Andrew’s Parish Church beginning in the late 1870s into the early twentieth century had phosphate connections. Some were linked to phosphates even before the Civil War.

About the time he developed his reputation as a published geologist, Francis Holmes, also a devout Episcopalian, was a diocesan convention delegate from St. Andrew’s from 1845 to 1851. Among the parish’s postwar delegates were Col. Joseph A. Yates, who sold 1,700 acres of land to Charleston Mining and Manufacturing, the company founded by Holmes and Pratt, and

became its superintendent; R. B. Cuthbert of Magnolia Mines; J. L. Jervey, who was part of the Drayton Hall mining operations; and Charles H. Drayton of Drayton Hall and other mining interests. Drayton would also serve as warden from at least 1894 until he died in 1915.<sup>39</sup>

While the majority black population kept alive much of the spiritual life of the parish after the war, it was the commitment of the small, white population that preserved the tangible assets of St. Andrew's Parish Church. Money was needed, but it was in short supply. Phosphate mining not only kept the parish alive during Reconstruction, it also kept alive its parish church and its property. The money needed to rebuild the church before it reopened in 1876 and again after an earthquake ten years later came from phosphate revenues. The large glebe was a potential source of funds, and all or part of it could have been sold off to phosphate mining companies, since so much of the land around it was used for mining. But the vestry would have none of it, and the glebe remained untouched.

Once again the old church would survive difficult times. Perhaps it was because people loved it so much that they simply refused to let it die. Perhaps it was because they rallied around one of their own, Reverend Drayton, man of God and fellow plantation owner. More likely, it was a love of both the place and the person.

#### CALM BEFORE THE STORM

The revitalization of Episcopal life among the freedmen of St. Andrew's Parish was nothing short of phenomenal. There were only 617 black Episcopalians in the entire state in 1880, and only three churches had any sizeable black membership. Two were in Charleston, all-black St. Mark's and Calvary, with 236 and 120 communicants, respectively. Third were Drayton's Magwood and Magnolia chapels with 164.<sup>40</sup>

From 1879 to 1883, Reverend Drayton provided the diocese with separate reports for the parish church and the two chapels. The parish was now designated as "a white congregation. There are no colored persons connected to it." Magwood and Magnolia chapels were called the "colored congregations." Black communicants in the parish outnumbered whites more than eight-to-one (an average of 161 to 19) and accounted for one-fourth of the total in the entire diocese.<sup>41</sup>

The year 1880 began much as usual, with Bishop Howe confirming twenty-six blacks at Magwood Chapel in March. The white congregation

provided \$22.71 (\$500) for continued repairs at Magnolia Chapel. Thirty black pupils attended Sunday school at the chapels.<sup>42</sup>

But Magwood Chapel was nearly lost. While Reverend Drayton was away at Flat Rock, the property with the chapel was sold without his knowledge, since a deed had never been formally recorded for it when the chapel was built under Stuart Hanckel's tenure. After securing a \$421 (\$9,400) loan from a friend, Drayton bought the property back. The black congregation raised enough money the next two years to pay off the debt. "The day upon which I took up the deed which made the Chapel and its surroundings theirs and their childrens," he said, "was a day of rejoicing indeed, and with hearts aglow with gratitude they girded up their loins to work yet more vigorously for the Saviour. Poor in this world, they are rich in faith and works." While St. Andrew's Mission Church can date its beginnings to the establishment of Magwood Chapel in 1845, it can proudly remember 1880 when the chapel became its own.<sup>43</sup>

The generosity of the parish's black congregations was showcased as an example for the entire diocese. After Bishop Howe visited Magwood Chapel in January 1882 to preach and hold confirmation, he praised the people for their financial generosity. The next year the diocesan Committee on the State of the Church commended the giving levels of the black congregants of St. Andrew's Parish. "The attention of the Church is called to the very striking fact," the committee said, "that the colored members of Rev. Mr. Drayton's charge have again been among the leading contributors to Missions in this Diocese. They have given, as the Rev. Mr. Drayton says, from their hard earned incomes, out of their poverty, \$121.76 (\$2,800) to spread the gospel in this Diocese, and to build up this Church, ranking fifth. When we learn such a fact, thoughtful men will pause and consider."<sup>44</sup>

The report went on to list forty-three churches, the number of their communicants, and their pledges to diocesan missions. St. Andrew's "white," with twenty communicants, pledged \$10.00 (\$220). St. Andrew's "colored," with 100 communicants, pledged \$100.00 (\$2,200)—double the per capita giving of the white parishioners. The average pledge per communicant for these forty-three churches was just fifty-one and a half cents (\$12). "Can any reasonable man expect the Church to increase in this Diocese with such a pitiful sum expended for that purpose?" the committee asked. "Rev. Mr. Drayton, from colored laborers, promises an average of \$1 (\$23). Let us try this plan faithfully."<sup>45</sup>

“My heart is so gladdened,” Reverend Drayton wrote his Delaware friend Sophie Madeleine du Pont about his black congregations’ support of mission work. “How I wish I had you here for 2 or 3 Sundays,” he said. “You would enjoy it.”<sup>46</sup>

But continuing to maintain the chapels and the parish church was a struggle. In 1882 Drayton reported that the chapels had “suffered heavily from removals to the city.... Our house, in which we were wont to hold services on Thursday nights, has been burned, and so far we have been unable to replace it.” The long walks to meet his congregations, over a five-year period, took a toll on his health. After a brief recovery (when he was “able to preach 3 and four sermons a day”), his physical condition began to deteriorate. Beginning in 1883 the rector’s illness occupied most of his parochial reports to the diocese. He was ill for two months that year, which prohibited him from visiting the parish church or chapels. In 1884 he was sick for nearly the entire six months of November to May. If any of the “few scattered services” he held were in the parish church, these would have been the last he ever celebrated. That year St. Andrew’s and St. James’s, James Island, quarreled about the glebe lands that St. Andrew’s had given St. James’s when it became its own church in 1831. St. James’s ultimately settled the dispute by paying St. Andrew’s \$708.60 (\$16,500) for the property.<sup>47</sup>

“The state of my health,” Reverend Drayton said in May 1885, “has prevented me from holding my accustomed services, but I have done what I could.” No services were held in the parish church, and he focused his efforts at Magnolia, Magwood, and Bolton plantations. (Although the chapel at Bolton, previously Barker, had burned nine years before, Drayton continued to travel there.) “We have suffered to some extent from removals to the city and from withdrawals from our Communion,” Drayton said, “but we have not lost heart. Trees are better for pruning, especially where the branches cut off are decayed.” In October 1885 “my health broke down under a severe and painful illness,” he said, “the effect of which has followed me through the winter and into the spring [of 1886].”<sup>48</sup>

## THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE

If maintaining chapels and a parish church with a rector afflicted with illness were not difficult enough, the Great Earthquake of August 31, 1886, was a devastating blow.

Estimated at 7.3 on the Richter Scale (which was developed nearly fifty years later), the 1886 earthquake was more powerful than those that struck San



Francisco-Oakland in 1989; Northridge, California, in 1994; and Haiti in 2010. Charleston's quake was more destructive than Hurricane Hugo, the Category 4 storm that ripped through the Lowcountry in 1989. The tremors, according to Richard Côté, who has written extensively about the Great Earthquake, were felt over a massive area—2.5 million square miles—as far north as Toronto, south to Cuba, east to Maine and Bermuda, and west to Omaha. The quake formed an ellipsis twenty miles wide and thirty miles long. Multiple epicenters were reported: one possibly centered near Middleton Place and Dorchester; one at Rantowles, on the western edge of St. Andrew's Parish near the Stono River; and the most powerful one just ten miles north of St. Andrew's Parish Church, near Woodstock Station, south of Summerville.<sup>49</sup>

“In St. Andrew's Parish,” reported the *Florida Times-Union* in Jacksonville, “an area 10 miles long is cut up by small fissures and mud-holes of from an inch to 10 feet in diameter, which emit blue mud and gray sand in large quantities, and the whole surface is covered with little mounds.” Plantations along the Ashley River suffered the effects of the tremors. Geologist Earle Sloan noted severe damage to the flanker building and the shell of the main house at Middleton Place, burned in 1865. “The landscape rolled like a flag waving horizontally, and the Butterfly Lakes at the bottom of the terraces were sucked dry,” said Côté. Some craters on the grounds were as large as eight feet across. Two flanker buildings at Drayton Hall were affected, but the main house was not damaged. The force of the shocks cracked the marble plaque on the Drayton family tomb at Magnolia.<sup>50</sup>

Just ten years after the church had emerged from the aftermath of the Civil War, it was torn apart. “The earthquake wrecked the Parish Church,” Reverend Drayton reported to the diocese, “which though not repaired, we hope to get ready for use during the present year [1887]. The Chapels were also to some extent injured, and my own house [at Magnolia] was rendered uninhabitable. So that, until the last Sunday in February [1887], it was impossible for me to hold any services.”<sup>51</sup>

Archeological investigation undertaken during the 2004–5 restoration concluded that the earthquake destroyed the brick gable of the sanctuary, caused or worsened the walls to tilt outward (still visible today), and damaged the roof trusses. Replacement brick was found in all four gable ends of the church. The violent movement of the earth left large cracks in the walls, some of which were undetected prior to the twenty-first century restoration.<sup>52</sup>

St. James's, Goose Creek, closer to the epicenter, suffered damage similar to St. Andrew's. The walls cracked and both gable ends were injured. The west end bore the brunt of the destruction, with a gaping hole above the door.<sup>53</sup>

The earthquake might have also affected one of the most important historical elements of the church's exterior—the *J. F.* and *T. R.* red tile over the west door that Dalcho first described and Col. William Izard Bull later recounted. Last reported in a newspaper article covering the 1876 church reopening, the tile was no longer visible on the west wall in any images of the building taken in the twentieth century. But the red tile did not simply disappear. Its location changed to the north gable wall, as shown in later photographs and drawings. Why then would someone move it? The most plausible explanation is that earthquake damage to the west wall was severe enough to relocate the tile to a less affected gable, over the north door and opposite the white memorial on the south wall. The photograph in Chapter 11 that shows repairs to the west wall undertaken in the twenty-first century offers but a glimpse into this damage.<sup>54</sup>

Bishop Howe pleaded with other Charleston churches to come to the aid of St. James's, Goose Creek, and St. Andrew's. It was time to repay an old debt. The bishop recounted Dalcho's report that St. Andrew's had raised more than £368 (\$350 in 1887; \$8,500 in 2012) in 1740 from two charity sermons to aid in the recovery from the great fire of Charles Town. "This same Church, at whose doors so much was given to Charleston," Bishop Howe said, "is injured to the amount of \$1,000 (\$24,100), and needs but \$300 (\$7,200) to make up this sum. Cannot Charleston give it?"<sup>55</sup>

#### COL. BULL'S LETTER

At the end of the 1880s, one of the parish's most revered figures, now living in Sumter County, would leave a legacy that would both enlighten and confound generations of future parishioners.

Col. William Izard Bull, patrician, landowner, slaveholder, politician, soldier, and churchman, represented the epitome of the aristocratic Old South. No one sank from a position of wealth to destitution following the Civil War more than Col. Bull. After he burned Ashley Hall to keep it from falling into Union hands, he continued to live on the property, planting his fields. With his money gone, he was forced to sell it for taxes in 1873, land that the Bull family had owned for almost two hundred years. His fortune might have vanished,

but Bull's indomitable spirit remained, as A. B. Williams of the *Greenville News* recounted:

[In 1880 Bull] was living in a very small cabin which he would not have allowed one of his house-servants to occupy in former days, over in St. Andrew's Parish. It was furnished as poorly and as simply as a hermit's cave. He was conducting a little truck farm. He was his own man, making no moans and asking no favors. If there was ever a regret for what he had lost, nobody ever heard him express it. He had no apologies or explanations to offer for his poverty. Those who had the privilege of his friendship were his comrades, were welcomed to share what he had as simply and naturally and as bountifully as those whom he met at the entrance to his wide, high halls in former times.<sup>56</sup>

On June 3, 1889, Miss Elizabeth McPherson Ravenel wrote her cousin Col. Bull, asking him for his recollections of the parish church. Few parishioners alive had served the church as faithfully as he had. Seven days later, Bull responded from his son's Moor Hill plantation in Statesburg with a sweeping history of St. Andrew's Parish Church. He wrote entirely from memory, in advanced age and poor health, five years before he died at the age of eighty-one.<sup>57</sup>

Bull described some events factually, but his memory proved faulty on numerous occasions. The details he missed are understandable given the circumstances under which he wrote the letter. He attributed a church expansion to "long previous to 1706" (not 1723), the initials in the stone over the church door as John Fraser and Thomas Rivers (not Jonathan Fitch and Thomas Rose), the tomb of Thomas Nairn as that of the judge (not his son), the date of Mary Elliott's grave marker to 1730 (not 1760), and rector Thomas Mills's death at age 104 (not 84).

Bull listed Christian Hanckel after his son Stuart in a series of ministers that served the church during his lifetime. Some later interpreted his listing to mean that Christian Hanckel was rector (see Chapter 5), which impacted the line of succession at St. Andrew's for many years. More than anything, Bull was convinced that the church did not burn in the 1760s. He said that Dalcho "was sadly at fault and very egregiously so" when he said the church had burned. "A false chronicle," Bull wrote, "is an injustice to Posterity." Definitive evidence, however, shows that a significant fire did occur.

Bull's letter is most helpful in the valuable insights it provides into his 1855 restoration. But his often dubious facts clouded the judgment of parishioner-historians for many years.

Statburg -  
 Noon Hill, June 10<sup>th</sup>, 1889,  
 Miss E. M. P. Ravenel,  
 My Dear Cousin  
 Your letter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Inst.  
 has been duly received, and  
 I will gladly give you  
 all particulars and recollection  
 relative to the dear old  
 Church as far as memory  
 serves me. To begin; Date's

Opening lines of William Izard Bull's letter to Elizabeth McPherson Ravenel, 1889 (Used by permission of the Margretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation)

#### FINISHED

Reverend Drayton's physical condition remained poor. He was sick during the winter of 1887 and throughout the following year. In the midst of his illness, his wife Julia died on May 23, 1887. She was buried in the churchyard of St. John's, Flat Rock. During the 1880s Reverend Drayton lived for a time with his family, the Hasties—daughter Julia, son-in-law William, and grandchildren Drayton Franklin, Marie Clinton, Ella Drayton, and Carlisle Norwood—at Linwood, their Summerville home.<sup>58</sup>

After serving his black congregations for so long, Reverend Drayton must have been pained to write in May 1889: "The race question has all but eliminated the colored element from this congregation, and such are the Railroad facilities for spending Sunday in the city, that but a handful remain in the Parish.... The old Parish Church has been repaired, but from causes, no services have, as yet, been held therein." The work at Magwood Chapel continued, but not under Drayton, whose illness continued to incapacitate him. Bishop Howe turned over care of the chapel to the Reverends J. M. H.

*Ruin and Recovery (1865–1891)*

Pollard (presbyter) and E. N. Hollings (deacon). In March 1889 the bishop confirmed fifteen there.<sup>59</sup>

Illness continued to plague Drayton in 1890, when he could hold but one service on Sundays at Magnolia Chapel. The end came the following year. After falling critically ill for several weeks, Rev. John Grimké Drayton died on April 2, 1891, at Linwood. He was one month shy of his seventy-fifth birthday. He was buried next to his beloved wife Julia in Flat Rock. Their final resting place is a fitting tribute. The beautiful mountain graveyard at St. John in the Wilderness emulates a similarly beautiful setting at a place called Magnolia he loved so much along the banks of the Ashley River.<sup>60</sup>

Family members traveled from England to honor Reverend Drayton. Theodore Drayton Grimké-Drayton captured the deteriorating condition of the church during his visit to Charleston. The photograph he took is the earliest one that exists. The *J. F.* and *T. R.* memorial can be seen above the south door. Cracks were evident in the wall, damage from the earthquake five years earlier. Stucco had fallen off the gable end, exposing wood slats underneath. The roof was made of wooden shake shingles. Undergrowth had advanced to the walls and doors of the building.



Earliest known photograph of St. Andrew's Parish Church, 1891 (Photo by Theodore Drayton Grimké-Drayton. Used by permission of William Drayton and The Drayton Fellowship)

Reverend Drayton's obituary in the *Charleston News and Courier* asked the question on the minds of so many: "His soft voice and pleasing countenance will be sadly missed from his accustomed walks, and how can so rare an influence be replaced?" Bishop Howe said of him, "Of late he was obliged by failing health to give up the work in St. Andrew's, but to the last he retained his interest in the work among the colored people; and the Diocese had no more effective preacher among them than Mr. Drayton." Sixty-six years after Drayton's death, Bishop Albert Sidney Thomas, writing in his history of the diocese, said, "he not only planted seed in the earth to form what has been called the most beautiful garden in the world (Magnolia) but he planted many a seed of the Word which we doubt not will flower to all eternity."<sup>61</sup>

John Grimké Drayton served St. Andrew's Parish Church nearly forty years, longer than any rector in the church's history. He was the last of the nineteenth-century ministers who faithfully served their black parishioners. A note at the end of the parish register at his death captured only the barest glimpse of the work of these dedicated men: "These Clergymen the Rev Messrs Trapier Hanckel Adams and Drayton performed Services at the Baptism Marriage and Burial of a large number of coloured servants belonging to the residents of St Andrews Parish."<sup>62</sup> Drayton was rector from 1851 to 1866, prevented from working in the parish immediately after the war, was missionary from 1870 to 1878, and again rector from 1878 until his death in 1891. He led the parish church through the last years of antebellum life, through the Civil War and its destruction, regained a church and its people, endured the effects of phosphate mining and an earthquake, and then watched it all decline as his health failed. His is a story of tenacity, struggle, and devotion to his congregation, especially to his "black roses," first as slaves on nearby plantations and then as freed men, women, and children. He was the greatest rector of St. Andrew's in the nineteenth century, and one of the most influential in its entire history. His legacy remains long after his death, for generations of parishioners who followed him, with a marble memorial on the south wall of the nave in his beloved parish church.



## DORMANCY AND DECLINE

1891 – 1948

THE DEATHS OF TWO PROMINENT PARISHIONERS marked the end of an era for St. Andrew's Parish Church. One was Rev. John Grimké Drayton's passing in April 1891. The second was the death of Col. William Izard Bull on October 21, 1894. Although as a youth he suffered from "serious lung trouble with hemorrhages" (likely tuberculosis, the same as Drayton), Bull lived three days past his eighty-first birthday. In his later years he lived with his three sons at Moor Hill in Sumter County, where he wrote his remembrances of St. Andrew's Parish Church to his cousin Elizabeth Ravenel in 1889. The year before he died, Bull, "now feeble and old," returned to Charleston to live with his son Dr. William Izard Bull. "By Col. Bull's death," said his obituary in the *News and Courier*, "one of the few remaining links of the storied past of the South has been broken."<sup>1</sup>

Reverend Drayton was not replaced. In 1893 the diocese classified the parish church *dormant* because worship services ceased and *dormant and extinct* (no services, no vestry) the following year, joining the likes of 1706 parishes St. Paul's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. James's, Goose Creek, in this doleful status. These churches were not alone in their decline. The fragile state of the diocese a quarter century after the Civil War was sobering: only sixteen of ninety-five parishes and missions across the state were self-supporting.<sup>2</sup>

Drayton's work to reestablish his parish church and its small, white congregation was over. His ministry among the black congregation, however, blossomed under new leadership. Magwood Chapel was designated a mission and given its own name, St. Andrew's, Berkeley County, and then Charleston County. St. Andrew's Mission Episcopal Church was administered through the diocesan Archdeaconry for Colored People, with Reverends J. M. H. Pollard, E. N. Hollings, and F. I. A. Bennett serving there in the last decade of the nineteenth century. As did other black churches that were established after the Civil War, the mission and its two acres of land became a community center. St. Andrew's Mission held not only Sunday worship but offered a variety of instructional



opportunities, with a Sunday school, day school, and industrial school each serving more than a hundred students. Reverend Pollard opened a dispensary on the grounds, the only place where the large black population in the parish could find medical treatment, other than traveling across the toll bridge into the city. The other remaining chapel, Reverend Drayton's Magnolia, burned in a woods fire in 1896. By the end of the century, the value of St. Andrew's Mission's property far exceeded that of the parish church and glebe. The chapel and house at the mission were estimated to be worth \$2,750 (\$75,500). The parish's glebe lands were valued at about \$400 (\$10,900). The old church? "Nominal."<sup>3</sup>

#### DETERIORATING CHURCH AND GROUNDS

With no rector and no congregation, the parish church fell into disrepair. Vandals preyed on the unattended building, and the condition of the graveyard was deplorable. Writing in 1908, Gustavus Memminger Middleton observed that "there are many broken vaults and tombstones of great antiquity scattered around the unprotected area and on both sides of the approach to the church from the river road." Walking the grounds in 1912, N. A. Chamberlain recorded inscriptions from the grave markers and tombstones he saw. For a church as old as St. Andrew's, only thirty-three monuments remained, and many of these were damaged. Stones had fallen and broken. Slabs over tombstones had been displaced. His accounts preserved epitaphs on some of the oldest stones in the cemetery, including the memorials of Elizabeth and Thomas Nairn, Charlotta Drayton, Joseph and Elizabeth Williams, Roger Moore Smith, Simon Magwood, and Susan Helena Moreland. Broken tombstones were seen lying in the marsh along Church Creek into the mid-twentieth century.<sup>4</sup>

Visible today, but out of sight, is pencil graffiti that covers nearly every space of the drawer of the reading desk. What might have been considered harmless fun, "out of sight, out of mind," has remained for more than a century. I. C. Moore returned three times to record his visits in 1894 and 1896. Seven people from Charleston, Baltimore, Mamaroneck, New York, and Yeovil, Somerset, England, left behind an April Fool's joke when they penciled their names on April 1, 1896. J. Betts Simmons Jr., age eleven, left his mark on New Year's Eve 1916. Anticipating that one day these scrawled markings would be uncovered, one prankster left this greeting: "God be with you till we meet again."

The extent of this neglect, so soon after Reverend Drayton's death, was far more damaging than a few penciled names in a closed drawer. As the postcards and photographs of the period can only suggest, the church was

about to succumb to ruin. Indeed, as St. Andrew's approached its 200th anniversary, some envisioned an inglorious end not far into the future.

A reporter covering the South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition, held in Charleston in 1901–2 to attract trade to the area, captured the sense of impending doom. The Exposition's magazine featured stories of interest from around the state, including the churches of St. James's, Goose Creek, St. Michael's, St. Matthew's Lutheran, and St. Andrew's. The sadness of witnessing this once prosperous house of worship and its plantation community on the Ashley River crumble before your eyes was palpable.

St. Andrew's once sheltered within its now decaying walls the beauty and fashion of one of the richest parishes in South Carolina. Desolation reigns about it now. Fresh hearts which once worshipped there have long moldered in the tomb. No sound of prayer or praise breaks the hush of the fragrant woods closing more densely about it year by year. The jessamine blooms on undisturbed. Grey moss drifts unhindered across its closed portals. Little birds build their nests under its eaves, all unafraid. Presently it will crumble into dust, and like other holy and precious things, be no more seen. . . . The Church of St. Andrew's, in a sphinx-like brooding silence . . . awaits in sylvan solitudes, its final disintegration. Presently like those vivid lives so long forgotten, it too will pass away.<sup>5</sup>



"Daddy Billy" Fludd ("The Church of St. Andrew," *The Exposition*, May 1901)

In the same article, "Daddy Billy" Fludd, the church's 95-year old black sexton (he had been taking care of the building and grounds for 60 years), said simply, "Times is changed on the river!" How times had changed in the lifetime of this common man. Working at St. Andrew's since the days of Stuart Hanckel, he was still there at the turn of the new century.<sup>6</sup>

A *News and Courier* article struck a somber note of the deteriorating church, “deserted, its portals closed for many years; the wind in the pine tops sighing a mournful requiem. . . . Passed its days of prosperity, gone the ancient glory, and now old St. Andrews stands amongst its people, who sleep around her walls. Could those walls but tell the stories of the past; of those bygone days now fast fading into the mists of oblivion!”<sup>7</sup>

Left for nature to reclaim, the church attracted curiosity seekers. Some left a lasting impression of their visit. Others simply walked the deserted grounds, wondering what was and what would be. About fifty years after Lewis Gibbes sketched the church, Oliver J. Bond produced his own rendition in 1894. Bond would later become professor of mechanical drawing and astronomy at The Citadel, its president, and author of *The Story of The Citadel*. Physician and photographer Franklin Frost Sams captured a boarded-up, forsaken place, abandoned, in 1901, the same year his mother was buried in the graveyard and the church was awaiting its final disintegration. Dark patches of mold or dirt clung to the stuccoed west wall. A little picket fence cordoned off nearby graves.<sup>8</sup>



Church exterior, 1901 photograph (Photo by Franklin Frost Sams. Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

*Dormancy and Decline (1891–1948)*

A 1907 postcard portrayed the earliest surviving visual depiction of the church's interior. The sanctuary, floors, and box pews appeared to be in good shape. The Izard and Bull tablets on the south wall of the chancel were evident, but the artist took some creative license and omitted the chancel windows on both the north and south walls. A number of other features were significantly different from more recent illustrations. Both the inside and outside borders that frame each of the four tablets of the reredos were painted gold, a design scheme that remained until a twenty-first century restoration, when the outside borders were painted brown to match the rest of the casing. Brown-bordered rectangles were visible on the casing above the tablets containing the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed. These were removed by 1940, when C. O. Greene photographed the church for the U.S. National Park Service, as part of its Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). Inside the sanctuary, there was no altar; in its place sat the font on its cast iron pedestal. There was no ornamentation above the arched window high over the reredos; gone were the cherub and arch on either side described in 1876.<sup>9</sup>



Oldest surviving portrait of the interior of the church, 1907 postcard (The Hugh C. Leighton Company. Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

About this time twenty-six-year-old Mrs. Charles Jervey (Emily) Ravenel began keeping a journal of her memories of St. Andrew's Parish Church,

leaving a valuable account for posterity. Beginning in 1912 and continuing on and off for the next twenty-five years, Ravenel would jot down notes of activity at the church. One of her first entries was an account of traveling to the church by horse and buggy. She found the church imbedded in a wilderness, walking through vines and trees to get to it. The place was a shambles. The building was open, the doors were hanging on their hinges (one was broken off), and the woodwork was filthy and in disrepair. Cows were sleeping inside the church or walking through it. The two brick vaults were open, and bones inside were visible. One opening was large enough for animals to enter. She saw bats fly out.<sup>10</sup>

Not long after Emily Ravenel visited the church, a young girl, four or five years old and wearing black Mary Jane shoes, a blue check dress, and a bow on top of her head, walked through the churchyard with her father. Eighty-eight years later, the image remained so vivid that Pat Pigott could recount the details.

It was a lovely spring day in 1917, and I remember it as clearly as if it were yesterday. My parents were living at the Tea Farm, a former plantation about twenty miles south of Charleston, SC.

Some visiting relatives were interested in seeing historic places in our area. Dad drove us to see the old Episcopal church that was built in 1706 and was deserted after the disasters of the Civil War....

I listened intently to the stories about the church and the gravestones. I looked at weeds and debris that covered the grounds. Dad held my hand while we walked around the church. At intervals he would hold me up to peep through the cracks in the blinds [shutters]. Everything was covered with dust and cobwebs. In my little mind there was a very big wish that some day the church would be reopened and I could be a member. The idea never went away.<sup>11</sup>

#### LEGAL MANEUVERING WITH THE DIOCESE

The old church was in danger of dying a sad, slow death. Good intentions clashed with organizational control, however, creating confrontation instead of cooperation.

The deteriorating church caught the eye not only of sightseers but of an organization that wanted to help. In 1911 the South Carolina Society of Colonial Dames offered to fund repairs, stipulating that money given to the vestry (one

still existed) be used specifically for that purpose. Established in 1892 the Colonial Dames raised money for a host of projects, including the repair of old churches. Translating good intentions into action, however, proved more challenging. Drayton Franklin Hastie, vestry member, church treasurer, and grandson of John Grimké Drayton, found the terms unacceptable. He believed that the vestry retained sole right to determine how gifts would be used, although the vestry would gladly give donors “full credit” for their assistance.<sup>12</sup>

The Colonial Dames took the matter to the Right Reverend William A. Guerry, who encouraged Hastie to accommodate them. Hastie would have none of it. Writing to the bishop in March 1912, Hastie said, “The vestry of St. Andrews has never yet asked for outside aid, and does not now need to do it to preserve the church as a structure.” Moreover, Hastie said that the full vestry would have to agree to any changes in the way that gifts were administered. He alone was not empowered to make such a decision. He then described the condition of the church. Cows roamed freely since the stock law was not enforced. Although there were frequent break-ins, the vestry thought that the doors and windows should remain open, since closing them would only entice the curious to force them open. Hastie had hired a plasterer and carpenter to repair the interior, but both had been lax about completing the work, and it remained unfinished. Once this job was concluded, he wanted to string barbed wire along the openings “to exclude the cattle and, I hope, the public.” He considered installing iron doors and windows, a preventive measure taken at St. James’s, Goose Creek. Hastie offered to resign from the vestry if his presence were divisive. “I will most cheerfully turn over the work to anyone who will do it,” he told the bishop.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to his church work at St. Andrew’s, Drayton Hastie spent his days hunting, fishing, and shooting and experimenting with growing cotton and tea at his home Magnolia-on-the-Ashley. A Harvard graduate who had studied law at the University of Virginia and New York Law School, Hastie had had an impressive career before a serious eye injury forced him to reorient his life. He had practiced law in Charleston before moving to New York to work for Lawyers Title Insurance Company. He then managed the Pennsylvania Railroad’s real estate portfolio in New York, where he suffered his injury. He returned home to recuperate and later served as assistant U.S. attorney for South Carolina from 1909 to 1911. He was a man who knew the law.<sup>14</sup>

Hastie did not resign from the vestry, but by 1915 at the age of forty-four was again in poor health. This time, a heart condition put him in Pennsylvania



Hospital in Philadelphia for treatment. While he was there in November, he received a letter from Bishop Guerry decrying the condition of the church and implying that if the vestry could not take reasonable care of the property, the diocese would have to take it over. Hastie's reply on hospital stationery accelerated an already tenuous relationship with the diocese.<sup>15</sup>

Hastie apologized for repairs not being made. Since he lived closest to the church, he had agreed to supervise the work. He thought it would be completed by the fall, paid for with income from timber sales from the rented glebe. But he began experiencing heart trouble in July, which became serious in September, when he began seeking treatment at various hospitals. Hastie said it was difficult getting repairs done in the country. He said he should have turned over the responsibility to someone else on the vestry, but thought he would return soon enough. Besides, "there is practically no danger *from fire* while the woods are green."<sup>16</sup>

Hastie then addressed his main reason for writing: to discuss the impact of the bishop's "official letter ... [that] brought things to a head." Hastie said he sent the letter to warden Charles H. Drayton, who would distribute it to the other vestry members for their review and might solicit the advice of legal counsel. Hastie questioned whether the diocesan trustees had jurisdiction over St. Andrew's. Which body had legal right to the church as a dormant parish, under both canon law and state statute, the bishop or the vestry? All parties needed to know what their legal rights were. Hastie said that he personally did not think the church was part of the diocese and urged the vestry to seek legal counsel to protect itself. "I think it is too dignified a body to receive in silence an official rebuke," Hastie continued, "unless it is quite sure that it is both a just rebuke and that it comes from one who has the undoubted right to give it. This we can never be sure of unless we know accurately what our rights, duties and obligations are in relation to both church and diocese; and I think we ought to learn them now, though it is a pity to spend in counsel fees what ought to be spent in repairs, in order to know how to meet or steer clear of future difficulties."<sup>17</sup>

Hastie ended by saying that he was sure the bishop would not have written him had he been aware of his physical condition. Hastie asked to be relieved of his duties on the vestry and for the bishop to refrain from sending further correspondence because of his health.<sup>18</sup>

Bishop Guerry ignored his request and responded a week later, on December 7, 1915, prompting a reply from Hastie two days later. Hastie



*Dormancy and Decline (1891–1948)*

elaborated on what he meant when he said that the church was not part of the diocese. His opinion was “based simply on the idea that it is a dead or dormant church, with neither clergyman, congregation nor dependable income (or indeed, the chance of any) and that it has been unrepresented in the Diocesan Convention for many years and unassessed.” “It seems to me,” he continued, “that the Diocese must have lost jurisdiction and that it is the duty of the Vestry only to preserve it, so far as funds will permit, as a historical monument rather than a church.” He said that the vestry would seek to work with the diocese “amicably” to resolve the matter.<sup>19</sup>

Bishop Guerry then sought counsel from his diocesan chancellor (attorney), Frank R. Frost. Frost was the grandson of Edward Frost, a state appellate judge with a country home at Fairfield plantation who had served as a diocesan convention delegate from St. Andrew’s Parish in 1856. The issue was more complicated than it appeared, Frost said. An act of 1880 incorporated the bishop and Standing Committee, giving them the right to hold in trust “property belonging to any of the corporations or churches or dormant parishes, formerly connected with said Church, but which have now ceased to have active operation.” A second piece of legislation, passed in 1902, amended the earlier law by creating a diocesan Board of Trustees to handle trust affairs in place of the bishop and Standing Committee. The new law, however, specifically excluded the trustees’ right to hold in trust the same properties as stated in the 1880 legislation. Frost concluded that “it will appear that the Board of Trustees of the Church, have no authority over the property in the possession of the Wardens and Vestry of St. Andrew’s Parish.” Frost told the bishop that a diocesan property claim against St. Andrew’s would not stand up in court, regardless of any “spiritual interest.” Perhaps the diocese should seek to get the legislation further amended, Frost proposed, to give the trustees control of assets in dormant parishes.<sup>20</sup>

After hearing from Frost, Bishop Guerry briefed John P. Thomas Jr., secretary-treasurer of the trustees. Thomas wrote Frost that a committee had been formed and given the power to lobby for the amendment of the more recent law, so the trustees would have the same powers over dormant churches they were granted in 1880. Thomas advised Frost to prepare the necessary documents to amend the 1902 law in time for the next session of the legislature.<sup>21</sup>

In the midst of these legal maneuverings, three vestrymen of St. Andrew’s Parish Church died in quick succession. On December 23, 1915, warden

Charles H. Drayton, who had been chronically ill, passed away. Col. Moultrie Johnston Clement died on February 15, 1916, and Drayton F. Hastie the next day. With these men died the struggle to keep the church's property independent of diocesan control.

#### RELINQUISHING THE CHURCH

Managing the dormant parish church was more than M. W. Wallace, the remaining vestryman, was willing to do. In years past, Wallace had worked as Col. Yates's chief assistant and accountant at Charleston Mining and Manufacturing Company. On the deaths of the three vestrymen, Wallace contacted Chancellor Frost to discuss the best way to handle the matter. Frost told him to write a letter to Bishop Guerry describing his role in the church, his unwillingness to continue, and his desire for the diocese to assume control. Shortly after their meeting, C. Norwood Hastie, Drayton's younger brother, learned that he too was on the vestry; he apparently had had nothing to with it before this time. Wallace then discussed the situation with Hastie, and the two men agreed to proceed.<sup>22</sup>

Eight days after Drayton Hastie's death, Wallace and Norwood Hastie approached Frost with a proposal—under the condition that the diocese would use the remaining parish funds solely for church repairs. “Apparently, there are no books or documents of the Church, excepting a Register which contains a list of births, marriages and deaths since the inception of the Church,” Frost wrote to Bishop Guerry. At the same time, the legislature passed a law expanding the authority of the Board of Trustees over dormant churches, as the diocese had proposed. Even if Wallace and Hastie wanted to maintain possession of the church, the new law eliminated any legal standing to such a claim. Frost wrote Thomas that “I doubt very much if they could prove that they are legally either Wardens or Vestrymen; but they are in possession of the Church, and have as good a title as anyone else; unless the Board of Trustees have a better title by virtue of the new Act.”<sup>23</sup>

On letterhead of The Trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, Frank Frost drafted a letter addressed to Bishop Guerry for Wallace and Norwood Hastie to sign. They did so on March 1, 1916. The men maintained they were “the sole surviving members of St. Andrew's Church,” after the recent deaths of Drayton, Clement, and Drayton Hastie. They asked that the bishop or trustees take over control of the church and its remaining assets, and for them to be “relieved of their responsibility and care.” Property

*Dormancy and Decline (1891–1948)*

in hand included the church, the land around it, \$403 (\$8,500) held in Security Savings Bank, Charleston, and \$180 (\$3,800) due from the Halsey Lumber Company for timber cut from church lands. Diocesan control of the church was contingent on using these funds for necessary repairs to the church or grounds. “Kindly let us know,” they ended their letter, “to whom we shall deliver the keys and other property belonging to the Church.” On the same day the bishop, acting as president of the Board of Trustees, accepted their offer. He instructed Wallace and Hastie to give the keys to the church and other property to Frank Frost. After 210 years of vestry rule, St. Andrew’s Parish Church now belonged to the Diocese of South Carolina.<sup>24</sup>

The diocese acted immediately to fulfill the terms of its agreement. The trustees received a check from Halsey Lumber and discovered that an eighty-acre glebe was part of the St. Andrew’s property holdings. The glebe was being rented for \$50 (\$1,100) a year, and the ruins of the parsonage were still evident there. Monies received for the church were deposited into a designated St. Andrew’s Church fund in the trustees’ general account, to be used for repairs and improvements to the church and grounds and an annual insurance premium on the church building. The bishop received another sum of money on behalf of the church—a dollar bill. A man who had stopped by the church gave it to Henry S. Burden of Walker & Burden Architects and Engineers of Charleston, who was on site inspecting the building. The donor was interested in historical preservation and wanted to help. “He handed me a dollar (\$20) ... [he] had hoped he would make it about 50 (\$1,000) or so.” Thomas suggested to Bishop Guerry that publicity in the newspaper on behalf of the church might raise additional money. By May Walker & Burden had repaired the roof, at a cost of \$450 (\$9,500).<sup>25</sup>

VESTRY BOOK AND REGISTER

The church, glebe lands, and accounts were now with the trustees. Several months later Norwood Hastie gave the chancellor the parish vestry book. “I suppose in many eyes this is a precious document,” Frost commented to Thomas when he transmitted it to the trustees for safekeeping. Hastie also gave the diocese an envelope with church-related documents. Thomas acknowledged receiving the materials eleven days later in Columbia.<sup>26</sup>

The vestry book that Frost mentioned was, in all likelihood, the one that had recorded the affairs of the church under the most recent vestry of Drayton, Clement, Wallace, and the Hasties. Dalcho reported in 1820 that the

colonial register and vestry journals had been lost. He said that only the books of the churchwardens listing parish expenses since 1734 remained.<sup>27</sup> Neither the colonial vestry books nor the account books Dalcho referred to nor the vestry book or other papers given to the trustees in 1916 has surfaced.

The colonial register, however, was alive and well, as Frost had remarked to Bishop Guerry. It is the only set of colonial church records to survive to modern times; vestry minutes prior to 1950 are missing. Reverend Drayton referenced the register in sermons on two reopenings of the church: in 1855 after Col. Bull's restoration and again in 1876 during the first service conducted after the Civil War. The register was brought to the church for public viewing at the latter service, since it was not kept at the church. William S. Hastie, Rev. John Grimké Drayton's son-in-law, the father of Drayton and Norwood, and a member of the vestry, had kept the old register locked in his safety deposit box at Germania Bank.<sup>28</sup>

William Hastie was keenly interested in keeping tradition alive. In 1896 he had congratulated Joseph Ioor Waring for writing a short history of St. James's, Goose Creek, Parish Church. Hastie was distressed that he was unsuccessful in getting Williams Middleton and Reverend Drayton to do the same for St. Andrew's. "The subject seemed too painful to them at that time," Hastie said, "and now that they are both dead, I doubt if it will ever be done." Register entries found their way into articles written in the *News and Courier* and *Exposition*. After William Hastie died in 1906, it is likely that the register passed into the possession of his sons Drayton and Norwood.<sup>29</sup>

The public appearance of the register a few years before St. Andrew's was turned over to the diocese was an epic event in the history of the church. In October 1911 Mabel Webber published the first in a series of transcriptions from it in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*. It is likely that the Hasties had loaned it to the South Carolina Historical Society, the magazine's publisher. The Drayton family, according to Webber, had over many generations kept these records. She undoubtedly included the Hasties in her mention of the Draytons, given the linkage of the families.<sup>30</sup>

Spanning 152 pages over 11 quarterly issues, ending in April 1914, Webber listed nearly 2,700 entries from the colonial register. Although it was dated January 1719, the register book included complete entries as early as 1708. Following the last of the eighteenth-century entries in 1785, the register concluded with five burials and five baptisms from 1876 to 1904 that William S. Hastie added. The first of Hastie's entries was the death and burial of John

Grimké Drayton. At the beginning of her first article, Webber included a short sketch of the church, followed by a description of the book's condition and how entries were logged.<sup>31</sup>

Since that time the original register has vanished. It is not in the church archives, and Magnolia Plantation and Gardens, the South Carolina Historical Society, and the Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina, when asked during the research phase of this book, indicated they did not have the register in their collections. What happened to this treasured account remains a mystery.<sup>32</sup>

### REVIVAL, 1916–18

Now that the diocese administered parochial affairs, three things could happen. The church could remain unused but adequately maintained as a dormant parish, in the hopes of avoiding eventual extinction. It could be turned into a museum, as Drayton Hastie had suggested. Or the diocese could attempt to restart life in a parish that refused to maintain its church, yet had refused to let it die so many times before. Bishop Guerry chose reestablishment, a decision for which generations of parishioners should be grateful. Progress did not come easily or quickly. It took decades of slow, steady work.

By the fall of 1916 St. Andrew's had been "thoroughly repaired" at a cost of \$1,400 (\$29,600). The cross that tops the west gable end of the church might have been added at this time. The Colonial Dames provided \$100 (\$2,100) and furnished the vestry room with voluntary gifts from its members. But the bishop went further. On November 17, 1916, he reopened St. Andrew's Parish Church for worship for the first time in at least twenty-five years, since Reverend Drayton's death in 1891. The Reverend A. R. Mitchell, Archdeacon of the Charleston Convocation (the chief cleric serving black congregations in the diocese), conducted the opening service. The Reverend John Kershaw, rector of St. Michael's, president of the Standing Committee, and diocesan historiographer, gave an address detailing the history of the church since its inception. Kershaw's address was given prominence in the *Charleston Evening Post* three days later. Near the end of his remarks reprinted in the paper, Kershaw said that M. W. Wallace and C. H. Drayton, the last remaining members of the church, had given St. Andrew's to the diocese. He got Wallace's name right, but Drayton's was an error; it should have been C. N. Hastie. The newsletter *The Diocese* compounded the problem when it printed Kershaw's address with the mistaken name in its December issue.<sup>33</sup>

Kershaw's error was immediately recognized, but it was not immediately corrected. Drayton's son, Charles V, wrote letters to the *Evening Post* and *Diocese* pointing out the mistake. "My father was entirely opposed to the changes in the affairs of St. Andrew's Church, in which he naturally had a deep interest," Charles said, "and only his ill health prevented him from opposing them actively." Drayton's son added that, had he been on the vestry, "I assure you that I would have tried to carry out my father's wishes." Adding to the problem, the 1916 journal of the annual diocesan convention listed C. N. Drayton, and not C. N. Hastie, as delivering the church to the diocese along with Wallace. The diocese finally corrected the entry in the following year's convention journal.<sup>34</sup>

Now that the physical condition of the church had been stabilized, occasional services were held one Sunday afternoon each month. Bishop Guerry gave the church an infusion of new lay leadership, appointing Charles S. Dwight Jr. warden and Charles J. Ravenel treasurer. Dwight was general manager and secretary of Combahee Fertilizer Company, with offices at 42 Broad Street. Later he sold insurance and residential real estate, developing The Crescent and Pinecrest Gardens. Charles and Emily Ravenel lived on a forty-four-acre tract adjacent to Charles Towne Landing, called Old Town plantation, the seat of William Branford's family in the eighteenth century. They bought the property for truck farming and developed a riding academy. In addition to his service to St. Andrew's Parish Church, C. J. Ravenel served on the Board of Trustees of St. Andrew's Parish Schools for more than forty-five years. Dwight and Ravenel were neighbors—Dwight's home on Westpenny or Fairfield plantation (owned by Thomas and Ann Horry at the time of the revolution and Edward Frost before the Civil War) lay just south of Ravenel's. On the death of the Ravenel's daughter Emily Ravenel Farrow in 2011, the family's lands were bequeathed to the Lowcountry Open Land Trust, which then transferred them to Charleston County Parks and Recreation. The lands became known as Ashem Farm, which blended parts of the first names of *Ashby* Farrow and his wife *Emily* ("Miss Em").<sup>35</sup>

Not everyone was pleased that the diocese had taken control of the church. By March 1917 the diocese caught wind of dissatisfaction within the parish. A faction wanted the church to be reorganized under its own governance, and not under diocesan control. Among the instigators was J. J. Pringle Smith, who had just inherited Middleton Place. John Thomas, who administered the parish's affairs on behalf of the trustees, suggested to Bishop Guerry that he

learn more about the situation and see if the complainers might cooperate with the diocese. Thomas added: “Of course, if a reorganization, with your approval and under your direction is possible, the Trustees would not only have no objection to reorganization, but I should think would be glad to turn the property over to the reorganized parish.” The diocese had assumed control of St. Andrew’s only because no one else was willing to manage its affairs. Just as Wallace and Hastie had wanted nothing more to do with the parish church when they turned it over to the diocese, neither did this small, vocal group that surfaced a year later. The protest eventually subsided, and the diocese retained control.<sup>36</sup>

Despite the initial strains of reorganization, the parish began to come alive. Various ministers led the monthly 4:00 p.m. Sunday worship services in the church, including the Reverends Ernest Cornish, Mercer Logan, Cary Beckwith, Harold Thomas, Croft Williams, Walter Mitchell, and a Mr. Starr. Mrs. Edward Prioleau of the Colonial Dames gave the church a pair of antique silver Sheffield vases. During the 1917 Lenten season, Dr. and Mrs. William Izard Bull provided a silver alms basin in memory of their elder son, William Izard Bull, who had died of tuberculosis five years earlier at the age of thirty-three. (Dr. Bull himself would die four months after he presented his gift.) In October 1917 Reverend Cornish celebrated the Eucharist in the church for the first time in more than twenty-five years, using a silver communion service provided by Mrs. John Drayton Grimké, whose husband had been rector of St. Michael’s. In January 1918 Grace Church furnished the Victorian-styled, wooden altar that remains in use today.<sup>37</sup>

#### DIOCESAN ADMINISTRATION

After initial repairs to the church were completed, additional work was performed sporadically. In 1918 two oil heaters were purchased to keep the congregation warm during the cold weather months. In 1922 the Colonial Dames, led by Mrs. E. W. King and Mrs. Charles Ravenel, repaired broken tombstones in the graveyard and “the entire place put in fine condition” at a cost of \$168.83 (\$2,300). The next year a caretaker’s cottage was built at a cost of \$221.85 (\$3,000), using proceeds from the glebe rental, money collected during Sunday services, and funds that the bishop provided. The cottage, later used as a Sunday school building, was located near the current parish house.<sup>38</sup>

After it assumed responsibility for the church, the diocese took a different view of protecting the property than did Drayton Hastie. Instead of barbed



wire and iron doors and windows, the windows were kept shuttered, and horizontal security bars were positioned across the windows and doors. Even so, vandalism was an ongoing issue. A period photograph shows the semicircular window over the west door with ten broken panes. In 1927 repairs to the church in the amount of \$375 (\$4,900) were made—likely a metal roof funded by the Colonial Dames replaced the one made of wooden shakes. The Colonial Dames again helped repair the church in 1936. Four years later the records of the trustees noted minor storm damage repair. HABS photographs taken in 1940 showed that the broken panes had been replaced and the interior of the church was in good condition, except for two areas of the ceiling, over the gallery and in the chancel, which were missing chunks of plaster.<sup>39</sup>

The cherub and its wings and ornamentation on the east wall of the chancel were replaced. First described in an account of the reopening of the church in 1876, the cherub was not visible either in a postcard of the interior dated 1907 or a period photograph, likely a casualty of the 1886 earthquake that damaged the gable ends of the church. The new cherub was a gift from the Hanahan family of Millbrook plantation to celebrate the May 1937 wedding of Maria Grayson Hanahan and Thomas Heyward Carter. It bears a striking resemblance to one of Batty Langley's eighteenth-century designs. Among the Charleston churches with cherubs are St. Andrew's (over the reredos and chancel window), St. James's, Goose Creek (over the chancel window and exterior windows), St. Philip's (on the crest of the arches separating the nave from the side aisles and on the steeple), and St. Michael's (absent in the interior, but on the steeple).<sup>40</sup>



Cherub and ornamentation over the east chancel window (Photo by the author)

Managing the glebe lands, situated just south of Church Creek, was an important part of the trustees' stewardship of parish assets. In 1894 the

vestry had entered into a five-year agreement with Anthony J. Buero of North Charleston for the lease of eighty acres of the “Parsonage Tract,” which provided annual revenues of \$30 (\$800). Buero used the land for agricultural purposes, with only incidental tree cutting allowed. The lease was renewed at least twice, in 1899 and again in 1904.<sup>41</sup>

Buero was still on the property when the trustees assumed control of the parish in 1916. The diocese thought it could command higher rent for the lands, so John Thomas sent Buero a letter in August terminating his lease as of the end of the year. Buero countered, but his offer was not enough. In October Thomas asked Charles Dwight to act as the trustees’ agent for the glebe lands, since Morton Waring Simmons, who managed the glebe, had died recently. Dwight accepted, and he began looking for a tenant. The Reverend Walter Mitchell, DD, rector of Porter Military Academy (the forerunner of today’s Porter-Gaud, the college preparatory, Episcopal day school), had expressed a desire to rent it, but a deal could not be reached. Before the year was out, Dwight found someone willing to pay more than twice what Buero had offered. He leased the land to Joseph M. Harrison for \$100 (\$1,800) for the year 1917. Harrison farmed large tracts of land in St. Andrew’s Parish, including Moreland, The Crescent, Vorhees, and Geddes Hall. The diocese would use the income to pay for repairs to the church and its insurance premiums.<sup>42</sup>

While the trustees were searching for a new tenant, they were also trying to determine the actual size of the glebe. They enlisted the services of McGrady Brothers & Cheves, which surveyed both the church and glebe lands in August 1916. Significant discrepancies were found between the surveys and the property deeds. The survey of the land around the church showed 12.9 acres, including marshland, while the deed indicated 26 acres. The survey for the glebe lands showed 96.7 acres, excluding marsh; the deed stated 80 acres.<sup>43</sup>

Reverend Mitchell, who saw farming as a way to generate income for Porter Academy, renewed his interest in the glebe lands in June 1917. Bishop Guerry asked the trustees to serve Harrison notice to vacate at the end of the year. The bishop did so even as he questioned Mitchell’s farming abilities. “Is there not serious doubt as to the practicability of Mr. Mitchell’s scheme?” he asked. “It is not a difficult matter for even an experienced farmer to lose money at farming, and I do not know that Mr. Mitchell has had any experience; besides, I have heard that some of the Trustees of the Porter Academy are dubious about Mr. Mitchell’s plans.” Dwight thought he could

get as much as \$160 (\$2,900) a year from an experienced truck farmer. After Mitchell wrote Thomas that he would accept “any reasonable and bona fide offer,” the trustees offered Mitchell the lease at \$150 (\$2,700) a year, 50 percent higher than Harrison had paid. Mitchell accepted. But he called attention to the negligent condition in which Harrison had left the stable, yard, and cabin. Mitchell wanted Harrison to make necessary repairs or, if he did them himself, for the trustees to subtract the cost from his rent. In May 1918 Porter Military Academy incurred \$115 (\$1,800) in repairs to the glebe. Mitchell asked to rent the land again in 1919, but his farming venture proved unprofitable, as Bishop Guerry had feared.<sup>44</sup>

Diocesan trustees reported income received from glebe rentals through the 1940s. Receipts for 1918 and 1919 were only one-third or less of the negotiated \$150 (\$2,100) per year. Full payments were received the next two years, but after that, little or nothing was collected until 1926. From 1927 to 1938, O. F. Flood paid annual rents of \$100–150 (\$1,600–2,670). Over the next five years, the trustees showed no rental income; in November 1943 they asked Flood to vacate the property by year end. In 1944 John O. M. Murray signed a five-year agreement allowing him to farm the parsonage tract for \$125 (\$1,200–1,600) annually. In 1947 the trustees allowed Cooper River Lumber Company to log timber on the property, subject to protecting Murray’s cattle and the avenue of live oaks. The trustees received \$3,000 (\$30,800) from these timber sales. In 1945 Marshall Pye and his family lived in the cottage on the grounds of the church, as caretakers, overseeing the church and grounds.<sup>45</sup>

The teenage son of another caretaker provided a mischievous glimpse into life in this far away corner of St. Andrew’s Parish during the 1940s. Ralph Johnson was known to slip away to the church late at night, just before the last city bus let out its passengers at Church Creek onto Magnolia Garden Road (today’s Ashley River Road). As folks walked home down the dark country road, paved only within the last ten years, Ralph would begin playing a 1903 Weaver pump organ, with lighted candles he had set atop it providing the only illumination inside the building. The music emanating from the old church in the woods caused quite a fright to the unsuspecting passersby. Word got around that there were *haints* (ghosts) in and around old St. Andrew’s.<sup>46</sup>

#### MISSION STATUS UNDER REV. WALLACE MARTIN

In 1923 Bishop Guerry reclassified the dormant parish church as an *organized mission* with the appointment of the Reverend Wallace Martin as priest in

*Dormancy and Decline (1891–1948)*

charge. Martin's presence was a hopeful sign that the fledgling congregation might begin to come alive if a regular minister were available to hold periodic services.<sup>47</sup>

Two years before, Martin had come to the Diocese of South Carolina from St. Paul's Church in Montrose, Pennsylvania, to become chaplain and superintendent of the Harriott Pinckney Home for Seamen. His duties soon expanded to provide occasional services at several fragile parishes. Martin began holding monthly services at St. Andrew's in June 1923, except during the summer. His salary of \$100 (\$1,300) a year "kept the treasury empty," Emily Ravenel recorded, and when donations did not cover the full amount, her husband made up the difference.<sup>48</sup>

The church was opened occasionally for worship, but attendance was sparse. Services were conducted between six and ten times a year. Marriages and burials were performed irregularly. The number of reported families never exceeded eight and, in many years, was as few as two. Church membership peaked in 1924, with twenty-five families, but during the 1930s dropped to six for many years.<sup>49</sup>

On December 9, 1923, Reverend Martin led a large congregation in worship, accompanied by the first vested choir at the church, from St. Philip's. The February 1924 service was canceled to permit parishioners to attend a memorial service in Charleston on the occasion of the death of former President Woodrow Wilson. Bishop Guerry came to the church on November 30, 1924, to hold special services with Martin for the St. Andrew's Society. On Easter Day 1925 a large congregation heard Mrs. Joseph Walker play the organ that her husband had given the church and that Ralph Johnson would later use to serenade passersby. Fewer than five people were present for worship in July 1924 and January 1925.<sup>50</sup>

Announcements of upcoming services publicized in the *News and Courier* helped keep St. Andrew's top-of-mind. In the spring of 1929 the 4:00 p.m. Sunday service was promoted because of the heavy tourist traffic to the Ashley River plantations. "St. Andrew's has been one of the popular shrines of coastal Carolina, but this year," the article went on to say, "with an unprecedented number of tourists visiting the beautiful gardens of the parish, Magnolia gardens and Middleton Place gardens, there has been an almost constant stream of interested visitors." In spring 1932 the paper announced that a guest preacher, Rev. Charles A. Jessup of Buffalo, New York, would assist Reverend Martin with the Sunday afternoon service.<sup>51</sup>

Visitors were treated to a bonus attraction when they stopped by. “The present caretaker of the little church seems to have zealously instructed the younger generation in its history,” wrote Susan Allan in the *News and Courier* in 1932. With the sightseers gathered around her, a little girl “will rattle off the life story of the church in one burst of speed and apparently in one breath. The hearers almost gasp in sympathy until the recital is ended—and the expected coin has changed hands.”<sup>52</sup>



Church exterior, 1928 postcard (The Albortype Company. Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

Three men named Charles ran church operations while Wallace Martin served the parish: Charles Dwight, Charles Ravenel, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Dwight had accepted the diocese's call to manage the glebe lands in 1916. He was someone the diocese could trust to handle parochial affairs, which he did faithfully for more than thirty years. Ravenel and his wife Emily were mainstays for more than twenty years. Pinckney came from a distinguished family (his father of the same name was a captain in the Confederate army) that lived at Runnymede plantation north of the church on the Ashley River. Dwight was warden every year from 1916 to 1947, and Ravenel served with him in that capacity more than half the time. Pinckney was secretary and Ravenel, treasurer, for five years in the 1920s. Ravenel

*Dormancy and Decline (1891–1948)*

became secretary-treasurer in 1927 until he resigned in 1936, when Dwight also assumed those duties.<sup>53</sup>

Emily Ravenel's diary included meticulous records of worship services, payments to Reverend Martin, and items given the church. She noted that when her husband resigned as treasurer, he gave Dwight the Bull's silver alms basin and the two silver Sheffield vases given to the church when it reopened in 1917. In June 1933 Mrs. William Grimball presented purple hangings from St. Michael's. About this time Mrs. Edward Prioleau gave the church a large Bible, and Dan Huger Jr. donated a pair of large wooden and brass candle sticks.<sup>54</sup>

Few entries matched that of April 8, 1929: "Font returned to the church." It had been removed for safekeeping sometime after 1908. Tradition has it that Charles Drayton, the warden, and later his son the editorial writer, had safeguarded the font on their plantation, and one of their field hands had returned it to the church in a horse-drawn wagon. How the marble basin was chipped along its edges, damage which only adds to its allure, is a fascinating part of the church's history we will never know.<sup>55</sup>

FRAGILE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

People with loved ones buried in the graveyard remembered the little church in the country. In 1938 two grandsons of Col. Moultrie Johnston Clement, whose death twenty-two years earlier helped spark the diocesan takeover of St. Andrew's, restored the Clement family gravesite. This was likely the time a brick enclosure was added around the area where seven family members lay buried beyond the west end of the church near the parking lot.<sup>56</sup>

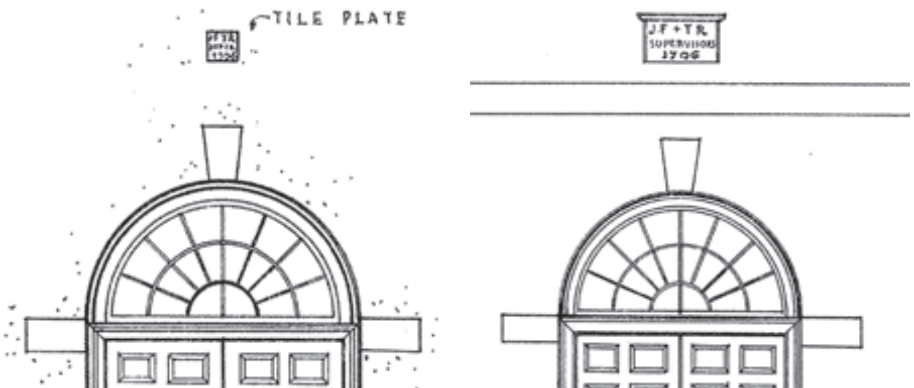
Nor did St. Andrew's escape the notice of an inquiring public. In addition to articles in the newspaper, as early as 1891 and through the first part of the twentieth century, photographs and brief historical sketches of the church appeared in a variety of published media, from postcards to calendars, architectural histories, souvenir booklets, and chamber of commerce promotional pamphlets. The nine black and white photos and ten architectural drawings included in the Historic American Buildings Survey collection recorded the condition of the church in March and April 1940. They provided rich insights into the state of the church and its grounds during its long period of inactivity. Of particular importance was documentation of the red square tile over the north door.<sup>57</sup>

It was during the late thirties and early forties that the mystery of the red tile was solved. It had last been described in 1876. Then, in his 1938 book





Church exterior, north elevation, showing the location of the red tile, 1940 (Photo by C.O. Greene, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, HABS, SC,10-CHAR.V.1-28)



*J. F. and T. R. memorials, 1940. Left: red tile over the north door; right: white memorial over the south door (Drawings by C. S. Rubira, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, HABS, SC-4, Sheets 2 and 5)*



*Dormancy and Decline (1891–1948)*

*Plantations of the Carolina Low Country*, Samuel Gaillard Stoney included two images by acclaimed photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston that showed a small, dark square above the ecclesiastical north door. Earlier in the book the text read: “An inscription incised in red tile over the end of the transept that looks towards Ashley River records that the building was begun in 1706, the year the parish was established, *J. F.* (for Jonathan Fitch) and *T. R.* (for Thomas Rose) being the *supervisors.*” Two years later HABS drawings and photographs provided conclusive proof of the red tile over the north door. Since that time, however, the red tile has once again been enveloped in mystery. It has again disappeared, perhaps covered in stucco during one of many restorations.<sup>58</sup>

Looking for the red tile or something more, the curious sometimes needed help in dealing with the unexpected when they made the trek to see the dormant church. Sara Calhoun Simons Hastie, who lived at Magnolia from January to May, remembered that “we kept a team of mules at St. Andrew’s Church to pull out automobiles that [got] stuck in the mud.”<sup>59</sup>

FROM COUNTRY TO SUBURBIA

The old Episcopal church might have been struggling to stay alive, but more and more people flocked west of the Ashley to escape the congestion and high prices of Charleston. In 1924 Wappoo Heights was the first residential subdivision established in the parish since Maryville and Ashleyville almost forty years earlier. Two years later the Ashley River Memorial Bridge was opened. It replaced the wooden “New Bridge” built in 1889, long after Col. William Izard Bull had burned this approach into Charleston at the end of the Civil War. The memorial bridge significantly improved access from the city to the rural suburbs, or the “country,” as it was then called. In the late twenties and early thirties, a dozen residential developments were built, among them Windermere, The Crescent, Edgewater Park, Stono Park, Carolina Terrace, and Pierpont-on-the-Ashley. Avondale and Moreland came in 1942, followed by Byrnes Downs and Parkwood Estates. “Invaded by suburbanites,” James Island was also being transformed.<sup>60</sup>

“Within the past 15 years,” a reporter said in 1938, “the territory west of the Ashley has developed by such leaps and bounds that the whole face of the countryside has changed.” The area was so rural in 1938 that, even with all the development, only 2,300 people lived west of the Ashley and 1,700 in St. Andrew’s Parish. Essential services were established to accommodate the



*Dormancy and Decline (1891–1948)*

As the parish changed from country to suburb, Wallace Martin led its Episcopal church through twenty-three years of ministry. His sudden death on Good Friday 1946 was a blow not only to St. Andrew's, for his importance to the life of the church cannot be understated, but it was felt throughout the Lowcountry. While serving at St. Andrew's, Reverend Martin also cared for other distressed parishes—all while serving full-time as chaplain of the Harriott Pinckney Home for Seamen in Charleston. Nearly every year from 1923 until 1946, Wallace was not only chaplain of the Seamen's Home and priest in charge of St. Andrew's, but he was rector of St. John's, Berkeley, and St. James's, James Island, and either St. John's, Johns Island, or Trinity, Black Oak, Pinopolis. For his twenty-five years at the Seamen's House, Martin was remembered for his tenacity in the face of daunting conditions: he was “often in the face of great discouragement due to failure of support ... often forced to the necessity of ‘making bricks without straw.’”<sup>62</sup>

By 1948 the population of St. Andrew's Parish had mushroomed to 11,000. Many people who had moved to Charleston to find work in the Navy Yard during World War II settled in North Charleston and West Ashley, as the area began to be called. Most people lived along the Savannah Highway-Folly Road corridor not far from the river. Continued infrastructure expansion fueled the growth.<sup>63</sup>

Churches sprang up to serve the increasing population. On Savannah Highway were John Wesley United Methodist Church, Blessed Sacrament Catholic Church, and Ashley River Baptist Church. The first site of Evangelical Church of the Redeemer was on the corner of Live Oak Avenue and Magnolia Road in Ashley Forest. On Wappoo Road was St. Andrews Presbyterian, and on Elsey Drive, St. Andrews Parish First Baptist Church. Before their buildings were erected, various congregations used the Exchange Club of St. Andrew's Parish on Savannah Highway as a common house of worship. Sundays held a full slate of services, including Catholic Masses at 7:00 and 9:00 a.m., Methodist Sunday school at 10:00 followed by worship at 11:00 a.m. and 8:00 p.m. What about the Episcopalians?<sup>64</sup>

#### AN EPISCOPAL CHURCH FOR WEST ASHLEY

The first item at hand was to determine if the parish church could be salvaged. In September 1944 the Right Reverend Thomas Neely Carruthers, DD, consecrated as bishop only four months earlier, joined Rev. Wallace Martin and Charles Dwight for a visit to St. Andrew's to inspect the church and

grounds. Their assessment was not encouraging: getting the church ready for continual use would present an overwhelming challenge. So the next year, the diocese established a new congregation in Windermere, where the parish was growing, called All Saints' Mission. The Reverend Eugene J. West was named deacon in charge of the mission. Reverend Martin remained as priest in charge for St. Andrew's Parish Church until his death in 1946. He was not replaced. While the white Episcopal congregation was trying to decide where to worship, the black communicants at St. Andrew's Mission received \$5,000 (\$63,800) in 1945 for significant renovations to their church.<sup>65</sup>

At the request of Bishop Carruthers, Arthur Ravenel Sr., who had developed Carolina Terrace with his brother Harold in the 1930s, established an Episcopal presence at the Exchange Club. Episcopalians supplanted the Methodists' 8:00 p.m. service with afternoon and evening worship of their own. Later, a 9:00 a.m. service was added. Reverend West preached, sang, and played the organ. He remained for about a year when, after his ordination to the priesthood, his ministry took him to the upstate. The Reverend Leonard Stanley Jeffery, born in Cornwall, England, and rector of St. Paul's, Charleston, after arriving from the Diocese of Dallas, succeeded West at All Saints' Mission. Each week, those attending the services, typically eight to ten adults and their children, would set up chairs and the altar. Sunday school was held in parishioners' homes. The mission's first officers were Lillian Chamberlain (secretary) and Samuel Colclough (treasurer), followed by Arthur Ravenel as secretary-treasurer.<sup>66</sup>

Using the Exchange Club as a worship space was workable in the short-term, but West Ashley Episcopalians needed a longer-term solution. By this time there were seventeen families and twenty-seven church school students at All Saints' Mission, and thirty-three services had been conducted. Would the old church be restored or a new building constructed?<sup>67</sup>

In 1946 the diocese earmarked two separate funds for church building in the parish: \$100 (\$1,200) to be used to repair the old church and \$1,130 (\$13,300) for a new building for the mission. The amounts clearly showed where the priority was. Parishioners representing Old St. Andrew's (as the church was now being called) and All Saints' Mission met with Bishop Carruthers in October 1946 and twice the following April to discuss their options, one of which was building a new church. A committee was formed to investigate a permanent church home, consisting of Charles and Arthur Ravenel, Charles Dwight, Ralph Morillo, and James Gary. By August 1947 the

*Dormancy and Decline (1891–1948)*

*Evening Post* reported that the old church would be reopened soon, perhaps as early as October. The plan had an interesting twist, one that reflected competing interests—the desire both for a new building close to where most people lived and to restore the old parish church farther away. Regular services would be held in a chapel of ease and special services would be held at a renovated parish church. Jeffery would become rector of both. Many Episcopalians in the parish said they would continue their association with the city churches they were attending. “When you have a church,” they said, “we will consider it.”<sup>68</sup>

The congregation’s preferred option was building a new church. But doing so required the commitment to reopen the mother church of the parish. A parcel of land had been identified for a new building site. A bid of about \$800 (\$8,200) was accepted to purchase the chapel at the Army Air Base, which was being closed. (Perhaps this is why the *Evening Post* reported on a chapel of ease, an archaic term for a twentieth-century church.) But the subdivision where the church was to be located mandated that buildings be of brick construction, which the chapel was not. Adding a brick veneer to the exterior was deemed unacceptable. To complicate matters, parishioners could not agree on the location, and there was opposition from Holy Communion Church in the city. After these plans fell through, the committee at All Saints’ Mission began considering reopening the parish church as its only viable alternative. After discussing the idea with Bishop Carruthers and gaining his support, the committee presented this revised plan to the wider congregation in June 1947. Six women met with Reverend Jeffery to discuss forming a Woman’s Auxiliary, the forerunner of the Episcopal Church Women (ECW).<sup>69</sup>

The idea of establishing a chapel separate from the parish church faded. Reopening the mother church was no easy decision. It was located nearly at the end of civilization, a long commute and the last stop before striking out on the long road to the Ashley River plantations. Driving time aside, the condition of the church was dreadful. “You can imagine how our hearts fell when we went out to inspect the grounds and building,” wrote Mrs. Gene Taylor, one of the early members who became parish historian and a tireless promoter of the church. “A veritable forest surrounded the church, and plaster was hanging from every side, and remember, there were only a very, very few of us, none with fat bank accounts.”<sup>70</sup> Parishioners and clergy took a deep breath and plunged forward. They entered the future by restoring the past.

## REBIRTH AND REESTABLISHMENT

1948 – 1963

ONCE PARISHIONERS AGREED to reopen the church, the hard work began. On the grounds were three buildings: a neglected church without electricity, water, or bathrooms, a dilapidated caretaker's cottage, and an outhouse behind the cottage. "Pessimists said we were fighting a losing battle," Gene Taylor recalled, "and would never accomplish anything."<sup>1</sup>

But the pessimists were outnumbered. Men, women, and children from All Saints' Mission readied the church for its first service. With sixty-seven worshippers in attendance, St. Andrew's Parish Church reopened on Easter Day, March 28, 1948, with Rev. Stanley Jeffery officiating at the 4:00 p.m. service. This day of Christ's resurrection promised new hope that this church, written off for dead fifty-seven years earlier, would survive to serve future generations.<sup>2</sup>

Weekly services were no longer held at the Exchange Club after the reopening, and All Saints' Mission was folded into St. Andrew's Parish Church. "[A] new mission has been organized," Bishop Carruthers reported, "old St. Andrew's, St. Andrew's Parish."<sup>3</sup>

The church started with very few members, but at the end of the year there were 39 households, 76 church members, and 42 communicants. In 1949 the number of households increased to 52, members to 102, and communicants to 66.<sup>4</sup>

Fifty years later, at the close of the twentieth century, the significance of the reopening was not lost on the church's rector. With the benefit of hindsight illuminating the hardships that had accompanied the reopening, the Reverend George Tompkins asked in his annual report to the parish: "it is tempting to wonder: was that handful of families who gathered here on Easter Sunday 1948 'fools for the sake of Christ,' or simply fools, to parody St. Paul? Were they mere romantics who should have given this building to the National Trust?"

*Rebirth and Reestablishment (1948–1963)*

I hope that every fiber of your soul shouts a spine tingling “no!” I believe that they, like us, were faithful men and women struggling as best they could, by grace, to answer the Lord’s injunction: “You will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and to the ends of the earth.” Like those who chose to stay in 1789 ... we too are called to Samaria and Judea and all along Highway 61, once literally the end of the earth.<sup>5</sup>

The Easter Day reopening was only the beginning. Weekly worship held on Sunday afternoons began to establish a routine. There were the day-in and day-out issues of church and grounds maintenance. Years later Eddie Trenholm remembered being seven or eight years old then, working with his father. They pulled weeds and brush, tended the graveyard, and cut apart dead trees. “You ever been on the end of a cross-cut saw?” he asked. “Now that’s work. Everything was done by hand then; no power tools, just axes, saws, shovels, picks, and hoes.” People brought their lunch and ate in the churchyard. As a boy, Trenholm feared that a snake would slither up through a ventilation slot in the framing above the hardwood floors and under the pews. (Sue Cutts and later Col. Stewart Real would enthrall children with stories that settlers would hide from Indians under the floor of the pews and fire their muskets through these “Indian vents.”) Eleanor Simons Long and Rachel Butt remembered running out the frogs and lizards from the church and caretaker’s cottage.<sup>6</sup>

The fledgling congregation took a hard look at what lay ahead. It was one thing to patch up the church enough to reopen it, but quite another to fix the innumerable problems associated with a building long untended. The month after the Easter service, Arthur Ravenel, Ralph Morillo, and Roland Moore met with diocesan trustees to discuss plans for restoring the church. For the most pressing needs, they agreed to use \$3,000 (\$28,600) collected from timber sales from the rented glebe that was in the church’s account with the trustees. Dawson Engineering Company, which investigated the scope of the work, found significant and expensive termite damage beyond the kind of rot and decay anticipated from an abandoned building. After all the effort expended to get the church into condition to reopen it for worship, it was closed for repairs by early 1949.<sup>7</sup>

Stanley Jeffery had shepherded the parish from All Saints’ Mission through the reopening of the parish church, while continuing his duties as rector of



St. Paul's, Charleston. After he was appointed chaplain of the Church of the Redeemer and the Harriott Pinckney Home for Seamen, he could no longer continue at Old St. Andrew's. On June 10, 1948, the Reverend Lawton Riley succeeded him as priest in charge. In addition to his duties at Old St. Andrew's, Riley served as rector of Christ Church, Wilton, Adams Run, in old St. Paul's Parish. Prior postings were with Church of the Advent in Marion, and before that, St. Paul's, Charleston. Lawton Riley would oversee the restoration work at Old St. Andrew's, which had started a month before he arrived.<sup>8</sup>

#### RESTORING THE CHURCH

The repairs took about two years to complete. Old plastering was removed so that termite-damaged wood in the ceiling trusses and wall studs could be replaced. Charles W.

Simons Jr. remembered going into the church for the first time and looking up to see the exposed timbers above him. "It looked like a wooden cathedral," he said. Damaged pews were repaired, spaces between the stone pavers on the floor, which were laid on the ground without mortar, were filled in, and window sills and shutters were refurbished. The reredos was cleaned. The roof and exterior trim were painted. An oil heater was installed in the north transept by the door; the two bought in 1918 were long gone. The flue stuck out of the building over the door. Parishioners were delighted, at least at that end of the church. Those seated in the rear of the nave still had to wear their coats and bring blankets from home to ward off the chill during the cold months. The sacristy was converted into an office for the rector, and a telephone installed.<sup>9</sup>

Marble tablets that memorialized Rev. John Grimké Drayton and Drayton Franklin Hastie were installed opposite each other on the walls of the nave. Hastie was among the last to serve on the vestry; he tried to maintain the church and keep it under vestry control until his death in 1916. Ironically,



Rev. Lawton Riley (Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

Hastie was celebrated in the church that fought to stay alive as a church, when he had considered turning it into a museum.<sup>10</sup>

Electricity was added for the first time. Care was taken to make the new lighting as unobtrusive as possible, with the bulbs concealed behind a white, metal trough running along the top of the walls. The electricians who installed the lighting, Paul W. Morris and W. D. Caneup, etched their names in the plaster on the north wall of the nave. Morris's and Caneup's mark, made on December 6, 1949, lies above a sketch of the interior of the church made by Col. William Izard Bull nearly a century earlier.<sup>11</sup>

Finding Bull's pew diagram was a significant historical discovery. Eleanor Simons called her cousin Mary Catherine Bull to come to the church to look at the drawing. "They asked if we could verify the signature," Miss Bull said, "and Sister said it was Grandpa's signature." She added that, "I have also been told that Grandpa was not very successful in collecting the amount due for the repairs." Plans to encase Bull's sketch behind glass did not materialize. The pew plan and electricians' inscription were then covered by the Hastie memorial and would not be revealed again for another fifty-five years, when the church underwent another major restoration.<sup>12</sup>

While repairs to the church were being made, parishioners used the caretaker's cottage for worship services and Sunday school. Lois Hannaford became the first church school superintendent. "Falling apart at the seams," the cottage, like the church, was renovated, with general repairs, a new coat of paint, and new bathrooms. Electricity was added to the cottage and churchyard, and a well was dug to provide water. While the cottage was being updated, Sunday school was held at the Exchange Club. Talk had already begun of the need to build a parish house for church school and fellowship. Marveling at the restoration, Bishop Carruthers said that Old St. Andrew's had been transformed into "one of the most attractive churches in a Diocese which can boast many beautiful churches."<sup>13</sup>

#### FUNDING THE REPAIRS

The work took so long to finish not only because there was so much to do but because parish leaders decided not to incur debt, adopting a "pay-as-you-go" policy. The first source of funding was money that had accumulated in the church's account with the trustees, but this was not nearly enough. Another income source was located just down the street.<sup>14</sup>

The financial realities of the Great Reopening brought to an end an Anglican tradition that had extended to the earliest days of the parish church. The glebe lands were sold to help pay for the improvements. On October 30, 1950, real estate developer John H. Hogg purchased the 104-acre “parsonage tract” for \$9,300 (\$88,600). Although some parishioners would grumble about the low price, it was significantly higher than the other bids. The former glebe, home to rectors William Guy, Paul Trapier, and Stuart Hanckel was soon subdivided into half-acre lots in the new Magnolia Ranch subdivision. The beautiful avenue of oaks remained.<sup>15</sup>

With such a small congregation, raising money for physical improvements became a never-ending fact of life. Boynton Williams, a house painter, would long be remembered for his generous contribution of \$1,000 (\$9,500). The Woman’s Auxiliary, which under the leadership of its first president Lois Hannaford grew to eighteen members by the end of 1948, worked tirelessly to host fundraising activities. In November 1948 Catherine Moore held a bean supper in her home, which netted a profit of \$40 (\$400) used for repairs to the caretaker’s cottage. The next year the Auxiliary held a non-stop series of fundraisers. In March 1949 the women of the church sponsored a tour of four plantations in St. Andrew’s Parish, with tickets at \$5.00 (\$50) each. The first historical sketch of the parish church in many years was written, likely made available for the tour. In June the auxiliary hosted a benefit silver tea at diocesan headquarters; it would become an annual event. Noted Charleston artist Alfred Hutty was so taken with the Woman’s Auxiliary’s efforts that he created an etching of Old St. Andrew’s as it looked at its reopening. Hutty allowed the church to sell note cards featuring his work; the image was later extended onto china plates and church calendars.<sup>16</sup>

The church’s most enduring fundraiser began in the late 1940s with the simple act of taking time out for lunch. The women of the church would spend most of a day getting the church ready for worship services and bring a lunch to eat in the churchyard. As tourists drove down Magnolia Garden Road, they would stop by the church for a tour, or the women would wave them down. Then the women would share lunch with their guests. This was a rural area, with no restaurants close by, and smart entrepreneurs, these women recognized an opportunity when they saw one. They began bringing food and beverages—coffee, lemonade, and sandwiches—to sell on card tables set under the trees. By 1950 Tea Room had begun. What started innocuously as a shoe-string affair expanded over time to become an enormously popular



Alfred Huty etching of the church, 1949 (Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

annual event, now replicated by many area churches. Tea Room would become a sit-down lunch featuring favorite Lowcountry foods served by smiling waitresses dressed in period costume. A Gift Shop was soon added to sell handmade wares.<sup>17</sup>

#### PARISH LIFE

The general committee, as the lay governing body was called during the early days of reestablishment, managed the secular affairs of the church. Soon after the reopening, Ralph Morillo was named secretary and Arthur Ravenel, treasurer. Later in 1948 Lawrence G. Fishburne was elected warden; Thomas V. Hannaford (Lois's husband), secretary; and George E. Lancer, treasurer. In 1949 Joseph E. Dunham, who owned Dunham Motor Company, a Dodge and Plymouth dealership on the corner of Meeting and Ann streets downtown, served as warden until his death in 1951. C. Norwood Hastie Jr., the great-grandson of Rev. John Grimké Drayton and owner of Magnolia Plantation and Gardens, became secretary in 1950. He held this position for nine of the next eleven years and led the efforts to restore, enlarge, and maintain the cemetery until he died in 1983.<sup>18</sup>

After Reverend Riley came to Old St. Andrew's, he held services on the first, second, and fourth Sundays of the month at 11:15 a.m. and on the third Sunday, at 4:00 p.m. One service each year was set aside to combine the bishop's annual visit for confirmation with fellowship and hospitality afterward. The first "homecoming service" was held at 11:15 a.m., on Sunday, September 26, 1948. Parishioners brought covered dish or picnic lunches to enjoy in the churchyard. Attendance the first year exceeded all expectations: 375 came to witness the confirmation of 3 adults and 3 youth, the first in the parish church since 1883. Among those in attendance were residents with loved ones buried in the graveyard and members of Reverend Riley's other parochial charge, Christ Church, Adams Run. The Colonial Dames, which had donated \$2,000 (\$26,000) for church repairs over the prior decade, "rejoiced" over the confirmations. Homecoming at Old St. Andrew's, held in October after the first year, became an anticipated annual event, promoted in the *News and Courier* and *Evening Post*.<sup>19</sup>

Finding William Izard Bull's 1855 plaster drawing in the church was a significant historical discovery. Another was locating the church's communion silver, which had gone missing during the years of occasional services held by various ministers before Rev. Wallace Martin arrived in 1923. Shortly before the first homecoming service, Mrs. Arthur Ravenel went to diocesan headquarters, at Bishop Thomas's urging, to look for the pieces. There in the vault, wrapped in newspaper from Sumter dated 1931, were a blackened chalice, paten, and flagon. Each was inscribed with the words S<sup>r</sup> ANDREWS CHURCH S.C. Eleanor Simons and Catherine Moore took the pieces to E. Milby Burton, director of the Charleston Museum, for examination. Burton estimated that the items were made about 1870 of metal washed in silver. If his dating were correct, Rev. John Grimké Drayton had used them in place of the communion silver that was lost during the Civil War. After they were cleaned and polished, the pieces went into immediate use. The silver communion service provided in 1917 by Mrs. John Drayton Grimké, however, was not found. During the 1949–50 restoration, women of the church thought that old communion silver might have been buried under the floor. They took turns watching the workmen to see if anything was uncovered, but nothing surfaced.<sup>20</sup>



Communion silver, ca. 1870, found at the diocese, 1948 (Photo by the author. Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

A number of firsts occurred in the fall of 1948. The first baptism in the reopened church was held on October 19, with the christening of Margaret Susan Johnson, daughter of Charles and Margaret Johnson, six days before her second birthday. Lawton Riley conducted the first ever Christmas Midnight Communion Service, with candlelight providing the illumination (electricity had not yet been installed in the church). The first wedding in many years united Lois Constant Hannaford (the daughter of the new church secretary, church school superintendent, and Woman's Auxiliary president) and Samuel Jacob Huffman III on December 28, with Reverend Riley officiating. There were sixty church school students that first year. Old St. Andrew's was off to a good start.<sup>21</sup>

In May 1949 the diocese recognized the rebirth of the parish church when it admitted *Old St. Andrew's* into union with the convention as an organized mission. The name that was chosen had been used to describe the church after its reopening, to distinguish it from other churches of the same name. The Woman's Auxiliary was joined in September 1950 by the



Men's Club, with Helge C. Anderson its first president. The Men's Club held fundraisers of its own, including oyster roasts, barbecues at Coburg Dairy, and a night boat excursion of Charleston harbor. In February 1951 the Woman's Auxiliary purchased a small Wurlitzer organ for the church, paying for it with a combination of memorials, donations, a two-year loan, and fundraisers, including fashion shows, square dances, and suppers. In June the first of many church picnics was held at Givhans Ferry State Park.<sup>22</sup>



Church picnic at Givhans Ferry State Park, 1951 (Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

By October 1950 the church had progressed to the point that Bishop Carruthers told the general committee that he wanted to make Reverend Riley full-time at Old St. Andrew's and find another rector for Christ Church, Adams Run. The committee debated the idea but rejected it—there was no money to pay for full-time clergy. When money became available to give Riley a raise the following April, he resigned his duties at Christ Church and became the first full-time minister of St. Andrew's since John Grimké Drayton, who had died sixty years earlier.<sup>23</sup>



*Rebirth and Reestablishment (1948–1963)*

In the fall of 1951 and through the following winter, Norwood Hastie, secretary of the general committee and chair of the cemetery committee, directed extensive work to expand the graveyard. Five acres were leveled and cleared. The new section would be open to all, not just members of Old St. Andrew's. Hastie enlisted noted landscape architect Loutrel Briggs to design the plan, use shrubs that fit the historic nature of the church and its surroundings, and plat the individual plots.<sup>24</sup>

Briggs was best known for designing small gardens at many of Charleston's historic homes, but he also worked on parks, college campuses, estates, church grounds, and cemeteries. Of over a thousand designs housed in the Loutrel Briggs Archives at the South Carolina Historical Society and Historic Charleston Foundation, only five churches and six cemeteries are represented. Among them are his drawings for Old St. Andrew's.<sup>25</sup>



Cemetery landscape plan, Loutrel Briggs, 1951 (Courtesy of Grange Simons Lucas III)

Two of Briggs's pencil drawings on onionskin paper are especially noteworthy. Renditions of April 16, 1951, depicted in detail his layout of the cemetery, but it

was never implemented. He proposed naming the entrance driveway Forest Drive and walkways between the gravestones. Pond Walk was envisioned between the pond and the graves, on the church side of the pond. His proposal included a circular drive at the east end of the church, named Dogwood Drive, beyond where the Gilchrist plot is now located, into the area between the church and creek. A Garden Walk was conceived as the centerpiece of this area. The family of Grange Simons Lucas Jr., the junior warden who worked with Hastie and Briggs during the 1950s, maintains a copy of this plan. Another drawing dated July 22, 1955, laid out the design for a new section of the cemetery located across the pond from the church and fronting Ashley River Road.<sup>26</sup>

### ONE FAMILY'S STORY

Parishioners fondly remembered the early days of the reopened church. More than sixty years later, Charles Simons Jr. and his sister Elizabeth Dovell could recount the smallest of details from this time. They lived on a large tract of land the family had purchased in the 1920s, today at the corner of Ashley River Road and Paul Cantrell Boulevard. Their mother, Eleanor Ball Gaillard Simons Long, not only headed the Altar Guild but was a driving force in the life of the church. She kept alive the family's tradition with Old St. Andrew's until her death in 1999.<sup>27</sup>

Eleanor traveled to the church every Saturday, for at least half a day, "week after week after week" to prepare it for Sunday services. All the cleaning supplies—water, bucket, mop, rags—had to be brought from home. Sometimes other parishioners would come by to help, sometimes not. Sometimes Eleanor would stop her cleaning to give a tour of the church when passersby would stop and venture in. An old pitcher pump was located near the caretaker's cottage, but it no longer worked. The only bathroom was the outhouse behind the cottage.

The Simons' family chose as "their" pew one that was in the north transept near the heater, before they moved to another one in the fifties. Eleanor furnished her pew with a floor rug. She would lay little Elizabeth on a pillow on the adjacent window ledge.

Elizabeth remembered attending Sunday school in the caretaker's cottage before lighting was installed. "The class I was in, the little ones," she said, "it was a dark building, and I remember the doors had to stay open or we got scared. So even in winter, the doors stayed open." A number of years later, when Sunday school enrollments ballooned, Mrs. Meeker would hold Elizabeth's class on the upper level of the steps leading to the gallery.

## *Rebirth and Reestablishment (1948–1963)*

As part of their Altar Guild duties, a group of women decided the lumpy kneeling cushions around the altar needed new stuffing. Eleanor Simons took the cushions home and laid them on her dining room table. She and her helpers found them stuffed with Spanish moss; how long the moss had been inside was anyone's guess. Pulling it out made a huge mess. When the cushions were restuffed, a note went inside with the names of everyone who had worked on them. At that time, there were no kneelers in the pews. Worshippers knelt on the wood floor.

The year after the church reopened, in 1949, Charles Simons Sr. died. Although the family had a plot in Magnolia Cemetery just north of downtown, Eleanor wanted her husband buried at Old St. Andrew's. She chose a spot near one of the brick vaults near the church. "There was a limb that came across from this oak tree, and one that came from that oak tree," Charles Simons Jr. recounted, "and she said it was like a cathedral archway. Right here is the spot." Fearing that an old gravesite might be disturbed, the ground was probed but nothing was found. These were the days before a cemetery committee was established to manage burials and grounds upkeep. The Simons interment was the third in the churchyard since the reopening.

### END OF THE BEGINNING

By the spring of 1952 the church was on solid ground. In April Bishop Carruthers celebrated Easter Eucharist in the parish church, marking the first time a bishop had performed this service at Old St. Andrew's. His presence was required because Reverend Riley had announced in February that he was leaving the next month to accept a call as rector of Christ Church in Eagle Lake, Texas, a small community west of Houston. In the nearly four years he served Old St. Andrew's, Riley saw the number of households increase from 39 to 55; the number of members, from 76 to 140; and the number of communicants, from 42 to 97. He would leave Old St. Andrew's in good shape and with a promising future for his successor.

### 13TH RECTOR:

REV. LYNWOOD CRESSE MAGEE

DEACON IN CHARGE (1952–53), PRIEST IN CHARGE (1953–55), RECTOR (1955–63)

The man who succeeded Lawton Riley was fresh out of seminary. He was offered the job in May 1952, one week shy of his thirty-first birthday. The

following month he was ordained at St. Philip's and named deacon in charge at Old St. Andrew's. Few would have guessed that Lynwood Magee, in his first parochial assignment, hired because the general committee did not have the money to enlist someone with experience, would lead Old St. Andrew's through its most explosive period of growth.<sup>28</sup>

Magee was a Charlestonian who had left the city and then returned. Born May 12, 1921, he was a Baptist in his youth; his parents were Presbyterian. His family moved across the country after his father, an engineer, was transferred to Salt Lake City. There he graduated from high school and enrolled in business school at the University of Utah. He left college to join the Army Air Force, where he served as a supply officer and felt a call to the ministry. After he was discharged in 1946, he moved back to Charleston. He thought a liberal arts education would give him a solid footing, "so I decided to start over." Magee earned a BS degree from the College of Charleston in 1949, and three years later graduated from Virginia Theological Seminary. He married Marie Cannon of Charleston in 1947, and they would have three children—Lynwood Jr., Jeannie Heyward, and Louise Avery. Lynwood and Marie lived a block apart from each other as children in Wappoo Heights, making Reverend Magee the first rector of St. Andrew's to grow up in the parish.<sup>29</sup>



Rev. Lynwood C. Magee (Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

#### BUILDING A PARISH HOUSE AND RECTORY

The first item facing the new deacon was the construction of a parish house. The nation was in the middle of a postwar baby boom, and six churches in the diocese were building spaces for education and fellowship. The caretaker's cottage was no longer adequate for the number of Sunday school classes being formed. Fifty-one church school students in 1951 grew to eighty-five the following year. At the same meeting of the general committee that agreed to offer Magee the job as the next minister, plans for a proposed parish house

*Rebirth and Reestablishment (1948–1963)*

were studied. Groundbreaking ceremonies were held on January 11, 1953, with nearly fifty parishioners on hand to watch warden Alfred Butt turn the first shovelful of dirt.<sup>30</sup>



Groundbreaking for the parish house, 1953 (Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

The new parish house, a simple concrete-block structure, was completed just in time for Father Magee's ordination to the priesthood on May 6, 1953. Bishop Carruthers had fast-tracked Magee's path from deacon to priest, and the ceremony occurred just ten months after Magee had arrived at Old St. Andrew's. Magee was the first person to be ordained in the parish church in its 247-year history. The reception that followed was the first event held in the new parish house. The final price of the building rose to \$21,000 (\$180,100), which rendered a "pay as you go" policy obsolete. More than half of the funds were borrowed.<sup>31</sup>

No sooner had the new parish house been built than it became inadequate to accommodate the growing number of church school students. By the end of 1953 enrollment increased to 140, nearly three times the number of just two years before. Once again the caretaker's cottage was pressed into service. In 1954, only a year after the parish house had been completed, the vestry (which replaced the general committee that year) formed a building committee to discuss expansion plans. School enrollment continued to grow, stretching to 155 in 1954 and 162 the following year. In May 1955 the vestry approved the



construction of an addition to the parish house to provide more classroom space. Stehmeyer Construction, owned by contractor and parishioner Edward Stehmeyer, managed the job. It took a year to finalize plans and cost and begin construction. Six classrooms and a nursery were built at a cost of \$7,390 (\$62,400). The cemetery was tapped as the primary source of financing, with income from plot sales and a loan from the church's cemetery fund used to pay for the project. The Woman's Auxiliary pledged proceeds from Tea Room and a bazaar and turkey supper fundraiser. The new space was a great help, since enrollments continued to rise, but it did not solve the problem. Church school classes increased from eleven in the spring of 1956 to sixteen that fall. One class had to be held in the church and another in the rector's office to handle the overflow.<sup>32</sup>

The influx of families showed no signs of abating. Church school enrollments climbed to 190 by the end of the decade. At the 1960 annual congregational meeting, senior warden William Freegard addressed the need for again expanding the parish house. By the following year's annual meeting, Sunday school had ballooned to 224 students—we “have now reached a point of saturation in the parish house.” The caretaker's cottage had deteriorated to the point that it was no longer safe for small children. Plans developed by Stehmeyer Construction for adding a two-story structure and widening the present building were shown. The big question was how to fund it. Parishioners were already paying off other loans; could they handle yet another one? Father Magee said that the church had reached a crossroads: congregants needed to be “missionary minded” and continue to press ahead or be content with the status quo and “sit back and have a country club.” Someway, somehow, the parish house would be enlarged again.<sup>33</sup>

In March 1961 the vestry held a special session to discuss options for financing a two-story second addition, which became known as the “education wing.” As plans took shape that summer, church school enrollment for the upcoming year was estimated at 244 students and 30 teachers. But the cost was too high, and a more minimal approach was debated. Stehmeyer cautioned against anything less: “Otherwise the building would be two floors but stripped of anything but minimum construction requirements. The building could then be improved as finances would permit.” The contractor suggested that a short connecting hallway join the present building with the addition behind it, making the expanded parish house an off-center H-shape design. After much discussion, the vestry approved the revisions at a cost of \$47,344 (\$363,000).



*Rebirth and Reestablishment (1948–1963)*

The first floor of the parish house would now have twelve classrooms plus restrooms and a kitchen. The second floor was left unfinished. The newly expanded parish house was used for the first time on Sunday, March 18, 1962. Once again the parish had stepped up when it counted.<sup>34</sup>



Fifth grade Sunday school class in the new education wing, 1962 (Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

While the parish house was being expanded, another capital project occupied the vestry's attention—building a house for its minister. The *parsonage* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was now called a *rectory*. Since 1948 the parish had been renting a house as a rectory in the Byrnes Downs subdivision off Savannah Highway. At the end of 1953 senior warden Butt appointed a committee to investigate the possibilities of buying or building a rectory. Thomas White donated a lot in the new West Oak Forest subdivision off Playground Road. It was closer to the church than the rented home in Byrnes Downs, but still five miles away. The vestry decided to wait until the parish house was paid off before undertaking the project.<sup>35</sup>

By the spring of 1954 Father Magee asked whether a rectory was feasible; otherwise he would have to look for a larger home. It took more than a year for the vestry to act, given the number of other projects facing the church. Construction of a rectory on White's donated lot began on December 8, 1955. Magee and his family moved into the new residence at 712 Stono Drive (later

renamed West Oak Forest Drive) the following March. On a Sunday afternoon that summer, Magee held an open house for his parishioners to view their new rectory.<sup>36</sup>

#### PROPERTY MAINTENANCE AND ADDITIONS

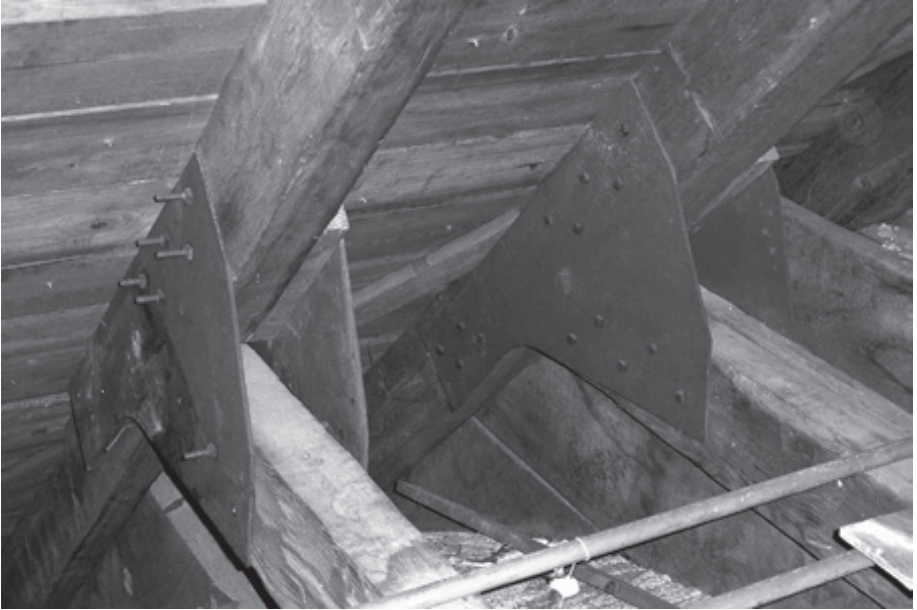
In addition to these capital projects, a host of facilities maintenance issues cropped up during Magee's rectorship. The wood floors under the pews were repaired in 1954 to treat termite damage. The reredos received needed attention—the massive tablets and casing surrounding it appeared to be tilting forward, prompting fears that the structure might fall off the wall. In late 1956 and into the next year, Stehmeyer Construction removed the tablets and repaired the casing. A cement foundation was poured to support the structure, which was bolted onto creosote-coated timbers that were installed behind it. The youth group of the church used the mahogany salvaged from the casing to have a credence table and a retable made for the sanctuary. The gold lettering of the tablets was not cleaned or retouched.<sup>37</sup>

In April 1952 the general committee authorized the installation of louvers into the gable ends of the church to provide ventilation into the attic. Many photos of the church can be dated using the triangular opening for the vents as a guide. Needed exterior maintenance, however, would have to wait. A photograph taken in the mid-fifties showed patches of the walls that were black with grime. Bare brick was visible through the stucco around the window on the exterior southwest transept wall.<sup>38</sup>

Hurricane Gracie, a Category 3 storm that slashed through the Lowcountry on September 29, 1959, caused about \$1,000 (\$7,900) in damages. The roof of the church and a corner of the caretaker's cottage had to be repaired, but damage to gravestones was minimal and the parish house was spared. The grounds bore the brunt of the storm, with thirty trees sheared and toppled. Men, women, and children of the church cleaned up the debris. Gracie was a prelude for a far more destructive hurricane that would strike thirty years later.<sup>39</sup>

The year after Gracie, the church roof structure received much needed reinforcement. Rafters and collar ties had separated—a dangerous situation if left uncorrected. Steel gusset plates were bolted onto thirteen sets of rafters and collar ties on the north side of the nave and an offsetting thirteen sets on the south side.<sup>40</sup>

By 1960 attention was given to refurbishing the exterior of the church. Old stucco was removed from the walls, the surface cleaned, two coats of



Steel gusset plates used to strengthen the connection of the roof rafters and collar ties (Courtesy of Richard Marks Restoration and St. Andrew's Parish Church)

new stucco installed, and the walls waterproofed and painted white. The color scheme of the church changed dramatically. Gone were the red roof, shutters, doors, and trim; they were repainted green to match the look of Charles Fraser's 1800 watercolor. Future interior work was planned to match the style of Fraser's period—white pews and mahogany railings. Plans were made to restore the old gold leaf numbers on the pew doors at a later time. Senior warden Alfred Butt said that the church was “now in condition to withstand a great deal more than it has in the past 100 years.”<sup>41</sup>

About this time, a brick walkway was added that connected the west entrance of the church to the parking area near the Clement gravesites. Fifty years later the walkway would be extended through the parking lot to the front door of the parish house, linking the two buildings.<sup>42</sup>

The addition of a pipe organ enhanced the worship experience. The electric Wurlitzer organ bought in 1951 was relocated the following year into a pew on the right side of the chancel facing the choir. By 1957 parishioners wanted a bigger and better instrument, so the vestry purchased a Moller pipe organ from the University of South Carolina. Built in 1929, it had been completely restored. Initial cost was \$2,950 (\$24,100), but the price was gradually reduced

until the church paid less than 10 percent of that amount. Hillyer Rudisill III, a Charleston authority on organ maintenance and installation, began installing the Moller organ in August 1958. He placed the nine ranks of pipes in the gallery and the console in a pew immediately behind the pulpit. The church's organist and choirmaster, Mary Borden Lee, dedicated the organ with a recital on March 8, 1959. The Wurlitzer organ was sold to the new Holy Trinity Mission.<sup>43</sup>

How was all this paid for? Parishioners continued to dig deeply to fund a variety of loans taken out to pay for the parish house and extensions, rectory, and expensive improvements, not to mention pledging toward ever-increasing annual operating budgets. All of the money needed to fund these projects, however, could not come from within. The men and women of the church worked tirelessly to raise money through a myriad of fundraisers. At the top of the list was Tea Room and Gift Shop.

#### TEA ROOM AND GIFT SHOP AND MORE

Established soon after the church was reopened in 1948, Tea Room shifted into high gear in the 1950s. At Mrs. Lawton Riley's suggestion in 1952, the first Gift Shop, held indoors in the sacristy, was made part of Tea Room. The women of the church spent all year working on handmade items to sell at Gift Shop, including clothing, dolls, household items, and a variety of preserved foods. The Huttery note cards were a favorite, as were cookbooks that were assembled and sold. Tea Room was held for the first time in the parish house in 1954.<sup>44</sup>

In those days Tea Room was open six weeks, excluding Sundays and Good Friday, during the "tourist season" of February, March, and April when the foliage at the Ashley River plantations was in full bloom. (Recent Tea Rooms have been two-week affairs.) The dates changed each year based on the Lenten and Easter schedule. Tea Room was open for lunch from 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 or 3:00 p.m., with afternoon tea and sandwiches or cookies served afterward. Some years the doors did not close until 6:00 p.m. Gift Shop and church tours were held all day. Women worked in shifts, prepared food in their homes, and brought it to the parish house. The menu included, as it does today, delicious soups, sandwiches, salads, and a variety of desserts, plus hot and cold beverages. Women took the dirty dishes and laundry home each night and brought them back clean the next day. It was backbreaking work. But Tea Room produced a spirit of camaraderie that was deep, contagious,

and profitable. The wardens and vestry counted on the money raised every year to pay for projects and activities that the operating budget could not accommodate. To this day, the women of the church control where the proceeds from Tea Room will be spent.<sup>45</sup>

As important as Tea Room and Gift Shop became, parishioners held a seemingly endless parade of fundraisers. There were barbecues, fish fries, turkey suppers and bazaars, oyster roasts, square dances, harvest festivals, and even a Yule party. The revenue supported the church school, rectory, and parish house; reduced the debt on the parish house flooring; helped pay for the new pipe organ; and funded the beautification of the natural pond and the construction of a bridge over it to the cemetery on the other side. The need for funding the second parish house addition elevated this can-do spirit to new heights. In May 1961 the *News and Courier* reported that the church had planned a fundraising event for nearly every month for the rest of the year: a fish fry in June, a rummage sale in August, a parish supper in September, a supper party in October, a card party in November, and sale of Christmas decorations in December. All of these were in addition to the annual Tea Room and Gift Shop held in the spring.<sup>46</sup>

The church's physical resources were also used to bring in revenue. As the vestry debated financing options for building the first addition to the parish house, it narrowed its choices to selling cemetery plots, especially those away from the church and across the pond. Sales were so successful that by 1958 there was concern that the cemetery fund was being used to offset lower-than-expected pledging to meet operating expenses, thus depleting income that was earmarked to reduce the debt on the parish house. In 1959 fifty-three cemetery plots were sold, and two years later, the number increased to seventy.<sup>47</sup>

#### MANY HANDS MAKE THE WORK GO LIGHT

The activity that propelled Old St. Andrew's through the growth years of the 1950s—construction, maintenance, fundraising, and events—did not come easily. The men ran the governing bodies, finance, and maintenance. The women ran Altar Guild, church tours, publicity, and Tea Room. Everyone was involved in fundraising. As in any organization run by volunteers, the church faced its hurdles trying to get parishioners involved and keep them motivated, but a sense of obligation drove them on. History was not merely a collection of dusty facts or tattered photographs but a living, breathing reality they encountered every time they drove up to the old church.

Writing in 1958, Gene Taylor told of a parish where everyone worked together, men and women, side by side. “The results of the past ten years,” she said, “attest to the spirit of cooperation that prevails.... It is utterly impossible to capture the tremendous feeling that pervades the atmosphere and imbues its membership and visitors alike with a determination that never again will beloved ‘Old’ St. Andrew’s Parish Church be neglected.”<sup>248</sup>

Elizabeth Dovell remembered how important the church was in her life. Her closest friends were in the youth group, the Episcopal Young Churchmen (EYC). They did everything together. “On Sunday nights when we left the church, the whole group went to our house,” she said. “Before homecoming, the youth group would wash the church windows. I’ve washed every window in that church except the one on top of the reredos.... I’ve probably scrubbed every pew in there at one time or another. We were very involved with everything that went on, for years and years and years.”<sup>249</sup>

Fundraisers and cemetery plot sales were critical to financing this torrent of building projects, but they were undergirded by the generosity of parishioners. Church income grew steadily under Lynwood Magee. In 1955 the parish budget of \$11,503 (\$98,700) had nearly doubled from just three years before. “This is a substantial increase in our budget over this year,” the vestry minutes reported, “and it is going to take *all* of us to make it possible. But we can.” In 1956 the congregation was paying down *four* loans: on the parish house, the parish house addition, the rectory, and replenishment of the cemetery fund reserves that the vestry had used to supplement these bank loans. By the end of the decade the financial picture was bright. Father Magee told the parish in its 1960 annual meeting that pledges had increased 50 percent in the prior two years. The parish had experienced a “general re-awakening,” he said. Senior warden William Freegard added that 1959 had been a year of consolidation, that “for the first time we are standing on our own feet in the financial operation of the church without using the funds from the cemetery.” Taylor reported that the church was in its best financial picture since it had reopened. By 1960 the budget was up to \$22,397 (\$173,700); and the following year, \$27,557 (\$211,300). The explosive growth in membership during the 1950s explains part of the reason why giving increased so dramatically. The real story was that members bought into the parish programs, both figuratively and literally, and gave significantly more per person than ever before. Such an accelerating pace of giving could not continue unabated, however, and by September 1962 the vestry recognized



that donor fatigue had hit. Pledges were low and the bank balance the lowest in several years.<sup>50</sup>

#### PARISH LIFE

But there were no signs of fatigue in the breadth and depth of the spiritual life of the parish. At the 1952 homecoming service, Magee's first, Bishop Carruthers celebrated the Eucharist and confirmed five parishioners. At his first Christmas at Old St. Andrew's the same year, Magee assisted the bishop in celebrating a midnight Eucharist service. This was the first time a bishop officiated at Christmas worship in the parish church. By 1958 there were three Sunday worship services: Holy Communion at 8:00 a.m. and two full morning services at 9:30 a.m. and 11:15 a.m., with church school at 10:25. By 1960 a fourth service, at 7:00 p.m. was added; an abbreviated summer schedule included services at 8:00 and 10:00 a.m.<sup>51</sup>

In the spring of 1962, just before he graduated from The Citadel, William Skilton, who had been youth minister at Old St. Andrew's, was accepted as a postulant for Holy Orders. A native of Cuba, Skilton went on to attend the School of Theology at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee; he was ordained a priest in 1966. He would serve as a missionary in the Dominican Republic and at various parishes in South Carolina, including rector of Holy Trinity in West Ashley in 1976. Twenty years later he would become Suffragan Bishop of South Carolina and then Assistant Bishop in the Episcopal Diocese of the Dominican Republic. In recognition of a lifetime of ministerial service, The Citadel would award him an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree in 2006.<sup>52</sup>

The Right Reverend Bill Skilton is the only parishioner from Old St. Andrew's to be elected bishop. As far as Bishop Bill traveled away from Charleston, his heart never left the church he loved. One of the most



Rt. Rev. William J. Skilton (Photo by the author, 2012)

popular priests ever to speak at his home church and filled with a zest for life, Bishop Skilton never hesitated to challenge his congregations—whether by encouraging them to fill the church with a raucous *Amen* to his final blessing in Spanish at the end of worship, so that people driving along Ashley River Road would wonder what was going on inside the church, or by embracing the missionary call to become true “fishers of men, not aquarium keepers.”

There were important additions to the church’s history. One was the 1957 publication of Bishop Albert Sidney Thomas’s monumental history of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina since Dalcho’s account. Included was a six-page sketch of St. Andrew’s Parish Church. Then there was the work of Gene Taylor. She wrote a nine-page history of the church through 1958, wearing a brace on her back as she typed to ease a ruptured disk. While she captured the essence of the early days from the sources she had available, her most significant contribution was in the details from her own experiences before, during, and after the 1948 reopening. She and others assembled three large, black scrapbooks, filled with photographs, newspaper articles, newsletter clippings, worship service bulletins, church memoranda, ticket stubs—anything tangible to chronicle the times since the reopening. Her history was adapted for use in publicity and Tea Room, and her scrapbooks form the church’s most comprehensive archival collection from these years.<sup>53</sup>

#### GRAPPLING WITH CONTROVERSY

St. Andrew’s Parish in the 1950s, despite its growth, retained its country way of life. “We felt like we belonged there,” said John Burbage as he remembered his boyhood in the parish, “and we appreciated our place and the wealth of space all around. We had a strong sense of community, an appreciation of family and home and the simple things that meshed early to form the fabric of our lives.”<sup>54</sup> Old St. Andrew’s reflected these values. The parish was a tight-knit, conservative, white congregation bound by southern values. It was steeped in Charleston tradition and included many military families. In fact, the parish elected a designated military representative to the vestry from 1958 to 1969.<sup>55</sup>

These were people not unlike the earliest settlers of Carolina. They were willing to take a chance on reestablishing an old church in an inconvenient location. They were men and women of action—they saw opportunities and seized them. When parishioners were faced with two national issues that they feared would threaten their way of life, either spiritually or socially, they

were not afraid to confront them. One concerned the stance of the National Council of Churches in Christ in the United States of America (NCC), and the other, the burgeoning issue of integration.

The NCC is an ecumenical association supported by many religious denominations, including The Episcopal Church. A portion of the funding that Episcopal dioceses supplied the national church went to fund the NCC. Thus, a portion of every local parish church's diocesan assessment made up the diocesan contribution to the NCC. The NCC's conspicuous social action agenda incensed the leaders of Old St. Andrew's. They were particularly upset that, by paying its diocesan assessment, the parish was, in effect, supporting the NCC. Heated debates over the NCC occupied much of the vestry's time beginning in the late 1950s and well into the next decade.

Tension ran so high that, at the 1957 diocesan convention at St. Helena's, Beaufort, the delegation from Old St. Andrew's introduced a resolution demanding that the national church withdraw from the NCC. It failed to pass. The vestry spent the year gathering evidence against the NCC and soliciting allies from other parishes. It drafted a new resolution citing the "left-wing affiliations" and "communist-front associations" of leading members of the NCC. Church leaders, many of them military officers, feared that the hidden motive behind the United Nations was the establishment of a one-world government.<sup>56</sup>

When a study committee introduced a resolution at the 1958 diocesan convention that failed to satisfy the delegation from Old St. Andrew's, the parish again demanded that the diocese and national church disassociate from the NCC. Gaillard Vincent, an Army lieutenant colonel and vestry secretary, spoke in support of the resolution.

Shall we accept the true gospel of Jesus Christ or shall we accept the gospel of Social Reform? The two are as far apart as the poles. We must accept one or the other—there is no middle ground. I ask you now, what is our choice to be? One is the gospel of Jesus Christ, the hope and saviour of all mankind—the other, the doctrine of Atheistic Communism, sugar-coated as "Liberalism," a Godless, God-hating doctrine, whose preachments strike at the very roots of the Social order which established this nation, and which, if persisted in, will succeed in destroying the church and inevitably lead to the downfall of this nation.<sup>57</sup>

Despite a “hotly debated floor fight,” the resolution failed by a margin of 48 to 126. In its place the convention passed what parish leaders considered “a very weak statement” for introduction at the next general convention of The Episcopal Church, one that addressed procedural matters within the NCC.<sup>58</sup>

If parish leaders could not effect policy changes with the diocese, it would speak with its wallet. The parish refused to pay its apportioned share of the diocesan assessment that would go toward the NCC—all of \$5.40 (\$40). Not content to let the issue lie, the vestry issued the diocese a check in that amount, with the stipulation that the money was to be used only for diocesan mission work.<sup>59</sup>

The bishop appealed for calm, but the parish continued to demand action. In his address to the 1961 diocesan convention, Bishop Carruthers encouraged open discussion on the NCC, including disagreement with its policies, but in respect and Christian love. The bishop then got to the heart of the matter. “The distaste for the National Council of Churches on the part of some in the Diocese is part of the national struggle between Conservatives and Liberals,” he said. “In our area of the country this is most sharply drawn on the race issue.” In January 1962 the bishop asked his parishes to seek constructive action instead of rashness or disunity. For Old St. Andrew’s, it was more of the same. At its annual congregational meeting that month, the parish approved a resolution again demanding an end to the national church’s affiliation with the NCC. Parish leaders continued to meet with the bishop and other churches to study the issue and debate courses of action.<sup>60</sup>

The second controversy involved the hyper-sensitive issue of race relations. The parish leadership’s reactions mirrored the times. Stuart Hanckel’s and John Grimké Drayton’s ministry to black parishioners seemed a distant memory. In February 1958 the Reverend John Q. Beckwith, a faculty member at Virginia Theological Seminary and former rector of the Church of St. Luke and St. Paul in Charleston, spoke in Washington, D.C., at an interdenominational conference on “Race and Religion in the South.” Beckwith suggested that southern churches take a leadership position to break the “tragic wall of silence” around race relations and actually begin talking about it. He encouraged whites and blacks to meet, together, to discuss race relations. But he also advocated moving slowly, proposing as much as a ten-year “moratorium” on further efforts to advance integration.<sup>61</sup>

Beckwith had dipped his finger in a pot of hot water—to break that wall of silence—only to find the water boiling. After the *News and Courier*

published an article reporting Beckwith's remarks, Old St. Andrew's was ready to throw him in headfirst. A special meeting of the vestry was called. Gaillard Vincent wrote a letter to Virginia Theological Seminary expressing the vestry's outrage. "It is incomprehensible to us that those on whom we depend for spiritual leadership," he said, "either cannot or will not recognize the fact that the question of race relations—commonly referred to as 'segregation'—is nothing more or less than the reverse side of the Communist coin, and an inseparable part of Communist strategy and technique—that of 'Divide and Conquer,' which is as old as recorded history. We cannot stand idly by while students at the Seminary are brainwashed with preaching of false doctrines under the guise of 'Christianity.'"<sup>62</sup>

Tensions over integration hit closer to home. In October 1960 the vestry discussed the possibility that churches might be targeted for sit-ins, and it decided to seat anyone seeking admittance. Three years later the idea of accepting blacks for worship was not as well-received. The vestry unanimously approved the following position, with Father Magee present: "Any colored persons representing themselves at the door would be courteously informed that they are not welcomed into the Parish because of the disruption that it will cause. There is another Episcopal Church about 2 miles down the road where you will be welcomed [St. Andrew's Mission]." As segregationist as the leaders were, they would not condone violence: "There will be no physical violence used to prevent them from seating themselves if they persist." Fortunately it never came to that.<sup>63</sup>

## MILESTONES

Five milestones in the life of the parish occurred during Lynwood Magee's tenure. The first was the return to full parish status with the diocese. After Rev. John Grimké Drayton died, St. Andrew's had been reclassified as *dormant* and for a while *dormant and extinct*. When it was reopened in 1923 for occasional services under the auspices of Rev. Wallace Martin, the church became an *organized mission*, served by deacons or priests in charge. It remained that through the formation of All Saints' Mission and then the reopening of the parish church in 1948. After years of hard work, the leadership of Old St. Andrew's was eager to petition the diocese for reinstatement to full parish status. But it was also realistic, and in early 1953 decided to wait until finances were on firmer ground. The church continued to grow, and by the end of 1954 had 283 baptized members, 179 communicants, and an average Sunday

school attendance of 155. The following March the rector, wardens, and vestry submitted their petition. On the afternoon of April 26, 1955, the first day of the 165th diocesan convention held at St. John's, Florence, Old St. Andrew's Parish Episcopal Church was accepted into union with the convention as a *newly organized* parish. With this change of status, a rector had to be elected, and it was, to no one's surprise, Lynwood Magee.<sup>64</sup>

In addition to regaining parish status, the church celebrated an anniversary and changed its name. Old St. Andrew's celebrated its 250th anniversary on Homecoming Day 1956. Bishop Carruthers preached and confirmed five people, and a picnic dinner was served afterward. In an article describing the church's revitalization, the *News and Courier* recognized Old St. Andrew's as the oldest Episcopal church in South Carolina. At the parish's 1957 annual meeting, the congregation voted to change the official name of the church from *Old St. Andrew's Parish Episcopal Church* to once again, *St. Andrew's Parish Church*. The move was partly a return to the church's historical heritage and partly to reassert its role as the mother church of the parish in the midst of a new mission being established in West Ashley.<sup>65</sup>



Church exterior, 1958 (Used by permission of Evening Post Publishing Co.)

St. Andrew's also submitted its first candidate for Holy Orders since the reopening. In January 1955 Bishop Carruthers accepted parishioner John



Bywater as a postulant, seven years before Bill Skilton. He was ordained a deacon in his parish church in February 1956 and to the priesthood in June 1957 at the Church of the Holy Cross, Sullivan's Island, where he was serving. He would also become priest in charge of Christ Church Mission.<sup>66</sup>

Another milestone involved historical records that were made public. Since so little documentation of the church's past has survived to modern times, it was a signal event when almost fifty years after Mabel Webber began her publication of the colonial register in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Henrietta Jervey published transcriptions from the private register of Rev. Paul Trapier in the same magazine, now called the *South Carolina Historical Magazine*. Archived at the South Carolina Historical Society, the four-and-a-half inch wide, seven inch high, and inch thick handwritten journal remains in remarkably good condition.<sup>67</sup>

#### A NEW EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE PARISH

Changing the name of the parish church was more than an exercise in semantics. It represented a struggle between people who had labored to rebuild their church in the face of nearly insurmountable odds and a diocese which, they believed, sought to siphon off their members to a new church where most of the parish lived.

People continued to stream into the subdivisions west of the Ashley River. "The growth of St. Andrew's Parish is nothing short of atomic," the *News and Courier* reported in 1952. "Since World War II, much of the parish that used to be farm land has assumed a distinctly metropolitan aspect." In the mid-1950s two new bridges were built: North Bridge, connecting St. Andrew's Parish and North Charleston via S.C. 7 over the Ashley River, and the Burnet R. Maybank Bridge, connecting the parish to James Island via Folly Road over Wappoo Creek. In ten years the population of St. Andrew's Parish had doubled, to 22,000 in 1958. In 1961 a second bridge that paralleled the existing bridge from the parish into downtown Charleston was opened on U.S. 17. By the end of that year St. Andrew's Parish Church, now with 585 baptized members, was recognized as "one of the fastest growing parishes in the Charleston area, located as it is in a mushrooming community."<sup>68</sup>

While one Episcopal church for the parish might have been sufficient, albeit inconvenient, in 1948, it was no longer adequate to serve this burgeoning population by the middle of the next decade. Bishop Carruthers and the Reverend Marshall Travers, who had resigned as rector of St. Philip's to plant

another church in West Ashley, had discussed the establishment of a second church in the parish. Called Holy Trinity, it would be located closer to the city near Windermere and The Crescent, south of Savannah Highway. St. John's, a city church, felt its location would not sustain itself and also wanted to move into St. Andrew's Parish, farther out along Savannah Highway.

The leadership of St. Andrew's Parish Church had had no part in the discussions that would directly impact their church. But they had heard the rumors. On September 10, 1956, the vestry invited the parties involved, including Bishop Carruthers, to meet and air their concerns. The bishop's note in his journal for that date said only that he "met with the vestry of Old St. Andrew's Church." The vestry, however, captured the drama of the proceedings in an eighteen-page transcript of the meeting. It was in a foul mood.<sup>69</sup>

Bishop Carruthers began by saying that he had discussed with Father Magee the possibility of establishing a new church in West Ashley and moving an established one from the city into the parish. The bishop said he was surprised that he had never heard from the lay leadership of St. Andrew's, so he thought the matter posed no problem. Establishing new churches to meet the needs of a growing population, he said, was a good problem to have. "You have had good fortune in leadership and very good fortune in your present Rector," the bishop said, "and I think your development has been wonderful. But, there is still need for new churches in the Charleston area generally."<sup>70</sup>

Members of the vestry claimed that the establishment of new churches violated the original parish boundaries, citing the act of 1708 that delineated the geography of the state's first ten parishes. Bishop Carruthers disagreed. The discussion went back and forth, on and on, centering on the vestry's perception that the diocese lacked confidence in St. Andrew's and deemed the church inadequate to handle further growth. The vestry believed that a new church in Windermere would siphon parishioners away from St. Andrew's, to churches closer to their homes, at a time when the parish had expanded its facilities and incurred significant debt to do so.<sup>71</sup>

Father Magee said he had heard that St. John's might move into the parish, but not a mission in Windermere. "The concern of the Parish," he told the bishop, "is not only that we have been left out, so to speak, but feel that we have been treated very much like a stepchild, and the Vestry feels the same ... that St. Andrews was just pushed around." He then entered dangerous territory when he said: "You have re-established friction in the Church and jeopardized the unity that has existed here. The Parish had ill feeling toward the Diocese

for a long time, as you know.” Bishop Carruthers did not let Magee’s remarks go unchallenged. When the members of All Saints’ Mission were trying to get their own church, he said, “on my recommendation we said ‘here is this church not being used [St. Andrew’s], let this congregation have it—no strings attached,’ so don’t say we have treated you badly.” The bishop tried to remain conciliatory, but the vestry continued to bore in on him. When the discussion got too heated, Father Magee stopped the meeting.<sup>72</sup>

The diocese got the message. The following week the Standing Committee agreed to establish a new mission west of the Ashley and north of Wappoo Cut. Reverend Travers would be in charge, but under the jurisdiction of St. Andrew’s Parish Church and “provided that satisfactory arrangements both financial and otherwise are made with the Bishop, St. Andrews and Mr. Travers.” The vestry had won its case, but it was a Pyrrhic victory. It could not stop the new mission but would administer it. Reverend Travers would join the St. Andrew’s vestry and keep it informed on the status of the new Holy Trinity Mission. In October 1956 Holy Trinity began holding services in the Ashley Theater in Avondale until a church could be built. Church school began at 10:00 a.m. on Sundays, followed by worship at 11:15. The administrative details were ironed out by the first week of January 1957. Five months later the diocesan convention recognized Holy Trinity Mission under the jurisdiction of St. Andrew’s Parish Church.<sup>73</sup>

It did not take long for the mission to become its own parish church. Charles S. Dwight Jr., who had been warden of St. Andrew’s for more than thirty years when it was a mission, donated land for a new church on the corner of Folly and Yeaman roads. In March 1958, eighteen months after the contentious meeting over the establishment of new churches in West Ashley, the vestry approved Travers’s request that Holy Trinity be given parish status. The diocesan convention endorsed the change the following month.<sup>74</sup>

Membership declines resulted in St. John’s moving from its downtown location at Hanover and Amherst streets into West Ashley in 1958. The new site offered room for growth, even if it was “on the fringe of a population area,” as its rector the Reverend W. R. Haynsworth described it. The Arlington Drive location was on the grounds of a drive-in theater in the Oakland section of the parish, now south and west of the intersection of Interstate 526 and Savannah Highway. Haynsworth was careful to tell the vestry of St. Andrew’s that his new church would be far enough away from St. Andrew’s so as not to interfere. As with Holy Trinity, the vestry would keep a close eye on St. John’s.

Only a year after it was built, fire destroyed the new church. The congregation met for Sunday services at the St. Andrew's Parish Exchange Club until a new church was built in 1961. St. John's remained in Oakland into the twenty-first century, when the building became home to Coastal Community Church.<sup>75</sup>

#### GUIDING HAND

Lynwood Magee's tenure at St. Andrew's came to an end on July 17, 1963, when he presented a letter of resignation to the vestry, effective August 31. He had accepted a call to All Saints' Church in Florence. "My decision to leave comes only after prayerful and careful consideration of where I can best serve God as a Priest in His Church here on earth," Magee said. "I feel that God calls me to leave St. Andrew's and I know that through the Holy Spirit you will be guided to call a new Rector who will carry this Parish forward to great heights doing the will of God."<sup>76</sup>

Father Magee guided St. Andrew's Parish Church through the most significant period of growth in its history. A half century later his legacy remains. A parish house that was erected and expanded twice bears his name. The old colonial church building was left in good repair. Not only was the physical place of worship revitalized, but so was the communal. The church regained its parish status and celebrated its 250th birthday. During his eleven year tenure the number of baptized members and communicants quadrupled, to 615 and 406, respectively. One of the parish's most active rectors in his diocesan work, Magee served in various capacities, including terms on the Standing Committee and Executive Council and as a general convention deputy. He was one of the most influential priests of St. Andrew's Parish Church, certainly in the twentieth century, if not its entire history.<sup>77</sup>

Mention of Lynwood Magee's name still resonates within the Diocese of South Carolina. After serving as rector and headmaster of the church school at All Saints', Florence, he was for many years rector and dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Luke and St. Paul in Charleston, before retiring in 1988. He died on November 18, 2003, at the age of eighty-two, and was buried in the Cathedral churchyard. His wife Marie was laid to rest beside him six years later.<sup>78</sup>

## REVERSAL AND UNCERTAINTY

1963 – 1985

**T**HE SEARCH FOR A NEW RECTOR did not take long. The week after Father Magee left St. Andrew's, the Reverend John L. Kelly was interviewed in Cheraw, after which senior warden Alfred Butt extended him an offer. Kelly accepted and began on November 1, 1963. Magee's hope that his replacement would "carry this Parish forward to great heights" did not happen. Over the next twenty-two years, the vestry would hire four rectors. Three would resign after short, strained tenures. One would serve nearly eleven years and navigate the parish through the difficult revision of the Book of Common Prayer, before dying at an early age.<sup>1</sup>

## 14TH RECTOR:

REV. JOHN L. KELLY (1963–66)

Reverend Kelly celebrated his forty-fifth birthday shortly after arriving at his new church. Born in Athens, Georgia, and raised in Savannah, he earned a bachelor's degree in education from Georgia Teachers College (now Georgia Southern University), a master's in history from George Peabody College in Nashville, and was a graduate of Union Theological Seminary in New York. He was a high school teacher and policeman in Savannah before his call to the ministry. Ordained a deacon in 1954 and a priest a year later, Kelly had served as assistant rector of Christ Church, Savannah, headmaster of St. Andrew's School in Tennessee, which he had attended as a youth, and vicar of Grace Church in Sandersville, Georgia, before becoming rector of St. David's, Cheraw, in 1959. Kelly and his



Rev. John L. Kelly (Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

wife Kathryn had four children. One was at college, one worked as a teacher, and two teenage boys moved into the rectory with their parents. Kelly told the *News and Courier* on arriving in Charleston, “the world’s only chance is in a faith in God. If some people don’t straighten up, we’ll all be in a bad fix.”<sup>2</sup>

#### PARISH AFFAIRS

As the parish grew, its leaders began thinking of ways to expand the church property to accommodate future needs, such as more parking, additions to the parish house, and perhaps one day, a new church. One of the first matters Father Kelly inherited from Lynwood Magee was an offer from real estate developer Howard H. Lamar to sell the church about nine acres adjoining its property to the north—the only adjacent land on the same side of Ashley River Road that the church could consider for expansion. It was enticing to think of acquiring land for a new church someday, with the historic St. Andrew’s becoming a chapel open for special occasions. But the cost and Lamar’s refusal to allow the land to be used for cemetery expansion killed the deal. St. Andrew’s found itself encircled by Ashley River Road, Church Creek, and the Ashley Towne Landing subdivision.<sup>3</sup>

Issues with the national church continued to occupy the vestry’s time and energy. Since 1957 St. Andrew’s had resisted any support for the National Council of Churches in Christ. The issue refused to go away, and seven years after the vestry’s initial opposition to the NCC, four incidents again drove the vestry to action. These were the NCC’s escalating political presence, its support for training college students in Ohio to establish “freedom schools” in Mississippi, Episcopal clergy taking an active involvement in civil rights, and the presiding bishop’s support of those clergy.<sup>4</sup>

On August 10, 1964, the vestry passed a resolution to withhold 35 percent of the parish’s diocesan apportionment, part of which would be used to support the national church and in turn the NCC. Again the vestry called for The Episcopal Church to sever its relationship with the NCC. Father Kelly sent the document to the Right Reverend Gray Temple; his response was measured and conciliatory. Bishop Temple did not defend the NCC but pointed out that the parish’s actions would hurt the diocese more than the NCC or the national church. The Episcopal Church contributed just one half of one percent of its annual budget to support the NCC, the bishop said. The share of the national church’s support of the NCC from the Diocese of South Carolina was a mere \$651 (\$4,800), or 4.6 cents (34 cents) per communicant.



None of the national church's money went to support the NCC's Commission on Religion and Race, and the bishop pointed out that the NCC did not sponsor the "Mississippi Summer Project." The debate continued through the end of 1965.<sup>5</sup>

A resolution was introduced at the 1966 convention that again demanded the diocese cut its ties with the NCC. The response was as simple as it was final: the diocese had no legal way of ending this relationship, so no action could be taken. Today The Episcopal Church continues to be one of the member communions of the National Council of Churches USA.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the NCC controversy, the vestry was furious that the Bishop of California sought to ordain a woman to the priesthood in 1965. The Diocese of South Carolina reaffirmed that the highest order open to women was deaconess. In 1974 the "Philadelphia Eleven" were the first women ordained as Episcopal priests, but without the approval of the national church. Just a few years later, however, the ordination of women was here to stay, and it caused deep discord within The Episcopal Church. Liberals rejoiced, but for conservative dioceses and parishes, such as the Diocese of South Carolina and St. Andrew's Parish Church, the ordination of women was one of a number of issues that resulted in a long, slow deterioration in their relationship with the national church.<sup>7</sup>

#### MONEY AND MALAISE

If money were an issue with the NCC, it became a serious matter when it came to operating St. Andrew's. The church's financial position eroded to the point where it could barely pay its bills. Cash on hand at the end of July 1964 dropped to a *negative* \$29.13 (-\$200), and at the end of September, only \$7.30 (\$50) was in the checking account. Senior warden Micah Jenkins, who owned and operated a nursery on Savannah Highway in the western part of the parish, sent parishioners a letter in October urging them to meet the crisis. Cemetery plot sales, designated for capital project needs, were used to keep the church afloat. But even this income was dwindling. Throughout 1965 the ECW assisted with monthly payments on the parish house loan. In October Jenkins wrote the parish again: "In many ways we have had a good year. . . . But the financial picture is in a sad state. If our collections do not improve we will continue spending a great deal more than we have taken in. This deficiency is being paid out of our small reserves and is not a healthy state of affairs. . . . If this deficiency continues we will be unable to operate."<sup>8</sup>

The parish failed to respond. Yet the vestry's 1966 budget exceeded pledges by more than \$6,100 (\$43,200). Hastie and others stressed that parish operations had been financed, year after year, by cemetery funds to avoid a deficit, and if continued would seriously jeopardize commitments in that area.<sup>9</sup>

At its January 1966 meeting, the vestry talked about a malaise that had blanketed the church like a sultry summer day. Parishioners were coming to church on Sunday but backing off other participation, such as choir and Sunday school. A parish council was created to "rejuvenate all church affiliated activities, place the church on a firm financial foundation, and cure the apparent apathy." By May Father Kelly reported that the council was doing a good job and that communication among church organizations had improved.<sup>10</sup>

Kelly had inherited a parish from Lynwood Magee whose growth potential seemed endless. But the frenetic pace of membership growth, building projects, and ever-increasing budgets could not last forever, and Kelly felt the consequences. The number of communicants began to fall away soon after Magee left, from a high of 406 in 1962, his last full year as rector, to 340 by the end of 1963, only two months after Kelly arrived. Three years later the number remained virtually unchanged.<sup>11</sup>

Another factor came into play—John Kelly's illness and its resulting effects. The rector had begun experiencing impaired blood flow to the brain, which caused emotional frailty and bouts of uncontrollable anger. In November 1964 Bishop Temple visited him in the hospital. Kelly was given a leave of absence from February through May 1965, with the bishop's concurrence. The vestry asked Bishop Temple to assign Kelly elsewhere until he was ready to resume his parochial duties.<sup>12</sup>

Father Kelly did not appreciate the forced leave, and he continued coming to church to work. Bishop Temple said he would try to stop it. The bishop discussed with senior warden Jenkins how Kelly's emotions might appear. "I mention this," Temple said, "because I hear from some sources that people in the congregation have been disturbed by his seemingly angry outbursts. It might be helpful for them to know that this is not normal nor will it continue, I am given to understand, but is a temporary condition resulting from his illness."<sup>13</sup>

The situation deteriorated after Father Kelly began sharing his frustrations with others. In April 1965 Jenkins sent the rector a letter, with copies to the vestry and bishop, saying, "I was greatly disturbed to learn that you have been airing publicly your relations with the Vestry of St. Andrews Church. This of

*Reversal and Uncertainty (1963–1985)*

course has led to rumors and gossip which can and will be unhealthy, to our Church and perhaps to you and to your relations with St. Andrews.” He asked Kelly to keep his remarks private and discuss any issues he had with the vestry.<sup>14</sup>

Father Kelly resumed his duties as rector in mid-May. By the beginning of 1966 he had responded well to his treatment, but tensions in the parish continued. On September 1, 1966, Kelly resigned, effective October 1. He was assigned to serve St. Matthew’s, Fort Motte, and Epiphany, Eutawville. John Kelly’s tenure lasted one month shy of three years.<sup>15</sup>

**15TH RECTOR:**

**REV. HOWARD TAYLOR CUTLER (1967–70)**

The vestry searched for a new rector through the fall of 1966 and into the winter and spring of 1967. It was thrilled when the Reverend Howard Cutler accepted its invitation. Senior warden Edward T. Simons Jr., a timber cruiser for the federal government and a distant cousin of Charles Simons, later said that, “We went through some dark days before he came to us and I’m sure the Lord was guiding us when several other rectors failed to accept our calls.” Cutler seemed the man for the job. He had everything St. Andrew’s was looking for.<sup>16</sup>

For the last five years Reverend Cutler had been rector of Holy Innocents Church in Moss Hill, North Carolina, a small town southwest of Kinston in Lenoir County, in the Diocese of East Carolina. He had graduated from East Carolina College in 1959 and Virginia Theological Seminary three years later. He had shepherded Holy Innocents through a period of growth, overseen building projects, and started a kindergarten. He was active in diocesan affairs and his service as youth director and member of the Christian Education committee caught the eye of a parish



Rev. Howard T. Cutler (Courtesy of St. Andrew’s Parish Church)

leadership attuned to the needs of its young members. He and his wife Betty had two children. Cutler led his first worship service as rector of St. Andrew's on April 9, 1967, the second Sunday after Easter. A reception was held for him and his family in the parish house a month later.<sup>17</sup>

## RENEWAL

The issues facing Howard Cutler were the same that John Kelly had grappled with. The facilities needed attention, paying the bills was a monthly ordeal, and parishioners had to be reengaged in the life of their church.

Father Cutler's initial vestry meetings focused on physical problems with the parish house. Water intrusion through the exterior walls had become a recurring problem. There was a leak in the men's restroom, the ceiling tiles were falling out in the senior high classrooms, tile floors were needed in the four-year-old classroom, and the unfinished upstairs area, which the youth used as a recreation room, lacked heat. By August 1967 repairs had begun, upstairs and downstairs. To save money parishioners worked at night to build new classrooms, a library, and a church school office; add space in the kitchen; and set new tile on the floors of several rooms.<sup>18</sup>

Getting the budget under control was paramount. Cash flow problems became so acute that in July 1967 senior warden Simons pled with parishioners for their help: "We stand at the crossroads in the long history of St. Andrew's Parish . . . We are faced with a financial crisis . . . *We must have more money soon.*" The church continued to rely on contributions from the ECW and transfers from designated accounts to make ends meet. To remove the temptation to continue to use cemetery funds to bail out operating deficits, a stock trust was established specifically for cemetery maintenance. It looked like the parish had turned a financial corner when Richard Shifflett, chairman of the 1968 Every Member Canvass, led the stewardship committee in generating 50 percent more pledge income.<sup>19</sup>

During Father Cutler's first year, a new committee was formed to highlight the importance of the most central of all church functions: music and worship. In October 1967 Sara Younkin was hired as organist, choir director, and director of music. She would become a beloved part of St. Andrew's Parish Church during a tenure that would span thirty-five years.<sup>20</sup>

The parish had found a renewed sense of purpose. The new rector "has truly brought a new spirit to St. Andrews in the past 10 months," senior warden Simons wrote in his annual report. "He has done a tremendous job since coming here." Simons encouraged parishioners to get involved, saying, "there is a limit

as to how much a man can do—so with Mr. Cutler furnishing the leadership he will need the help and cooperation of everyone to keep St. Andrews growing.”<sup>21</sup>

Dick Shiflett felt so heartened that he wrote Bishop Temple a letter in December 1967 about the renewal in the parish since Father Cutler had arrived. Shiflett, who would be elected junior warden the following year, recounted a litany of accomplishments: 52 confirmations had taken place in seven months; church school attendance had doubled to 168; pledges had increased 64 percent; a new organist had been hired and new choir formed. “St. Andrews needed a new image,” Shiflett wrote, “and we are getting it. The people are great, but need a little love and kindness and confidence to know they can accomplish great things for the Lord.” He closed by saying, “Yes, ‘St. Andrews is an old church, but a church with a new spirit.’”<sup>22</sup>

Father Cutler issued his first “State of Our Church Message” at the annual congregational meeting in January 1968. He was full of energy and enthusiasm. “No period of my life has been more stimulating, challenging, or rewarding than the nine months we have worked here together,” he said. “At this significant time, I thank you for accepting me, encouraging me, supporting me, loving me and inspiring me. Whatever I may have given to you—you have returned to me three-fold.”<sup>23</sup>

What did Cutler see on the horizon? He believed that church school attendance would increase 10–20 percent. He wanted worship life deepened with an improved music program under Sara Younkin’s guidance and more emphasis on mid-week services. He needed an assistant priest to help with visitations, Christian education, worship, and administration. “Believe me, I am not crying the blues!” he said. “Just stating the facts as I see them developing.” He saw the need for restoration work in the church, especially in the sanctuary, and maybe one day, a new church once “we have put our present house in tip-top shape, both physically and spiritually.” With the confidence of a successful first year, Father Cutler issued the parish a challenge, as Lynwood Magee had done before him: “We are at a cross-roads in the long life of St. Andrews. At this point where we stand now—we will either plan to meet the challenge [for embracing growth] or we will drop the ball. It’s that simple.”<sup>24</sup>

#### CONSOLIDATION

The energy around Cutler’s honeymoon year did not last. The year 1968 was one of both consolidation and experimentation. Although some improvements were made, the parish did not embrace Cutler’s call to action as he had hoped.

Church finances remained precarious. The record amount of pledges promised in the fall of 1967 failed to translate into actual giving. That summer the vestry discussed “the crises in finances,” and it did again in November. Despite nagging shortfalls in operating income, money was needed for continued maintenance work in the parish house and the church. Another end-of-year stewardship campaign was successful, with a new record, \$42,500 (\$266,400) in pledges, raised for 1969. The ECW provided money for eighteen different projects. The sale of forty-one cemetery plots brought in \$5,925 (\$39,100). With sales continuing at a brisk pace, Norwood Hastie, who had been elected president of the South Carolina Historical Society, took a number of measures both to accommodate and slow down activity. The area between the church and creek was made ready for sale. The cost of cemetery plots was increased and would no longer be sold close to the church.<sup>25</sup>

The rectory at 712 West Oak Forest Drive was identified as a potential source of income. More than twelve years after its purchase, on November 30, 1968, it was sold for \$19,000 (\$125,400). Net proceeds to the church were \$13,704 (\$90,400).<sup>26</sup>

Repairs to the parish house continued in 1968. The following year, up to \$9,000 (\$59,400) was authorized to complete the second floor, including a new heating system plus work on the ceiling, asphalt tile floors, carpentry, insulation, and lighting.<sup>27</sup>

Music and worship required attention. With the hiring of Younkin, “a gifted, highly-qualified, and hard-working instructor,” obtaining a new organ, Cutler said, was “not an *option*, but a *necessity*.” Declining birth rates and changing societal mores began to impact attendance in mainline Protestant churches, including The Episcopal Church, beginning in the mid-1960s, but diocesan and parish membership held their own. The Reverend Earl Wicks, of Epiphany, Summerville, provided assistance with church services, visitations, and teaching in 1968, yet Cutler was dismayed that two-thirds of the time attendance at the three Sunday services could be combined into one.<sup>28</sup>

Compounding the disappointing attendance at Sunday worship were proposed changes to the established liturgy. What came to be known as the “prayer book controversy,” one of the most difficult periods in the history of the mid-twentieth century Episcopal Church, began at St. Andrew’s in 1968, when it was introduced to the first in a series of trial liturgies designed to modernize worship. While churches around the country wrestled with the changes, few did so with the intensity of St. Andrew’s, a conservative parish



steeped in tradition and history. The new liturgies disrupted a pattern of worship using the 1928 Book of Common Prayer that had been a predictable and comfortable part of Sunday devotional life for generations. These revisions hearkened back to the liturgical changes instituted by the parish's second rector, Rev. Ebenezer Taylor, which more than two centuries earlier had proven disastrous.

The first trial liturgy was used at St. Andrew's from the first Sunday in Lent to the first Sunday in Advent in 1968. Father Cutler believed that the parish had responded to it better than he had expected. Bishop Temple gave the clergy the discretion to continue to use it, and he encouraged them to do so. St. Andrew's returned to the 1928 prayer book, with the trial liturgy used occasionally as a teaching tool.<sup>29</sup>

Cutler had seriously misjudged his parishioners. In a survey of their attitudes toward the new liturgy, more than half disagreed that the trial liturgy was "generally on the right track." Two-thirds of those responding said that the new liturgy did not "deepen your appreciation of worship," "make you feel deeply involved in worship of the whole congregation," or "make you feel like a member of a larger family." The answers to these questions were nearly identical throughout the diocese. The single biggest issue, parishioners said in open-ended responses, involved changes to the Creed, particularly moving from a personal to a corporate commitment of faith, from *I believe* to *We believe*. Other responses were blunt: "whole service grossly unsatisfactory" and "jumps around, too hard to follow." People disliked the omission of the Prayer of Humble Access and the final blessing. These qualitative reactions illustrated the depth of feelings parishioners had with the proposed changes. The issue would become more contentious in the years to come, especially since three-fourths of the clergy in the diocese thought the new liturgy was headed in the right direction.<sup>30</sup>

To strengthen interest in the parish's youth program, Cathie Diggs was hired as the church's first full-time, paid Christian education director beginning January 1, 1969. A resident counselor at Baptist College (now Charleston Southern University) with no Christian education experience, Cutler viewed her as an "experiment." He gave her a twelve-month trial contract and said he would train her.<sup>31</sup>

At the end of 1968 the church was made aware that Pure Oil, a division of Union Oil Company of California, planned to build a service station on the property immediately across the street from the church, on the corner

of Ashley River and Plainview roads. These plans were well underway, since Pure had initiated a soil analysis of the property in the spring. The vestry unanimously opposed construction of the gas station, and it was never built. To protect itself from further incursions and to secure land for future use, the vestry purchased the property six years later. It remained unused until it was sold to Church Creek Presbyterian Church in 2009.<sup>32</sup>

## RESTORATION

The church remained a charming place of worship. In the years before air conditioning, the first person to arrive on a warm Sunday morning would open the windows and doors, and the last one out would close them. It was not uncommon for birds to fly inside and an occasional dog or cat to wander in.<sup>33</sup> But maintaining the church had been a concern since the 1948 reopening and its immediate restoration. Ongoing work had to be delayed while the parish house was built, expanded, finished, and repaired, and then a rectory built and maintained. Howard Cutler's tenure was noted by the first thorough restoration of the church in twenty years.

In 1969 the exterior walls were sandblasted, patched, and stuccoed. The trim and doors were painted "Charleston green," a dark, almost black-green, and the roof, dark green. Nine-paned circular windows, reminiscent of those in Charles Fraser's 1800 watercolor, were added in the gables over the south and west doors. These replaced the triangular vents that were installed in 1952.<sup>34</sup>

Inside the church, a new stone and brick floor was set in the nave, transept, and sanctuary. Large flagstone pavers had been laid five-across in the aisles between the pews and into the sanctuary. They were set directly into the dirt or sand, without mortar, and over time had become brittle and cracked. The uneven surface caused many a stumble from stubbed toes or heels caught in the gaps. When the pavers were removed to smooth out the area, three layers of stone and brick were found in the dirt under the aisles of the nave and transept. Among them were "ballast brick," so called because they were thought to have been ballast from ships sailing from England during colonial times. The discovered materials were more durable than the stones of the existing floor, so the old floor was completely replaced. Two different types of pavers that were found were now set into a new pattern in the nave and transept. Rows of three large brown pavers were set in the middle of the aisles and were bordered by diamond-shaped rows of small

red pavers. In the center of the sanctuary, the small red pavers were laid in a straight set to about the edge of the altar. On each side of the sanctuary and altar, the bricks found under the old floor were laid in a diagonal set. The saltire, or cross of St. Andrew, also in brick, was set at two locations—the crossing of the aisles and the west entrance. Pavers and bricks were then mortared in place.<sup>35</sup>

The pews, gallery, and inside of the doors were repainted a surprising new color. The architect chosen for the restoration recommended the color blue, which generated considerable debate among parishioners and the vestry. So when the vestry agreed to follow the architect's plan, blue came to dominate the interior of the church for the next twenty-two years. Pew numbers were added in gold to the top panel of each door.<sup>36</sup>

The worship experience was significantly enhanced with the purchase of a new Zimmer pipe organ. The entire system was moved to the east end of the church, with the pipes located on the south transept wall and the console behind the pulpit. The new organ was first used for worship on Sunday, September 28, 1969, and dedicated on December 21.<sup>37</sup>

The gallery was put into good order. The area had been used to house the organ pipes, but these had been dismantled and were lying on the floor. A curtain had screened the gallery from the church to hide the disarray. The pipes were now removed and reset along the southeast wall of the transept after the new organ was purchased. Benches were installed in the gallery, so the area could again be used for seating at worship. The benches in use today date to the 1969 restoration.<sup>38</sup>

Other proposed work did not materialize. The cast iron railing around the pulpit and reading desk, which had been removed within the last year or two, was not reinstalled until 1991. Nor did the church approve a request from the Bull family to place a marble monument in the church in the memory of Stephen Bull, who came to Carolina in 1670 and settled Ashley Hall. Other work that the vestry wanted to initiate would have to wait until funds became available, including refinishing the pulpit, reading desk, and reredos and adding carpet to the balcony stairs.<sup>39</sup>

At the same time the church was being restored, other work was completed, mostly in the parish house and funded by the ECW. The offices and choir room were remodeled. The upstairs got a new ceiling, floor, woodwork, and heater. "Those of us who knew it when," Father Cutler said, "would never recognize it now."<sup>40</sup>

## MONEY PROBLEMS

The longstanding issue with money, or the lack of it, continued to impact church operations. The same pattern persisted: parishioners would pledge, sometimes in record amounts, but not follow through, leaving large operating deficits. Senior warden Rivers Jacobs, an infantry officer twice-wounded in the Korean War before he joined his father to operate Charleston's only Kodacolor photo processing plant, sent parishioners a letter in March 1969 describing the impact of unpaid pledges they had made just a few months before. The situation got worse as the year progressed. By the end of July a bank overdraft of \$6,067 (\$38,000) had to be taken out to pay the bills. Another letter was mailed in October. By November pledges were \$5,000 (\$31,300) behind. Jacobs called the financial status of the parish "very dim." An Every Member Canvass stewardship drive led by Reuben H. (Buster) Brown at the end of 1969 produced another set of record-breaking results. But by April 1970 obligations totaled \$2,200 (\$13,000) and the balance in the checking account was only \$600 (\$3,600). The ECW continued to provide a financial lifeline that kept the church solvent.<sup>41</sup>

In one aspect of the church's finances, cemetery plot sales, church leaders developed a solution for a problem that had become increasingly worrisome. Throughout the sixties, non-members had taken advantage of the opportunity to secure a burial plot on the grounds of one of Charleston's most historic churches. Few had been sold to members. To limit demand among non-members, their purchase price doubled, while the price remained the same (and considerably less expensive) to members. The measure worked. "The Vestry action to reduce the sale of lots to non-communicants," Norwood Hastie said, "has proved most successful."<sup>42</sup>

## APATHY RETURNS

Despite the improved facilities, parishioners' lackadaisical approach to Sunday church attendance continued. Unable to contain his frustration, Father Cutler devoted the first three pages of the February 1969 newsletter to the apathy he saw. Most Sundays the church was only one-third full. Church school attendance had fallen off. He asked for the basics. Come to church next Sunday, he said, smile, sing the hymns and responses, "stay with me through the sermon," and bring the children to church school. In the months that followed, Cutler continued to encourage his parishioners. To put meaning into Lent he suggested mending broken relationships and being kinder and

more tolerant. He tried being lighthearted: as “an instant physical check-up,” he suggested holding up a circle and blowing on it. “If it turns green, call your physician. If it turns brown, see your dentist. If it turns red, see your banker. If it turns black, call your lawyer and make a will. If it remains the same color, you are in good health and there is no reason on earth why you should not be in Church next Sunday!”<sup>43</sup>

The apathy Cutler observed extended into Christian education. His experiment with hiring and mentoring a Christian education director did not work, but it was not for lack of trying. Diggs attempted a number of innovative approaches to involve the youth, but church school attendance in 1969 fell off by half that of the previous year, and she resigned. Father Cutler and Dick Shiflett, chairman of the Christian education committee, were direct with the congregation. Cutler cited “lack of concern and real dedication on the part of the parents of the children” for the drop in attendance, and hoped the situation would improve immediately. “This is a very poor showing,” Shiflett said, “and I challenge you to help us reverse this trend in 1970.” The parish responded, and church school attendance improved.<sup>44</sup>

Father Cutler prepared the vestry for another round of experimentation with a trial liturgy. He appealed to his parish to accept the changes that were coming. “The Christian Church is changing whether we like it or not,” he said. “That is not to say that the Gospel of Christ is changing but it is saying that the mode and the old accepted ways of doing things will change. Most of us would like to hold to the past where it is comfortable. But since this is not possible we must Gird our loins and move forward post haste.”<sup>45</sup>

#### BLACK MILITANTS ROCK THE CHURCH

The actions taken at General Convention II held at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana, in September 1969 created a furor within The Episcopal Church, the diocese, and the parish. Black militants insisted on speaking to the convention, disrupted sessions, forced their way to the floor, and demanded money for economic development. After a number of heated sessions, the convention passed a resolution authorizing \$200,000 (\$1.3 million) for black community development, to be administered through an interdenominational National Committee of Black Churchmen. This clergy group had strong ties to the Black Economic Development Conference (BEDC), whose “manifesto” the presiding bishop of The Episcopal Church, John E. Hines, had called “revolutionary, Marxist, anti-Semitic, violent, and

shocking.” The manifesto’s author, James Forman, had disrupted worship services in the months preceding the convention, demanding \$3 billion (\$18.8 billion) from white churches in reparations for past wrongs to blacks.<sup>46</sup>

Convention delegates from the Diocese of South Carolina opposed the measure that approved the funding, but they had to face angry constituents when they returned home. Headlines from *The State* in Columbia blared: “Churchmen Finance Black Revolution” and “Episcopalians Pondering Capitulation to Demands.” The bishop’s office objected to what it considered inflammatory and inaccurate reporting in the Charleston dailies, leading the editorial staff of the *News and Courier* to publish an explanation for how it had covered the convention and its aftermath.<sup>47</sup>

On Sunday, September 14, clergy throughout the diocese read from the pulpit a pastoral letter from Bishop Temple discussing “misunderstandings and concerns” from General Convention II. Before reading the bishop’s letter, Father Culter asked his parish for patience: “My plea is not to give way to emotionalism. As Christians we are called to act with sanity and not insanity, keep our feet on the ground, to be calm as one can, in the vernacular of today to keep our *cool*.” St. Andrew’s sent a representative to a special diocesan meeting at Kanuga Conference Center in Hendersonville, North Carolina, to discuss possible actions. As a result, the diocesan Executive Council passed a resolution stating its strong opposition to the actions taken at General Convention II, “find[ing] the Manifesto a Marxist, Black Racist, violent, anti-Christian, anti-Semitic, anti-democratic document to which no responsible Christian church could subscribe.” Father Cutler and senior warden Jacobs sent a letter to the presiding bishop supporting the diocese’s position. To allow parishioners a voice in their opposition to the national church’s support of the BEDC, the vestry followed the lead of the diocese and developed two-part pledge cards for 1970, one for the parish church and diocese and another for the national church.<sup>48</sup>

#### FOCUS ON HISTORY

Howard Cutler was also remembered for his interest in keeping alive the history of his parish church. In October 1968 he established a “historical research committee,” with the goal of producing a comprehensive history of St. Andrew’s Parish Church. Dorothy Rigsby, who headed the Altar Guild, chaired the committee and was assisted by Doris Gressitt, Dorothy McGuckin, Betty Millar, Millie Montgomery, Terry Serfass, and Sherri Swenson. They



### *Reversal and Uncertainty (1963–1985)*

spent hours combing libraries, museums, historical societies, and diocesan records. They wrote to the Library of Congress requesting copies of letters that colonial rectors had written to the SPG. They continued where Gene Taylor had left off and secured copies of Taylor's histories of the church through the 1950s. The history committee was active until Rigsby was seriously injured in a car accident in the 1970s and Gressitt and Serfass moved out of the area.<sup>49</sup>

Other historical events occurred during Father Cutler's tenure. Mrs. Pinckney Alston (Aida) Trapier, the granddaughter the church's ninth rector, Rev. Paul Trapier, bequeathed St. Andrew's Trapier's pocket watch, one of his linen communion cloths, and \$10,000 (\$66,000). As part of the 1970 commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the founding of Carolina, the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission placed a historical marker on Ashley River Road near the entrance to the church. On Sunday, April 5, 1970, each church in the diocese was encouraged to give thanks in remembrance of the establishment of the colony. Two weeks later forty parishioners from St. Andrew's participated in the anniversary program held at The Citadel Armory.<sup>50</sup>

#### RESIGNATION

Howard Cutler resigned in June 1970. His decision was the culmination of "many months of thought, concern, prayer and with many mixed emotions. Each person has to answer many basic questions about one's own life." He characterized his three year and three month tenure as rector as "rewarding, fulfilling and frustrating." Most parishioners were surprised at the departure, but some knew that he could no longer escape allegations of infidelity, and he left before matters got worse. Cutler would leave Charleston by the end of the month to begin another vocation. As often occurs when a rector leaves, membership and communicant strength declined significantly.<sup>51</sup>

#### 16TH RECTOR:

##### REV. JOHN ERNEST GILCHRIST (1970–81)

As it had done following the resignation of previous rectors, the vestry immediately sought out candidates for a new spiritual leader. The Reverend John Gilchrist was one of five identified. Like Howard Cutler, Gilchrist was serving in the Diocese of East Carolina, as rector of St. Paul's Church in Beaufort, North Carolina. Unlike Cutler, Gilchrist's roots were in Charleston. By October 1970 the vestry made him its choice. "I think St. Andrew's is lucky

to get a man of your stature,” Bishop Temple wrote Gilchrist on hearing of his acceptance, “and I’m overjoyed to have you and Barbara back in our diocesan family.” Bishop Temple installed John Gilchrist as rector of St. Andrew’s on November 30, 1970, the feast day of the parish’s patron saint and two weeks after Gilchrist’s thirty-fifth birthday.<sup>52</sup>

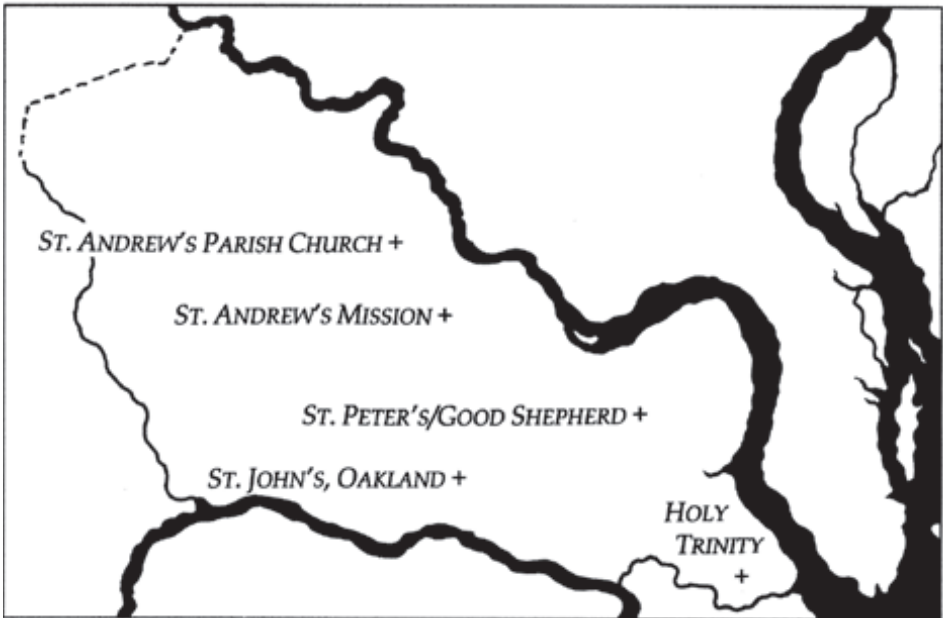
John Ernest Gilchrist was born on November 15, 1935, and he like Lynwood Magee grew up in the parish. He graduated from St. Andrew’s Parish High School and preceded Bill Skilton at The Citadel (class of 1958) and seminary at Sewanee. Bishop Temple ordained him a deacon on June 27, 1961, and a priest on June 26, 1962. Before coming to St. Andrew’s, he served as assistant rector of St. Michael’s, Charleston, priest in charge of St. Matthias’s, Summerton, and St. Mark’s, Pinewood, and from 1966 to 1970, rector of St. Paul’s, Beaufort. The new rector was married to Barbara A. Blank, who grew up in the Windermere section of the parish. Father Gilchrist, or Johnny as he was known to his friends and family, would be remembered fondly by those who knew him. Stanley Schultz III, who would serve as junior warden three times with Gilchrist, characterized him as “just fantastic, not only as a preacher but as a person and friend. He was down to earth, just like one of us.”<sup>53</sup>



Rev. John E. Gilchrist (Courtesy of Barbara Gilchrist)

WEST ASHLEY ADDS ANOTHER EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The makeup of Episcopalian West Ashley continued to change in the early years of John Gilchrist's rectorship. As more people continued to flock to the area, the diocese recognized the need for another Episcopal church. In the early 1970s St. Peter's moved from Charleston and was reestablished about five miles from St. Andrew's, on Miles Drive, fronting Old Towne Road and across the street from Charles Towne Landing State Historic Site. (Today the congregation is known as the Church of the Good Shepherd.) While the vestry of St. Andrew's had vigorously opposed the establishment of new churches Holy Trinity and St. John's, Oakland, in the 1950s, the founding of St. Peter's proved uneventful. The mother church had enough to worry about than another new congregation in its midst. There were now five Episcopal churches in the area, with more than 2,000 members, almost four times the number at St. Andrew's alone.<sup>54</sup>



The Episcopal Churches of West Ashley (Plan by the author. Illustration by Michael Porwoll)

PROPERTY CONSIDERATIONS

Interest in the churchyard cemetery continued to grow, despite efforts taken in 1969 to dampen demand by doubling the price to non-church members. Sales had become so brisk that the vestry feared available plots would soon

be exhausted. So in March 1971 a new policy was instituted that required purchasers to be *members in good standing* within the church. This restriction was upheld rigorously. The vestry denied requests from such prominent applicants as A. G. D. Wiles, head of the English Department at The Citadel (1936–60) and President of Newberry College (1960–71), and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Jr., whose petition was made on behalf of his uncle, whose sister and her brother were buried in the graveyard. Almost twenty later Kinloch Bull Jr. submitted an extraordinary request, which was never acted on, that the vestry permit the interment of the remains of seven members of the Bull family, including Col. William Izard Bull, from Magnolia Cemetery to a single site in the parish graveyard.<sup>55</sup>

The parking lot underwent significant change in 1973. What had been a sandy driveway and parking area were transformed into a more durable surface with the addition of eighty tons of gravel.<sup>56</sup> Maintaining such an extensive gravel drive and parking area has required constant attention, but a more permanent solution (paving) was never considered, given the cost and irreparable damage that would result to the historical integrity of the grounds.

Capital projects were undertaken to improve the comfort and meaning of the worship experience. The installation of the first air conditioning system in the church in 1971 brought cool relief on hot summer days. Six years later the heating system was replaced and the air conditioning system upgraded. Two musical enhancements were added in the 1970s: a Baldwin piano and bench were purchased, and two new stops to the organ were installed. Robert G. Loewenthal, chair of the music and worship committee, said the expense was well worth it. “One must realize that each stop requires many new pipes to appreciate the magnitude of this improvement,” he said. “The new sound is impressive and the increase in value of our organ is substantial.”<sup>57</sup>

Leaks in the parish house roof continued to plague the church. Vestry minutes were filled with discussion about leaking roofs and what to do about them. In 1972 a new roof was installed over the one-story, front part of the parish house, but within six months leaks reappeared. In early 1973 the roof over the connecting hallway between the parish house and education wing was repaired, and then the roof over the education wing began leaking. “It is raining upstairs in the Parish House,” Sarah Seithel, an exasperated clerk of the vestry, recorded in the February 1973 minutes. The vestry hired C&W Roofing to replace the roof over the parish house and repair the church roof. But within two years leaks were back at the parish house; C&W never responded

to repeated inquiries. By 1979 leaks reappeared in the second-story roof, and a different contractor replaced it at a cost of almost \$7,000 (\$22,100).<sup>58</sup>

Vandalism to the buildings and grounds became a frequent occurrence. In John Gilchrist's first vestry meeting, he heard that windows in the rectory that had been smashed were being repaired. In the summer of 1971 the parish house was broken into seven times in nine days. Vestry members watched the building at night for a week in rotating shifts. The next year, following a series of break-ins, an alarm system was installed in the parish house. Outside lighting and vandalism on the grounds were topics of the February 1975 vestry meeting. In 1980 and 1981 the window air conditioning unit in the nursery was stolen; the parish house was broken into, with the safe and several doors damaged; and a small sterling silver bowl was taken. When discussing the latest round of vandalism, the vestry would quip that the parish had had its "annual break in."<sup>59</sup>

The old caretaker's cottage, built in 1923, was razed in 1972. Repaired after the church reopened in 1948, the little building had housed the Sunday school until the parish house was built and then expanded.<sup>60</sup>

#### IMPROVEMENTS TO THE PARISH HOUSE

By the mid-1970s church leaders realized that the parish house again needed to be enlarged. It would be the fourth phase of the building's existence: the first was construction of the original one-story structure in 1953; the second, the 1956 enlargement; and the third, the 1962 two-story addition of the education wing in the back, joined to the front of the building by a connecting corridor. The building required a meeting room large enough for dinners and social gatherings plus a suitable kitchen. These spaces were especially important as Tea Room continued to be such a vital part of parish life each spring.

By August 1976 agreement was reached with Don Couch Construction Company for a space of 3,160 square feet, at a cost of \$191,000 (\$771,000). Construction began in December. On Sunday, June 26, 1977, Father Gilchrist dedicated the newly enlarged parish house. The Georgian-design fellowship hall now seated more than a hundred people comfortably. Near the new kitchen were a wait station and a large pantry, and just off the kitchen, a storage room for tables and chairs. New restrooms and a new acolyte room were built in the hallway outside the fellowship hall. The adjacent offices, conference room (today the work room), library, and storage room were updated. A zoned heating and air conditioning system was installed. The exterior was

stuccoed and quoins were added to match the church. Father Gilchrist was proud to say, “We are thankful indeed to have one of the finest Parish Houses in the Diocese of South Carolina.” He used the dedication ceremony as an opportunity to solicit greater parish involvement to reduce the debt:

How exciting it would have been ... to be able to contribute to the building of the Church itself, which now stands as the oldest church building in South Carolina! St. Andrew’s has been a house of worship for two hundred seventy years.... We enjoy this building and its history, but none of us gave anything towards its building. It has been passed down to us.

What we now have is an opportunity to take part in passing on to others, including our own children, a modern, well designed and equipped Parish House. While no one is saying it will last as long as the Church, it will provide for many generations a center for Christian learning, meetings, gatherings of many sorts, in short, a place to grow up in the faith. In this way we are being “missionaries” to those who come after us.<sup>61</sup>

#### RENEWED ENERGY

John Gilchrist did not labor under the precarious financial condition that had troubled John Kelly and Howard Cutler, that is, until the parish house was enlarged. Parish treasurer Wilbur Holland, who had served in the Army Air Corps during World War II and was business manager with Jones Ford, reported that 1972 was the church’s best financial year ever. The following year’s budget was the first to exceed \$50,000 (\$258,500), and actual income exceeded expenses by almost \$13,000 (\$67,200). At the 1975 annual congregational meeting Holland reported that pledges over the last five years had increased 22 percent, and the church was debt-free after owing \$8,550 (\$50,600) on the parish house in 1970. When loans were incurred to pay for the parish house expansion, the financial situation got stickier. A September 1978 loan payment to the diocese could not be met. The ECW again came forward and developed a number of fundraising projects to help make up the shortfall. Father Gilchrist challenged the men of the parish to do the same, such as hosting a fish fry or oyster roast. Parishioners rallied, and by the November 1981 vestry meeting the treasurer’s report jubilantly proclaimed, “We are solvent!!!!”<sup>62</sup>



*Reversal and Uncertainty (1963–1985)*

The annual Tea Room and Gift Shop, held in the new fellowship hall beginning in 1977, continued to be both an outreach effort and a source of incremental income. Tea Room now spanned four weeks, open Monday through Saturday, and it continued to tax the time and talents of many hard-working parishioners. The women of the church did much of the work, but it was an all-hands-on-deck affair. “We have the 9 to 11-year-olds fill water glasses while high school students are either waitresses or bus boys,” said Barbara Gilchrist prior to Tea Room 1978. “When a girl is 12 or 13, her highest ambition is to take an order. They all ask, ‘Am I old enough yet?’ Everyone wants to join in: even my husband, the church rector, clears tables.” In an effort to add something new to the program, the first Saturday of Tea Room 1975 featured a special outdoor exhibit of paintings from the Charleston Artist Guild and the League of Charleston Artists. The following year the *Tea Room Cookbook*, revised from its 1966 first edition, was sold in the Gift Shop.<sup>63</sup>



Tea Room staff, 1975 (Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

Women assumed prominent leadership roles in church affairs under John Gilchrist. Girls became acolytes, and women, lay readers, the first of whom was Lucille McCown. Anne Holland was the first woman delegate from any parish to attend an annual convention of the Diocese of South Carolina. She was elected at a special meeting of the vestry on September 24, 1971, and seated the following day. After Holland broke the gender barrier, a succession of women followed her, including Barbara Gilchrist, who represented the parish at fourteen diocesan conventions from 1975 to 2009. (Gilchrist would later be elected senior warden, president of the ECW, and to the diocesan Standing Committee.) The year after Holland was elected as a convention delegate, Dot Rigsby became the first woman to serve on the vestry. When Rigsby was asked years later about the importance of this milestone, she shrugged it off, saying that “they probably thought I could take notes or something,” since she served as clerk of the vestry. She was hardly a token, but an active member of the Altar Guild, ECW, and history committee. She saw herself doing only what others did. “I thought it was nice, but the men were doing a good job,” she said. “Everybody in this church did something, didn’t just come to church, they *worked*.” Sarah Seithel followed Rigsby to the vestry in 1973.<sup>64</sup>

As he did in 1967, Dick Shiflett, now senior warden, sent a letter to Bishop Temple praising his rector. “It is about time for the Shiflett-Five-Year-Report to bring you up to date on your most active, enthusiastic, and growing Christian-led parish in the Diocese of South Carolina,” he wrote the bishop in April 1972. He rattled off a litany of accomplishments under John Gilchrist: 670 people packed the church for Easter services; chairs in the aisles had become routine; church school attendance was strong; more than 200 youth were involved in Scouting; 40 people were confirmed or received into the church; and pledging was up. “Word has certainly gotten around about our program,” he said, “because we have had many families from the North area visit. Some Baptist families were so impressed with our church on Boy Scout Sunday that they have attended most every Sunday since.” Shiflett mentioned that St. Andrew’s had led the way in involving women in the church, electing the first woman diocesan convention delegate and its first woman vestry member. “Yes,” he said, “we are talking about ‘Old St. Andrews Parish,’ or the new St. Andrews Parish which just a few years ago seemed to be rather anti-everything.”<sup>65</sup>

Father Gilchrist tried to modernize the Sunday worship experience by experimenting with a unique altar arrangement, unique at least for Old St.

Andrew's. With the altar set against the east wall of the small, cramped sanctuary enclosed by its decorative iron railing, priests celebrate the Eucharist with their backs to the congregation. For a time Gilchrist turned the altar around, but he soon found the configuration impractical.



Rev. John Gilchrist facing the congregation at worship, 1972 (Photo by Howard R. Jacobs Jr.)

#### HISTORICAL CELEBRATIONS

On March 28, 1973, the parish celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the reopening of the church. It was a gala affair, with worship at 6:30 p.m. followed by supper and a program. Bishop Temple attended, as did the first three ministers of the reestablished church (the Reverends Stan Jeffery, Lawton Riley, and Lynwood Magee), and ten parishioners who had attended that Easter Day service in 1948. The highlight of the evening featured the burning of the parish house mortgage by wardens Dr. Karl Geppert and Stanley Schultz and by Alfred Butt, who as senior warden had turned the first spadeful of dirt at the groundbreaking ceremony twenty years before. Father Gilchrist used the occasion to encourage long-term planning for the church's future. "We are at a crossroads having reached a kind of saturation point," he told the vestry. "We are often bursting at the seams. Many of our obligations are paid off. We are at a point where new development and growth around the Church

is beginning to mushroom. Where are we going?” The addition of St. Andrew’s to the National Register of Historic Places capped off the anniversary year.<sup>66</sup>

The parish began its plans for celebrating the nation’s bicentennial a year before the event, when Dr. Paige Bigelow, head of the National Bicentennial Commission, visited the church on June 8, 1975. St. Andrew’s set aside the second Sunday in October 1976 for its Colonial Day and Homecoming Celebration. Father Gilchrist used a shortened version of the liturgy that would have been used on the Lord’s Day in 1776—Morning Prayer, the Litany, and Ante-Communion from the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Colonial worship ran several hours, but not on this day. In keeping with modern custom, Father Gilchrist kept his sermon much shorter than the hour-long address that rectors Guy, Martyn, Panting, or Schwab would have delivered in the eighteenth century. The festive atmosphere extended after the worship service with a picnic, games, and races. “Sunday was a day both for worship and for socializing,” Gilchrist said, “and families used it as a major time to visit one another.” Period clothing took the congregation back to the earliest days of the parish. Father Gilchrist delivered the sermon wearing white preaching bands at the neck of a black gown. Ladies wore bonnets and long, cotton dresses. The church borrowed uniforms from the South Carolina Militia to use in the festivities, courtesy of The Citadel Museum.<sup>67</sup>

A trip to England by the rector and his wife in the summer of 1978 added important insights into the church’s earliest history. Father Gilchrist visited the office of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in London, the successor to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which had sent Anglican ministers to British colonies in the eighteenth century. Gilchrist found during his research documentation that the first and



Celebrating the nation’s bicentennial, 1976 (Used by permission of Evening Post Publishing Co.)

third rectors of St. Andrew's, Alexander Wood (1708–10) and William Guy (1718–50), were buried in the parish churchyard. It would have been fitting for these men to have been buried in the cemetery of their parish church, although their grave markers disappeared long ago.<sup>68</sup>

#### RELATIONSHIP WITH ST. ANDREW'S MISSION

For a time it looked as if St. Andrew's would assume a more direct role in its relationship with St. Andrew's Mission. Begun as a slave chapel on the grounds of Magwood plantation in 1845, the mission is the third sister church to St. Andrew's Parish Church, after St. George's, Dorchester, and St. James's, James Island. The Reverend Stephen Mackey had served the mission as its rector since 1940 and was nearing retirement age. "Of the many unsung heroes this Diocese has produced," Bishop Temple said, "Steve Mackey stands high among them. His whole ministry has been given to South Carolina by choice and at a time of great change. For years, as Archdeacon for colored work, he was the Bishop, without portfolio, for our negro congregations. For years, he was the major, if not the only, link between the black and the white congregations." In November 1972 the bishop discussed with Father Gilchrist the possibility of either St. Andrew's assuming responsibility for the mission or hiring an assistant minister to serve it. The vestry investigated the implications, including staffing costs and allocation of duties. By July 1973 the issue was resolved when the bishop allowed Reverend Mackey to continue as priest in charge. He remained in that role until the Reverend John Richards succeeded him in 1977. Tragedy struck on May 14, 1980, when the mission church burned to the ground. Under the guidance of its vicar the Reverend William C. Weaver, the church was quickly rebuilt and reopened for worship in September 1981.<sup>69</sup>

#### PRAYER BOOK CONTROVERSY

The event that came to dominate the parish's worship life in the 1970s centered on the revision of the Book of Common Prayer. The uneasiness that parishioners felt as they began to use trial liturgies under Howard Cutler erupted into a maelstrom of discontent under John Gilchrist.

In the years since the reopening, the congregation had retained the drive to face issues and overcome obstacles. Its conservative makeup made it reluctant to adopt change, especially when it came from the outside, and especially when it came from the national church. The parish had had simmering issues

with The Episcopal Church over its steady drift to the left, in particular its relationship with the National Council of Churches in Christ, funding of black militant groups, and ordination of women. The congregation was now asked to provide its input to various versions of a trial liturgy, and it was strongly negative. But there was an added element that made the situation at St. Andrew's unique: its rector was also charged with the task of implementing the prayer book changes not only in his parish but throughout the diocese.

The spring after Father Gilchrist arrived at St. Andrew's, parishes began using a new prayer book in a trial period lasting from the first Sunday after Easter in 1971 until Palm Sunday 1972. Gilchrist was appointed to chair a newly-created Diocesan Liturgical Commission, whose role was to provide a link between individual parishes and the Standing Liturgical Commission of The Episcopal Church on matters related to the proposed revisions of the prayer book. (Like Lynwood Magee, John Gilchrist would also be elected to the diocesan Standing Committee.) He stressed that Episcopalians were being given "an opportunity to have a direct say in the process of Prayer Book revision." He talked openly about the feelings many in the church had expressed about the process, that it "has been confusing, bewildering, frustrating, challenging, emotional, exciting, and stimulating."<sup>70</sup>

Parishes in the diocese were asked to complete another survey on their use of the trial liturgy. More than half of the forty-one churches that responded said they preferred the First Order of services (which would become the more traditional Rite I liturgy), and only 15 percent preferred the Second Order (which would become the more contemporary Rite II). One-fourth said they preferred neither. Most churches said they would continue using the trial services occasionally or not at all. Gaining consensus would be difficult.<sup>71</sup>

Beginning with the first Sunday in Lent in 1974 and stretching into the next three years, St. Andrew's used a number of versions of the trial liturgy. Father Gilchrist kicked off the 1974 Lenten season by using four different prayer books from 1549 to 1789 in each of the first four Sundays. Then came the trial liturgies. These paperback worship books were commonly called by their color and design, such as the "zebra book" or the "green book." The vestry discussed the ramifications of the prayer book revision, and individual members were not shy about expressing their opinions. Did the parish have to implement the changes at all? Couldn't it just keep the devotional it loved, the 1928 prayer book? A 1974 survey showed that parishioners did not want to give up their prayer book.<sup>72</sup>



The issue caused deep divisions within the parish. Tensions got to the point that senior warden Karl Geppert, a family practice dentist, wrote an open letter to the vestry in January 1975. He said that two opposing factions had emerged in the parish. “I think that we all know that both factions are deadly earnest in their convictions,” Geppert said, “and that if we do not make some effort to resolve our differences, we will split the fabric of St. Andrews Church and it will cease to function as an effective Church unit.” “Group A” consisted of long-standing parishioners, old-line Episcopalians and Charlestonians, who resented the increasing liberalization of the national church. They felt that the proposed changes to the prayer book were only a continuation of a series of intolerable acts forced on them by their national church. “Group B” consisted of newer Episcopalians, families with young children that were more interested in applying spiritual guidance from the church to their daily lives. The proposed changes to the prayer book did not bother them much; in fact, they were a refreshing new way to praise God. Their church focus was on their parish life, not the national church. Geppert closed by urging the vestry to study the problem in earnest “to preserve the unity” of the parish.<sup>73</sup>

Later that year Marion Yon Jr., a vestry member and junior warden in 1971, submitted a four-page handwritten letter to the vestry detailing his concerns. He was distraught over what was happening to his church. He implored the vestry to set things right. Yon said he feared that the polarization that Geppert had described had already happened. “The compounding danger then becomes,” he said, “that with polarization all meaningful exchange ceases, distrust and contempt are fostered, and so on. And this causes me tremendous distress.”<sup>74</sup>

“For most of us, “Bishop Temple said in his address at the 1975 diocesan convention, “these changes have gone unnoticed and unused since the time of the mandatory use of the Services in this Diocese three years ago.” He announced that every parish would be expected to use the final draft of the new prayer book when it became available, in February 1976, through mid-summer. Then groups from both sides of the issue would convene to discuss the final version before diocesan convention delegates would vote on it the following year.<sup>75</sup>

A resolution introduced at the 1975 convention, but deferred until the next year, illustrated the depth of feeling around the issue. It proposed to make the 1928 Book of Common Prayer “the official and constitutional liturgy of The Episcopal Church” and any revision of it “authorized only for trial use.”

The reason: most people still preferred their old faithful. If a new prayer book were authorized, “those who prefer to worship by the 1928 Prayer Book will feel abandoned and may be embittered by a sense of loss of services which they treasure.”<sup>76</sup>

Bishop Temple said that he would support the outcome, whatever it was. He praised the Liturgical Commission, “this dedicated group of clergy and laity [who] were given a herculean and thankless task by the General Convention.” By a slim majority of all diocesan delegates (55 percent), the draft prayer book was accepted as presented. Thirty percent voted to revise it. Fifteen percent voted to reject it altogether and affirm the 1928 Book of Common Prayer as the standard of worship. The balloting reflected serious divisions between the clergy and lay delegates. Eighty percent of the clergy voted in favor of the winning proposal, but less than half of the laity did.<sup>77</sup>

Long-standing parishioners remembered the turmoil of the prayer book controversy into the twenty-first century: “That was awful. We had to go through a lot of torture, I’m telling you.... It almost made you want to leave the church. That’s how bad it was,” said William Buck, who had served as both junior and senior warden.<sup>78</sup>

Parishioners who could not live with the changes had a difficult choice—stay or leave. A number left. A group of dissenters calling itself the Society for the Preservation of the Book of Common Prayer began holding services at the French Huguenot Church downtown on Queen and Church streets. On July 17, 1977, they established St. Timothy’s Anglican Catholic Church, continuing to meet at the Huguenot Church and other locations. When the group could at last build its own church, it would be located, in bitter irony, on the original glebe lands for St. Andrew’s Parish Church on Old Parsonage Road. The property had been sold in 1950 to help pay for the restoration of the reopened church. A remnant of the avenue of oaks, planted during Rev. Thomas Mills’s tenure as rector at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is still there.<sup>79</sup>

Dissenters solicited members of St. Andrew’s to leave and join them. Some who left were among the church’s longest-standing parishioners. They included Ethel and Clyde Turner and Alfred and Rachel Butt. Ethel had been ECW president, and Clyde, a vestry member, parish legal counsel, and diocesan convention delegate. Al had been senior warden five times and junior warden once; Rachel had been the church school superintendent for many years. The Butts came back; the Turners and others did not.<sup>80</sup>

TRAGIC PASSING

In 1981 Father Gilchrist was diagnosed with cancer. A young and vibrant man, the disease took him quickly. There was little time for the church to prepare for it. He remained a priest to the end, celebrating the Eucharist when he was in obvious pain. Bishop Temple filled in for him at Sunday services in July and August. In September the vestry placed him on a ninety-day sabbatical and appointed the Reverend Knud Anthony (Kal) Larsen III as *locum tenens*, or interim priest. Only three weeks later, on October 9, 1981, Gilchrist died. He was just weeks shy of his forty-sixth birthday and eleventh year as rector of St. Andrew's. Bishop Temple led an emotional funeral service at the parish church.<sup>81</sup>

John Gilchrist had steered St. Andrew's through a difficult decade and provided the only source of clerical stability for nearly twenty years. He was buried in the parish churchyard directly behind the chancel. His death would cause a deep and lasting wound to the heart of his church. Rev. George Tompkins perceived it when he became rector six years later. With all the turmoil the prayer book controversy had caused, parishioners did not have the time to reconcile with their rector they had loved so much.<sup>82</sup>

Kal Larsen, who was in his seventies, served the parish about eight months. He tried to prepare the congregation for its next rector and for doing things differently. Rivers Jacobs remembers the gentle approach Father Kal took with a nervous, new acolyte, telling him not to worry about doing things wrong. "Acolytes do not make mistakes," he said as he bent down so low the boy could see him eye-to-eye, "they just sometimes do things differently." Parishioner Bob Fogel recalled, "He wasn't going to let us get set in our ways. He said 'we are just going to do things differently.' And I thought it was a very good way of approaching it, so by the time we did call somebody and they came in, we'd be ready for a little continuity. Father Kal was really good."<sup>83</sup>

17TH RECTOR:

REV. GEOFFREY ROBERT IMPERATORE (1982–85)

The tenure of John Gilchrist had been marked by both progress and difficulty, but the rector enjoyed the affection and respect of his parish. The tenure of his successor, the Reverend Geoffrey R. Imperatore, would be remembered less warmly. During the three years he served St. Andrew's, Father Imperatore would find the church family apathetic or in conflict, on shaky financial ground, and troubled with more difficult issues.

The church was in shock with the passing of John Gilchrist. “Wilbur Holland and Arthur Bailey took control and kept things together,” Bob Fogel recounted. “Arthur was senior warden and did a wonderful job ... I always respected him and I always will. He was a real source of strength at that time.” The search for a new rector began a month after Gilchrist died. On March 31, 1982, the vestry voted unanimously to issue a call to Geoff Imperatore of Myrtle Beach. Father Imperatore began his tenure at St. Andrew’s on June 1, but spent the first two weeks on active military duty. He conducted his first worship service on Sunday, June 13, after which the parish held a coffee hour and reception for him and his family. Four months later the Right Reverend C. FitzSimons Allison inducted him as rector.<sup>84</sup>

Imperatore brought a very different background to St. Andrew’s. He was a military officer, public speaker, writer, and guest on local radio and television talk shows, in addition to being an Episcopal priest. As a chaplain in the U.S. Naval Reserve, he had served with the Navy, Coast Guard, and Marine Corps on the east coast and was the command chaplain for the Coast Guard in Charleston. As a priest he had served as chaplain of Heathwood Hall Episcopal School in Columbia, followed by assistant ministerial positions at Trinity Cathedral, Columbia, and Trinity, Myrtle Beach. He graduated with honors from Hofstra University on Long Island before attending Virginia Theological Seminary. When he was hired at St. Andrew’s, Imperatore was studying for his doctorate in theology at Freelandia Institute, a small Bible college in Cassville, Missouri. (He would receive his ThD in 1984.) He and his wife Janet had a two-year old daughter, Catherine. He was young, eager, and energetic.<sup>85</sup>

Father Kal was wise to prepare the congregation for a new rector with new ideas. At Father Imperatore’s first Sunday at St. Andrew’s, he introduced five changes to the liturgy. Although these were slight variations to the way



Rev. Geoffrey R. Imperatore (Courtesy of St. Andrew’s Parish Church)

parishioners worshipped, the cumulative effect signaled that things would be different. The vestry instituted new liturgical patterns of worship. These sought to provide variety while remaining faithful to Father Gilchrist's focus on the Eucharist.<sup>86</sup>

Imperatore's first year was filled with typical parochial matters. Water problems continued to plague the education building, and mildew appeared on the walls of three church school classrooms, the nursery, and the children's chapel. With the similar names of the parish church and St. Andrew's Mission down the road continuing to cause confusion, Father Imperatore asked that his church call itself *Old St. Andrew's Episcopal Church*. Four months after his arrival, the vestry gave him a unanimous vote of confidence.<sup>87</sup>

After church school teachers asked the new rector for a paid director of Christian Education, he hired Pua More, a church school teacher with a bachelor's degree in education from the University of Hawaii. The position could be funded for only fifteen hours a week until more money could be budgeted. When Debra Gupton was elected junior warden in 1984, she became the first woman warden in the church's history.<sup>88</sup>

Bob Fogel, an attorney and lieutenant colonel in the Air Force, was elected senior warden in 1983. He had begun his tenure on the vestry two years earlier, as clerk, responsible for recording the vestry meeting minutes. "I sat in the far back corner of the room and kept my mouth shut," Fogel said. "I listened to the elder statesmen, Wilbur Holland and Arthur Bailey, not that they were that old. Wilbur was treasurer for many years. I remember him in finance committee meetings, and he could tell you, with nothing in front of him, how much the electricity budget was down to the penny." Little did he realize it at the time, but this would mark the first of fourteen annual terms that Fogel would be elected the parish's top lay leader.



Robert D. Fogel (Photo by the author, 2013)

He would serve under three rectors. “I’ve always maintained that if you were asked,” he said, “it’s an honor to serve your church, and you don’t say no.”<sup>89</sup>

Property maintenance issues in the parish house were compounded by shaky finances and lukewarm parishioner involvement. By mid-1983 pledges were lagging, the budget was in deficit, and bills were being paid late. Father Imperatore pleaded with church members for their support. “Our financial obligations far exceed our income,” he told the parish in a November newsletter. “Over 15% of our congregation is behind in their 1983 pledges, which is making it impossible for us to pay our bills and meet the salaries of our employees. Repairs long needed in the Church and other buildings are only getting worse with time. Old St. Andrew’s needs you more now than ever before.” If the parish failed to pull together, he worried about the church’s very existence: “Most especially we need a serious increase in our 1984 pledges, if we hope to keep the doors of this historic Parish [church] open. This is your Church, if she lives it is because you were willing to sacrifice for her, if she dies it is because we have neglected our responsibilities as Christians.”<sup>90</sup>

In his 1983 annual report, senior warden Fogel wrote about a negative undercurrent that was beginning to erode the spirit of the parish. He saw that apathy had begun to take root, and he encouraged people to become more active in church affairs.<sup>91</sup>

At the January 1984 annual congregational meeting, the parish agreed on the need to develop a Parish House Debt Retirement Fund, with an ambitious goal to pay off the \$127,000 (\$280,500) loan by the following year. “To achieve this goal,” Father Imperatore said, “each and every family must make the ultimate sacrifice, go the extra mile, and give sacrificially for one year.” Reality fell far short of intent. Plans were developed, presented, and discarded. A year later the debt had been reduced only \$6,000 (\$12,800).<sup>92</sup>

By the summer of 1984, Christian education director Pua More resigned and was replaced by Sheryl Bell. There were renewed issues with the buildings during the summer. “An attempt is being made to reclaim the classrooms from mildew and mold,” the vestry reported. “Paint is currently lasting about three months because the windows leak so badly.” An estimate for installing awnings and new windows was prohibitively expensive. New window air conditioners were purchased for the education wing to help keep down the moisture. Termites infested the parish house, education wing, and the church.<sup>93</sup>

Church leaders expressed much of the same disappointment about rampant gossip and negativity in 1984 as they did the previous year. “I implore you,



one and all,” said senior warden Gene Trayer, a teacher at Middleton High School, “to call your Senior Warden, Vestry members, or the Rector if you are disturbed about something.” After praising staff members for their diligent work in his 1984 annual report, Father Imperatore painted a bleak picture about the financial state of the parish. He recounted the closing of St. Peter’s-by-the-Sea in North Charleston and the times when Old St. Andrew’s had itself been shuttered. He called parishioners to rise to the challenge: “There is so much good going on here, yet we can do so much more. The potential of our Parish is great, but it takes each and every one of us to do our share, and then go the extra mile. This Church and her people are worth that, I believe this. I hope and pray that you do also.”<sup>94</sup>

The complacency would not budge. Efforts to promote the Parish House Debt Retirement Fund met with little support; only twenty families had pledged by July 1985. Father Imperatore tried to stir people out of their lethargy. He reprinted a tale in the newsletter that parodied “ten little church members” as they withdrew from their church, one-by-one. “Have you got the message, pointed and true?” the story asked. “Come on folks, we’ve got a job to do.... In this little jingle there is a lesson true. You belong to one of the two—either the BUILDING or the WRECKING crew.” In the July newsletter the rector, as others had before him, voiced his concern about the falloff in Sunday attendance during the summer. “One of the weakest traits of our parish life at Old St. Andrew’s,” Imperatore wrote, “is the way many folks seem to put church on the shelf with the school books and stay away from church until September. I confess I am mystified by this.”<sup>95</sup>

In the midst of these difficulties, there was a bright spot—Hollywood came to Old St. Andrew’s. Warner Brothers filmed the exterior of the church for the television miniseries *North and South* in April 1985.<sup>96</sup>

Geoff Imperatore was facing what clergy before him had witnessed—a congregation that could be headstrong, difficult, and indifferent to giving. The rector’s temperament made it hard for him to navigate the waters as a parish priest: he was direct, formal, and a Marine officer frustrated by people who would not obey him. He micromanaged ordinary affairs of the church better left to the laity. He was a New Yorker in South Carolina. But he was also popular with many parishioners and the youth, who liked their guitar-playing priest. Yet there was more behind the apathy, gossip, and financial pullback; these were symptoms of a deeper issue. The parish was giving its rector a resounding vote of no confidence. It was expressing its indignation over

the rector's boundary violations with women in the parish, which had been going on for some time. The situation was something no one was comfortable addressing, but it had to stop. Church leaders met with Bishop Allison for guidance, and then the rector, who promised he would change. He did not, and after a second meeting with the bishop, Imperatore was asked to resign on August 16, 1985.<sup>97</sup>

To those who knew of his indiscretions, his leaving was a relief. "It was just something that had to be done," was the sentiment of some who lived through it. The official line was that Imperatore would be pursuing another job with the military. Avoiding unpleasant details, the vestry was either vague about his departure or would not discuss it. The suddenness and the ambiguity caught many by surprise. Two parishioners felt compelled to write Bishop Allison. Guy Leonard said, "He worked hard—very hard. He did not receive the support he needed. He was given great responsibility and little or no authority." Jackie Searson said that Imperatore had brought vitality to the church, characterizing him as "dedicated" and someone "who strives for perfection." She cautioned the search committee to "remember that even though we are an old and historic church, we cannot live in the past and we need someone to pull in the young people as they are the future of our church."<sup>98</sup>

Old St. Andrew's was in disarray. Although West Ashley continued to grow, with its population surpassing 50,000 in the 1980 census, membership in the parish church when Father Imperatore left had fallen to 408 parishioners, a 35 percent decline from the beginning of the decade. Church school attendance, which had averaged 180 students a year under John Gilchrist, dropped to an annual average of 118 under Imperatore. Fewer than half of the households in the parish pledged to support it in 1985, down from more than 80 percent under Gilchrist.<sup>99</sup>

Numbers alone fail to convey the disappointment and uneasiness the parish felt over Geoff Imperatore. Thirty years after his short stay at Old St. Andrew's, he remains a sore subject. The few people who will talk about that time do so in the hushed tones of those who would rather forget. What made Imperatore's tenure even more distressing was that he was yet another disappointment in a series of priests that did not work out. "Every three years [with the exception of John Gilchrist] we changed priests," William Buck remembered. In 2006 parishioners enacted a historical drama for the

*Reversal and Uncertainty (1963–1985)*

church's 300th anniversary celebration. The narrative, admittedly hitting the high points, is nonetheless revealing. In this era of less-than-optimal rectors, John Kelly was mentioned in passing. Four sentences pertained to Howard Cutler, for the restoration undertaken during his tenure. John Gilchrist's work received a thorough summary, but there was no mention of the difficulties surrounding the prayer book revision. Geoff Imperatore was conspicuous by his absence. Not one word was written about him.<sup>100</sup>

## CONFIDENCE REGAINED

1985 – 2006

**N**OW WHAT? Recognizing the pall that Imperatore's departure had cast over the parish, senior warden Gene Trayer told parishioners, "We have all agonized over the events that led to the departure of Father Imperatore, and despite the trauma of losing our rector, have attempted to carry on." The diocese encouraged the parish leadership to delay its search for a new rector. The church needed time to heal. Beginning in September 1985, the Reverend David Christensen served as *locum tenens* for nearly two years. He managed to fit a part-time ministry with working full-time at the Alumax of South Carolina's aluminum manufacturing plant in Goose Creek. Father Christensen would stop by Old St. Andrew's after working all day at the plant, spend Sundays at the church, and visit the sick and the homebound. He was tireless, and like Kal Larsen, parishioners loved him.<sup>1</sup>

### SEARCH FOR A NEW RECTOR

Despite counsel to move slowly, the vestry established a search committee and began screening candidates less than six months after Geoff Imperatore left. The committee wrote the parish profile, a comprehensive document provided to candidates that includes the church's mission and vision, a synopsis of its congregation and its attitudes toward worship, and its ideal qualifications for a new rector, and then examined the credentials of priests under consideration. The search process would be deliberate and thorough.<sup>2</sup>

By February 1986 twelve candidates had been screened; six were rejected. The diocese suggested the parish hire an official interim (not Christensen), but the vestry refused. In March the number of screened candidates was up to forty-four. By the following month more than sixty priests had submitted applications. In May seventeen parish profiles were mailed, and thirteen candidates responded. Vestry members began the process of meeting the highest potential candidates. In September the search committee and vestry agreed on their top three candidates, with the bishop concurring. The vestry

extended an offer to its preferred candidate, but he declined, once and then a second time. The second choice was approached, but he too declined. The third choice was deemed too inexperienced.<sup>3</sup>

Candidate comments revealed a church with serious inadequacies. A concern for building maintenance belied the poor condition of the facilities, especially the parish house. The rector's salary was inadequate. The parish seemed more interested with historic preservation than ministry. The church had a poor relationship with the diocese. The vestry admitted that, had the third candidate been offered the position, he would not have accepted. The search was taking a lot of time, and the prospects looked slim. But Bishop Allison wanted the matter resolved. By this time he had an "intensely strong desire" for the church to name an interim rector in place of David Christensen. But the vestry held its ground and continued looking.<sup>4</sup>

Not only were the wardens and vestry searching for a new rector, they were managing all of the parish's affairs. To some they went too far. Search committee member Patricia Trayer resigned in frustration, accusing a few people of "usurping about every major activity in the church." The vestry held a special meeting in October to address her concerns. Choosing reconciliation over rancor, it proposed that Trayer reconsider and remain on the committee.<sup>5</sup>

Part of the search process involved having the candidates complete a standard "Work Orientation Description" that indicated their preferences on thirty attributes of a clerical position. One candidate's scores correlated well with those of the vestry, which had completed its own assessment prior to the search. Like Howard Cutler and John Gilchrist before him, George Tompkins came from the Diocese of East Carolina.<sup>6</sup>

Reverend Tompkins had been rector of St. Thomas's Church, Society Parish, in Windsor, North Carolina, since 1982. He was recently married, and his wife Elizabeth was a native South Carolinian. They had honeymooned in Charleston, and George thought how nice it would be to live there. Tompkins's bishop, the Right Reverend Brice Sidney Sanders, had called Bishop Allison and said the time was right for Tompkins to take another church.<sup>7</sup>

Members of the search committee traveled to Windsor to meet Tompkins and hear him preach. Tompkins then came to Charleston for another interview, and Bob Fogel surprised him with a request to lead worship and deliver the homily on a cold Epiphany morning. Other candidates continued to be considered, but after much debate, the vestry selected Tompkins. Unlike the others, he accepted. On March 29, 1987, Bishop Allison inducted George

Tompkins as the eighteenth rector of Old St. Andrew's. A new chapter in the church's history had begun.<sup>8</sup>

#### 18TH RECTOR:

#### REV. GEORGE JOHNSON TOMPKINS III (1987–2006)

Father George was not unaware of the problems facing his new parish. He knew of the controversy over the prayer book revision during John Gilchrist's tenure. He knew of parishioners leaving for St. Timothy's Anglican Catholic Church. He knew of the issues surrounding his immediate predecessor. He knew that others had been offered the position before him and had turned it down. He knew that the church had financial troubles and probably would have for some time. He knew that membership was declining. What he was not prepared for was a shocking phone call he received. "You've been elected rector of Old St. Andrew's?" the unidentified caller asked. "Yes," Tompkins said. "Don't touch it with a ten foot pole," he was warned. Tompkins was so taken aback that he just said, "Thank you," and hung up. Despite



Rev. George Tompkins (Photo by Brad Nettles. Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

all the problems in front of him, Tompkins was impressed with the people he had met on the search committee and the growth potential of the parish.<sup>9</sup>

Like William Guy nearly 270 years before him, Tompkins faced a parish in desperate need of a stable and calming influence. That he was so successful in providing both during a nineteen-year tenure was remarkable given how different he was from his congregation: Tompkins was a liberal in a conservative parish. But so many things about him meshed with Old St. Andrew's. He loved the history of the old church. He preferred that the wardens and vestry manage the administrative aspects of the job, and he, the spiritual matters. He kept politics out of the pulpit. He knew when to cajole, when to push, and when to step back. He knew how to listen and how to laugh at himself. And he truly cared about people.



*Confidence Regained (1985–2006)*

George Johnson Tompkins III was born in Lexington, Virginia, on July 17, 1951. For a man whose passion is history, the site of his birth was more than coincidental. The hospital where he was born had been Stonewall Jackson's house. His family lived in the country, in the mountain town of Glasgow, with a population just over a thousand. George went to public school, and later boarding school and college. He graduated from the University of Virginia, with a Bachelor of Arts (High Distinction) in 1973. While he was an undergraduate, he spent a year abroad at the University of Edinburgh, where in 1972 he was awarded a first prize in ecclesiastical history.<sup>10</sup>

George's uncle was a priest, and he greatly influenced his nephew's future career path. At first George wanted to teach religion. To do so he needed a seminary degree, a master of divinity. Harvard was his first choice, but Yale Divinity School offered more scholarship money. While he was at Yale, George changed his plans and decided to pursue the priesthood. As a condition of his financial aid at Yale, George worked at a church in Brookfield Center, outside Danbury, Connecticut. "The man I worked for, I just liked everything about him," Father George recounted. "He had such an influence on me that I decided I wanted to be ordained."

Because he had not lived in his Virginia parish for some time, Connecticut seemed the only option where George could pursue his calling. Because the Bishop of Connecticut, the Right Reverend Joseph Warren Hutchens, considered Yale too liberal, George took a two-year degree at Yale instead of the three-year, graduating with a Master of Arts in Religion in 1975. Then came General Theological Seminary in New York. The bishop made George a candidate for Holy Orders, but not until the second semester of his third year, which was unnerving. He graduated in 1976 with a Master of Divinity degree and soon afterward was ordained a deacon at the cathedral in Hartford.

George's ministry took him to three churches before Old St. Andrew's. The first was St. James in New London, Connecticut, where he was ordained a priest and served from 1976 to 1978. Established in 1725, St. James was the first of the colonial churches George would seek out along the eastern seaboard. A thirty-eight inch snowfall convinced him to look for a warmer climate. He returned to his home state, not in the mountains but in the Tidewater. Arriving later in 1978, he took a position as curate of Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg, Virginia. One of the commonwealth's oldest churches, founded in 1674, Bruton's third church building was the first and largest in Virginia to use a cruciform design. It was completed just eight years

before the cross-shaped extension at St. Andrew's was begun in 1723.<sup>11</sup> The architectural setting in Williamsburg was splendid, but George found the rector difficult to work with. In 1982 he left for St. Thomas's in eastern North Carolina, where he spent four happy years.

#### MOMENTUM REGAINED, DISASTER STRIKES

With a new rector in place, the parish began to reengage. Communicant strength, the measure of people regularly attending services, increased more than 10 percent in 1987 and almost 40 percent the following year, when nearly a hundred people were restored from inactive status. An average of 248 parishioners attended weekly Sunday worship, 46 percent more than the bottom of the membership decline just two years before. The year 1988 witnessed one of the largest confirmation classes in the church's history, when forty-three reaffirmed their faith.<sup>12</sup>

Then came the night of September 21–22, 1989, when Hurricane Hugo roared through Charleston. Parishioners prepared the church the best they could. They shut off the gas and water, secured the shutters, and stored anything of value in the safe. Miraculously, the church was spared. The roof was ripped: “we were very close to losing it,” junior warden Ralph Thomas said. Debris was blown under the doors, and one tree barely touched the outside corner of the north transept as it toppled. The parish house was another matter. Two large trees fell through the roof, and rain flooded the main room in the front of the building. “We couldn't get a single tree to hit the education wing [in the rear],” Bob Fogel said years later, “the one building that needed to be hit.” The thick tree cover that had hidden the church from Ashley River Road was gone. An estimated 200 trees, or 80 percent of those on the property, were lost. Wind and the falling trees devastated the graveyard, uprooting markers, vaults, and coping. Water lines were ruptured. The scene was one of utter destruction.<sup>13</sup>

ECW president Gail Massey was the first parishioner to arrive on the scene. A work crew she organized brought their chain saws to the church Saturday morning. “You literally had to cut your way into the parking lot,” Bob Fogel recalled. Fogel, senior warden Howard Williams, and Dr. Robert Ball cleared a path to the church. Williams wanted to hold Sunday's worship service as usual, so Father George held one. As many as fifty people attended, dirty, sweaty, and exhausted. They sang the *Te Deum*, the great hymn of thanksgiving, for the church was still standing. It had survived another catastrophe.<sup>14</sup>



Hurricane Hugo devastates the churchyard (Used by permission of Evening Post Publishing Co.)

People with loved ones buried in the churchyard were desperate to know if their gravesites had been affected. “I run into people out here crying all the time,” Tompkins told the *Evening Post* six months after Hugo. “One of the saddest was a couple who came from Georgia without calling. If they had called, I would have checked on it for them and warned them. They had buried their baby here in 1955 and wanted to check on the grave after the hurricane. They found the grave opened, and they just fell apart.”<sup>15</sup>

The St. Andrews Public Service Department and private tree removal companies tackled the worst of the fallen trees. Parishioners started the grueling cleanup, led by Dr. Dennis Goldsberry, chair of the cemetery committee and professor of English at the College of Charleston. It took months before the grounds were cleared. A landscape architect redesigned the parking lot, adding more defined parking spaces and wooden curbing. Planting, pruning, and stump removal continued into the fall of 1990.<sup>16</sup>

Financial problems that had nagged Old St. Andrew’s before Hugo now became overwhelming. “The parish had this horrible feeling of defeat,” Father George remembered. Pleas for assistance went out to governmental agencies, but they were leery of overstepping church-state boundaries. “We’ve

slipped through the cracks,” Tompkins said. Trident Community Foundation’s development director, Molly Ravenel, approached the Charleston County Council on the church’s behalf. “There are open graves out there, and these are people who are part of our history,” she said. “I’ve checked and there isn’t another case like this one. The church really needs our help.” Two days before the council met, the *Evening Post* published an editorial in support. “Considering that St. Andrew’s allowed burial of those not affiliated with the church for most of its history, and therefore, functioned in part as a public cemetery, public assistance may be justified,” the paper said. Despite these efforts, the request for financial aid was rejected. Money came in slowly, but the church eventually received more than enough to cover expenses.<sup>17</sup>

Post-Hugo restoration efforts spawned three memorial ceremonies. On April 22, 1990, Father George rededicated a churchyard restored. In May the main room of the parish house was named and dedicated as *Gilchrist Hall* in remembrance of the sixteenth rector. And a granite memorial was placed on the church side of the bridge over the pond to commemorate the restoration of the churchyard. When Tompkins first opened the church doors after Hugo had hit, he found on the floor the worship service bulletin from the previous Sunday. It was opened to Psalm 46. Verses 2–3 that were inscribed on the memorial told of the parish’s resilience in the face of adversity: “We will not fear, though the earth be moved, though the waters rage and swell.”<sup>18</sup>

The rector and vestry reexamined the churchyard burial policy in the wake of Hurricane Hugo. To manage the sale of cemetery plots in a growing community and church, burials had been restricted to members in good standing. Federal disaster relief following the storm, however, was denied the church because it had discriminated in its burial policy. “The construction of a columbarium,” Father George said, “will again permit us to be the parish burying ground.” In the summer of 1992, a beautiful gray and black marble interment structure measuring nine feet long, two-and-a-half feet wide, and three feet high was placed in the section of the cemetery across the pond. It was consecrated, fittingly, on All Saints’ Day, November 1.<sup>19</sup>

Another memorial to Hugo impacted not the buildings or grounds but its rector. In May 1990 Rev. George Tompkins became Rev. Dr. George Tompkins when he received his Doctor of Ministry degree from Sewanee. His dissertation included inquiries into four topics: a religious history of the province of Carolina leading to the Church Act of 1706, an architectural history of St. Andrew’s Parish Church, proposals for restoring the church, and

suggestions for a columbarium. Father George became the fourth rector of St. Andrew's to hold an ecclesiastical doctoral degree while serving the parish.<sup>20</sup>

#### CHURCH MAINTENANCE

John Deden, an electrical engineer with just the skills needed for the job of junior warden, led a number of key improvements to the church structure following Hurricane Hugo. Among them was the installation of new air conditioning and heating systems in 1991. The compressors were put in the attic to reduce noise inside the church. Another attractive feature of the new system: "the flue is no longer sticking out the window." Ventilation grilles were cut into the ceiling. Ductwork from the old heating system was removed from the balcony.<sup>21</sup>

The interior of the church was painted. Gone was the blue color scheme added more than two decades earlier, replaced by pews of "pale grey," almost white, with the top rails a mahogany brown. Pews were not renumbered, and they remain unnumbered today. The cast iron railing that had enclosed the pulpit and reading desk prior to 1968–69 was reinstalled.<sup>22</sup>

Before Hugo, in early 1989, part of the "Bull" or "Squire's" box pew, as Father George called it, located at the south end of the chancel between the choir pews and east wall under the Bull and Iazard memorials, was removed. The Jacobean chairs that had been on the altar were moved to this new location to provide seating for the acolytes.<sup>23</sup>

#### REPAIRS TO THE PARISH HOUSE AND EDUCATION WING

The addition of what became Gilchrist Hall in 1976–77 was a necessary improvement to the parish house. But it came with a high price tag (\$191,000 [\$771,000]), with most of the funds borrowed. The vestry used money left over from Hugo repairs to pay off the loan in November 1991. Father George was thrilled, saying, "This was a burden that at times nearly brought us down." He especially praised the work of Bob Fogel, who had served as senior warden many times "during our darkest days." The vestry voted to name the parish house after Rev. Lynwood Magee for his leadership in building and twice expanding it. On February 23, 1992, the Right Reverend Edward Lloyd Salmon Jr. dedicated *Magee House*.<sup>24</sup>

Since the original parish house had been built in 1953, maintaining it had become an almost full-time job, in particular for the junior warden, who is responsible for the upkeep of the buildings and grounds. For years the

education wing in the rear of Magee House had been plagued with moisture seepage through the windows and walls and leaks from its flat roof. By 1991 leaks caused the vestry to consider replacing the rear wing entirely, but money was unavailable to make repairs, let alone demolish the existing structure and build a new one.<sup>25</sup>

It was not until June 1993 that Austin, Dillon, Cook Engineering was asked to provide a full report on the problems in the education wing with recommended solutions. The estimated cost of repairs plus interior reconfiguration was staggering—\$180,000 (\$285,900). Only a few years after the 1976 loan on Gilchrist Hall had been satisfied, the parish faced another large-scale construction venture that required a capital campaign. The project was divided into three phases and took two and a half years to complete.<sup>26</sup>

Phase one, which included roof repairs, replacement of windows and lentils, and waterproofing the exterior of the building, occurred from May through September 1994. By the end of the year, the church was still considerably short of the funds required to continue. Less than one-fourth of the households in the parish had contributed. While additional funding was being raised, Howard Williams, Steve Herman, and other church volunteers worked to finish the ground floor.<sup>27</sup>

It was not until mid-1996 that enough money had been raised to begin a combined phase two and three for improvements to the second floor. These included installation of central air conditioning and new lighting, wiring, ceiling tiles, and exterior stairs; renovation of existing classrooms; and the addition of new classrooms and bathrooms. Engineers John Deden and Rick Cook agreed to supervise the final stage without compensation and hire the subcontractors, which saved about a third of the cost of the job. On December 15, 1996, Bishop William Skilton dedicated the refurbished education wing following the annual confirmation service. Old St. Andrew's had made a sizeable investment for attracting young people to the church.<sup>28</sup>

## MONEY AND MISSION

Money problems dogged the church before and during the parish house renovation. After the debt on Gilchrist Hall was retired in 1991, the leadership of the church looked forward to the future. "I believe we are on the verge of breaking free from worrying about the basics," senior warden Bob Fogel said, "and can begin to look to doing more outside the Church. However, to do this requires money." Father George took it further: "I believe that our financial



shortcomings have little to do with the economy, but everything to do with vision, and lack of it. . . . The bigger question involves asking God why he has kept this ancient Church here for three hundred years. Not to be a museum—if that were so, we could give the property to the National Trust and save a fortune. We are here to do his bidding, and to *hear* Him we must *know* him.”<sup>29</sup>

The next year the vestry followed the rector’s lead and developed a new mission statement: *to know, praise, and share Jesus Christ* became the parish’s guiding principle. The intent was laudable; providing the financial resources to put it into practice would present serious challenges.<sup>30</sup>

The first half of the 1990s was as difficult a period financially as the church had experienced in a long time. To deal with pledging shortfalls, the vestry passed deficit budgets in four of the five years of 1991 to 1995. But some wanted the parish to scale back and live within its means. Father George demanded that his *no* vote on the 1992 deficit budget (which passed) be recorded in the vestry minutes. The congregation, in the January 1992 annual meeting, voiced its concern that “spending must be slowed down.” The year-end actuals in the first half of the nineties remained in deficit. Adding to the financial strain was the need to launch a capital campaign to pay for the extensive repairs to the education wing. By the second half of the decade, the situation improved. The vestry passed balanced budgets for the years 1996–99, and there was a year-end surplus in three of the four years.<sup>31</sup>

To bring budgets into balance, the vestry cut expenses. An easy mark was the annual diocesan pledge. The parish had been on shaky ground with the diocese for years, and this did not help matters. Diocesan contributions plummeted from 8–10 percent of parish income in the first half of the nineties to 1–3 percent in the second half of the decade. Paltry diocesan giving would soon come back to haunt Old St. Andrew’s when it needed real financial help. Diocesan pledge levels have remained low ever since.<sup>32</sup>

#### YOUTH MINISTRY

The parish wanted to hire a youth minister but the money was not there. The ECW began considering whether it should fund the position, and Bishop Salmon wrote ECW president Leslie Herman to encourage the women’s financial involvement. But as helpful as an ECW bailout would be, Father George wondered if it were appropriate. In August 1993 funding became available for two positions. Herman, who had just ended her tenure as ECW president, took Bishop Salmon’s advice to heart and became the new director

of Christian education. She would provide continuity in that position for nearly ten years. Matt Weldon became the new assistant for youth ministry, staying three years before pursuing a career in music.<sup>33</sup>

By 1996 the parish was ready to strengthen its commitment and hire an associate rector for youth ministry. Once again, pledges were inadequate to meet the need. The vestry continued to discuss the matter through 1997. Even after the stewardship committee made it a priority in its annual budget drive, less than a year's salary was raised for the position. Regardless of the financial uncertainty, the vestry decided to push the issue and formed a search committee in the spring of 1998. One candidate stood above the rest—the Reverend Louanne Mabry of Owings Mills, Maryland. In August she visited Old St. Andrew's. The rector and vestry were delighted with her and issued a call the following month. She accepted but made it contingent on her fiancé finding a job in Charleston. After months of looking for work, her fiancé (now her husband) was unable to obtain a position in Charleston's medical community. Just after the new year, she regretfully declined the vestry's offer. Today Rev. Louanne Loch is rector of Holy Trinity, Gainesville, in the Episcopal Diocese of Florida. Old St. Andrew's had come so close to reaching two important milestones in its long history—the hiring of its first paid assistant rector and its first ordained woman.<sup>34</sup>

#### THE RECTOR: DIVORCE, RECTORY, AND ILLNESS

In the midst of shepherding the parish through building renovations, a new mission, and financial difficulties, Father George had his own struggles to deal with. The year 1997 was his tenth at Old St. Andrew's. He felt both relief and hurt—relief because the worst of the issues that had nagged the church was behind him; hurt because his thirteen-year marriage ended in divorce. He went to Bishop Salmon and offered to resign, but the bishop assured him that was unnecessary.<sup>35</sup>

Tompkins never imagined himself being at Old St. Andrew's for more than ten years, and he now considered leaving. But he decided to stay until his divorce was finalized, an assistant rector hired, and a rectory purchased. The church had had rectories in the past, and the need seemed to wax and wane according to the desires of the bishop and diocese. In 1998 Bishop Salmon urged parishes to consider purchasing housing for their rectors. Sherry Barton had made a sizeable donation to the church in her father's memory, and she was amenable for using it as part of the down payment for a rectory. Housing

prices were appreciating rapidly, and affordable properties were selling quickly. A suitable house was found near the church, and a decision had to be made soon. After a difficult vestry meeting in which the purchase was scrutinized from every angle, agreement to proceed was reached. A two-story, three bedroom, two-and-a-half bath house at 90 Fieldfare Way, located in the nearby Shadowmoss subdivision, became Father George's new home and the parish's new rectory. His plans to leave evaporated.<sup>36</sup>

Then in 1999, the year Tompkins settled into the rectory, he was diagnosed with rheumatoid arthritis. The news was crushing. George's grandmother had had the disease, and he had witnessed how debilitating it had become. Inflammation of his joints caused excruciating pain, and the treatments were "expensive, unpleasant, and inexact." As an autoimmune disorder, rheumatoid arthritis triggered asthma attacks and chest infections, and serious vision problems were among the side effects. The disease produced waves of illness followed by recovery and then more illness. When he told the parish about the disease in his 1999 annual report, Father George broached the possibility of retiring in 2006, the earliest date allowable under the new church canons. Despite his illness but without a family to go home to, he did little but work.<sup>37</sup>

#### LOOKING BACK, LOOKING AHEAD

The parish came together in May 1998 to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the church's reopening. A festive reception in Gilchrist Hall included a veritable *who's who* of parishioners and their families, past and present, including some of the earliest pioneers of the reopened church. Looking almost ten years into the future, the vestry formed a committee to begin preliminary planning for another church milestone—the tercentennial in 2006. Father George reflected on the opportunities that the 300th anniversary and the new millennium offered the parish. The church had grown steadily in the 1990s, a stark contrast to significant membership declines in The Episcopal Church nationally. By the end of the decade, Old St. Andrew's had 701 members, 21 percent more than at the beginning.<sup>38</sup>

It was time for the parish to define what it wanted to be. With that many members, a "jack of all trades" approach would no longer work. Father George urged the parish to become more intentional in reaching out to the community, to become more proactive in seeking the unchurched. He again called into question the congregation's understanding of financial giving as a measure of commitment—not the idea of "paying dues, or tipping God, or

pre-purchasing some sort of supernatural insurance.” He feared that, despite recent improvements, the budget was less than half of what it should have been. “Pitifully inadequate” was the way he described clergy and staff salaries. Building maintenance was constantly delayed for lack of funding. Outside giving was “negligent” and pledges to the diocese were “embarrassing.” He appealed to the congregation to build new communities (for singles, young couples, seniors, and new members) and the next generation of lay leaders, to replace those who constantly did the work and were getting burned out. The prodding was vintage George Tompkins. It was a tall order to fill.<sup>39</sup>

#### INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Forward thinking continued in the first year of the new millennium. The vestry formed a Preservation Committee to ensure that the church was sufficiently maintained to remain a vibrant place of worship. A Preservation Fund was established, separate from the operating budget, to provide an income source for ongoing church maintenance. One of the first tasks was to engage a structural engineer to inspect the church. Later in the year Father George again asked for the formation of a committee to begin planning for the 300th anniversary, six years away. Working with Bishop Skilton, the parish adopted a mission church in the Dominican Republic, Santo Tomas in Gautier, about twenty miles east of Santo Domingo. Only six days after the beginning of the new millennium, the Standing Committee approved a new candidate for Holy Orders. Marshall Huey would begin the path that would take him to Old St. Andrew’s six years later.<sup>40</sup>

After all the difficulties he had encountered to find pastoral help, Tompkins suddenly found his prayers answered. The Reverend LaVerne Harold (Hal) Fenters Jr., a new seminary graduate from Sewanee, joined Old St. Andrew’s in July 1999 as its first paid assistant rector. Father Hal and Leslie Herman led the parish’s first Alpha course, designed to attract people outside the church in a welcoming and inquiring atmosphere. He worked with the EYC and began Sunday evening worship services featuring contemporary Christian music for middle and high school youth. “I increasingly lean on him for all sorts of support,” Father George said of Fenters, “and beyond practical assistance, I can’t tell you what it means to be able to solicit the counsel of someone who is, to borrow the trite Coca-Cola phrase, ‘the real thing,’ a Christian and a pastor who walks closely with his Lord and whose ministry and life reflect that walk.”<sup>41</sup>

*Confidence Regained (1985–2006)*

After Fenters accepted a call as rector of Trinity, Pinopolis, in 2004, two “miracles” appeared to fill his void: the Reverends Greg Smith and Stan McGraw. Before coming to Old St. Andrew’s, Deacon Greg had served at St. Peter’s, renamed Church of the Good Shepherd, and Father Stan had served for thirty years in the Diocese of Atlanta. In the unassuming manner that endeared him to the parish, McGraw said his becoming associate rector simply meant that he served wherever he was needed. Smith and McGraw filled key roles in preaching, teaching, Christian education, community ministry, and pastoral visitation.<sup>42</sup>

The Reverend Ray Kemp, a retired priest from Long Island, was appointed honorary priest associate in January 2001. He served until his death two years later. The Reverend John R. Johnson joined Old St. Andrew’s in 2005, also as honorary priest associate. Father John, who was raised in Charleston, arrived with his wife Nicole after retiring from pastoral work in New York City. He had been one of Tompkins’s professors at Yale Divinity School. Nicole became an active member of the parish, singing in the choir, editing the monthly newsletter the *Cast Net*, and serving with the vestry, finance committee, ECW, and St. Mary’s/St. Agnes’s.<sup>43</sup>

There were other staff changes. In October 2002 Sara Younkin retired after thirty-five years as music director and choirmaster. Leslie Herman, after becoming certified in Christian faith formation and being named to the diocesan Executive Council, left for Grace Church, Charleston. Father George’s intuitions had proven correct: “I need to warn myself and you: when she finishes that program, she will be sought after by other churches.” When a new director of Christian education left a few months after taking the job, Karen Aytes served as interim for two years. Jean McGraw, Father Stan’s wife, enthusiastically accepted the position in 2005. That year Christen and Frank Brown became youth education leaders for the church’s high school students.<sup>44</sup>



Sara Younkin (Courtesy of St. Andrew’s Parish Church)

Two national events of the early years in the new millennium, one secular and one ecclesiastical, produced as much anguish within the parish as they did outside of it. The September 11, 2001, attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York generated outrage, introspection, and prayer. The leadership of the vestry felt compelled to voice its objection to the diocese and presiding bishop in a position taken by The Episcopal Church, “Waging Reconciliation,” which called for “measured patience” in the days following the attack. Father George sought the words of John 1:5 (“The light shines in the dark, and darkness has never overcome it.”) to provide hope in the midst of anguish. The verse, with a large “9 11 2001” superimposed over it marked the cover of that year’s annual report.<sup>45</sup>

Two years later the election of the Reverend V. Gene Robinson, who was living in an openly homosexual relationship, as Bishop of New Hampshire, sent tremors through Old St. Andrew’s as it did in other Episcopal churches. Father George urged parishioners to stay the course. He had no sympathy for conservatives who took a stand: “The election in New Hampshire is important only because of the damage it has done to our church.... You will hear it said in this diocese that there is no middle ground. Those who say such things should leave our church for other churches where their self-styled infallibility will be recognized and appreciated.”<sup>46</sup>

Property maintenance, always a concern, was a story of good news and soon-to-be bad news. The good news was that Magee House had been extensively repaired. Grounds maintenance was in capable hands, with Tom and Betsy Johnson assuming leadership in the late nineties. They and countless volunteers devoted one Saturday a month to “graveyard cleanup,” a system that has continued to the present day. The condition of the church building was another matter. Once the Preservation Committee began its work, hidden problems would be revealed like the layers of an onion being peeled back. Father Hal echoed the sentiments of many, when he said, “In my four years here, I have heard many people say that they might have come to church here initially because of our historic building. But it was the people they met here that made them return and become members.” Soon parishioners would be asked to demonstrate how much they *really* cared about their beloved church building.<sup>47</sup>

#### THE GREAT RESTORATION OF 2004–5

The Preservation Committee’s first order of business was to determine the structural condition of the church. In the fall of 2001 Carl Lounsbury



and Willie Graham, architectural historians with Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, were in Charleston and stopped by for a visit. They found no structural issues during a cursory examination, and Lounsbury recommended restoring the church to its 1855 appearance, when Col. William Izard Bull undertook a complete overhaul.<sup>48</sup>

Two Charleston preservation firms came highly recommended: architect Glenn Keyes and contractor Richard Marks Restorations. Keyes had just finished restoration work at the Presbyterian Church on Edisto Island. In the spring of 2002, Keyes and Marks were asked to develop a restoration plan for Old St. Andrew's. Through the summer and into the fall, they inspected the church and asked questions about prior restorations. While they were in the attic, they discovered considerable damage to the roof rafters. It was just the beginning of the bad news.<sup>49</sup>

In November 2002 Keyes issued his report, describing every architectural feature in the church and providing an assessment of its condition, with recommendations for correcting deficiencies. The findings were shocking; so many critical issues required attention. What began as a prudent exercise to keep the church in good order would become an effort to save it from collapse. For the next three years the restoration would dominate the life of the church.<sup>50</sup>

Keyes included in his report an evaluation from 4SE Structural Engineers. It focused on two significant problems, not uncommon to buildings of this type and age. The first was "differential building settlement." The church had settled unevenly over long periods of time due to the poor soil underneath it. The taller, heavier gable ends of the building had settled more than the main body of the church, and as a result, the gable walls were leaning outward. This movement was the source of most of the cracks found during the inspection. The second problem was "failure of the collar tied roof structure." The settlement of the building combined with distressed roof support was pushing the walls outward. Sections of the outside walls were as much as eight inches off plumb. (The windows along the north side of the nave tilt visibly outward.) The longer walls running north and south were visibly bowed, because the collar ties were installed higher than usual on the rafters to accommodate the barrel vaulted ceiling and because the rafters themselves were too small and too limber. Collar ties had pulled away from many of the rafters. In its own assessment, RMR also pointed to the effects of the 1886 earthquake on the wall and roof deflections. The

findings were sobering: “The under-sized rafters posed an immediate life safety concern.”<sup>51</sup>

The magnitude of repairing these defects was numbing. The estimated cost was \$934,082 (\$1.2 million). For a parish that had scraped by on deficit budgets and delayed maintenance for decades, the idea of raising close to a million dollars was unimaginable.<sup>52</sup>

Despite the cost, there was never a question of turning away from what had to be done. “We realized that this was something that we probably and realistically couldn’t afford,” Bob Fogel recalled. “And we also realized that we couldn’t *not* do it. When we got the initial report from Glenn Keyes about problems with the church, it became a question of ‘how in the world is this thing still standing?’” Or as one parishioner overheard in conversation, “The church seemed held together by paint and the grace of God.”<sup>53</sup>

The building’s condition also begged the question: should it be restored as a church or minimally repaired and turned into a museum? Nearly ninety years earlier, Drayton Hastie, while fighting ill health and managing the upkeep of the deteriorating church, had wondered if it would be better to let the building become a “historical monument rather than a church.” To Father George that was unacceptable. “Let me remind you,” he said, “the National Trust would love to have this building. But it was built for the glory and service of God, so we have begun a means of ensuring that it stays a sanctuary and not a museum.” If the church were turned into a museum, then a new worship space would have to be provided, a situation few could imagine. The money required for a new church was simply prohibitive, and the restoration, as expensive as it was, would be only a fraction of that.<sup>54</sup>

Old St. Andrew’s was hardly alone among Charleston’s historic churches needing attention. “It never, never ends,” said Paul Pelland of St. John’s Lutheran, built in 1817, more than a hundred years after Old St. Andrew’s. “Every time you turn a corner, you run into another can of worms.”<sup>55</sup>

The vestry approved the Keyes/RMR plan in a special meeting held in February 2003. Parishioners Edward B. (Bo) Turner Jr. and Brad Nettles provided exemplary leadership during the Great Restoration. As project manager, Turner, a retired Army colonel, worked with the architect, contractors, rector, and vestry and delivered regular progress reports to the parish. He combined a mix of no-nonsense pragmatism with a warmth for people and especially, the historic church he was charged with mending. Nettles, a photographer with the *Post and Courier*, directed the fundraising.<sup>56</sup>

“For years everybody kept thinking, eventually we’ll have to make major repairs to the church,” Father George recounted. “Well, eventually had come.”<sup>57</sup> Nettles and his group attacked financing on five fronts. They launched a capital funds drive with parishioners, directed the efforts of groups in the church toward the restoration, solicited outside donations from corporations and community leaders, approached the diocese for help, and deferred what could not be raised by securing a mortgage on the church building.

In August 2003 a capital funds drive, called *Project 1855*, was launched. Parishioners were asked to make a three-year pledge, and the response was immediate. In the first month alone, sixty-two households pledged \$233,000 (\$290,700). Contributions by parishioners and outside gifts eventually reached \$470,000 (\$552,300). The ECW again led church organizations in its financial support. St. Mary’s/St. Agnes’s contributed the funds it raised at Tea Room and Gift Shop.<sup>58</sup>

Of all the aspects of the project, nothing proved more frustrating than trying to get fundraiser Norman Jameson, who had been hired to write grant proposals, to fulfill his obligations. He provided some initial work and held training sessions, but a year went by and he had written not one proposal. After Bob Fogel, senior warden and an attorney with Legaré, Hare & Smith, repeatedly requested Jameson to fulfill the terms of his agreement, the vestry considering suing him to recover the fees he was paid. Father George remembered Bo Turner’s reaction: churches do not take people to court. The issue was dropped. During the saga with Jameson, Fogel appealed to readers of the *Post and Courier* in a January 2004 editorial, in which he described the daunting restoration facing the church.<sup>59</sup>

The Diocese of South Carolina was a potential source of funds, but approaching it was risky business. Old St. Andrew’s had had a strained relationship with the diocese going back many years. It did not help matters that the parish had slashed its diocesan pledges, year after year, to help offset budget shortfalls. The vestry asked the diocese for a loan, and the answer was no. The rejection cut deeply.<sup>60</sup>

After all other sources of funding had been exhausted—the capital campaign was underway, the ECW had pledged its support, Jameson was hired to write grants, and an unfavorable response was received from the diocese—the vestry authorized the senior warden and treasurer to secure bank financing. Regions Bank provided a one-year, interest-only construction loan of \$855,000 (\$1 million). When the loan expired, it was converted to a six-year

note for \$729,126 (\$856,800), after which the terms would be renegotiated. The parish faced the daunting task of paying a significant mortgage to keep its beloved church alive.<sup>61</sup>

As Father George, Bo Turner, and senior warden Fogel met with parish groups, they heard concerns about various parts of the restoration plan. The plan was then modified, and a number of recommendations were not undertaken, such as installing three chandeliers, removing the cove fluorescent lighting around the top of the walls and installing plaster cornice, relocating the organ to the balcony, constructing a new altar and turning it to face the congregation, and providing a new door at the back of the cast iron altar rail for increased access to the sanctuary. Of all the aspects of the restoration, the idea of adding chandeliers caused the most anxiety. One day Keyes brought an antique chandelier to the church to get an idea of what it might look like. It took no time for the rumor to spread that the chandelier *was* being put into place. "I've never seen anything like it," Father George said. "The tears, the shouts. I gave in instantly, of course." There was no reaction, however, to adding the sconces that adorn the walls today.<sup>62</sup>

Following the Wednesday morning worship service on April 25, 2004, parishioners carried the altar, prayer books, hymnals, and other necessary objects from the church to Gilchrist Hall, where worship would be held during the restoration. Carmel Kemp loaned her grand piano. Joe Aytes built a replica, curved altar rail that linked the new worship space with the old. The altar was placed along the long exterior wall, with drapes covering the windows. The congregation would sit in folding chairs for the next ten months.<sup>63</sup>

Work began in May 2004. In the first month alone, a French drain system was installed along the outer perimeter of the church to correct moisture problems along the foundation. Plaster was removed from the arched ceiling and repairs to the rafters began. The south and west gable ends of the exterior would again undergo change, with nine-paned circular windows installed as depicted in Charles Fraser's 1800 watercolor.<sup>64</sup>

Archeologists dug inside and around the church to look for artifacts. Over the next few months they would uncover material evidence of a chancel rood screen, vestry off the south nave, stump tower over the west entrance, probable burial sites under the pews and at the corner of the vestry (which were left undisturbed), a brick kiln near the crossing of the aisles, and a significant fire circa 1762.<sup>65</sup>



Archeological investigation inside the church. *Center*: possible pulpit post molds. *Upper center*: scaffold post molds (Courtesy of Richard Marks Restorations and St. Andrew's Parish Church)



Artifacts discovered during the archeological investigation. *Top, left to right*: sandstone paver, over-fired glazed brick from clamp, colonial pottery shard. *Bottom, left to right*: melted window glass, melted bottle glass, Native-American pottery shard. *Right*: wrought iron nails, clay pipe stems, bone or ivory screw-top container and lid (Photo by the author)

The burial sites were among the most intriguing discoveries of the archeological investigation, inviting speculation about who might have been interred there. One site was identified at the southeast corner of the attached vestry, outside the building footprint, but the spot could have also been a corner post mold of the vestry itself. The second possible site was inside the church, today under the fourth pew on the south side of the nave, between the Drayton memorial and the window. The odd location takes on significance when placed within the confines of the original rectangular church, before it was expanded in 1723. The site would have been inside the chancel opposite the communion table, a spot befitting a clergyman or prominent member of the congregation. William Bull Sr., for example, was buried under the chancel of Prince William's Parish (Sheldon) Church in 1755.<sup>66</sup>

Church records have not survived to indicate who might be buried here. It is unlikely that the site belongs to a clergyman. The first rector, Rev. Alexander Wood, who died in 1710, was not treated with kindness during his short tenure. Might his parishioners have tried to make amends for their behavior and buried him in the chancel? The second rector, Rev. Ebenezer Taylor, who was banished to North Carolina after protracted conflict within the parish, died there in 1720. By the time of the third rector's death (Rev. William Guy in 1750), the location had lost its specialness and was now deep inside the nave.

What about prominent laymen? Church building supervisors Jonathan Fitch and Thomas Rose might have been candidates, but Fitch died as the church was being expanded in 1723 and Rose, ten years later. Could it be John Cattell (who died in 1710), the first in a long line of Cattells to serve St. Andrew's? Or his son John Jr., captain in the militia, who died the same year as his father? Or vestryman James Stanyarne (died 1717), who owned Vauclose plantation near the church among other properties and served on three assemblies? Or vestryman Manley Williamson of Stoney Point (died 1718), whose plantation was located directly across from the church on the east side of the Ashley and whose burial was the second inscribed in the colonial register? Or someone else?<sup>67</sup>

In August 2004 the *Post and Courier* featured an in-depth look at the restoration and its archeological discoveries. The challenges ahead were significant. While some of the cracks in the foundation dated to the 1886 earthquake, Hurricane Hugo had caused other, previously undetected problems. "The foundation is in terrible shape," said RMR's Larry Jeffcoat. "There is a lot more brick work to do than we had thought.... The way it



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was built they simply laid brick right on the ground.” Rainwater had seeped through the cracks in the stucco and roof, damaging bricks and mortar in the walls. The installation of a French drain would now address moisture problems along the foundation. The windows required careful attention, with 600 panes of glass removed and stored while the wood frames were repaired.<sup>68</sup>



Repairing cracks in the west exterior wall (Courtesy of Richard Marks Restorations and St. Andrew's Parish Church)

In a follow-up article two months later, Robert Behre described the challenges that the sagging roof structure posed to Keyes and Marks. With four large rafters “bent like bananas,” the choice was either replacing the entire roof support structure with a modern one or fixing the damaged, colonial one. Pursuing the latter option, RMR added rafters that combined modern steel plates with manufactured lumber. The result produced rafters with the strength of old growth wood. These were then hoisted from the floor for installation.<sup>69</sup>

The week after Behre's article, retired Bishop FitzSimons Allison sent a letter to the editor complimenting the paper for capturing the complexities of the restoration. “What needs to be added,” Bishop Allison said, “is an appreciation for that modest congregation and its clerical and lay leadership

who have spared neither time nor almost crippling expense to attempt to preserve the church in an historically authentic way. They are shouldering an enormous debt to save this unique part of South Carolina's heritage.... The parish deserves thanks and support from all of us who treasure faith, history, and beauty."<sup>70</sup>

The new valley rafter system was installed from the inside, without taking the roof off the church. A large wooden column at the center of the aisles, which reached from the floor to the apex of the roof, provided the support necessary to bear the load of the roof system while the rafters were being repaired. Concrete caps were poured at the top of each corner of the transept crossing walls; these provided increased support for the new roof trusses. On top of the concrete caps were bolted steel plates that received the feet of the fabricated steel-and-composite valley rafters. The rafter heads were connected at the top of the roof. The new rafters were secured with steel rod collar ties. The old wood hip rafters and collar ties then were attached onto the new valley rafters. After these repairs were completed in September 2004, new metal lath was joined to the roof structure, providing the support for a new plaster ceiling. The curvature of the new ceiling matched that of the old one.<sup>71</sup>



New valley rafter and steel rod collar tie (Courtesy of Richard Marks Restorations and St. Andrew's Parish Church)

*Confidence Regained (1985–2006)*

Plaster work in the transept and installation of the heating and air conditioning system continued through the fall. The compressors were located outside the church, at the northeast end of the building. They were hidden by a fence to replicate the look of Fraser's 1800 watercolor. These were followed by the addition of sub-flooring and then new yellow pine flooring under the pews, which were repaired. The windows were installed and their trim painted. A sound system was added, with small speaker boxes mounted at the wall end of each pew. The sacristy was updated, new cabinets were installed in the stairway hall, and new chairs and benches were placed in the chancel. Handicap access was improved with the addition of a ramp outside the south door and wheelchair space in the last pew in the south transept. The pulpit had been cemented into place in a prior restoration; a new shaft of Spanish cedar, set in concrete, now stabilized the structure. Col. William Izard Bull's 1855 pew plan etched into the plaster was cleaned, preserved, and made available for viewing behind an unobtrusive door on the north wall of the nave. Visible with the pew plan are bricks of the 1706 wall and the names of the electricians who made their mark for posterity in 1949. These three artifacts showcase the church's history across three centuries.<sup>72</sup>



1855 pew plan: before and after (Photos by Richard Marks Restoration, before, and Matt Porwoll, after)

Christine Thomson, a preservationist from New England, was engaged to restore the reredos. She painstakingly cleaned the wood and regilded the lettering on the tablets. Father George was horrified to find that Thomson had scratched the newly refinished surface with steel wool to give it a dated appearance. He insisted that she touch up the letters. He also had the letter *ƀ* added to the word *Catholic* in the Apostles' Creed, which would have been the colonial spelling of the word. Sometime in the past, perhaps during the 1855 restoration, the old spelling had been modernized. "I don't know if anybody's noticed to this day," he recalled later of the new/old spelling.<sup>73</sup>



Restoring the reredos (Courtesy of Richard Marks Restorations and St. Andrew's Parish Church)

*Confidence Regained (1985–2006)*

Three elements were added. The royal coat of arms of George I, King of England when the church was expanded into its cruciform shape in 1723, was hung on the outside of the gallery. The heraldry was initially painted white to blend with the woodwork; it was later repainted in its brilliant hues and has become a focal point of the west end of the church. Four flags were hung from the sides of the gallery: the national flag of the United States; the state flag of South Carolina; the Union Jack of England when the church was established in 1706 and of the Kingdom of Great Britain from 1707 to 1801; and the flag of The Episcopal Church. The marble monument to Drayton Hastie was reinstalled on the south wall, between the window and the gallery. The memorial that had covered Bull's 1855 pew drawing on the north wall of the nave had been removed in 2000 after it had begun pulling away from the wall. Within a year after it was mounted at the rear of the church, the monument again pulled away from the wall. It was removed and stored, pending a solution.<sup>74</sup>

One vital component of the church, the organ, was not included in the preservation work. In a separate project of its own that spanned two years, the Zimmer organ, installed in 1969, was completely refurbished and a new case built to house the pipes in the south transept. It was reinstalled in early 2006, after all the other restoration work had been completed. Two bronze memorials were added to the side of the new organ case: one in honor of Sara Younkin, organist, choir director, and director of music from 1967 to 2002, and the other, given in the memory of Veronica Puckhaber Condon by her mother Marion Puckhaber. The cost of the organ projects totaled \$109,000 (\$132,500), which pushed the total price of the restoration to \$1.2 million (\$1.5 million).<sup>75</sup>

Fifty-seven years after Rev. John Grimké Drayton died and the church became dormant, St. Andrew's reopened on Easter Day 1948. Fifty-seven years after that Easter reopening, the church again was reopened, on Easter Day 2005. The Great Restoration was finished. The services that day were filled with praise, joy, and thanksgiving.<sup>76</sup>

Reverend Drayton had reopened his church after a thorough restoration a century and a half earlier. The theme of his sermon from Ezra 9:9 remained as appropriate for current parishioners as it had been for his: "Our God hath not forsaken us, but hath extended mercy unto us, to give us a reviving, to set up the house of our God, and to repair the desolation thereof." His concluding words were as challenging to this new generation as they had been to his own:



“Let us honor Him in his Temple by coming hither, not from custom, not from constraint, not from curiosity, but from love and gratitude, to seek before His mercy-seat, peace and pardon, faith and grace, guidance and protection. . . . ‘Then shall our land bring forth her increase; and God, even our own God, shall give us His blessing.’”<sup>77</sup>

Father George praised the dedication of his people. “For whatever else we may be remembered, by the grace of God and your courage and sacrifice,” he said in his annual rector’s report, “we have done something for which generations will be grateful. Storms, earthquakes, moisture, insects, design flaws, enlargements, previous restorations, generations of well intentioned ‘do-it-your-selves,’ and, above all, time—that ambiguous asset and liability of all that is material—had brought this house of prayer to the point of near collapse.” *New St. Andrew’s Parish Church* was now beautifully old and structurally sound.<sup>78</sup>

#### ILLNESS INTENSIFIES

As the Great Restoration drew to a close, Father George began a roller-coaster year of serious medical issues that would culminate in his early retirement. As he battled rheumatoid arthritis, he began having heart problems. The arrhythmias, he thought, were being caused by the stress of his workaholic life following his divorce. In March 2005 doctors performed an ablation to help mitigate his tachycardia, or racing heart rate. Serious episodes throughout the year landed Tompkins in the hospital.

Driving in West Ashley about eleven o’clock on the morning of July 15, 2005, Tompkins felt his vision blur and pulled off the road. He activated a heart monitor he was wearing to record the event. He proceeded to go about his day, including meeting with a bride and her party at a wedding rehearsal. After arriving home that night, he called to transmit what the monitor had captured. “This recorder was playing back,” he recounted, “and an operator broke in and said, ‘Lie down on the floor immediately. We’ve called EMS.’ And I said, ‘Wait. This is five hours old.’ And she said, ‘You were in ventricular fibrillation.’” Tompkins drove himself to the hospital, and a week later, a cardiac defibrillator with a pacemaker was implanted in his chest.<sup>79</sup>

In September Tompkins suddenly found himself flat on the ground as he was putting air in his tires at a gas station before driving to Charlotte for a memorial service. His defibrillator brought him back. His doctor gave him permission to make the trip but wanted to reassure him, so he was asked to



stop by Roper Hospital on his way out of town. The five-mile drive took him more than an hour; he stopped five or six times in a state of confusion. He sat in the hospital parking garage unable to move. “Finally I got to the sixth floor,” Tompkins remembered, “and spoke to the receptionist who asked, ‘Are you all right?’ I think I answered, ‘I really don’t know,’ then one, then another nurse appeared, and we started down the hall. Time became a whirlpool.... The next thing I remember was hearing Dr. Stites saying, ‘I don’t feel a pulse.’ There was no white light, no tunnel, no singing angels or wailing demons, so I said, ‘I can hear you, so I’m pretty sure I’m alive.’” Before he was whisked to the emergency room, Tompkins called parish secretary and close friend Mary Murray to rearrange the funeral he would miss! The ER doctors administered electric shock to keep him alive and drugs to lessen the pain.<sup>80</sup>

Father George remembered Bishop Skilton praying over him. His recovery began first with a mobile phone under his pillow, then a laptop that was snuck into his room—because church business demanded attention and the race of life must go on. He was discharged and drove himself home from the hospital, only to find he was unable to walk. Eventually he made it off the floor of the garage and into the house. At the monthly vestry meeting ten days later, Tompkins explained that his abnormally high rector’s discretionary fund included significant gifts from his father to help pay his mounting medical expenses. October and November were no better: Tompkins was in and out of the hospital both months. It became apparent he could not continue like this, juggling a full work schedule with an unwilling body.<sup>81</sup>

During his stints in the hospital, the church was left in capable hands. Father Stan and Deacon Greg handled clerical duties, senior warden Dot White led the vestry, music director Nancy Hendricks provided a seamless transition after Sara Younkin’s retirement, and Mary Murray and Vicki Filan kept the front office working smoothly.<sup>82</sup>

### 300TH ANNIVERSARY

As Tompkins battled illness, plans were well-underway to commemorate the church’s tercentennial. Barbara Gilchrist chaired the 300th anniversary committee; she had also led the planning for the fiftieth anniversary of the reopening held in 1998. Events occurred monthly from November 2005 through December 2006, with themes designed to appeal to all segments of the parish family. A Festival Eucharist service followed by a covered dish dinner in Gilchrist Hall kicked off the calendar on Sunday, November 20,

2005. A number of parishioners dressed in colonial costume. In December the Madrigal Choir of the Charleston County School of the Arts treated the parish to a performance of eighteenth-century music. In January Sunday school students presented a glimpse into church and everyday life in colonial Charles Town. The Junior Daughters of the King performed a puppet show, with the cloth actors dressed in colonial costumes made by Millie Lehmann. The annual Tea Room delighted large crowds of newcomers and regulars alike in late March and early April. A newly released cookbook, *Through These Doors—Bread of Heaven: A Collection of Recipes*, was sold in the Gift Shop.<sup>83</sup>

The *Cast Net* newsletter featured historical items of interest. Editor Jessica Cann included stories about Thomas Nairn and the Indians from early colonial days, the Revolutionary War at Drayton Hall, the aftermath of the Civil War, finding the old church silver in the late 1940s, a biography of Lynwood Magee, and a story on the saltire, or cross of St. Andrew. There were photographs from the 1950s—a church outing at Givhans Ferry State Park and groundbreaking of the parish house. It was all part of a concerted effort to remember and celebrate.

Bishop Salmon consecrated and rededicated the church at a special service on April 23, 2006. The next month, the Right Reverend Michael Doe, general secretary of the USPG, spoke to parishioners about the legacy of the Anglican ministers who served the parish in its infancy. June featured a much-anticipated historical play written by Tricia Hartley and performed by costumed parishioners against custom-made sets. A historical presentation in July showcased Joan Kennerty's knowledge of life along the Ashley River in the 1700s. Nothing could beat the August heat better than an old-fashioned family ice cream social. Two events highlighted October: the first, a choral evensong with an organ concert by Rob Ridgell, organist with Trinity Wall Street, New York, and the second, the inaugural Graveyard Walk. To honor the saints buried in the churchyard, members of the EYC stood by selected gravesites in the evening's darkness. Illuminated only by lamplight, they presented a brief history of the person buried there. Betsy Johnson provided the research and scripts, and over a hundred people attended. Graveyard Walk has since become an annual fixture on the church calendar.<sup>84</sup>

The capstone event was the 300th birthday homecoming celebration and choral Eucharist on Sunday, November 19, 2006. Father George preached at both the 8:00 and 10:30 a.m. services, and organist *emerita* Sara Younkin played the prelude at each service. A time capsule was presented at the offertory of

the 10:30 service; it was placed in a new brick walkway that linked the west and north entrances of the church. The festivities ended two weeks later with Bishop Skilton celebrating confirmation and First Holy Communion on December 3, the first Sunday following St. Andrew's Day.<sup>85</sup>



Staging a historical sketch for the 300th anniversary. *Left to right:* Mary Catherine Price, Grace Caroline Price, and Emma Elizabeth Price (Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

## RETIREMENT

Soon after the tercentennial commemoration began, Father George came to terms with his illness. He spoke with his physicians, bishop, and senior warden about his health and possible retirement. He asked Bishop Salmon what he should do, but the bishop turned the question back on him: "You're the only person who can decide that. This is one time I will never tell you what to do." Three days later, in December 2005, Tompkins announced his decision to retire. "Because I want to live to see my children grown," he wrote to parishioners, "I have determined that I must take some immediate action to prolong my life." The retirement date could be as early as March 2006 or as late as July, his fifty-fifth birthday, pending a decision by the Church

Pension Fund on his application for disability. Parishioners were profoundly affected by this sad news in the midst of joyous celebration. Tompkins ended his ministry on March 31, 2006. He knew he had made the right choice, but it did little to lessen the emotional pain he felt.<sup>86</sup>

George Tompkins's nineteen-year tenure was the fourth longest in the church's history, surpassed by only John Grimké Drayton (forty years), William Guy (thirty-two years), and Thomas Mills (twenty-nine years). The numbers tell a remarkable story. He helped transform a struggling parish of 376 members when he arrived into a congregation, confident in its future, of 829 when he left. What lay behind the numbers, however, tells the real story. His parish survived the wrath of Hugo, endured chronic financial worries, maintained a parish house in constant need of repair, restored the church, commemorated historical milestones, and created some of its own. And through much of it, the rector managed debilitating illness with grace and determination.<sup>87</sup>

With perhaps John Grimké Drayton his only peer, Tompkins was a master of the written and spoken word. His prose was intelligent and thought-provoking, almost melodious. In one annual report he proceeded to thank "the unseen, unsung workers ... Most of these seek no recognition, and receive none!" and then rattled off in one breathless sentence thirty-five different tasks they performed, from taking communion to the sick to bringing food for the ducks. His moderation, prodding, wisdom, wit, kindness, and love endured him to parishioners.<sup>88</sup>

No one was more deeply immersed in history than George Tompkins, but the time had come for him to live in the moment and look to the future. He, like Lynwood Magee before him, had raised the church to new heights. Could his successor maintain the momentum?

## SHAPING THE FUTURE

2006 — 2013

REPLACING “THE DEAD RECTOR,” as Father George often introduced himself with a grin after he left Old St. Andrew’s, would not be easy. He knew he would have to distance himself from the parish church, where his closest friends were, to allow his replacement to succeed. The vestry moved quickly to find a replacement, forming a search committee before Tompkins had even stepped down. A comprehensive parish profile was ready by April 2006, in the midst of the tercentennial celebrations, and it set high expectations. Outgoing senior warden Dot White painted a vivid picture of the kind of church the new rector would inherit:

We’re real people, not pretentious. We range from staunch traditionalists to those who want worship to include an alternative service with contemporary music—and everything in between. We don’t “come to church,” we *are* the church. We have blood flowing through our veins, not holy water. We’re imperfect and will be until the day Jesus calls us home. Quoting Max Lucado, “One thing’s for sure. When we get to heaven, we’ll be surprised at some of the folks we see. And some of them will be surprised when they see us.” We laugh, we cry, we hurt, we heal, we agree, we disagree, we love, we grow in faith, we’re a family and we incorporate all the dynamics that make a family whole (good and bad). We move away and we come back. We celebrate successes; marriages, births, new jobs *and* we celebrate and recognize personal growth. We grieve our losses, not just losses of loved ones, but of hopes and dreams, of reality when the reality isn’t what we expected or even wanted.<sup>1</sup>

The new rector would also face the burden of a \$729,000 (\$830,000) mortgage, which translated to a payment of \$5,500 (\$6,300) each and every month.<sup>2</sup>

The Reverend Marshall Huey, assistant rector of Church of Our Saviour on Johns Island, rose to the top of the list. On Good Friday 2006 Father

Marshall (in mufti) attended the evening service at Old St. Andrew's. He avoided the clergy and sat in the balcony. He took it all in, observing the subdued, peaceful setting you get at night inside the old church. "I was just overwhelmed with the simple, elegant beauty of that place in such a historic setting," he said.<sup>3</sup>

The vestry, search committee, and their spouses held a get-to-know-you dinner and reception for the candidate at Joan Kennerty's house on the site of the old Ashley Hall plantation. The group peppered Father Marshall with questions. Then someone deliberately put him on the spot—cornered him in a room, as senior warden Bob Fogel remembered it—and asked him his opinion on a hot topic of the day concerning the national church. His thoughtful and honest answer impressed his interviewers. But Huey felt just the opposite. He left the dinner "crestfallen," thinking he might not be called.<sup>4</sup>

On the contrary, he was the vestry's unanimous choice. Fogel called Father Marshall with the good news on a Saturday while Huey was driving a rented U-Haul truck near Manning, South Carolina, picking up donated medical equipment for the Barrier Islands Free Medical Clinic on Johns Island, where he was a founding director. "I accepted on the spot," Huey said.<sup>5</sup>

Soon afterward Father Marshall met with the vestry at the church. The group went inside for prayer, and Fogel suggested that the new rector climb the steps to the high pulpit to try it out. (At eye level, it stands ten feet off the ground.) As Huey got to the top and looked out, Fogel, with his sly smile and dry wit, said, "Now you know, there's a trap door in the pulpit in case you go too long." When Father Marshall looked down, the vestry broke into laughter. It was a good sign.<sup>6</sup>

#### 19TH RECTOR:

REV. STEWART MARSHALL HUEY JR. (2006–)

On Sunday, November 5, 2006, Bishop Edward Salmon, assisted by Bishop William Skilton, inducted Rev. Marshall Huey the nineteenth rector of Old St. Andrew's. Just as John Grimké Drayton continued the work of Stuart Hanckel in the years before the Civil War, Father Marshall would continue George Tompkins's work into the parish's fourth century.

Born February 5, 1958, Huey grew up in Atlanta and later, the suburb of Tucker. He attended Duke University, joined Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity, and became a passionate Blue Devils' basketball fan. He intended to study journalism but switched his major to political science. For two summers he



interned in Washington, D.C., one year with Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and the other, with Rep. Elliott Levitas (D-Ga.), who represented Georgia's fourth Congressional district. After graduating in 1980, Huey went straight to law school at Vanderbilt University, where he earned his Juris Doctor degree three years later.<sup>7</sup>

Huey's first legal position was in Atlanta. There he went to church one Sunday at St. Luke's Episcopal on Peachtree Street. Raised a Methodist, he loved the Episcopal liturgy and was confirmed at St. Luke's in 1984. He moved to Charlotte, stayed there three years, and got married. He then moved to Charleston after he landed a position with Sinkler and Boyd, where he practiced bankruptcy and banking law. Huey felt a pull toward the ministry but struggled with the decision for three years. Then on top of a mountain in Cashiers, North Carolina, in 1997, he felt his call answered and his future clarified. The following year the diocese accepted him as a postulant, and he resigned from his law practice. He made the announcement at a partners' meeting. "There seemed to be an eternity of silence," Huey remembered. "Then one of the partners, Will Cleveland, said, 'Well, I think that's terrific,' and started to clap, and so did everybody else. It just brought me to tears." The "recovering attorney," as Father Marshall likes to call himself, made the trip to Sewanee like others before him. He loved the cooperative nature of seminary after the competitiveness of law school. He graduated in 2001 and moved back to Charleston.<sup>8</sup>

Huey was ordained a deacon on June 23, 2001, and a priest on January 5, 2002. His first assignment was at St. James's, James Island, as deacon and then assistant rector. For two years he divided his time between St. James's and Porter-Gaud School, where he served as chaplain. In the fall of 2004 Father Marshall accepted the position as assistant



Rev. Marshall Huey (Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)

rector at Church of Our Saviour, even though that meant a forty-mile, round-trip commute from his downtown home to the southern end of Johns Island. By this time he was going through a divorce; the congregation, many of whom were retirees living on Seabrook, Kiawah, and Johns islands, loved him and his two young sons, Gordon and James. Then came the call to Old St. Andrew's.<sup>9</sup>

#### FAST START

Father Marshall's mission was grounded on the words of John 1:43. As Andrew brought his brother Simon to Jesus, so should the people of Old St. Andrew's bring their West Ashley friends and neighbors to Christ. What made Old St. Andrew's unique must be nurtured and opened to a wider community.<sup>10</sup>

The new rector wasted no time getting started. The large youth room upstairs in the education wing of Magee House was renovated, as were offices for the choir director and Christian education director. Youth minister Christen Brown got her own office. Renovations to the foyer of Magee House and Gilchrist Hall would be tackled next. A space planning task force developed a comprehensive facilities usage plan. The vestry arranged parish organizations into six committees to better serve the needs of the congregation: music and worship, Christian education, community ministries, parish life, buildings and grounds, and stewardship and finance.<sup>11</sup>

Excitement for a third worship service grew as the idea sharpened to appeal to families with young children, a primary outreach opportunity. A family service task force was formed, with a goal of having an additional service in place in September 2008, when regular Sunday school resumed after the summer break.<sup>12</sup>

The flurry of activity continued in Father Marshall's second year. There were discussions of holding an Easter sunrise service and sending a mission team to Iglesia San José in Boca Chica, Dominican Republic. To strengthen the relationship between the two churches named St. Andrew's (parish and mission), quarterly parish night gatherings began that involved both congregations, and the mission was included in the parish's Vacation Bible School.<sup>13</sup>

There were changes in staff. In spring 2007 the McGraws announced that they would be moving to Austin, Texas, so that Jean could attend the Seminary of the Southwest. As the parish bid farewell to the McGraws in July, it welcomed the Reverend Karl Burns and his family in June. As a full-time associate to help the growing parish, Father Karl brought an energy and passion

for families to Old St. Andrew's. In addition to his other responsibilities, he followed Jean McGraw as director of Christian education.<sup>14</sup>

Father Marshall announced five new goals that he and the vestry envisioned for 2008, each of which required incremental funding. They wanted to hire a lay director of Christian education to help Father Karl. They wanted to build a walkway that extended from the end of the existing brick path at the west end of the church across the gravel parking lot to Magee House. Parishioners using walkers found it difficult to traverse the graveled area, and those in wheelchairs, impossible. They wanted to build a playground at the rear of Magee House for young families to replace a dilapidated swing set that was rarely used. They wanted to bolster the music budget to widen the scope of offerings. And they wanted to continue the renovations begun in Magee House, including an update of the foyer and Gilchrist Hall. To punctuate the effect of these actions, Father Marshall boldly told the parish: "My vision for Old St. Andrew's, which I have shared with the Vestry, is that *Old St. Andrew's will be THE parish church for West Ashley within five years.*"<sup>15</sup> Each of these goals would be accomplished, but not as soon as he envisioned.

#### PAINFUL INTEGRATION

The change of clerical leadership continued the energy and vision of the Tompkins years. But for some parishioners, the steady stream of new initiatives produced as much anxiety as satisfaction. The parish had had little time to recuperate from the draining restoration project, the year-long tercentennial celebration, and the sadness of losing Father George. The departure of the popular McGraws was immediately followed by the arrival of the Burns. It was too much to absorb too quickly.

Clerical changes can produce a sense of uneasiness and trigger a range of emotions within a congregation, as people adjust to the makeup of their new spiritual leader (and often compare him or her to a predecessor). The personalities and operating styles of the former rector and his successor could not have been more different. Father George was intellectual, easy going, witty, tenured, and steeped in the history of the parish. Father Marshall was pragmatic, eager to chart his own path, and still getting the feel of his new parish. Although he respected the church's long history, his orientation was to the future. Tompkins focused on worship and liturgy. He was content to leave the day-to-day management of the parish to the vestry and to his able administrators, Mary Murray and Vicki Filan, especially as his illness

intensified. Huey had been tutored in his previous clerical assignments by strong rectors, who took active roles in shaping the entire spectrum of parish activities. He too took a hands-on approach to running his new parish, from music and worship to administration, finances, and parish life. Looking back, he realized how he had misjudged the environment, with a style that some perceived as micromanaging or even autocratic.<sup>16</sup>

Senior warden Bob Fogel, in his annual report written at the beginning of 2008, captured the sense of uneasiness. He encouraged parishioners “to work towards absorbing the changes that are coming our way, make OSA the best it can be (to borrow a saying from the Army) without losing that which makes Old St. Andrew’s Old St. Andrew’s.”<sup>17</sup>

The flash point in the transition became a struggle over parish administration. Father Marshall retained Murray and Filan in the front office, but the relationship soured. Murray had been so devoted to Father George for so long that adjusting to his replacement became impossible. Tompkins himself recognized the potential for conflict but chose not to get involved. “I knew that she or the next rector would be gone within a year,” he said, “I didn’t know which one. I just didn’t see how she could start all over again, which is what you have to do.”<sup>18</sup>

After months of tension, Murray was released on the Friday before Palm Sunday 2008. Filan resigned. Only a concerted effort by a group of parishioners, Father Marshall, and Father Karl allowed the phones to be answered, bulletins to be printed, and the necessary arrangements to be made for Palm Sunday, Holy Week, and Easter Day services. The twin departures caused an uproar.<sup>19</sup>

#### RECONCILIATION AND MOVING FORWARD

Father Marshall weathered the storm and moved on. “I feel that we at Old St. Andrew’s have honed in on our essential values,” he wrote in his 2008 annual report, “and have prepared ourselves for the journey that lies before us. I also believe that our congregation and I have drawn closer together through the adversity 2008 brought, and this closeness has made me more committed than ever to our future.”<sup>20</sup>

New staff came on board in almost every position. Julia Franz became parish secretary in June 2008 until she moved to Virginia two years later. Jeanne Gerhardt took over as parish bookkeeper. Katie Holland, whose enthusiasm and engaging personality would delight the parish, joined Old

St. Andrew's as the new director of music, and Dorothy Porcher-Holland, as part-time director of youth ministry. Father Karl accepted a position as chaplain, teacher, and coach at Porter-Gaud, while remaining as curate at Old St. Andrew's. First elected as the parish's top lay leader twenty-five years earlier, Bob Fogel ended a long tenure as senior warden in 2008.<sup>21</sup>

That year two events were held that have become annual fixtures on the church calendar. The first Easter sunrise service was held at Drayton Hall, in conjunction with St. Andrew's Mission. The service was an attempt to reach out to the community by linking the parish with one of the plantations it served in colonial and antebellum times. It also reinforced Father Marshall's efforts to reach out to St. Andrew's Mission and its vicar the Reverend James Yarsiah. Then on Memorial Day weekend, Cub Scouts, Boy Scouts, and their leaders from Pack and Troop 63 conducted their first annual flag retirement and grave decoration ceremonies to honor those serving in the armed forces, past and present. Scouts and attendees retired worn-out flags by burning them in a respectful ceremony. They then fanned out through the churchyard and placed a small American flag in front of each memorial stone bearing a military designation.<sup>22</sup>

In September 2008 the Family Service was inaugurated with a liturgy adapted for a young audience. It was held at 9:15 a.m. (later moved fifteen minutes earlier) to complement the 8:00 a.m. Rite I service and the 11:00 Rite II service. It has become a popular addition to the worship schedule, attracting many families with young children. Also that year Father Marshall led the first mission team to support its partner Iglesia San José in Boca Chica, Dominican Republic. Outreach to the Dominican Republic has become an important way for the parish to look beyond itself. More trips would follow.<sup>23</sup>

People changes continued in 2009. Father Karl left in June to accept a position at Church of the Good Shepherd in West Ashley. Lisa Dubay arrived the same month as the new director of Christian education, allowing Dorothy Porcher-Holland to focus on high school students. The Reverend Edward Braxton Davis III joined the parish in November from the Cathedral Church of St. Luke and St. Paul. In addition to his work at Old St. Andrew's, Deacon Ed, a retired professor of political science at The Citadel, directs his efforts to the Seafarers' ministry and Canterbury House (a low-income retirement community) and continues in his original vocation as Boy Scout chaplain, where he is well-known throughout the Lowcountry.<sup>24</sup>



Easter sunrise service procession, Drayton Hall, 2008 (Photo by Brad Nettles. Courtesy of St. Andrew's Parish Church)





Mission work in Boca Chica, Dominican Republic, 2009 (Photo by Lori Porwoll)

#### PARISH LIFE EXPANDS

Father Marshall continued to challenge the congregation to embrace change. In 2010 he urged parishioners to be gracious to each other in behavior, be present at church and get involved in parish activities, and be invitational by bringing people to their historic church to “come and see.” “My vision for all of us in 2011,” he wrote, “is that newcomer and long-standing member, new Vestry and veteran—*all of us*—will realize we are on the same team and that we serve the same Lord, will trust one another and seek creative and visionary ways to serve God, and will honor and respect one another not just in times of worship, but in times of work and fellowship as well.”<sup>25</sup>

The Reverend David Adams joined Old St. Andrew’s in 2010 as priest associate. A Clemson graduate, Father David assisted with worship, led the First Communion class, and was chaplain of the Junior Daughters of the

King, in addition to his duties as chaplain at Roper St. Francis Healthcare. He would leave Old St. Andrew's to become the first chaplain of the new Roper St. Francis Mount Pleasant Hospital. Fiona Sanderson was hired as parish administrator and Dr. Ricky Duckett, as director of music. The following year Andrea McKellar became director of Christian faith formation and editor of the *Cast Net* and Brad Nettles Jr., director of youth ministry. The vestry adopted a new mission statement in 2010 that focused on the three most important aspects of discipleship: *welcoming all, worshipping Christ, witnessing God's love.*<sup>26</sup>



Rev. David Adams baptizes his son David III in the North Edisto River, Camp St. Christopher, Seabrook Island, 2011 (Photo by Andrea McKellar)

A joint parish night dinner in September 2010 illustrated the renewed ties between Old St. Andrew's and St. Andrew's Mission. *Post and Courier* columnist and local-interest author Ken Burger attended and was impressed by what he saw. He said he might have come for the fried chicken, but he left with a sense of satisfaction more profound than comfort food. "While we have come a long way in race relations," Burger said, "churches remain the most segregated

institutions in our community.” It was an eye-opening experience for him to see nearly all-white and all-black congregations come together like this. “But when heads were bowed,” Burger wrote, “black and white hands were joined in thanks, not just for the food, but for the fellowship between two cultures reaching out to understand each other.”

Even though we live in the same neighborhoods, go to the same schools, shop in the same stores and work in the same office buildings, come Sunday we go our separate ways.

Here along Church Creek in West Ashley, these two churches are not trying to change that. They are however, exploring their similarities rather than their differences.<sup>27</sup>

Earlier the same year that Burger attended the parish night dinner, Bonnie Leazer became the first African American elected to the vestry of St. Andrew’s Parish Church.

Father Marshall recognized that the parish had been involved with major projects every year since 2004, and it was time for a “Sabbath year.” “My strong sense, as we come into 2012,” he told the parish, “is that the tensions within our Diocese and within The Episcopal Church nationally are not going to go away. Taking a step back from major capital projects in 2012 will allow us to get stronger, together, to face whatever decisions we are called upon to make, as a parish family.”<sup>28</sup>

It was exactly what Old St. Andrew’s needed to do.

Tensions between the national church and diocese, which had been brewing for decades, had escalated under the tenure of the Right Reverend Mark J. Lawrence, who had become Bishop of South Carolina in 2008. The diocese had for years been a conservative outpost amid an increasingly liberal national church, which had embraced clergy living in openly gay relationships and advanced the addition of same-sex blessings into the liturgy. Moreover, newly-elected Presiding Bishop Katharine Jefferts Schori, in a 2006 interview with *TIME* magazine, had questioned the uniqueness of Jesus Christ. When asked, “Is belief in Jesus the only way to get to heaven?” her response as the head of a mainline Protestant denomination left many speechless: “We who practice the Christian tradition understand him as our vehicle to the divine. But for us to assume that God could not act in other ways is, I think, to put God in an awfully small box.”<sup>29</sup> Bishop Lawrence and the diocese had become

one of the most outspoken critics of The Episcopal Church, and as a result, Lawrence was targeted for “abandoning the faith.” Lowcountry Episcopalians grappled with the effect of these events on themselves personally, their parish church, their diocese, and their national church.

Of concern to parish churches was the question of property ownership. Just who owned individual churches? The Episcopal Church said it did through the 1979 Dennis Canon, which stipulated that parish churches hold their property in trust for the national church, with the diocese acting as its agent. The South Carolina Supreme Court, however, in *All Saints Parish Waccamaw v. Protestant Episcopal Church* (2009), declared that property rights vested with individual churches and not the national church. With tensions mounting between the diocese and Episcopal Church, the diocese began issuing quitclaim deeds to its parish churches in November 2011, thus relinquishing any legal right to these properties as a trust agent for the national church. “You have all the financial responsibility for the upkeep of the buildings, insurance, protection, litigation, that come your way,” Bishop Lawrence later told Old St. Andrew’s,” but you don’t own it, except in trust for them [The Episcopal Church]. We say no, in the state of South Carolina, you own your property if you own your deed.... We are not asking for their property, we are just asking for ours.”<sup>30</sup>

Throughout it all, Old St. Andrew’s continued to retain its old members and attract newcomers. Cars filled the parking lot on Sunday mornings, and people thronged to the church, in one of the few dioceses in The Episcopal Church that was growing. (Membership in the Diocese of South Carolina had increased 48 percent since the mid-1960s, compared to a national decline of 37 percent.) At Old St. Andrew’s, an average of 259 people attended Sunday worship in 2011, four times the national Episcopal Church average of 65.<sup>31</sup>

With membership declining at St. Andrew’s Mission, Father James Yarsiah departed in 2011 to become chaplain at Vorhees College and vicar of St. Philip’s Episcopal Church in Denmark, South Carolina. He was succeeded two years later by the Reverend Dr. James S. (Jimmy) Gallant III, from St. Paul’s, Orangeburg, and a former member of the Charleston City Council.<sup>32</sup>

Where was Old St. Andrew’s headed in its 306th year? Two clergy were added to expand ministry and outreach. The Reverend Jean McGraw returned to become assistant to the rector on January 1, 2012, and the parish’s first ordained woman. The Reverend Lee Hershon joined as deacon. A convert from Judaism, Hershon, an orthodontist, felt the calling to Christ after a long period of discernment with the Reverend Donald McPhail at Grace Church.

Deacon Lee brought a unique perspective to the linkage between Judaism and Christianity.

After holding Easter Sunrise services at Drayton Hall from 2008 to 2011, the church switched venues to Magnolia Plantation and Gardens in 2012. A record number of 860 people attended Easter services at both Magnolia and the parish church. A St. Andrew's Day dinner at Magnolia in November, attended by Bishops Lawrence and Skilton, parishioners, local historians, Magnolia owners and staff, and descendants of enslaved Africans who had worked at Magnolia honored the shared legacy of John Grimké Drayton. At the urging of Magnolia and Old St. Andrew's, the South Carolina House of Representatives commemorated Reverend Drayton's 197th birthday, May 1, 2013, with a resolution in his honor.<sup>33</sup>

A series of events in the spring and summer of 2012 galvanized the parish into making significant reductions in the preservation (now called the Fourth Century) loan. By the end of the prior year, the loan balance had been reduced to \$432,957, more than 40 percent since Father Marshall had arrived. The vestry now renegotiated the loan to take advantage of lower interest rates. After the news was announced at church one Sunday, an anonymous couple came forward and issued an "independence challenge" to continue the momentum. Contributions up to \$50,000 made by the Fourth of July, only ten weeks away, would be matched dollar-for-dollar. The parish met the challenge in only five weeks. Another parishioner then offered an additional \$50,000 "courage challenge," this time to match, on a two-for-one basis, all money raised by the deadline. When the challenges began on June 1, the loan balance was \$408,774. After the second challenge check was sent to First Federal Savings and Loan on July 11, it was \$230,741. At year end the debt was under \$200,000.<sup>34</sup> Just as Tea Room, bean suppers, and oyster roasts augmented the treasury fifty years earlier, the challenge grants and the response to them was another manifestation of the parish's indomitable spirit.

## SHOWDOWN

Father Marshall's foresight that 2012 would be a year of escalating strain between the Diocese of South Carolina and Episcopal Church would be telling. Old St. Andrew's was forced to get involved at the beginning of the year, when the diocese issued the parish church a quitclaim deed. The vestry debated how to handle it: would it record the deed or ignore it? Parish chancellor Andrew Lacour asked vestry members to consider "their

fiduciary responsibility to protect, preserve and grow the assets of the parish,” regardless of how they personally felt about the diocese and national church. The vestry’s action revealed a deep sense of uneasiness: “The Vestry approves the recording of the quitclaim deed with the understanding that this action is in no way determined by, or intended to make a statement in regard to the current conflict between the Diocese and the National Church. This action is strictly a business decision.” The vestry had members on both sides, and it was unwilling to take a position.<sup>35</sup>

Conflict in the larger arena came to a head that summer and fall. Anticipating that the General Convention of the national church would pass a resolution to institute blessings of same-sex unions into the liturgy, the diocesan Standing Committee issued a statement before the convention began saying it would not follow this path. “This is a defining moment in the life of the Episcopal Church,” the Standing Committee said in a June 15, 2012, declaration, “being the first formal adoption of doctrine, discipline and worship which are contrary to the unequivocal mandate of Holy Scripture, the historic Christian faith, Anglican doctrine, and the pronouncements of the four instruments of Anglican unity. Furthermore, the adoption of such a rite at General Convention contravenes the Constitution and Canons of the Episcopal Church, and the Book of Common Prayer, and in so doing reveals the bankruptcy of our own polity and institutional integrity.”<sup>36</sup>

After declaring on November 22, 2011, that Bishop Mark Lawrence had not “abandoned The Episcopal Church,” the Disciplinary Board for Bishops reversed itself nearly a year later and proclaimed that he had done just that. Reaction was swift. The diocese disassociated itself from the national church and called for a special convention. On November 17, 2012, at St. Philip’s, Charleston, diocesan convention delegates affirmed the act of disassociation and approved the removal of all references to The Episcopal Church in the diocesan constitution and canons. On December 5, the presiding bishop declared that Bishop Lawrence had renounced his orders. Lawrence said the action had no bearing on him, since he had already left The Episcopal Church.

Every church in the diocese, including Old St. Andrew’s, was faced with a decision: align with the national church or the diocese. For some parishes with united congregations, the decision came easily and quickly. St. John’s Parish on Johns Island, for example, chose to remain with the diocese; Grace Church in Charleston aligned with the national church. The decision was not as easy at Old St. Andrew’s. Some parishioners were adamant supporters of The



Episcopal Church, others equally so for the diocese. Some were undecided. Some only wanted to remain with their parish church and just wished the whole thing would go away. Although defenders of the national church were the most vocal, it was impossible to tell which way the parish was leaning. The rector wanted his parishioners, no matter where they stood, to fully understand the issues before reaching judgment.

“I don’t pretend to know how the events of the next few months will play out,” Father Marshall said. “I don’t know whether our street sign will say ‘Episcopal’ or ‘Anglican.’” But he was “convinced that God brought me to Old St. Andrew’s for this time and this season, a ‘recovering attorney,’ offering what I can in service to this wonderful parish church as we try to sort through the events ‘out there’ and make important decisions together in an atmosphere of respect, trust, and joy.”<sup>37</sup>

#### DISCERNMENT AND DECISION

The new year of 2013 had barely begun when, on January 4, the diocese filed a declarative judgment in South Carolina Circuit Court against The Episcopal Church seeking to protect its name, identity, and property and those of its parishes from incursion by the national church. This action, in effect, preempted the national church from suing to recover diocesan and parochial assets, as it had done when other dioceses and parishes had exited. (By one count, The Episcopal Church had filed more than eighty lawsuits against departing dioceses and parishes at a cost of more than \$22 million). How did Episcopalians in the Diocese of South Carolina respond? By the fall of 2013, forty-nine parishes representing 80 percent of the membership aligned with the diocese.<sup>38</sup>

How did Old St. Andrew’s respond?

The rector, vestry, and chancellor sought the best way for Old St. Andrew’s to determine its path. Lacour resolved that any action relating to the parish’s association with either the national church or diocese must be agreed upon by a majority of the church membership to amend the parish constitution. It was not the vestry’s or the rector’s call to make the decision, as had happened at other churches.<sup>39</sup>

To ensure that parishioners had everything they needed to make a reasoned choice, the vestry distributed a seven-week “discernment calendar” that outlined a series of informational meetings in Gilchrist Hall during January and February 2013. The process would culminate in a parish vote on February 24, in time to determine which of two competing diocesan conventions parish

delegates would attend on March 8–9. (There were now two dioceses in the Lowcountry: the Diocese of South Carolina under Bishop Mark Lawrence and the Episcopal Church in South Carolina, representing the national church, under the Right Reverend and provisional bishop Charles vonRosenberg). No other parish in the diocese held such an exhaustive examination of the issues before deciding which group to endorse.

Congregational meetings focused on discussions of the polity of the Episcopal organizational structure in the U.S., the Diocese of South Carolina, and the worldwide Anglican Communion, and the theological differences that had led to the split. Father Marshall addressed his own position, telling the congregation, “I told the vestry when I came here, and I haven’t changed about this, that I could not perform a same-sex blessing or marriage as a priest. I can’t do that.”<sup>40</sup>

At the end of the annual parish meeting held in late January, Father Marshall told those assembled that the previous Tuesday he “woke up with Joshua on my mind.” Specifically, it was the words from the first chapter when God commanded Joshua, “Do not neglect my Word.” For Marshall Huey, the Epiphany Season had revealed a personal epiphany. “In other words, we are to follow Jesus as our ultimate Joshua,” he wrote in the annual report distributed at the meeting. “We have earthly captains and we have earthly denominations, but first and foremost, we are called to know His word, to follow His laws, to keep those laws first and foremost on our individual and corporate journeys.” He asked his parishioners to follow him in his own journey, but recognized that “The LORD told Joshua that not all would go with him.” Even if his own path were clear, the rector would not impose his own conclusions on his parish. He encouraged people to look deeply into their own faith.<sup>41</sup>

Bishop Lawrence shared his insights in a visit to Old St. Andrew’s on February 10. He said that the diocese had been “on a collision course” with the national church for at least the last thirty years, over issues of Christian theology, Christian morality, and church polity. To the surprise of many, Lawrence said that the proverbial straw that had broken the camel’s back was not same-sex marriage, but national canons that were changed at 2012 General Convention that mandated full inclusion of clergy and laity in the life of the church based on an individual’s gender identity (defined as “one’s inner sense of being a man, a woman, or something more complex”) and gender expression (defined as “the way in which one manifests that gender identity in the world”). “We just went off the cliff,” he said. “I’m sorry, I cannot

abandon my grandchildren, and if I live long enough, my great-grandchildren, to a genderless world. No religion in the history of the world that we know of has embraced that sort of understanding of gender.... There are certain things that are worth fighting for. I don't think it's bigotry, homophobia, or fundamentalist stupidity, or being a Neanderthal to take this position."<sup>42</sup>

The following Sunday Bishop vonRosenberg, representing the national church in South Carolina, addressed a packed Gilchrist Hall. He said that his diocese was the only one in the area recognized by the Anglican Communion. As such, he warned that it would be impossible for the parish to call Episcopal clergy in the future if it aligned with the Diocese of South Carolina. He said that parishes or priests would not be required to perform same-sex blessings in his diocese if they were opposed to doing so. Addressing the concern of many parishioners, he reiterated that The Episcopal Church would maintain a trust interest in parish property, which meant that ultimate ownership would be vested with the national church and not with Old St. Andrew's. Lastly, the bishop talked about his belief in the uniqueness of Jesus, adding that "the Presiding Bishop has been widely misunderstood, and The Episcopal Church has been wildly misrepresented" on this issue.<sup>43</sup>

A clergyman with a long family history with Old St. Andrew's weighed in on vonRosenberg's visit. The Reverend Ladson Frazier Mills III, whose great-great-great-great grandfather Thomas Mills was the church's seventh rector, believed that the bishop had missed a golden opportunity to win the hearts and minds of the people of Old St. Andrew's.

I expected a charm initiative in the attempt to woo this important congregation into remaining in the national church fold. I would have expected him to present the critical role they could play in contributing to the health and inclusion of this newly formed continuing diocese. In the images of the recently passed Valentine Season I expected they would receive a message that was loving and reassuring. If there were any roses in this presentation they were surrounded by thorns.<sup>44</sup>

At a special vestry meeting held the day after vonRosenberg's visit, on Monday, February 18, Father Marshall announced his decision. After subtly revealing his theological orthodoxy over the last several weeks, he made it official: he would follow the Diocese of South Carolina under Bishop Lawrence. He mailed the congregation a nine-page letter stating his case.<sup>45</sup>

Despite the tension over a close vote, the parish issued a clear mandate. On February 24, Old St. Andrew's voted three-to-one to amend its constitution and align with the Diocese of South Carolina under Bishop Mark Lawrence. It was the fourth time in its long history that the parish had changed its affiliation: after the Revolutionary War, before and after the Civil War, and now.

The showdown recalled the painful days forty years earlier when parishioners disaffected with changes to the Book of Common Prayer chose to leave Old St. Andrew's. Two clergy were the first casualties. George Tompkins, the popular, liberal rector who had shepherded his conservative parish for almost two decades, was stung to his core. The rector emeritus joined Bishop vonRosenberg as a member of his first Diocesan Council. A little over a year after she had become assistant to the rector, Rev. Jean McGraw resigned the day after the vote. At vonRosenberg's request, she formed a worship group in West Ashley aligned with The Episcopal Church (soon named St. Francis), since every Episcopal church west of the Ashley had sided with the diocese.<sup>46</sup>

Within the first few months, about thirty parishioners left Old St. Andrew's and began attending St. Francis. Barbara Gilchrist stayed through Tea Room before leaving the church she had called home for more than forty years. Christian Education director Andrea McKellar left after Pentecost ended the year's Sunday school calendar. She would become senior warden at St. Francis. Parish administrator Fiona Sanderson announced her decision to leave, but not over issues with the parish's direction. The wife of an Episcopal priest, the Reverend Dow Sanderson of the Church of the Holy Communion in Charleston, she was simply burned out.

For all the anguish surrounding the vote, membership remained largely unaffected. While the church grieved the losses of friends and long-standing parishioners, new families arrived for worship. Average Sunday attendance in the months after disaffiliation actually increased versus the previous year.<sup>47</sup>

The Reverend Joe Vella, who had been rector of St. John's, Oakland, before becoming a hospice chaplain in Pinellas County, Florida, replaced Jean McGraw as assistant to the rector on August 1. Father Joe would head a new InReach committee designed to better care for parishioners in need. Amy Austen became the new parish administrator, and Stephanie Mann Reed, the new parish program director. In the midst of this recovery, beloved music director Dr. Ricky Duckett died suddenly in September. The Lord's Prayer is now sung at Rite II worship using the beautiful composition he created.

With the change in affiliation, the parish's name for the Episcopal Church Women now became the *Women of Old St. Andrew's*. Although many women who had planned and staffed Tea Room for years had left after the vote, organizational meetings were quickly begun for Tea Room 2014. The tradition would continue. On the street sign, however, the word *Episcopal* remained to describe the church. Father Marshall acknowledged the confusion, but said that Old St. Andrew's was both Anglican and Episcopal, as part of the Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina but not The Episcopal Church.

In a show of solidarity and to protect parish assets, the vestry elected to join the Diocese of South Carolina and its participating parishes in their injunction against The Episcopal Church and the Episcopal Church in South Carolina. The case is expected to be heard in 2014.

As the parish headed into the fall, attendance and the operating budget were in good shape. Father Marshall called parishioners to recommit financially to Old St. Andrew's in the upcoming year, telling them, "This is no time for fear or timidity. There is too much Gospel work to do, and we are too strong as a Church family. We move forward in faith that God will continue to guide us. Beyond that, we're just too excited to shrink back. There is a great spirit in the air at OSA, and you can feel it!"<sup>248</sup>

## AFTERWORD

As Victorinus discovered, and Augustine wrote in his *Confessions*, a brick and mortar building is an essential and public place for Christians to affirm their belief in God. It is this beauty of holiness we see each time we enter the doors of St. Andrew's Parish Church—the compass-headed windows, stone floors, stuccoed brick walls, arched ceiling, and colonial reredos. Standing like Simon Peter, the rock on which Christ would build his church, the cruciform St. Andrew's has been a magnet attracting his followers in worship and fellowship for more than 300 years.

But *church* is not a building, no matter how old or beautifully restored. *Church* is when two or three gather together in Christ's name as the communion of saints. The history of Old St. Andrew's reminds us just how fragile this communion is, well-intentioned but flawed in sin, often cooperating, sometimes not, often led by a guiding hand, sometimes not. The graveyard that envelops the church is both a sober reminder of our mortality and a hopeful link between our present life and our eternal one.

Look for the communion of saints the next time you attend services at Old St. Andrew's. They are all around you as you pass through the graveyard. Inside, standing beside the Reverend Marshall Huey at the altar, you might feel the presence of the Reverends William Guy, John Grimké Drayton, and Lynwood Magee. As they look into the congregation, these rectors will see today's communion of saints, as well saints past standing beside them in the pews—Edward Brailsford, reading from his devotional; Judith the slave and her seven children in the gallery; Mr. Shokes the plantation catechist; Pat Pigott in her blue check dress; Gene Taylor, her typewriter nearby; Norwood Hastie and Ken Dojan, their dusty gardening gloves lying on the seat; Dr. Ricky Duckett at the organ; Col. Simon Magwood and Col. William Izard Bull; Rachel and Al Butt and Ernest and Sue Cutts; Vivian Wilson-Cohen and Augusta Nadol; Carrie Stegall and Clemmie Warren.

“And he who had received the five talents, came forward, bringing five talents more, saying, ‘Master, you delivered to me five talents; here I have made five talents more.’ His master said to him, ‘Well done, good and faithful servant; you have been faithful over a little, I will set you over much; enter into



## *Afterword*

the joy of your master.”” (Matt. 25:20–21) As much as this book is a celebration of those servants who have invested the master’s talents, it is a clarion call for today’s parishioners, caretakers of this magnificent church, to continue investing those talents for the saints to come. For they carry the responsibility of enriching the legacy of their predecessors, who were at times certain but more often not, these men and women who built a little brick church in the wilderness in 1706, restored a building in disrepair in 1855, and reopened it from dormancy in 1948, only to see it blossom like the camellias of John Grimké Drayton into its fourth century.

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# APPENDICES



APPENDIX I

BUILDING DATES OF CHURCH ACT CHURCHES

PARISH CHURCH	DATE OF CURRENT STRUCTURE	STATUS
St. Andrew's	1706, expanded 1723–33, rebuilt ca. 1764	Regular use (all services)
St. Paul's, Stono	Site only; first built 1707, relocated to Beech Hill chapel 1736–37	Extinct
St. Thomas's (The White Church)	1707–8, rebuilt 1819, sacristy 1856	Monthly use (special services)
St. James's, Goose Creek	1708–19	Occasional use
St. John's, Berkeley (Biggin Church)	Ruins; built 1710–13, burned 1755, 1781, and 1886	Extinct
Christ Church	1726–27, rebuilt ca. 1788 and 1874, large, new replica church built 1996	Regular use (some services)
St. James's, Santee (The Brick Church)	1768	Occasional use
St. Philip's	1835–38 (second on this site)	Regular use (all services)
St. Denis's	Site only; building unknown	Extinct
St. Bartholomew's (Chapels established at Chihaw, Pon Pon, and Edmundsbury)	Never built	Never built

APPENDIX 2  
RECTORS

1	Alexander Wood	1708–10
2	Ebenezer Taylor	1712–17
3	William Guy	1718–50
4	Charles Martyn	1753–70
5	Thomas Panting	1770–71
6	Christopher Ernst Schwab	1771–73
7	Thomas Mills, DD	1787–1816
8	Joseph M. Gilbert	1824
9	Paul Trapier	1830–35
10	Jasper Adams, DD	1835–38
11	James Stuart Hanckel	1841–49, 1849–51
12	John Grimké Drayton	1851–91
13	Lynwood Cresse Magee	1955–63
14	John L. Kelly	1963–66
15	Howard Taylor Cutler	1967–70
16	John Ernest Gilchrist	1970–81
17	Geoffrey Robert Imperatore, ThD	1982–85
18	George Johnson Tompkins III, DMin	1987–2006
19	Stewart Marshall Huey Jr.	2006–

Before they were named rector, Charles Martyn served as minister (1752–53), Paul Trapier as deacon (1829–30), Stuart Hanckel as deacon (1838–41), and Lynwood Magee as deacon in charge (1952–53) and then priest in charge (1953–55).

APPENDIX 3  
 KNOWN WARDENS

Jonathan Fitch and Thomas Rose <sup>1</sup>	1706–7
William Cattell Sr. and Thomas Rose	1716–17
William Cattell Sr. and Capt. William Fuller	1717–18
William Bull Sr.	1718–19
John Girardeau and Francis Ladson	1719–20
William Cattell Sr. and John Williams	1723–26, 1727–28
William Cattell Sr.	1728–30
Benjamin Perry and William Miles	1734–35
William Miles	1736–37
John Drayton and Robert Ladson	1742–43
William Bull Jr. and Robert Ladson	1743–44
Joseph Fuller	1745–46
William Cattell Jr.	1746–47
William Bull Jr.	1747–48
William Branford Jr.	1749–50
Benjamin Cattell and Nathaniel Brown	1750–51
Charles Cattell	1752–53
Thomas Elliott	1754–55
Joseph Elliott	1757–58
Col. Owen Roberts and William Drayton	1764–65
Col. Owen Roberts	1769–70
William Cattell III	1771–72
Richard Park Stobo and William Royall	1778–79
James Ladson <sup>2</sup>	1787
John Cripps and States Gist (Charles Drayton <sup>3</sup> )	1813
Col. Simon Magwood <sup>3</sup>	1830
Col. William Cattell IV <sup>3</sup>	?–1842
Col. William Izard Bull <sup>4</sup>	1833–65
Col. Simon Magwood <sup>3</sup>	1836
William Bull Pringle <sup>3</sup>	1854
Dr. William Izard Bull and Richard Frost	1875
Charles H. Drayton	1894–1904, 1912–15

## *Appendices*

M. W. Wallace and C. Norwood Hastie <sup>5</sup>	1916
Charles S. Dwight Jr.	1916–21
Charles S. Dwight Jr. and Charles J. Ravenel	1922
Charles S. Dwight Jr.	1923–26
Charles S. Dwight Jr. and Charles J. Ravenel	1927–42
Charles S. Dwight Jr.	1943–47
Lawrence G. Fishburne	1948
Joseph E. Dunham	1949–50
Joseph E. Dunham/Alfred W. Butt <sup>6</sup>	1951
Alfred W. Butt	1952
Alfred W. Butt and Grange S. Lucas Jr.	1953–54
James F. McGowan and Grange S. Lucas Jr.	1955
James F. McGowan and Gadsden Smith Jr.	1956
Ernest A. Cutts and Grange S. Lucas Jr.	1957–58
William Freegard and Grange S. Lucas Jr.	1959
Alfred W. Butt and Shannon R. Tilton	1960
Walter L. Shaffer and Reuben H. Brown	1961
Ernest A. Cutts and Edward T. Simons Jr.	1962
Alfred W. Butt and Edward T. Simons Jr.	1963
Micah Jenkins and James F. McGowan	1964
Micah Jenkins and Edward T. Simons Jr.	1965
Edward T. Simons Jr. and Dr. Richard W. Martin	1966
Edward T. Simons Jr. and Ralph F. Warren	1967
Otis R. Conklin Jr. and Richard T. Shiflett	1968
Howard R. Jacobs Jr. and William H. Buck Sr.	1969
Reuben H. Brown and Arthur W. Bailey	1970
J. Wilbur Holland and Marion J. Yon Jr.	1971
Richard T. Shiflett and Dr. J. Karl Geppert	1972
Dr. J. Karl Geppert and Stanley Schultz III	1973
William H. Buck Sr. and W. Clarke Jones	1974
Dr. J. Karl Geppert and Col. Ferris M. Berry	1975
Dr. J. Karl Geppert and Lloyd G. Bushnell	1976
W. Jackson Kirby and Stanley Schultz III	1977
Dwight J. Anneaux and John E. Younkin	1978
Dwight J. Anneaux and Stanley Schultz III	1979

*Appendices*

J. Wilbur Holland and John H. Blicht	1980
Arthur W. Bailey and John H. Blicht	1981–82
Robert D. Fogel and Harry B. Curtis	1983
E. Gene Trayer and Debra J. Gupton	1984
E. Gene Trayer and Ralph C. Thomas	1985
Robert D. Fogel and Ralph C. Thomas	1986
Robert D. Fogel and E. Gene Trayer	1987
J. Howard Williams and Ralph C. Thomas	1988–89
Robert D. Fogel and Ralph C. Thomas	1990
Robert D. Fogel and John D. Deden	1991
Patricia M. Williams and John D. Deden	1992
Barbara B. Gilchrist and Arthur W. Bailey	1993
Barbara B. Gilchrist and Tracy S. Miller	1994
Robert D. Fogel and Tracy S. Miller	1995–96
Lawrence A. Hartnett and K. Kenneth Hanchey	1997
Lawrence A. Hartnett and David L. Wilson	1998
Robert D. Fogel and Arthur W. Bailey	1999
Robert D. Fogel and Lawrence A. Hartnett	2000
Lawrence A. Hartnett and A. Bradshaw McKay	2001–2
Robert D. Fogel and William H. Buck Jr.	2003
Robert D. Fogel and David L. Seithel	2004
Dorothy L. White and David L. Seithel	2005
Robert D. Fogel and A. Bradshaw McKay	2006
Robert D. Fogel and K. Kenneth Hanchey	2007
Robert D. Fogel and David L. Seithel	2008
Karen C. Aytes and James Maxon/Peter H. Bruce <sup>7</sup>	2009
Peter H. Bruce and James C. Hare Jr.	2010
James C. Hare Jr. and Katherine A. Adams	2011
Katherine A. Adams and Capt. Gerald L. Finch	2012
Katherine A. Adams and James M. Gibson	2013

## *Appendices*

<sup>1</sup> Building supervisors.

<sup>2</sup> Assumed warden. Ladson signed the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina with Rev. Thomas Mills as a lay representative of St. Andrew's Parish Church in February 1787.

<sup>3</sup> Chairman of the vestry.

<sup>4</sup> Warden or vestryman.

<sup>5</sup> Surviving vestrymen.

<sup>6</sup> Alfred Butt was elected warden in June 1951 on the death of Joseph Dunham.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Bruce was elected junior warden in February 2009 on the resignation of Jim Maxon.

Beginning in 1953, wardens were elected as senior warden (listed first) and junior warden. The senior warden customarily works closely with the rector ("the rector's warden"), and the junior warden with the congregation ("the people's warden"). At Old St. Andrew's, the senior warden also heads the finance committee and the junior warden leads the buildings and grounds committee.



*Appendices*

APPENDIX 4

KNOWN DIOCESAN CONVENTION LAY DELEGATES

DATE	CONVENTION	LAY DELEGATES
1804	17th	Simon Magwood, John Splatt Cripps
1806	19th	Simon Magwood
1809	22nd	Maj. Charles Lining
1810	23rd	Maj. Charles Lining, John Splatt Cripps
1812	24th	Maj. Charles Lining
1813	25th	Maj. Charles Lining, Daniel E. Huger
1814	26th	Ralph Stead Izard, Daniel E. Huger
1824	36th	Edward Pringle
1828	40th	Col. Simon Magwood
1830	42nd	Col. Simon Magwood
1831	43rd	Col. Simon Magwood, William Cattell IV
1832	44th	Col. Simon Magwood
1839	50th	Robert M. Allan
1840	51st	John S. Brisbane, William Izard Bull, Izard Middleton
1842	53rd	John S. Brisbane, William Izard Bull, Izard Middleton, John Drayton
1844	55th	John A. Ramsay
1845	56th	Francis S. Holmes, William Izard Bull, N. Russell Middleton, Dr. George Haig
1846	57th	Francis S. Holmes
1847–48	58th–59th	Francis S. Holmes, N. Russell Middleton, John A. Ramsay, Dr. George Haig
1850–51	61st–62nd	Francis S. Holmes, N. Russell Middleton, William Bull Pringle, Dr. Theodore D. Grimké
1853–54	64th–65th	William Bull Pringle, Dr. Theodore D. Grimké, Dr. George Haig, Simon J. Magwood
1856	67th	William Bull Pringle, Dr. George Haig, John Hanckel, Edward Frost

## *Appendices*

DATE	CONVENTION	LAY DELEGATES
1857	68th	William Bull Pringle, Dr. George Haig, John Hanckel, Col. William Izard Bull
1858	69th	John Hanckel, Col. William Izard Bull, Charles Kerrison
1859	70th	John Hanckel, William Bull Pringle, Dr. George Haig, Charles Kerrison
1860	71st	Col. William Izard Bull, Simon J. Magwood, Dr. John H. Drayton, G. C. Heyward
1875	85th	Simon J. Magwood, George I. Crafts
1878	88th	Col. Joseph A. Yates, R. B. Cuthbert
1880	90th	Col. Joseph A. Yates, R. B. Cuthbert, Col. William Izard Bull, Charles H. Drayton
1883–86	93rd–96th	Col. Joseph A. Yates, Charles H. Drayton, William S. Hastie, James L. Jervey
1887	97th	Col. Joseph A. Yates, Charles H. Drayton, William S. Hastie
1890	100th	William S. Hastie
1950	160th	George E. Lancer
1951	161st	Alfred W. Butt, Joseph E. Dunham
1952	162nd	Alfred W. Butt, Lt. Col. Gaillard S. Vincent
1953	163rd	Alfred W. Butt, James F. McGowan, Helge C. Anderson
1954	164th	Alfred W. Butt, James F. McGowan
1955	165th	James F. McGowan, Helge C. Anderson, Ben D. Nash
1956	166th	James F. McGowan, Alfred W. Butt, Gadsden Smith Jr., H. D. Pregnell
1957	167th	James F. McGowan, Maj. William S. Motter, W. T. Jenkins, C. Norwood Hastie Jr.
1958	168th	Alfred W. Butt, Maj. William S. Motter, Lt. Col. Gaillard S. Vincent, William Freegard (one day), James F. McGowan (one day)
1959	169th	Alfred W. Butt, Maj. William S. Motter, James F. McGowan, William Freegard

*Appendices*

DATE	CONVENTION	LAY DELEGATES
1960	170th	Alfred W. Butt, James F. McGowan, William Freegard, Otis R. Conklin Jr.
1961	171st	Alfred W. Butt, James F. McGowan, Otis R. Conklin Jr., Walter L. Shaffer
1962	172nd	C. Norwood Hastie Jr., Maj. William S. Motter, Edward T. Simons Jr., Ernest A. Cutts
1964	174th	C. Norwood Hastie Jr., Alfred W. Butt, Edward T. Simons Jr., Col. Sidney N. Phillips
1965	175th	C. Norwood Hastie Jr., Alfred W. Butt, Edward T. Simons Jr., James F. McGowan
1966	176th	Alfred W. Butt, James F. McGowan, Lt. Col. Robert C. Goodwin, William H. Buck Sr.
1967	177th	Alfred W. Butt, J. Wilbur Holland, C. Norwood Hastie Jr., Edward T. Simons Jr., Donald S. Smith
1968	178th	Alfred W. Butt, J. Wilbur Holland, Howard R. Jacobs Jr., Richard T. Shiflett
1969	179th	J. Wilbur Holland, Howard R. Jacobs Jr., Richard T. Shiflett, William H. Buck Sr.
1970	180th	J. Wilbur Holland, Howard R. Jacobs Jr., Richard T. Shiflett, Arthur R. Thexton, Reuben H. Brown
1971	181st	J. Wilbur Holland, Richard T. Shiflett, Arthur R. Thexton, William H. Buck Sr., Anne Holland
1972	182nd	J. Wilbur Holland, Richard T. Shiflett, William H. Buck Sr., Cecile Ann Shiflett
1973	183rd	Richard T. Shiflett, E. John Jenkins, Alice Schultz
1975	185th	Floyd I. Dovell III, Clyde H. Turner, Barbara B. Gilchrist, Jane S. Nelson
1976	186th	Richard T. Shiflett, William H. Buck Sr., Dr. J. Karl Geppert, Jane S. Nelson
1977	187th	J. Wilbur Holland, Barbara B. Gilchrist, Gerald A. Nelson, Jane S. Nelson
1978	188th	W. Jackson Kirby, Barbara B. Gilchrist, Jane S. Nelson
1979	189th	Dwight J. Anneaux, Dr. J. Karl Geppert, Jean Berry, Dr. Dennis M. Goldsberry

## *Appendices*

DATE	CONVENTION	LAY DELEGATES
1980	190th	Dwight J. Anneaux, J. Wilbur Holland, Barbara B. Gilchrist, Mary Henrikson
1981	191st	Dwight J. Anneaux, J. Wilbur Holland, Anne Holland, Arthur W. Bailey Jr.
1982	192nd	Dwight J. Anneaux, J. Wilbur Holland, Barbara B. Gilchrist, Arthur W. Bailey Jr.
1983	193rd	Robert D. Fogel, Nancy Scarborough, Harry B. Curtis, George L. Shier Jr.
1984	194th	Arthur W. Bailey Jr., E. Gene Trayer, Col. Ferris M. Berry, Alan E. Trego
1985	195th	Arthur W. Bailey Jr., E. Gene Trayer, Harry B. Curtis, Ralph C. Thomas
1986	196th	E. Gene Trayer, Ralph C. Thomas, Robert D. Fogel, Barbara B. Gilchrist
1987	197th	E. Gene Trayer, Ralph C. Thomas, Robert D. Fogel, Arthur W. Bailey Jr.
1988	198th	Arthur W. Bailey Jr., J. Howard Williams, Dr. Mary S. Goldsberry, Ralph C. Thomas
1989	199th	Arthur W. Bailey Jr., J. Howard Williams, Dr. Mary S. Goldsberry, Barbara B. Gilchrist
1991	201st	J. Howard Williams, Dr. Mary S. Goldsberry, John D. Deden, Robert D. Fogel
1992	202nd	J. Howard Williams, Dr. Mary S. Goldsberry, John D. Deden, Patricia M. Williams
1993	203rd	J. Howard Williams, Dr. Mary S. Goldsberry, John D. Deden, Barbara B. Gilchrist
1994	204th	Barbara B. Gilchrist, Susan G. Legare, Tracy S. Miller, Kenneth R. Warren
1995	205th	Barbara B. Gilchrist, J. Howard Williams, Robert D. Fogel, Susan G. Legare
1996	206th	J. Howard Williams, Robert D. Fogel, CMSgt Robert K. Strobel, Tracy S. Miller
1997	207th	J. Howard Williams, Lawrence A. Hartnett, CMSgt Robert K. Strobel, K. Kenneth Hanchey
1998	208th	Lawrence A. Hartnett, CMSgt Robert K. Strobel, David L. Wilson
1999	209th	J. Howard Williams, CMSgt Robert K. Strobel, Arthur W. Bailey Jr.

*Appendices*

DATE	CONVENTION	LAY DELEGATES
2000–2002	210th–212th	CMSgt Robert K. Strobel, Robert D. Fogel, Lawrence A. Hartnett, Barbara B. Gilchrist
2003	213th	CMSgt Robert K. Strobel, Robert D. Fogel, J. Howard Williams, William H. Buck Jr.
2004	214th	CMSgt Robert K. Strobel, Robert D. Fogel, Barbara B. Gilchrist, David L. Seithel
2005	215th	CMSgt Robert K. Strobel, Barbara B. Gilchrist, Dorothy L. White, Edward B. (Bo) Turner Jr.
2006	216th	J. Howard Williams, Robert D. Fogel, A. Bradshaw McKay, Christen Brown
2008	217th	J. Howard Williams, CMSgt Robert K. Strobel, K. Kenneth Hanchey
2009	218th	J. Howard Williams, Peter H. Bruce, Barbara B. Gilchrist, Karen C. Aytes
2010	219th	J. Howard Williams, Peter H. Bruce, James C. Hare Jr., CMSgt Robert K. Strobel
2011	220th	J. Howard Williams, Peter H. Bruce, James C. Hare Jr., Katherine A. Adams
2012	221st	J. Howard Williams, Capt. Gerald L. Finch, James C. Hare Jr., Katherine A. Adams
2013	222nd	J. Howard Williams, CMSgt Robert K. Strobel, James M. Gibson, Katherine A. Adams

APPENDIX 5  
PRESIDENTS, WOMEN OF THE CHURCH

Lois Hannaford	1948–49	Ann Geppert	1977–78
Martha Baitary	1949–50	Sally Habermeyer	1978–79
Sarah Dunham	1950–51	Dr. Mary S. Goldsberry	1979–80
Selina Hopkins	1951–52	Sheri Anderssen	1980–81
Anne M. Blicht	1952–53	Darlene Blicht	1981–82
Marjorie M. McGowan	1953–55	Alice Veyera/ Lydia V. Hughes <sup>2</sup>	1982–83
Lila O. Searson	1955–56	Carrie Stegall	1983–84
Rachel P. Butt	1956–57	Sheryl Bell	1984–85
Frances H. McDaniel	1957–58	Peggy Wharton	1985–87
Eloise R. Jenkins	1958–61	Donna C. Winters	1987–89
Marjorie Grimmer	1961–62	Gail Massey	1989–91
Joan S. Kennerty	1962–63	Leslie G. Herman	1991–93
Ethel C. (Pat) Pigott	1963–65	Ellen Hardin	1993–95
Selina Hopkins	1965–66	Lilian Fogel	1995–97
Mildred S. Montgomery	1967–68	Mildred L. Strobel	1997–99
Frances L. Williams	1968–70	Debra J. Gupton	1999–2001
Jean H. Goodwin	1970–72	Barbara B. Gilchrist	2001–3
Clara M. Stewart	1972–73	Cheryl M. McKay	2003–5
Dorothy M. Rigsby	1973–74	Peggy Finch	2005–7
Ethel G. Turner	1974–75	Lilian Fogel	2007–11
Jean H. Goodwin/ Carlotta J. Hyers <sup>1</sup>	1975–76	Marty Wilson	2011–13
Ann Burns	1976–77	Mildred L. Strobel	2013–15

<sup>1</sup> Co-presidents.

<sup>2</sup> Lydia Hughes was elected president in July 1982 after the resignation of Alice Veyera.

When Old St. Andrew's reopened in 1948, the women of the diocese and its churches were organized as the *Woman's Auxiliary*. The diocese changed the name to *Episcopal Church Women* in 1959, and to *Diocesan Church Women* in 2013 after the diocese disaffiliated from The Episcopal Church. The parish women's group is now known as the *Women of Old St. Andrew's*.

APPENDIX 6

NOTABLE BURIALS IN THE GRAVEYARD

NAME	DATE OF DEATH	DATE OF BIRTH/ AGE AT DEATH
<i>18th and 19th centuries (all)</i>		
Rev. Alexander Wood <sup>1</sup>	1710 Aug	
Thomas Nairn	1718 Nov 30	1697 Jan 15
Elizabeth Nairn	1721 Mar 9	Age 63
Bridget Brailsford <sup>2</sup>	1729 Dec 22 <sup>7</sup>	
Edward Brailsford <sup>2</sup>	1733 Apr 21	1684 Apr 10
Charlotta Drayton	1743 Dec 30	Age 23
Rev. William Guy <sup>1</sup>	1750 Dec 9	Age 62
Mary Elliott	1760 Nov 3	Age 31
Joseph Williams	1768 Sep 1	Age 65
Rev. Christopher Ernst Schwab <sup>3</sup>	1773 Jul 5	
Elizabeth Williams	1796 Jun 18	Age 70
Roger Moore Smith	1808 Jul 6	Age 57y/11m
Jane Porteous Fuller	1811 Jun 26	1807 Jul 25
John Alexander Fuller	1817 Aug 21	1815 Aug 28
James Magwood	1824 Oct 30	Age 27
Daniel Kirkpatrick	1829 Jun 2	Age 58y/9m/17d
Elizabeth Holman Moreland	1829 Nov 3	Age 18m
John Ladson Frazier Mills <sup>4</sup>	1831 Jan 24	Age 26y/9m
Ann Blake Fuller	1831 Oct 7	Age 25y/4m
Frederick W. Calvitte	1832 Oct 1	Age 2y/5m
Benjamin Fuller	1832 Oct 4	Age 56y/7m/21d
Mary Elizabeth Magwood	1833 Feb 1	Age 63
Harriet Jane Magwood <sup>4</sup>	1833 Sep 6	Age 7m/22d
Infant girl Carroll	1835 Nov 10	
Catherine O'Hear <sup>5</sup>	1835 Dec 27	Age 23y/6m/20d
Simon Magwood	1836 Aug 4	Age 73



## *Appendices*

NAME	DATE OF DEATH	DATE OF BIRTH/ AGE AT DEATH
Edward W. Clement	1836 Sep 30	1800 Sep 16
Emma Eliza Clement	1836 Oct 5	1830 Oct 17
Martha Savage Clement	1836 Oct 7	1833 Jan 3
Edward Wilkinson Clement	1838 Feb 3	1835 Feb 14
Evan W. Calvitte	1838 Jun 6	Age 47
Susan Helena Moreland	1838 Aug 9	Age 9m/3d
William Roach	1838 Sep 10	Age 38y/11m/14d
Emma Carroll	1839 Jan 23	Age 4y/26d
Glorvina Bissell	1839 Feb 20	Age 22
Amanda Walker <sup>6</sup>	1839 Apr 28	Age 7y/1m
Rebecca Ann Calvitte	1839 Jun	Age 9m
Mary Ann Calvitte	1840 Nov 29	Age 27y/9m
William Heriot	1841 Jan 4	Age 24y/8m/16d
Isabella Pinckney Moreland	1844 Feb 22	Age 4y/5m
Jane Spears Kirkpatrick	1844 Jul 30	Age 59
Sarah Green Fuller	1850 Apr 17	1778 Apr 20
Joseph F. Bee	1850 Aug 20	1800 May 22, age 50y/ 2m/29d
Harriett Bee	1853 Jan 6	1844 Aug 9, age 9y/ 4m/28d
Randal Robinson	1854 Mar 2	Age 69
Susan Hunter Robinson	1854 Mar 27	Age 22
Julia Eveline Moreland	1854 May 21	Age 11y/2m/5d
Little Jimmie Meggett	1863 Jan 9	Age 1y/9m/16d
Andrew Moreland	1863 Feb 16	1789 Oct 22
Cpl. Edward W. Clement	1863 Apr 13	1842 Jul 1
Barnwell Frost Sams	1863 Jun 22	1862 May 11
Mary C. Roach	1868 May 28	Age 58y/6m/22d
John Pinckney Clement	1870	1809
Benjamin Fuller Jr.	1873 Feb 10	1804 Apr 8
Pinckney Meggett	1873 Oct 15	Age 3y/9m/21d

*Appendices*

NAME	DATE OF DEATH	DATE OF BIRTH
Caroline Savage Fuller	1881 Mar 27	1810 Sep 27
Isabelle Mortimer Clement	1884	1813
Maham Haig	1884 Sep 24	1837 Nov 10
Christopher Innes Fuller	1893	1846
Susan Pauline Mathewes <sup>3</sup>	1897 Mar 27	
Donald D. Sams, MD	1898 Apr 13	1820 Apr 7
<i>20th and 21st centuries (selected)</i>		
Col. Moultrie Johnston Clement (one of the last surviving vestrymen before diocesan control)	1916	1855
Ernest Flood (son of O. F. Flood, glebe renter)	1926 Apr 15	1923 Jul 25
Franklin Frost Sams (physician and photographer)	1937 Nov 2	1867 Oct 25
Joseph Edward Dunham Sr. (warden, diocesan convention delegate)	1951 May 26	1893 Jan 30
George E. Lancer (treasurer, diocesan convention delegate)	1954 Apr 20	1892 Dec 2
1st Sgt. Thomas L. Thompson (Spanish-American War and World War I)	1957 Mar 13	1877 Sep 1
Boynton R. Williams (donor)	1960 Oct 24	1883 Oct 14
Brig. Gen J. Lawrence Gantt (S.C. Army National Guard)	1961	1888
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (church secretary)	1964 Feb 15	1892 Jul 31
Prince Sergei M. Poutiatine (Russian nobility)	1966 Feb 26	1893 Dec 7
Walter L. Shaffer (warden, diocesan convention delegate)	1969 Jan 4	1901 Apr 18

## *Appendices*

NAME	DATE OF DEATH	DATE OF BIRTH
Grange Simons Lucas Jr. (warden)	1973 Nov 17	1916 May 2
Annie Bird Flintom (victim of crash of Eastern Airlines Flight 212, Charlotte)	1974 Sep 11	1896 Dec 17
David Sidney Flintom (victim of crash of Eastern Airlines Flight 212, Charlotte)	1974 Sep 11	1897 Jan 31
Cdr. Jack Ira Hoel (victim of crash of Eastern Airlines Flight 212, Charlotte)	1974 Sep 11	1936 Feb 25
Harold Scott Newton (victim of crash of Eastern Airlines Flight 212, Charlotte)	1974 Sep 11	1946 Oct 31
David Carroll Ball (victim of crash of Eastern Airlines Flight 212, Charlotte)	1974 Sep 11	1958 Apr 1
Rear Adm. William Sherbrooke Popham Jr. (U.S. Navy)	1977 Aug 14	1892 May 8
Edward Milby Burton (director, Charleston Museum; author)	1977 Aug 27	1898 Jun 5
Edward Thomas Simons Jr. (warden, diocesan convention delegate)	1977 Dec 26	1917 Oct 17
Ernest Allen Cutts (warden; diocesan convention delegate; editor, <i>Charleston Evening Post</i> )	1980 Jan 4	1912 Nov 27
Lloyd G. Bushnell (warden)	1981	1918
Sara Calhoun Simons Hastie (wife of C. Norwood Hastie Sr.)	1981 Jul 22	1892 Nov 1
Rev. John Ernest Gilchrist (16th rector)	1981 Oct 9	1935 Nov 15
Lt. Col. Gaillard S. Vincent (vestry secretary, diocesan convention delegate)	1981 Dec 18	1897 Jul 19
Clyde Hoyt Turner (parish chancellor, diocesan convention delegate)	1986 Sep 2	1917 Jun 18

*Appendices*

NAME	DATE OF DEATH	DATE OF BIRTH
Lt. Col. Robert Clement Goodwin (diocesan convention delegate)	1987 Feb 22	1915 Jul 13
Rear Adm. Edwin Hord Tillman (U.S. Navy)	1989	1899
Princess Shirley Bowers Manning Poutiatine (Russian nobility)	1990 Sep 7	1908 Dec 6
Col. Rudolph Deas Zobel (Purple Heart, World War II)	1991 Sep 25	1903 Dec 31
Alfred Watson Butt (warden, diocesan convention delegate)	1992 Feb 11	1904 Sep 12
Lillian Doty Chamberlain (secretary, All Saints' Mission)	1992 Oct 3	1900 Sep 3
Samuel Mayrant Colclough (treasurer, All Saints' Mission; president, Exchange Club of St. Andrew's Parish)	1993 Jan 23	1901 Sep 30
John E. Younkin (warden)	1994 Feb 18	1918 Jul 26
Col. Harry E. Atkinson (served in three wars: World War II, Korea, and Vietnam)	1994 Oct 27	1927 Apr 3
Sarah Dunham Neese (Woman's Auxiliary president)	1995 Jan 13	1901 Feb 3
Kenneth Paul Dojan (sexton)	1996 Feb 22	1934 Dec 23
Clara Atkinson Stewart (ECW president)	1998 Jun 7	1922 Apr 13
Lt. Col. Paul Haig Mathewes Jr. (Purple Heart, Vietnam)	1999 Mar 14	1941 Aug 4
Lila O. Searson (Woman's Auxiliary president)	1999 Jun 2	1922 Jul 25
Eleanor Ball Gaillard Simons Long (Altar Guild director)	1999 Jun 21	1911 Feb 19
George L. Shier Jr. (diocesan convention delegate)	2000	1937
Ralph Cook Thomas (warden, diocesan convention delegate)	2000	1937

## *Appendices*

NAME	DATE OF DEATH	DATE OF BIRTH
Lydia Vierra Hughes (ECW president)	2001 Dec 11	1926 Jan 17
Jean Hall Goodwin (ECW president)	2001 Dec 25	1913 Nov 22
Col. Ferris M. Berry (warden, diocesan convention delgate)	2003 Dec 26	1912 Feb 13
Frances McDaniel Rosier (Woman's Auxiliary president)	2008 Jun 1	1926 Sep 9
Rachel Pearson Butt (church school superintendent, Woman's Auxiliary president)	2008 Dec 11	1919 Dec 14
James Wilbur Holland (warden, treasurer, lay reader, clerk of the vestry, diocesan convention delegate)	2009 Jan 5	1914 Oct 8
William C. Reeves (church painter)	2009 Feb 8	1921 Dec 30
Sarah Bailey Hood Seithel Jones (clerk of the vestry)	2010 Jul 6	1927 Dec 1
Anne Worsham Richardson Paszek (wildlife painter)	2012 Sep 2	1919 Oct 22
Ethel Claire (Pat) Pigott (ECW president)	2013 Jul 14	1912 Jul 7

### NOTES:

The people listed above are only a fraction of those believed to be interred on the grounds of St. Andrew's Parish Church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Few entries in the colonial register indicated where burials occurred. Parishioners might have been buried on plantations, farms, or the city churches of St. Philip's or St. Michael's, as well as at St. Andrew's. None of the colonial graves that are marked today (e.g., Elizabeth Nairn, Charlotta Drayton, and Mary Elliott) was listed in the register as having been buried in the churchyard, only that a burial had occurred.

When worshippers made their way through the grounds to attend services on the reopening of the church in 1876, they walked past "mouldering vaults, the moss-covered tombstones, the broken tablets, with the rude lettering, the strange devices and the quaint spelling." Civil War and years of dormancy laid open the churchyard, hidden in

## Appendices

the forest in a remote part of Charleston, to vandalism and desecration. Many of the old grave markers have disappeared.

An alphabetical listing of all gravesites can be found on the church website, [www.oldstandrews.org](http://www.oldstandrews.org).

<sup>1</sup> No grave marker, but Rev. John Gilchrist reported that these rectors were buried in the churchyard, based on research he conducted at the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in London in 1978. See VM, August 16, 1978, and Nancy Jacobs, “Family Explores British Ties,” *EP*, August 25, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> No grave marker, but Edward Brailsford’s will noted that he wished to be buried near his late wife Bridget in the church graveyard. See “South Carolina Gleanings in England,” *SCHGM* 5 (July 1904): 165 and Louis P. Nelson, “The Material World: Anglican Visual Culture in Colonial South Carolina” (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2001), 1:31n36. Bridget Brailsford’s burial date is found in Webber, January 1912, 32. The date listed for Edward Brailsford’s death is the date that his will was proved, as found in “South Carolina Gleanings in England,” 165.

<sup>3</sup> No grave marker, but the colonial register reported Reverend Schwab’s burial in the churchyard. See Webber, April 1914, 103. The end of this register also included entries from 1891 to 1904. See Webber, April 1914, 105–6.

<sup>4</sup> No grave marker, but the private register of Rev. Paul Trapier reported his burial in the churchyard. See Paul Trapier, “The Private Register of the Rev. Paul Trapier,” trans. Henrietta P. Jervey, contr. Dalcho Historical Society, *SCHM* 58 (October 1957): 249–50.

<sup>5</sup> No grave marker, but N. A. Chamberlain reported a grave marker in the churchyard in 1912. See “Historical Notes. Inscriptions from St. Andrews Church-yard,” *SCHGM* 13 (April 1912): 115–16. The O’Hear gravesite is marked with a barely legible footstone. There are no markings on the damaged headstone and slab.

<sup>6</sup> No grave marker, but Rev. William Hanckel reported her burial in the churchyard. See “St. Andrew’s Episcopal Church, Charleston. Register, 1719–1783, 1830–1859,” 116.

<sup>7</sup> Date of burial.

APPENDIX 7  
TIMELINE

- 1670 Carolina founded on land that would become St. Andrew's Parish.
- 1705 Rev. Samuel Thomas issues the first report of religious life along the Ashley River. Thirty Anglican families.
- 1706 Church established and built as part of the Church Act.
- 1708 Parish boundaries established. Twenty-six-acre glebe provided. Stephen Bull's birth (March 18) is the first complete entry in the parish register.
- 1708–10 1st rector: Rev. Alexander Wood.
- 1710 Oldest surviving religious document: Edward Brailsford's devotional book; archived at the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.
- 1712–17 2nd rector: Rev. Ebenezer Taylor; first missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.
- 1715–18 Yamasee Indian War threatens the existence of the province and St. Andrew's Parish.
- 1716–17 William Cattell Sr. and Thomas Rose first known churchwardens. John Girardeau, Richard Godfrey, James Stanyarne, John Williams, and Manley Williamson first known vestry.
- 1716–19 Taylor sends the SPG impassioned accounts of mistreatment by wardens, vestry, and parishioners.
- 1717 Northern half of St. Andrew's becomes the parish of St. George's, Dorchester.
- 1718, 1721 Oldest surviving gravestones in the churchyard: Thomas Nairn (1718) and his mother Elizabeth Nairn (1721); fifth and sixth oldest Anglican markers in the Lowcountry.
- 1718–50 3rd rector: Rev. William Guy.
- 1719 Guy begins the first parish register.
- 1721 Guy sends the SPG his first report of parish life.
- 1723–33 Church expanded into cruciform shape. Most work completed within the first few years, but the project continues for ten years. Sixty-to-seventy Anglican families in the parish.
- 1725 Guy appointed SPG's attorney in South Carolina.
- 1727 Fifty-seven acres added to the glebe.
- 1728 Guy writes the first description of the 1706 church and of continuing work on the expansion. Chapel built on James Island.
- 1730 Chapel destroyed in a hurricane; rebuilt by 1733.



## Appendices

- 1740s One hundred seventeen Anglican families in the parish.
- 1752–70 Rev. Charles Martyn begins as nontenured minister, then elected 4th rector. Last SPG cleric.
- 1755 Organ purchased; one of five in the province. First gallery built.
- 1756 50th anniversary. Chapel on James Island attains status as a chapel of ease.
- 1762–65 Church damaged by fire; repaired and restored; reredos built; gallery rebuilt.
- 1764–78 Pews purchased by William Branford, Francis Rose, Thomas Horry, and Elias Horry Jr.
- 1770–71 5th rector: Rev. Thomas Panting.
- 1771–73 6th rector: Rev. Christopher Ernst Schwab.
- 1773 Fifty acres added to the glebe.
- 1780 Hessian captain saves the church from destruction by British cannon fire. British damage the church and burn down the parsonage house and chapel of ease during the revolution.
- 1785 Church restoration begins.
- 1787–1816 7th rector: Rev. Thomas Mills; first rector elected to the diocesan Standing Committee.
- 1800 Charles Fraser paints a watercolor of the church; first known image; archived at the Gibbes Museum of Art, Charleston.
- 1804 Simon Magwood and John Splatt Cripps first diocesan convention delegates.
- 1806 100th anniversary.
- 1811–13 Seven communicants.
- 1820 Frederick Dalcho publishes *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South-Carolina, from the First Settlement of the Province to the War of Revolution*, which includes a nine-page historical sketch of St. Andrew's Parish Church. St. Andrew's "at a low ebb . . . in disrepair."
- 1824 8th rector: Rev. Joseph M. Gilbert; serves the parish seasonally, in winter and spring. Most white families are also members of city churches.
- 1828 Bishop Nathaniel Bowen presents the church with an 1823 pulpit Bible; archived at Old St. Andrew's.
- 1829–30 "The Church was nearly in ruins, but through the unaided exertions of the Parishioners is now in complete repair." Rev. Paul Trapier arrives as deacon.
- 1830 Sarah B. Gist presents the church with a 1772 pulpit Bible; archived at Old St. Andrew's. First mention of black communicants (four).

## Appendices

- 1830–35 Trapier becomes the 9th rector following his ordination to the priesthood.
- 1830–62 Church membership fifteen-to-thirty white families.
- 1831 Chapel of ease becomes its own church, St. James’s, James Island.
- 1833–65 Col. William Izard Bull serves as warden or vestryman.
- 1835 “Lodge in the wilderness” (parsonage) brings happiness but proves unsuitable for regular use.
- 1835–38 10th rector: Rev. Jasper Adams; writes *Elements of Moral Philosophy*.
- 1838–49, Rev. James Stuart Hanckel arrives as deacon; becomes 11th  
1849–51 rector; legacy is his slave ministry.
- 1840 Church repaired. “Daddy Billy” Fludd begins more than sixty-year service as sexton.
- 1842 Present baptismal font added.
- 1845–51 Three chapels built to serve the slaves on neighboring plantations: Magwood; N. R. Middleton (later Barker); Magnolia; possibly Maria C. Faber and Middleton Place.
- 1851–91 12th rector: Rev. John Grimké Drayton.
- 1853 Drayton’s first summer in Flat Rock, North Carolina; later builds a home called Ravenswood and serves at St. John in the Wilderness.
- 1854 “The Parish was almost utterly deserted.”
- 1855 Col. William Izard Bull supervises a major restoration.
- 1856 150th anniversary.
- 1857–58 Largest number of black communicants before the Civil War (136); nearly five times the number of whites.
- 1857–60 Drayton also serves St. Peter’s and St. Philip’s in Charleston.
- 1863 Cpl. Edward W. Clement buried in the churchyard; lone known Confederate soldier.
- 1865 Drayton flees Charleston for Flat Rock immediately after Confederate forces surrender. Parish is devastated; St. Andrew’s one of very few buildings left standing in the parish. Drayton refused access to his own church.
- 1867–78 Drayton serves Calvary and Holy Communion, Charleston; St. Thaddeaus’s, Aiken; Ascension, Combahee; St. James’s, Goose Creek.
- 1867–89 Drayton serves freed men and women at chapels in St. Andrew’s Parish.
- 1868–73 Church used as a polling place; Drayton condemns the treatment.
- 1870 Rev. Paul Trapier writes his autobiography; includes recollections of his tenure at St. Andrew’s.
- 1870s–1920s Phosphate mining along the Ashley River surrounds the church.

## Appendices

- 1876 Church reopens for worship for the first time since the end of the Civil War. First mention of the cherub and ornamentation over the reredos and chancel window.
- 1879–83 Black communicants outnumber whites by more than eight to one.
- 1886 Great Earthquake “wrecks” the church.
- 1889 Col. William Izard Bull writes a historical sketch of the church at the request of his cousin Miss Elizabeth McPherson Ravenel. Church repaired, but unused due to Drayton’s illness and dearth of congregants.
- 1891 Church becomes dormant after Drayton’s death; oldest surviving photograph of the church.
- 1892 Magwood Chapel administered by the diocesan Archdeaconry for Colored People; becomes St. Andrew’s Mission, Charleston County.
- 1894 Col. William Izard Bull dies.
- 1894–1947 Glebe lands farmed and used for timber sales.
- 1901 Franklin Frost Sams photograph shows the church in disrepair; reporter writes, “The Church of St. Andrew’s, in a sphinx-like brooding silence . . . awaits in sylvan solitudes, its final disintegration.”
- 1906 200th anniversary.
- 1907 Oldest image of the church’s interior (postcard); absent are the cherub and ornamentation.
- 1911–14 Colonial register published in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*.
- 1912 Graveyard inscriptions published in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*. Emily Ravenel begins a diary of church activities.
- 1915–16 Three vestrymen die in quick succession (Charles H. Drayton, Col. Moultrie Johnston Clement, and Drayton F. Hastie).
- 1916 Last two vestrymen, M. W. Wallace and C. Norwood Hastie, unable to maintain the church, turn over its care to the Diocese of South Carolina. Church “thoroughly repaired.”
- 1916–46 Occasional services held in the church.
- 1916–47 Charles S. Dwight Jr. and Charles J. Ravenel provide leadership for the dormant church.
- 1923 Caretaker’s cottage built; later used for the Sunday school.
- 1923–46 Priest in charge: Rev. Wallace Martin. An average of five families and ten communicants participate annually.
- 1937 Hanahan family replaces cherub and ornamentation over the reredos as a wedding gift to the church.

## Appendices

- 1940 Church photographed and architectural details sketched as part of the Historic American Buildings Survey.
- 1945–46 All Saints' Mission established to serve the growing population west of the Ashley. Services held at the Exchange Club of St. Andrew's Parish. Deacon in charge: Rev. Eugene West.
- 1946–48 Priest in charge, All Saints' Mission and St. Andrew's Parish Church: Rev. Stanley Jeffery.
- 1948 Church reopens on Easter Day after fifty-seven years of dormancy; repairs begin. Twenty families and seventy-six members. Communion silver (circa 1870) found in the diocesan vault. Alfred Hutty sketches the church for use in fundraising. First homecoming service. Rented house in Byrnes Downs serves as a rectory.
- 1948–52 Priest in charge: Rev. Lawton Riley; becomes full-time minister in 1951, first since Rev. John Grimké Drayton.
- 1949 *Old St. Andrew's* admitted into union with the diocese as an organized mission.
- 1949–50 Extensive restoration; included termite repair of the ceiling trusses and wall studs, cleaning the reredos and installing an oil heater, the first electrical system, and memorial tablets to John Grimké Drayton and Drayton Franklin Hastie; 1855 pew plan discovered (etched in the plaster on the north wall of the nave, then covered by the Hastie memorial).
- 1950 First Tea Room. "Parsonage tract" (glebe) sold to help pay for the restoration.
- 1951 Electric Wurlitzer organ purchased. Alfred W. Butt serves as diocesan convention delegate, the first of fifteen times through 1968.
- 1951–55 Noted landscape architect Loutrel Briggs redesigns the churchyard.
- 1952 Deacon in charge: Rev. Lynwood C. Magee. Triangular vents added to the south and west gable ends of the church.
- 1953 Parish house built. Magee becomes priest in charge after his ordination.
- 1955 St. Andrew's regains full status as a parish church within the diocese. Magee elected 13th rector. 406 members.
- 1956 250th anniversary. Parish house enlarged. Magee moves into the first rectory, built at 712 Stono (renamed West Oak Forest) Drive.
- 1956–57 Reredos restored.
- 1956–58 Second church in St. Andrew's Parish established (Holy Trinity); vestry grapples with the impact. Two more Episcopal churches later move to West Ashley (St. John's, Oakland, and St. Peter's, renamed Good Shepherd).

## Appendices

- 1957 Name reverts to *Saint Andrew's Parish Church*. Rev. Paul Trapier's register published in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine*. Albert Sidney Thomas publishes *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina 1820–1957 Being a Continuation of Dalcho's Account 1670–1820*, which includes a six-page historical sketch of St. Andrew's Parish Church.
- 1957–65 Vestry struggles with issues over the National Council of Churches of Christ (NCC).
- 1958–59 Moller pipe organ installed.
- 1959 Hurricane Gracie damages the grounds.
- 1960 Roof structure reinforced; red roof, doors, and shutters painted green to match 1800 Charles Fraser watercolor. 550 members.
- 1961–62 Education wing added to the rear of the parish house; second floor left unfinished.
- 1963–66 14th rector: Rev. John L. Kelly.
- 1963 Boy Scout Troop 63 established.
- 1966 Parishioner and future bishop William J. Skilton ordained to the priesthood. Parish bequeathed a communion cloth used by Rev. Paul Trapier in the 1830s and later, Trapier's pocket watch.
- 1967–70 15th rector: Rev. Howard T. Cutler.
- 1967 Sara Younkin begins thirty-five year tenure as music and choir director. Enhancements made to the parish house. Cub Scout Pack 63 established. 644 members.
- 1968 Rectory on West Oak Forest Drive sold; Cutler buys a house at 2826 Wofford Road. History committee established.
- 1968–79 Prayer book controversy.
- 1969 Church restored, including blue pews, benches in the gallery, and circular windows over the gables. Pavers found under the existing floor replaced the stones set in dirt and sand; current brown and red stone pattern cemented into place; cross of St. Andrew added at the crossing of the aisles and the west end. Zimmer pipe organ installed. Upstairs of the education wing finished.
- 1970 South Carolina Tricentennial Commission places a historical marker at the entrance on Ashley River Road. Wofford Road house bought from Cutler and becomes the rectory.
- 1970–81 16th rector: Rev. John E. Gilchrist.
- 1971 Wofford Road rectory sold to Gilchrist. Anne Holland first woman delegate to a diocesan convention. Sales of cemetery plots restricted to church members in good standing. Air conditioning first installed in the church.

## Appendices

- 1972 Dorothy Rigsby first woman elected to the vestry. Caretaker's cottage razed.
- 1973 25th anniversary of the reopening. Tornado fells trees on the grounds. Church placed on the National Register of Historic Places.
- 1974 Church buys property on the corner of Plainview and Ashley River roads from Union Oil Co. of California for overflow parking or future building.
- 1975 Barbara Gilchrist serves as diocesan convention delegate, the first of fourteen times through 2009.
- 1976 Church celebrates the nation's bicentennial with 1776 worship service, period dress, and activities afterward. 658 members.
- 1976–77 Parish house enlarged to include a large common room and modern kitchen.
- 1980 Gilchrist nominated coadjutor bishop of the diocese.
- 1981 Wofford Road rectory transferred to Barbara Gilchrist.
- 1981–82 Rev. Kal Larsen serves as *locum tenens*.
- 1982–85 17th rector: Rev. Geoffrey R. Imperatore.
- 1982 Church uses name *Old St. Andrew's Episcopal Church* to distinguish it from St. Andrew's Mission.
- 1983 Bob Fogel serves the first of fourteen annual terms as senior warden.
- 1984 Debra Gupton elected first woman (junior) warden.
- 1986 Name reverts to *Saint Andrew's Parish Church* (formal usage) and *Old St. Andrew's* (informal). 370 members.
- 1985–87 Rev. David Christensen serves as *locum tenens*.
- 1987–2006 18th rector: Rev. George J. Tompkins III.
- 1988 Howard Williams serves as diocesan convention delegate, the first of a record seventeen times through 2013.
- 1989 Hurricane Hugo severely damages the churchyard, trees, and gravesites.
- 1990 Churchyard rededicated. Large common room in the parish house dedicated as *Gilchrist Hall*. Tompkins receives DMin degree from Sewanee; dissertation includes architectural history of the church.
- 1992 *Magee House* and columbarium dedicated. Patricia (Patty) Williams elected first woman senior warden.
- 1993 *Hunter Library* dedicated to the memory of Elizabeth Hunter, who served as church librarian for seventeen years.
- 1994–96 Extensive repairs made to the education wing.
- 1996 Rev. William Skilton installed as Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of South Carolina; later becomes assistant bishop in the Dominican Republic.

## Appendices

- 1998 50th anniversary of the reopening. Rectory purchased at 90 Fieldfare Way. Circular vents replace the circular windows on the south and west gable ends of the church.
- 1999 Rev. Hal Fenters first full-time, paid assistant rector. 701 members.
- 2000 50th anniversary of Tea Room.
- 2001 Fieldfare Way rectory sold to Tompkins.
- 2004–5 Church undergoes the most extensive restoration in its history; circular windows again installed in south and west gable ends; archeological study provides key insights into the church's past.
- 2006 300th anniversary commemorated with a year-long series of events. Brick walkway (*Tompkins Walk*) built to connect the west and north entrances of the church. *Tillie Hardin Prayer Garden* built between Magee House and the church. 860 members.
- 2006–  
2007–11 19th rector: Rev. Marshall Huey.  
Huey and Rev. James Yarsiah strengthen bonds between St. Andrew's Parish Church and St. Andrew's Mission.
- 2008 Family Service inaugurated. First Easter sunrise service; held at Drayton Hall.
- 2008–13 Parishioners make mission trips to the Dominican Republic.
- 2009 Plainview/Ashley River Road property sold to Church Creek Presbyterian Church.
- 2009–10 Extensive repairs made to Magee House.
- 2010 Bonnie Leazer first African American elected to the vestry.
- 2012 Rev. Jean McGraw first ordained woman to serve the parish. Easter sunrise service moved to Magnolia Plantation and Gardens. Restoration loan reduced 45 percent. 1,210 known burials in the graveyard. 615 members after rolls are reconciled with the parish registers.
- 2013 Prayer patio added to the west entrance, dedicated to the memory of Vivian Wilson-Cohen. Pet cemetery dedicated to the memory of Lucille and Richard (Mac) McCown. Parish aligns with the Diocese of South Carolina after a seven-week discernment process; ends its affiliation with The Episcopal Church; departures include Reverends Tompkins and McGraw; church begins recovery.



## ABBREVIATIONS

### ORGANIZATIONS AND COLLECTIONS

CLS	Charleston Library Society
HCF	Historic Charleston Foundation
OSA	Old St. Andrew's, Charleston
PECSC	The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina, Charleston
RMC	Register Mesne Conveyance, Charleston County
SCDAH	South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia
SCHS	South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston
SCL	South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia
SCR	South Carolina Room, Main Branch, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston
SFC	Simons Family Collection (Charles W. Simons Jr. and Elizabeth Mazyck Simons Dovell), Charleston
SHC	Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

### DOCUMENTS AT SAINT ANDREW'S PARISH CHURCH

ACM	Annual congregational meeting minutes (1953–; included annual reports from the clergy, wardens, and committee chairs until 1983 when these became part of a separate annual report)
AR	Annual reports (1983–)
BN	Biweekly newsletters
GCM	General committee minutes (forerunner of the vestry; monthly, 1950–53)
MN/CN	Monthly newsletters (later <i>Cast Net</i> )
SVM	Special vestry meeting minutes (occasional)
VM	Vestry minutes (monthly, 1954–)
VRM	Vestry retreat minutes (occasional)
WN/WCN	Weekly newsletters (later <i>Weekly Cast Net</i> )
WSB	Worship service bulletins (weekly)

## Abbreviations

### PERIODICALS

EP	<i>Charleston Evening Post</i>
GM	<i>The Gospel Messenger and Southern Episcopal Register</i> ; later renamed <i>The Charleston Gospel Messenger and Protestant Episcopal Register</i> (SCHS)
JAC, PECSC	<i>Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina, 1785–2012</i> (Dalcho, SCHS, and PECSC)
JAC, PECUSA	<i>Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America/The Episcopal Church</i>
N&C	<i>Charleston News and Courier</i>
P&C	<i>Charleston Post and Courier</i>
SCG	<i>South Carolina Gazette</i> (SCR)
SCHGM	<i>South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine</i> (1900–1951)
SCHM	<i>South Carolina Historical Magazine</i> (1952–)
SE	<i>The Southern Episcopalian</i> (SCHS)
SV	<i>Sunday Visitant</i> (SCHS)
WAJ	<i>West Ashley Journal</i>

### BOOKS AND JOURNAL ARTICLES

Dalcho	Frederick Dalcho, <i>An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South-Carolina, from the First Settlement of the Province to the War of Revolution</i> (Charleston: E. Thayer, 1820).
LC	George W. Williams and Gene Waddell, eds., <i>Letters from the Clergy of the Anglican Church in South Carolina c. 1696–1775</i> (Charleston: College of Charleston Library, 2008), PDF e-book, <a href="http://www.speccoll.cofc.edu/pdf/SPGSeriesABC.pdf">www.speccoll.cofc.edu/pdf/SPGSeriesABC.pdf</a>
Thomas	Albert Sidney Thomas, <i>A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina 1820–1957 Being a Continuation of Dalcho's Account 1670–1820</i> (Columbia: Byan, 1957).
Tompkins	George Johnson Tompkins III, “The Ashes of Our Fathers, The Temples of Our God: An Architectural History of Saint Andrew’s Parish Church, Charleston County, South Carolina, with Proposals for Restoration and a Columbarium” (DMin diss., University of the South, 1990).
Webber	Mabel L. Webber, cop. and ed., “Register of St. Andrew’s Parish, Berkeley County, South Carolina, 1719–1774,” <i>SCHGM</i> 12 (October 1911): 172–89; 13 (January 1912): 21–41; 13 (April 1912): 104–12; 13 (July 1912): 154–62; 13 (October 1912): 213–23; 14 (January 1913): 20–35; 14 (April 1913): 81–97; 14 (July 1913): 147–59; 14 (October 1913): 209–18; 15 (January 1914): 39–50; 15 (April 1914): 97–106.

## *Abbreviations*

### SPG LETTERS AND FULHAM PAPERS

Microfilmed transcripts of SPG letters were accessed at the College of Charleston's Addlestone Library. Some of these letters included their original page notations, and some did not. To manage this inconsistency, I refer to the stamped page numbers that appear on the upper corners of each sheet. This follows the convention that Roy Merrens used in *The Colonial South Carolina Scene* (see his page 82). The following abbreviations should make source citations less cumbersome:

*SPG letters:* Series, volume, and number are shown in parentheses, followed by the page number. For example, a letter from series B, vol. 12, no. 86, p. 125 is shown as (B12/86), 125.

*Fulham Papers:* Letter number is shown in parentheses, followed by the page number. For example, no. 23, p. 25 is shown as (23), 25.

### SOUTH CAROLINA DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Citations that include a document's series and volume or number are shown in parentheses, followed by the page number. For example, a document from series 213003, vol. 2E, p. 167 is shown as (213003/2E), 167.

## NOTES

### CHAPTER 1 – PRELUDE (1670–1706)

- 1 Joseph I. Waring, *The First Voyage and Settlement at Charles Town 1670–1680*, Tricentennial Booklet Number 4, Published for the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 5–27.
- 2 Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 38–42.
- 3 George McDaniel, “Ashley River,” in *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, ed. Walter Edgar, A Project of the Humanities Council SC (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 32.
- 4 Edgar, *South Carolina*, chap. 3, 35–46. Waring, *First Voyage*, 22–23. Exhibits at Charles Towne Landing State Historic Site, visited September 3, 2011. Richard S. Dunn, “The English Sugar Islands and the Founding of South Carolina,” *SCHM* 72 (April 1971): 81–93. Jack P. Greene, “Colonial South Carolina and the Caribbean Connection,” *SCHM* 88 (October 1987): 192–210. John P. Thomas Jr., “The Barbadians in Early South Carolina,” *SCHGM* 31 (April 1930): 75–92.
- 5 Maurice Mathews, “A Contemporary View of Carolina in 1680,” *SCHM* 55 (July 1954): 157.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 156–58. Edgar, *South Carolina*, 8–11, 48–49.
- 7 Charles Towne Landing State Historic Site. Mathews, “Contemporary View,” 155. Edgar, *South Carolina*, 43. Lands along the Ashley River were often described as being on the north or south sides. Today these areas are designated as either east or west of the river.
- 8 Waring, *First Voyage*, 50.
- 9 Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1983), 141–45. Edgar, *South Carolina*, 136–37. Greene, “Colonial South Carolina,” 198–99.
- 10 Alexander Moore, “Daniel Axtell’s Account Book and the Economy of Early South Carolina,” *SCHM* 95 (October 1994): 280–301.
- 11 “A Colonial Rice Plantation: From Planting to Harvesting,” [www.draytonhall.org](http://www.draytonhall.org).
- 12 Waring, *First Voyage*, 30. Edgar, *South Carolina*, chap. 5, 63–81, 137. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 145. Greene, “Colonial South Carolina,” 206. William Robert Snell, “Indian Slavery in Colonial South Carolina, 1671–1795” (PhD diss., University of Alabama, 1972), 95–96, 117. William L. Ramsey, “All & Singular the Slaves: A Demographic Profile of Indian Slavery in Colonial South Carolina,” in Jack P. Greene, Rosemary Brana-Shute, and Randy J. Sparks, eds., *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina’s Plantation Society* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 166–86. Stephen G. Hardy, “Colonial South Carolina’s Rice Industry and the Atlantic Economy: Patterns of Trade, Shipping, and Growth, 1715–1775,” in Greene, Brana-Shute, and Sparks, *Money, Trade, and Power*, 125–27. G. Terry Sharrer, “Indigo in Carolina, 1671–1796,” *SCHM* 72 (April 1971): 94–103.
- 13 An Act for the Establishment of Religious Worship in This Province according to the Church of England, and for the Erecting of Churches for the Publick Worship of God, and also for the Maintenance of Ministers and the Building Convenient Houses for Them, no. 225, November 4, 1704, in Thomas Cooper, ed., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina; Edited under Authority of the Legislature* (Columbia: A. S. Johnston, 1837), 2:237. An Act for

the Establishment of Religious Worship in This Province according to the Church of England, and for the Erecting of Churches for the Publick Worship of God, and also for the Maintenance of Ministers and the Building Convenient Houses for Them, no. 256, November 30, 1706, in Cooper, *Statutes*, 2:283; Dalcho, 438.

14 Peter W. Williams, *Houses of God: Region, Religion, and Architecture in the United States* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 104–5. Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), xvii.

15 An Additional Act to an Act Entitled an Act for the Establishment of Religious Worship in This Province according to the Church of England, and for Erecting of Churches for the Public Worship of God; and also for the Maintenance of Ministers and the Building Convenient Houses for Them, no. 280, December 18, 1708, in Cooper, *Statutes*, 2:328–30; Dalcho, 336. John H. Long, ed., *South Carolina: Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, Compiled by Gordon DenBoer and Kathryn Ford Thorne, A Project of the Dr. William M. Scholl Center for Family and Community History, The Newberry Library (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1997), 62, 201–35.

16 Henry A. M. Smith, “Charleston and Charleston Neck: The Original Grantees and the Settlements along the Ashley and Cooper Rivers,” *SCHGM* 19 (January 1918): 41–42.

17 *Ibid.*, map. Long, *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, 201.

18 Estimates are based on Long, *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, 201; the map depicted in Chapter 2 of St. Andrew's Parish in the Charleston District from the 1825 *Mills' Atlas*; and a current, detailed South Carolina road map. Long's map shows an “estimated line” as the upper boundary of the parish. The towns of Dorchester, Pregnall, Harleyville, Grover, St. George, Reevesville, and Rosinville in today's upper Dorchester County would have been located outside of the original St. Andrew's Parish. Dorchester County was created in 1897 from parts of Colleton and Berkeley counties.

19 Exchange Club of St. Andrews Parish, *The Progress of Saint Andrews Parish 1706–1963: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (Charleston: Exchange Club of St. Andrews Parish, December 1963), 17, 19.

20 Henry A. M. Smith, “Some Forgotten Towns in Lower South Carolina,” *SCHGM* 14 (October 1913): 203–6; “The Ashley River: Its Seats and Settlements,” *SCHGM* 20 (April 1919): 83–84. See also Vertical Files 30-04 Bee and 30-04 Fitzsimons (Bee), SCHS.

21 Exchange Club, *Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, 15, 17, 19. Henry A. M. Smith, “Willtown or New London,” *SCHGM* 10 (January 1909): 20–32. McDaniel, “Ashley River Road,” 32. Map of Charleston District in 1825 *Mills' Atlas*. “Ashley River Historic District,” *National Register of Historic Places—Registration Form*, 1994, [www.nationalregister.sc.gov](http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov). “Ashley River Road,” *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form*, 1983, [www.nationalregister.sc.gov](http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov). “Ashley River Road,” National Scenic Byways Program, U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, [www.byways.org](http://www.byways.org).

22 The maps of Henry A. M. Smith provide an excellent visual depiction of the plantations along the Ashley River. For James Island plantations, see Douglas W. Bostick, *A Brief History of James Island: Jewel of the Sea Islands* (Charleston: History Press, 2008), 9, 27–31.

23 Direction played an important role in the siting of early church buildings. Colonial Anglican churches in South Carolina, as well as those in Virginia and Maryland, followed English ecclesiastical law and set the altar and chancel to the east, to align the most sacred part of the church in the direction of Christ's resurrection on Easter morning. A few are oriented other than due east—St. Paul's, St. George's, and Prince George's parish churches face northeast and St. Andrew's, southeast. See Stephen P. Dorsey, *Early English Churches in*

*America: 1607–1807* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 45; Donald Richard Friary, “The Architecture of the Anglican Church in the Northern American Colonies: A Study of Religious, Social, and Cultural Expression” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1971), 395; Kimberly S. Pyszka, “... unto *Seynte Paules*: Anglican Landscapes and Colonialism in South Carolina” (PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 2012), 237, 251, 276.

Throughout the book I refer directionally to the altar and chancel of St. Andrew’s as situated at *ecclesiastical east* (to avoid overcomplicating matters), not *geographical or magnetic southeast*. Thus, the altar is located at the east end of the church, and the gallery, at the west. The north side faces the river (beyond the subdivision behind the church), and the south side, Ashley River Road. The current main entrance to the church, at ecclesiastical west, faces the parish life building, Magee House; a brick walkway connects the two buildings. The pulpit and reading desk are at ecclesiastical northeast, and the organ pipes and 1706 memorial at ecclesiastical south. At St. Andrew’s, ecclesiastical north, south, east, and west correspond to geographical northeast, southwest, southeast, and northwest. Unless otherwise indicated, compass directions given in this book are ecclesiastical, not geographical, reference points.

24 Edgar, *South Carolina*, 43. An Act for the Observation of the Lord’s Day, no. 1, May 26, 1682, and An Act for the Suppression of Idle, Drunken and Swearing Persons Inhabiting within This Province, no. 2, May 26, 1682, in Cooper, *Statutes*, 2:table of contents. Both acts were reconfirmed three years later after they had expired. See An Act for the Reviving of Several Acts of Parliament Heretofore Made in the Parte of the Province of Carolina Which Lyeth South and West from Cape Feare, no. 28, November 23, 1685, in Cooper, *Statutes*, 2:13–14.

25 Edgar, *South Carolina*, 94–96. S. Charles Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism: The Church of England in Colonial South Carolina*, Contributions to the Study of Religion, Number 5 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1982), 22–28.

26 Langdon Cheves, “The Bull Family of South Carolina,” *SCHGM* 1 (January 1900): 77–79. M. Eugene Sirmans Jr., “Masters of Ashley Hall: A Biographical Study of the Bull Family of Colonial South Carolina 1670–1737” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1959), 250. Dalcho, 245, 249–50.

27 In their letters to England, colonial clergy most often cited salaries, building costs, and other financial transactions in local South Carolina pounds currency (£ *Cur*), although pounds sterling (£ *Ster*) were sometimes mentioned. John J. McCusker pegged South Carolina currency to the British pound sterling at 1.5:1 from 1703 to 1713, 2–3:1 from 1714 to 1716, 4–5:1 from 1717 to 1722, and 7:1 from 1723 through the 1770s. See McCusker’s *How Much Is That in Real Money? A Historical Commodity Price Index for Use as a Deflator of Money Values in the Economy of the United States*, 2nd ed., rev. and enl. (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 2001), Table B-1.

McCusker developed a methodology for converting colonial currency and post-Revolution dollars into modern dollar equivalencies. See his Example 1, p. 38 and Tables A-1 and B-1. He cautioned that these conversions provide *relative* values and are not meant to be precise measures, or as he said, they are “hypothetical rather than as definitive.” To give readers a sense of relative prices in different eras, I have followed historical currency amounts in the text with 2012 dollar equivalencies, shown in parentheses. With McCusker’s indexes ending in 2000, I calculated indexes for 2001–12 using annual changes in the Bureau of Labor Statistics’s Consumer Price Index (CPI-U). Equivalent prices are not shown from 2007 forward, since they are within 10 percent of 2012 prices. The idea of including current dollar equivalencies with historical pounds or dollars using McCusker’s methodology came from Edgar’s *South Carolina*.

28 Eleanor Clarke Hannum, “The Parish in South Carolina, 1706–1868” (master’s thesis, University of South Carolina, 1970), 27–29. Edward Midwinter, “The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Colonial Church in America: The Carolinas,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 4 (December 1935): 289.

29 Today the clerk of the vestry is responsible for keeping the minutes of vestry meetings. The position of register, the person who records entries in the parish register, no longer exists.

30 Hannum, “The Parish in South Carolina,” 37.

31 An Act for the Better Observation of the Lord’s Day, Commonly Called Sunday, no. 320, December 12, 1712, in Cooper, *Statutes*, 2:396–99; Dalcho, 456–57.

32 Hannum, “The Parish in South Carolina,” 40–59.

33 Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 19, 97, 102–20. Edgar, *South Carolina*, 182.

34 Samuel Thomas to SPG, March 10, 1704, in *LC*, 30. Defense by Thomas to SPG, June 21, 1706, in *LC*, 44.

35 Gideon Johnston to the Lord Bishop of Sarum, September 20, 1708, in *LC*, 81. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701–1892 (with Much Supplementary Information)*, 4th ed. (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1894), 15.

36 Edgar, *South Carolina*, 58. Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 19. In 1750 about 45 percent of the population of South Carolina was estimated to be Church of England, with 45 percent Presbyterian, Huguenot, and other Protestant, 10 percent Baptist, and a fraction, Quaker. See Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Jr., “Jubilee Sermon on the Semi-centennial Celebration of the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South-Carolina,” *SE* 7 (June 1860): 120.

37 Thomas to SPG, December 21, 1705, in *LC*, 35–37. An article written for the newsletter *The Diocese* in May 1949, a year after the church reopened after a long period of dormancy, said that a congregation was established at St. Andrew’s in 1696. This claim was used in subsequent parishioner-written sketches, and local reporters picked up the date and used it. See Belvin Horres, “Church Marks Anniversary: Old St. Andrew’s,” *EP*, October 19, 1956; E. Marie Hicks, “Plantation Tour Planned on March 12 Recalls Old Legends of the Lowcountry,” *N&C*, March 3, 1957; and “St. Andrew’s Parish Protestant Episcopal Church,” *N&C-EP*, December 23–24, 1961. References to 1696 were later dropped. No documentary evidence could be found that dates an Anglican congregation along the Ashley River to the seventeenth century.

## CHAPTER 2 – DIFFICULT BEGINNING (1706–1717)

1 An Act, November 30, 1706. Smith, “Ashley River,” 80. Robert E. H. Peebles, “A Miles Genealogy: A Family of South Carolina Planters,” *SCHM* 66 (October 1965): 229–30.

2 William Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728, in H. Roy Merrens, ed., *The South Carolina Colonial Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697–1774*, Tricentennial Edition, Number 7 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), 82. Francis Le Jau to SPG, September 23, 1707, in *LC*, 64.

3 Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728.

4 “Story of Old St. Andrews, across the Ashley River,” *N&C*, n.d., ca. 1880s, Vertical File 30-07-20, SCHS.

5 Smith, “Ashley River,” 5–6, 13, 89–91. Walter B. Edgar and N. Louise Bailey, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, vol. 2, *The Commons House of Assembly 1692–1775* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), 251. Edgar and Bailey listed Fitch’s death as possibly occurring in 1715, a reasonable assumption since that was the year he executed his will. They also listed a possible date of death of Fitch’s son, also named



Jonathan (the third), occurring in 1723. Both of these inferences are incorrect. The colonial parish register shows that church builder Jonathan Fitch (the second) died on October 30, 1723. His son Jonathan (the third) lived until at least 1747. The land transactions that Smith described could not have occurred if the second Jonathan Fitch had died in 1715. The first Jonathan Fitch died before 1691, and the fourth lived only four years (1730–34).

6 Henry A. M. Smith, “Old Charles Town and Its Vicinity, Accabee and Wappoo Where Indigo Was First Cultivated, with Some Adjoining Places in Old St. Andrews Parish,” *SCHGM* 16 (January 1915): 10–11; “Willtown or New London,” 24. Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2:568–69. Rose’s living “very near” the church was found in Ebenezer Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718, SPG (A13), 162. Webber, April 1912, 109.

7 Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. Louis P. Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism and Architecture in Colonial South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 17–19, 71–72, 371–72, 397–98n38. Pyszka, “. . . unto Seynte Paules,” 237.

8 Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 62. Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 95–97. Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 45–46.

9 Pyszka, “. . . unto Seynte Paules,” 179–88.

10 Roy Underhill, “The Brickmaker’s Hand,” in *Early Architecture of the South*, vol. 2, Architectural Treasure of Early America Series, ed. Lisa C. Mullins, Publication of The National Historical Society (Pittstown, N.J.: Main Street, 1987), 7–8. Beatrice St. Julien Ravenel believed that church supervisors Jonathan Fitch and Thomas Rose were brick makers and provided their slaves to help build the walls of the 1706 church. While Thomas Rose the planter (of the many men of that name in Carolina) probably owned the nine slaves she ascribed to him, Ravenel incorrectly believed the brick maker “John Fitch,” who “was dead by 1745,” was the same as the building supervisor. See Beatrice St. Julien Ravenel, *Architects of Charleston*, Published in association with the Carolina Art Association, Charleston; first published 1945 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 13–14. Supervisor Fitch (the second man of that name) died in 1723.

11 Larry S. Leake, *Old St. Andrews Episcopal Church: Archeological and Architectural Findings, Executive Summary*, A Report Prepared for the Old St. Andrews Vestry, Charleston, SC and Glenn Keyes, Architect AIA (Charleston: Richard Marks Restorations, 2005), OSA.

12 *Ibid.*, 1–2. Pyszka, “. . . unto Seynte Paules,” 179, 182, 185.

13 Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, 5. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 83–87. Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 17.

14 Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, 5, Appendix C. The appendix, a conjectural floor plan of the 1706 church, illustrated the pulpit and desk in two locations. Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 133–34.

15 Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, 3.

16 Robert Shelton Converse, “St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church: An Anglo-Franco Alliance in the Lowcountry” (master’s thesis, College of Charleston and Clemson University), 2011, 47, 53–55.

17 Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 33. Guy to the Bishop of London, March 17, 1724, handwritten transcription, OSA.

18 Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, 3–4. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 63.

19 Larry Leake, e-mail message to author, January 14, 2013.

20 Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, Appendix C.

21 Dalcho, 26–27, 295; he incorrectly said that Pompion Hill was the first rural Anglican church in the province (pp. 284–85). Le Jau to SPG, September 23, 1707. Thomas, 321–25. Suzanne Cameron Linder, *Anglican Churches in Colonial South Carolina: Their History and Architecture* (Charleston: Wyrick, 2000), 8, 33, 35, 51, 54. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 60.

22 Mary Moore Jacoby, ed., *The Churches of Charleston and the Lowcountry*, intro. George C. Rogers Jr., photos Ron Anton Rocz (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 117. St. Thomas, Bath: www.stthomasparishnc.org. Jerusalem Ebenezer Lutheran, Rincon: www.georgiasalzburgers.com and www.jerusalem-ebenezer.org. Cathedral Basilica, St. Augustine: www.thefirstparish.org. The English burned earlier Spanish churches in raiding parties to Florida in 1586 and 1702.

A recent claim that The White Church of St. Thomas's and St. Denis's Parish might predate St. Andrew's is without merit. See Robert Behre, "Students to Study Church to See if It's State's Oldest," *P&C*, October 17, 2011. The White Church, with walls dating to 1707–8, was rebuilt in 1819 after a fire had destroyed it. Robert Russell of the College of Charleston believed that St. Andrew's actually dates from its 1723 cruciform expansion, not from 1706. Such a dating convention stretches credibility. Imagine a realtor promoting a house built in 1980 and expanded in 2013 as a twenty-first century residence. Moreover, Russell overlooked that St. Thomas's was also expanded. A sacristy, or vesting room, added another 15 percent to the square footage of the White Church in 1856, more than a hundred years after St. Andrew's was enlarged. For a fuller account of the Cooper River church, see Converse, "St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church."

Other "oldest surviving churches" include: in the Western Hemisphere, Cathedral of Santa María la Menor (Catholic, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, 1512–40); in the United States, Cathedral of San Juan Bautista, (Catholic, Old San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1540); and in the continental U.S., Old San Miguel Mission (Catholic, Socorro, New Mexico, 1615–26; some accounts date San Miguel Mission in Santa Fe, New Mexico, to 1610 or 1620, but others indicate the entire structure was completely rebuilt in 1710).

23 Le Jau to SPG, September 23, 1707 (see also Frank J. Klingberg, ed., *The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau 1706–1717* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956], 31–32 and n36); February 1, 1710, in *LC*, 103; February 19, 1710, in *LC*, 108. Nicholas Trott to SPG, September 13, 1707, in *LC*, 62–63; September [ca. 13], 1707, in *LC*, 63.

24 Thomas Hasell, a catechist in Charles Town and deacon at St. Thomas's, wrote the SPG in November 1707 that "Mr. Wood and Mr. Maule have just arrived and are not yet placed in parishes." The Governor and Council of South Carolina wrote in February 1708 that they have "placed Mr. Wood on the Ashley River at St. Andrew's." See Hasell to SPG, November 30, 1707, in *LC*, 66; Richard Marsden to SPG, August 23, 1708, in *LC*, 75; Governor and Council to the Bishop of London and SPG, February 13, 1708, in *LC*, 69. Other accounts indicated that Wood began at St. Andrew's in 1707: Dalcho, 336; Williams's and Waddell's listing in *LC*, 11; SPG, *Classified Digest*, 850; and Frederick Lewis Weis, *The Colonial Clergy of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1996, first published in 1955), 94.

25 Webber, October 1911, 175. Cheves, "Bull Family of South Carolina," 80–81. The register listed the year of Stephen Bull's birth as 1707/8, which can be confusing to modern readers. Until the mid-eighteenth century, England and her colonies used the Julian (Old Style) calendar, with the new year beginning March 25. Dates between January 1 and March 24 carried two years separated by a slash. Double dates were eliminated in 1753 when Parliament adopted the Gregorian (New Style) calendar, with January 1 beginning the new year. Stephen Bull's birth, under the Gregorian system, drops the first year and becomes March 18, 1708. To conform with modern convention, calendar years, and not the double dating system of the early colonial era, are used in this book.

26 Le Jau to SPG, March 13, 1708, in *LC*, 70–71; November 15, 1708, in *LC*, 86. Governor and Council to Bishop of London and SPG, February 13, 1708. SPG to Le Jau, July 25, 1709, in *LC*, 94.

- 27 Sirmans “Masters of Ashley Hall,” 186. Le Jau to SPG, March 13, 1708; April 22, 1708, in *LC*, 72. Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 30, 72–73, 97–98.
- 28 Dalcho, 336. Le Jau to SPG, March 13, 1708; February 1, 1710, in *LC*, 103, and in Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle*, 66–67n82.
- 29 Le Jau to SPG, February 9, 1711, in *LC*, 150. Gideon Johnston to SPG, July 5, 1710, in *LC*, 125–26. Dalcho (p. 336) reported that Wood arrived at St. Andrew’s in 1707 “but soon after died.” Two early twentieth-century writers incorrectly interpreted Dalcho’s account to mean that Wood died in 1708. See “Old St. Andrews Historic Parish. Rev. Dr. John Kershaw Gives Interesting Sketch of Church,” *EP*, November 20, 1916; Webber, October 1911, 172. The Reverend John Gilchrist, the sixteenth rector of St. Andrew’s, discovered the site of Wood’s burial at the church while researching the church’s history at the headquarters of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the successor organization to the SPG, during a trip to London. See VM, August 16, 1978; Nancy Jacobs, “Family Explores British Ties,” *EP*, August 25, 1978. The terms *graveyard*, *churtyard*, and *cemetery* have been used at various times throughout the history of the church to describe the burying ground, so all are used in this book.
- 30 Le Jau to SPG, April 12, 1711, in *LC*, 154. Sidney Charles Bolton, “The Anglican Church in Colonial South Carolina, 1704–1754: A Study in Americanization” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1973), 72. Dalcho’s assertion (p. 336) that Wood was “much respected and lamented by his people” after his death was a thin attempt to conceal the unpleasantness that Le Jau chronicled.
- 31 Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 212.
- 32 Johnston to SPG, July 5, 1710; January 27, 1711, in *LC*, 146; and April 20, 1711, in *LC*, 158.
- 33 Johnston to SPG, July 5, 1710; January 27, 1711; and April 20, 1711.
- 34 Johnston to SPG, January 27, 1711; April 20, 1711.
- 35 “SPG Clergy in South Carolina, 1702–1766,” in *LC*, 11. Johnston to SPG, January 27, 1711; May 28, 1712, in *LC*, 187; June 17, 1712, in *LC*, 187. Taylor to John Chamberlaine, [ca. April (*sic*, June) 1712], in *LC*, 181.
- 36 Vestry of St. Andrew’s Parish to SPG, October 1, 1711, and Vestrymen of Christ Church Parish to SPG, September 24 (21?), 1710, in *LC*, 169. Johnston to SPG, January 27, 1711; March 25, 1712, in *LC*, 180; June 17, 1712, in *LC*, 187–89.
- 37 Taylor to Chamberlaine, [ca. April (*sic*, June) 1712]. Taylor to SPG, June 14, 1712, in *LC*, 187. Le Jau to SPG, August 30, 1712, in *LC*, 193.
- 38 Taylor to SPG, July 28, 1713, in *LC*, 214.
- 39 SPG, *Classified Digest*, 15. The SPG also mentioned work by the governor and members of the assembly. It was an error not to have mentioned work among the slaves on Alexander Skene’s plantation after his lands became part of St. George’s, Dorchester, Parish following the realignment of the St. Andrew’s Parish boundaries in 1717 (discussed later in this chapter).
- 40 Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 108–20. Le Jau to SPG, September 11, 1711, in *LC*, 168.
- 41 Le Jau to SPG, August 10, 1713, in *LC*, 215. Extract of letter from Mr. Haig to SPG, [ca. July 15, 1715], in *LC*, 243.
- 42 Taylor to SPG, July 28, 1713. SPG, *Classified Digest*, 15.
- 43 Taylor to SPG, July 28, 1713; n.d. [1715?], in *LC*, 261. Dalcho, 336–37.
- 44 Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 84–85, 143. Edgar, *South Carolina*, 99–100. Michael P. Morris, “Yamassee War,” in Edgar, *South Carolina Encyclopedia*, 1055. John Buchanan, *Jackson’s Way: Andrew Jackson and the People of the Western Waters* (New York: Wiley, 2001), 17–18.
- 45 Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 84–85. Morris, “Yamassee War.” Le Jau to SPG, May 10, 1715, in *LC*, 236–37; May 21, 1715, in *LC*, 240–41; August 22, 1715, in *LC*, 244–46; August 23,

## Notes

- 1715, in *LC*, 247. William Tredwell Bull to SPG, August 10, 1715, in *LC*, 244; and August 31, 1715, in *LC*, 248. Edgar Legaré Pennington, "The South Carolina Indian War of 1715, as Seen by the Clergymen," *SCHGM* 32 (January 1931): 251–69.
- 46 Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 85. Edgar, *South Carolina*, 100–102. Civil War casualties are most often estimated as 620,000 dead (both sides), 2 percent of the 1860 population of 31.4 million.
- 47 Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 375. These and other inscriptions were recorded in "Historical Notes. Inscriptions from St. Andrews Church-yard," *SCHGM* 13 (April 1912): 113–18. *Murthered* is not a typographical error, but an archaic word for *murdered* inscribed on Elizabeth Nairn's tombstone. Although she lived in St. Andrew's Parish, the plantation of her husband, Thomas the Indian agent, was in St. Helena's Parish, in the thick of the Indian uprising. See Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2:491–92.
- 48 Clergy of South Carolina to SPG, January 25, 1716, in *LC*, 262–63. Johnston to SPG, January 27, 1716, in *LC*, 263–67.
- 49 Taylor to SPG, February 15, 1716, SPG (B4/53), 194–97.
- 50 Johnston to SPG, January 27, 1716, in *LC*, 263–67.
- 51 *Ibid.* Johnston's battles with Taylor are well documented in Bolton, "Anglican Church," 127–37.
- 52 "Some Reasons Humbly offered to the Reverd. Mr. Commissary Johnston By the Parishioners of St. Andrews, Why Mr. Ebenezer Taylor Should be no longer Suffered to officiate in the Sd. Parish," February 11, 1716, SPG (B4/47), 147–51.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 151. Taylor referred to Lilia Haige as Darcy; see Taylor to SPG, April 18, 1716, in *LC*, 276. Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718, 131, 160. Smith, "Ashley River," 78, 89–90, 100–101. Peeples, "A Miles Genealogy," 229–30. Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2:146, 258–59, 652–53, 716–17.
- 54 Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2:618–19. Smith, "Ashley River," 92. "John Skene: From Newtyle to the New World," [www.clanskene.org](http://www.clanskene.org). Thomas, "Barbadians," 89–90.
- 55 Taylor to SPG, February 15, 1716, 168–70, 198. The microfilm copy of this transcribed letter is thirty-one pages long.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 170–82, 183, 191–92.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 187–88, 194. Charles Boschi to SPG, in Midwinter, "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: The Carolinas," 295.
- 58 Taylor to SPG, February 15, 1716, 176–77, 185, 189–90, 193–97.
- 59 Johnston to SPG, April 4, 1716, in *LC*, 273.
- 60 Taylor to SPG, April 18, 1716, SPG (A11/64), 233–44; summarized in *LC*, 276–77. Bolton, "Anglican Church," 131.
- 61 Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718, 131.
- 62 Bolton, "Anglican Church," 128–29.
- 63 Louis P. Nelson, "The Material World: Anglican Visual Culture in Colonial South Carolina" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2001), 1:249–53. Linder, *Anglican Churches*, 15–16. Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718, 131–32.
- 64 Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718, 128–29.
- 65 *Ibid.*, 129–30. Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 19–20. Friary, "Architecture of the Anglican Church in the Northern American Colonies," 80, 118.
- 66 SPG to Taylor, November 22, 1716, in *LC*, 293.
- 67 Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Andrews Parish to SPG, January 7, 1717, SPG (B4), 135–39. For Taylor's long and meandering reply to the "prejudice" accusation, see Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718, 137–52.

68 Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Andrews Parish to SPG, January 7, 1717. Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718, 136–37, 145–51, 163–67. Memorial Books (S111001/1), 407–10, SCDAH. The name Pon Pon River for the South Edisto can be found in Smith, “Willtown or New London,” 30.

69 Bull to SPG, June 20, 1717, in *LC*, 306. Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Andrew’s Parish to SPG, July 22, 1717, in *LC*, 307. Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718, 135–36, 152–62.

70 Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718, 162–63.

71 *Ibid.*, 167–73.

72 *Ibid.*, 173–75. See Chapter 7, “Aspirations of the Laity,” in Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 121–39, for insights into the importance of church customs to colonial Anglicans.

Locking recalcitrant ministers out of their churches was not unique to St. Andrew’s. Perhaps following the cue of the Ashley River parish to the west, the vestry of Christ Church locked its rector, the Reverend John Winteley, out of the parish church in 1729, and subsequently dismissed him for public immorality; see Winteley to SPG, June 14, 1729, in *LC*, 415. Alexander Garden to the Bishop of London, June 28, 1729, in *LC*, 415–17.

73 Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718, 176–94.

74 *Ibid.*, 194–202.

75 *Ibid.*, 208–25. Gilbert Jones to SPG, March 28, 1717, in Anne King Gregorie, *Christ Church, 1706–1959: A Plantation Parish of the South Carolina Establishment* (Charleston: Dalcho Historical Society, 1961), 21.

76 The matter of who would supply St. Andrew’s after Taylor left changed a number of times. In a clergy meeting of February 1717, Jones, Le Jau, and Bull were chosen, although Le Jau was ill at the time; see Jones to SPG, March 28, 1717, in *LC*, 305. In another meeting in March, only Le Jau and Bull were mentioned; see a different letter of the same date from Jones to SPG, in *LC*, 305. After Taylor left and likely due to Le Jau’s illness (he would die that September), Bull stated that he and Jones would supply St. Andrew’s; see Bull to SPG, June 20, 1717.

77 SPG, *Classified Digest*, 23. Taylor to SPG, April 23, 1719, SPG (A13), 268–77.

78 Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718, 152, 155–78; specific epithets were cited on pp. 134, 137, 140, and 219. Taylor to SPG, April 23, 1719, 269.

79 J. R. B. Hathaway, ed., *The North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 1, Miscellaneous Items from the Records of Albemarle County Courthouse, Edenton, N.C. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, repr. ed. 1998, 2002, first published 1900), 146.

80 An Act to Erect the Upper Part of the Parish of St. Andrew’s on Ashley River, into a Distinct Parish Separate from the Lower Part of the Said Parish, no. 381, December 11, 1717, in Cooper, *Statutes*, 3:9–11. Smith, “Ashley River,” 92. Smith, “Baronies,” 86, 89–90.

81 Dalcho, 345–46. Henry Alexander White, *The Making of South Carolina* (New York: Silver, Burdett, 1906), 47. Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2:618–19.

82 Dalcho, 337.

83 Taylor to SPG, March 24, 1718, 142.

84 *Ibid.*, 125–27.

85 Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 48, 166–74. “SPG Clergy in South Carolina, 1702–1766,” in *LC*, 10. Garden to the Bishop of London, May 4, 1739, in *LC*, 485–86, and June 12, 1739, in *LC*, 486.

### CHAPTER 3 – STABILITY, EXPANSION, AND PROSPERITY (1718–1750)

1 Guy to SPG, ca. January 1712, in *LC*, 176; August 12, 1712, in *LC*, 191. Inhabitants of St. Helen’s Parish to SPG, March 16, 1713, in *LC*, 209. Charles Craven to Bishop Compton,

## Notes

March 23, 1713, in *LC*, 210. Johnston to SPG, [June 3?, 1713], in *LC*, 214. SPG to Le Jau, November 30, 1713, in *LC*, 217. Thomas Hassell to SPG, May 12, 1714, in *LC*, 224. Bolton, "Anglican Church," 111. William McIntosh III, "Dedicated to the Calling: The Missionary William Guy," *Carologue* 16 (Winter 2000): 14, 16.

2 Guy to SPG, January 10, 1715, in St. Helena's Episcopal Church, History Committee, *The History of the Parish Church of St. Helena, Beaufort, South Carolina: Church of England 1712–1789, Protestant Episcopal 1789–1990* (Columbia: Bryan, 1990), 6, 69–70; Guy's letter is briefly summarized in *LC*, 229–30. Guy to SPG, May 25, 1715, in *LC*, 241–42; September 20, 1715, in *LC*, 249. Johnston to SPG, January 27, 1716. Le Jau to SPG, May 21, 1715. Bull to SPG, August 10, 1715. Hassell to SPG, December 1, 1715, in *LC*, 257.

3 Guy to SPG, February 1715 [*sic*, 1716], in *LC*, 233–34; September 8, 1715, in *LC*, 249; February 14, 1716, in *LC*, 268; November 20, 1716, in *LC*, 293; November 28, 1716, in *LC*, 293; March 27, 1717, in *LC*, 305; May 10, 1717, in *LC*, 306. SPG to Guy, April 23, 1716, in *LC*, 278. Vestry of Charles Town (St. Philip's Parish) to SPG, November 30, 1716, in *LC*, 293. Le Jau to SPG, January 3, 1717, in *LC*, 298. Bull to SPG, June 20, 1717, in *LC*, 306; September 25, 1718, in *LC*, 315. Governor and His Council to SPG, December 20, 1717, in *LC*, 310. McIntosh, "Dedicated to the Calling," 16. See also Bolton, "Anglican Church," 130; *Southern Anglicanism*, 88.

4 Guy to SPG, November 20, 1718, in *LC*, 316–17. Bull to the Bishop of London, November 18, 1718, in *LC*, 316. Bull to SPG, November 24, 1718, in *LC*, 317. William Wye and Vestry of St. Philip's Church to SPG, December 19, 1718, in *LC*, 317. Wye would flee the province in disgrace in 1720.

5 Bull to SPG, November 18, 1718, in *LC*, 316. Guy to SPG, November 20, 1718. Guy to the Bishop of London, March 17, 1724; here Guy said he "had been Inducted into [his] Living" since December 22, 1718, and licensed by the SPG as a missionary for St. Andrew's Parish on July 28, 1719. Wardens and Vestry of St. Andrew's Parish to SPG, January 16, 1719, SPG, Fulham Papers (127) and in *LC*, 317. Webber, October 1911, 175, 187.

6 Guy to SPG, September 28, 1719, SPG (A13), 298–99.

7 Guy to SPG, May 19, 1720, SPG (A13), 287–88.

8 Guy to SPG, July 5, 1721, SPG (A15), 50–51; summarized in *LC*, 329–30.

9 Guy to the Bishop of London, March 17, 1724. Alexander Garden to the Bishop of London, April 15, 1724, in *LC*, 365.

10 Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728; March 30, 1734, SPG (A25), 104–5.

11 Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. Another estimate put the number of slaves in St. Andrew's Parish at 2,493 as early as 1720. See Richard Waterhouse, *A New World Gentry: The Making of a Merchant and Planter Class in South Carolina, 1670–1770*, fwd. Charles Joyner (Charleston: History Press, 2005), 97.

12 Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. Both Baptist churches in St. Andrew's Parish were extinct by the end of the eighteenth century (Ashley River Church, 1785, and General Baptists at Stono, 1791); see Joe M. King, *A History of South Carolina Baptists* (Columbia: General Board of the South Carolina Baptist Convention, 1964), 26–28, 35–37. Sarah Fick, *James Island Presbyterian Church: Three Hundred Years of History 1706–2006* (Charleston: James Island Presbyterian Church, 2006).

13 Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. The boundary between St. Andrew's and St. George's parishes remained in place until the end of the Civil War, when parishes were eliminated as a governmental entity. Culturally, however, parishes continued to be a strong part of the social fabric. See Long, *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, 202; South Carolina county maps at [www.archives.sc.gov/sccountymaps](http://www.archives.sc.gov/sccountymaps).



14 Guy's register was almost certainly the first in the parish. As Mabel Webber, who copied and edited the register at the beginning of the twentieth century, said, "Some of the birth records go back to earlier dates than 1719, and were evidently entered from the knowledge of the clergyman, or at the request of the parents." Some inscriptions were listed with incomplete dates, such as 17–, 171–. Listings generally followed in chronological order, but Webber found "the arrangement is very irregular, entries of later dates being inserted on the blank pages opposite the regular entries." See Webber, October 1911, 174, 180.

15 Entries were made in a variety of writing styles, reflecting the different people who inscribed them. Webber, October 1911, 174, 180–81; April 1914, 105.

The name of the sixth rector has been erroneously reported since the early days of the parish church. Dalcho called him *John Christopher Ernest Schwab*, but more reliable accounts identified him as *Christopher Ernst Schwab*. No one but Dalcho included *John* in his name. See Dalcho, 342. Manross, *Fulham Papers*, 307, 329. Christopher Ernst Schwab, Ordination Papers, 1771, *Fulham Papers* (23), 356, 360. Christopher Ernst Schwab, Missionary Bonds, 1771, *Fulham Papers* (34), 108. Webber, January 1914, 50; April 1914, 102, 103.

16 Webber, October 1911, 174–75. Smith, "Old Charles Town," 57–58.

17 Webber, October 1911, 175–77, 183; April 1913, 83; July 1913, 152. Sirmans, "Masters of Ashley Hall," 142–43.

18 Webber, January 1912, 22; July 1912, 159; January 1913, 22. Guy to SPG, September 30, 1742, SPG (B10/143), 328–29.

19 Webber, January 1912, 26, 34; April 1912, 104; October 1912, 251, 217; January 1913, 21; October 1913, 209.

20 Guy to SPG, June 11, 1739, SPG (B10/235).

21 Webber, October 1911, 180, 187; January 1912, 23, 25–26, 38; April 1912, 111; October 1912, 216, 220; January 1913, 24, 29; April 1913, 89, 93; July 1913, 148.

22 Bradford J. Wood, "'A Constant Attendance on God's Alter': Death, Disease, and the Anglican Church in Colonial South Carolina, 1706–1750," *SCHM* 100 (July 1999): 204–20. Letters from the Anglican clergy in South Carolina were filled with references of disease and illness. Dalcho (p. 184) mentioned that only five of sixteen ministers were able to attend an annual clergy meeting in 1760 because "The small-pox [was] raging in town."

23 David R. Mould and Missy Loewe, *Historic Gravestone Art of Charleston, South Carolina, 1695–1802* (Jefferson, N.C., and London: McFarland, 2006), 66. Linder, *Anglican Churches*, 34, 63.

The only reference to one of the brick vaults at St. Andrew's was found in a handwritten note on the back of a pencil sketch of the church drawn by Professor Lewis R. Gibbes of the College of Charleston in the 1840s (depicted in Chapter 5). "St. Andrews Church, sketched in 184–. Tomb or vault of Blakes on the right, of Williams on the left, Bull & Drayton behind. Behind also tomb of Nairne. So said Mr. Simon Magwood 31 Aug. 1884." The sketch shows only the Williams tomb to the left. Was the Blake site a tomb like the Williams' or a brick vault? The only documented burial plot for a Blake is that of Ann Blake Fuller (died October 7, 1831, age 25), but it is located on the other side of the church near the Nairn graves.

24 In an analysis of births and deaths in colonial South Carolina gleaned from parish registers, Richard Waterhouse (*New World Gentry*, 85) significantly understated the number of deaths from the St. Andrew's Parish register. His analysis reported more births than deaths through 1770 in not only St. Andrew's but in four other South Carolina country parishes. Waterhouse found only a slight difference between births (439) and deaths (404) at St. Andrew's, while my count shows a significant difference (712 burials versus 450 births). Such an understatement diminishes the pervasive tragedy of death in this era. An excellent source of information about epidemics throughout the state's history is the South Carolina Department of Health and



Environmental Control's, "A Chronology of the History of Public Health in South Carolina," [www.scdhec.gov](http://www.scdhec.gov).

25 Webber, January 1912, 31; April 1913, 90; July 1913, 148; January 1914, 47.

26 Webber, October 1911, 188; January 1912, 31, 32, 39–40; April 1912, 109; October 1912, 214; January 1913, 24, 25, 26, 31; April 1913, 86, 90 [Webber's notation that Elizabeth Miles was buried in 1750 does not fit with the other entries; the date should have been 1749, making her just a year old.], 94; October 1913, 210; January 1914, 44. George McDaniel, "John Drayton: Plantation Master, 'Afflicted Husband,'" (unpublished manuscript, November 4, 2009), OSA.

27 Webber, January 1912, 30, 31, 39; April 1912, 109–10; July 1912, 158; October 1912, 218; January 1913, 20; April 1913, 81, 84, 85, 89, 93; October 1913, 216; January 1914, 42, 44, 47. An act of 1712 bound out apprentices to adults until age twenty-one for boys and age eighteen, or until marriage, for girls. See An Act for the Better Relief of the Poor of This Province, no. 325, December 12, 1712, in Cooper, *Statutes*, 2:596.

28 Webber, October 1911, 187; January 1912, 31, 40; July 1912, 158; January 1913, 21; July 1913, 147, 148; April 1914, 100, 103.

29 Webber, October 1912, 219, 222; January 1913, 20, 30; April 1914, 103. VM, August 16, 1978. Jacobs, "Family Explores British Ties."

30 Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 202; emphasis in the original. Pyszka, "... unto Seynte Pauls," 218, including William Orr to SPG, September 30, 1744. Dalcho, 252.

31 Louis Nelson misattributed the chest tomb of Charlotta Bull Drayton to Elizabeth Nairn, calling it "the oldest Anglican example of this form in South Carolina" (see *Beauty of Holiness*, 97). The Nairn grave marker is correctly listed as "slab," and the Drayton site, as "chest tomb," on page 375 in his Appendix 3. Chest tombs were placed in the churchyard at St. Philip's twenty years before Drayton's at St. Andrew's. The gravesite of Joseph Williams is listed in Nelson's appendix, but not that of his wife Elizabeth, whose death in 1796 was inscribed on the same marker.

32 Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 141–45. Waterhouse, *New World Gentry*, 97. Hardy, "Colonial South Carolina's Rice Industry," 125–27. Sharrer, "Indigo in Carolina," 94–103. In the *Notitia Parochialis* he sent to London during the 1740s, William Guy estimated the number of slaves in the parish at 2,500 to 2,600. Brian Hunt to SPG, October 5, 1728, in *LC*, 405. William George Bentley, "Wealth Distribution in Colonial South Carolina" (PhD diss., Georgia State University, 1977), 35–36, 61.

33 Smith, "Some Forgotten Towns," 203–6, 208, and map. An Act for Settling a Fair and Markets in Ashley River Ferry Town, in Berkley County, for the Better Improvement of the Said Ferry, It Being a Principal Ferry Leading to Charlestown, no. 482, February 15, 1723, in Cooper, *Statutes*, 3:217–19. Charleston Deeds (S372001/P), 250, SCDAH.

Guy was also a party to a number of transactions involving lots in Charles Town. See Conveyance Books (372001/A), 97; (372001/D), 160; (372001/E), 41; (372001/G), 386, SCDAH.

34 Smith, "Some Forgotten Towns," 206–8 and map; "Ashley River," 81. Guy to SPG, November 29, 1734, in *LC*, 463. RMC, bk. R, 289. William Cattell Trimble, *The Cattell Family of South Carolina* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst, 1988), 1–8, SCHS. Directions from the church to the town are geographical.

35 Bull to the Bishop of London, August 10, 1723, in *LC*, 352. Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Andrew's Parish to the Bishop of London, March 29, 1725, in *LC*, 375. Guy to SPG, March 26, 1740. See also Dalcho, 338.

36 Guy to SPG, July 5, 1721; August 1, 1722, SPG (B4/119), 230; May 23, 1723, SPG (B4/156), 301. Clergy of South Carolina to SPG, July 12, 1722, in *LC*, 337. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 117.

37 Bull to the Bishop of London, August 10, 1723. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 75–76, 371–73. Dalcho noted the ruinous state of the other three cruciform churches: St. Paul’s (p. 358), St. George’s (p. 350), and the chapel of ease at St. James’s, Goose Creek (p. 260).

38 Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 261–62, 373. Friary mentioned no cruciform churches in his “Architecture of the Anglican Church in the Northern American Colonies.” Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 46.

39 My measurements of the exterior taken June 28, 2011, are essentially the same as those found in 4SE Structural Engineers, “Preliminary Structural Evaluation, St. Andrews Church, Charleston, South Carolina, October 1, 2002,” in Glenn Keyes Architects, *Preservation Plan for Old St. Andrews Episcopal Church, 2604 Ashley River Road, Charleston, South Carolina, November 26, 2002* (Charleston: Glenn Keyes Architects, 2002), OSA; and in a 1940 drawing rendered as part of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) depicted in Chapter 6.

The discrepancy between the twenty-five-foot wide 1706 nave and the twenty-eight-foot wide nave of the expanded 1723 church is easily explained. Measurements of the 1706 church are of the interior, and of the expanded church, the exterior.

40 Pyszka, “...unto Seynte Pauls,” 165–68. The dimensions of the cruciform St. Paul’s were: nave, 25.6 by 34.8 feet; transept, 26 by 46 feet; and chancel, 11.5 by 19.5 feet.

41 Bull to the Bishop of London, August 10, 1723. Guy to SPG, January 7, 1724, SPG (B4/133), 255; July 13, 1724, SPG (B4/182), 344–45; May 23, 1726, SPG (B4/201), 375–76; January 22, 1728; May 14, 1733, in Dalcho, 339.

42 Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728; May 14, 1733. Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, 2, 6. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 70–71.

43 Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, Appendices A and C. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 62. Dalcho’s assertion (p. 338) that “there were two large doors, one at the west end, and one at the south” in the expanded church was inaccurate.

44 Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, 2.

45 Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, 6, Appendix A. Leake to author, January 14, 2013.

The height of the smaller wall windows is 1.75 times their width. Applying this proportion to the east end window, a six-foot wide arched window set high on the east wall would result in a rectangular window below it ten-and-a-half feet high. The bottom of the window would have been just above the top of the communion table.

Would a chancel window this large have been too large? Would it have brought in so much light that the minister might have been blinded when he performed divine worship? The best church for comparison would be rural St. Stephen’s, built 1767–69, which has a smaller compass-headed window centered on the east chancel wall. The height of its window is proportioned at 1.5 times its width. Such a design would have produced a nine-foot-high window at St. Andrew’s. But St. Stephen’s employed a tripartite Venetian window design, with two smaller windows flanking the center window that would have allowed more light to enter. Since Reverend Guy mentioned a singular “large east end window,” it is unlikely that the 1723 expansion featured a tripartite Venetian design for the chancel window. During the 2004–5 restoration, Larry Leake was unable to determine if the wall behind the reredos showed evidence of a tripartite design.

46 Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 62–63, 145.

47 Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, 6.

48 *Ibid.*, 4. Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. Dalcho, 339.

49 Precisely dating the red tile is problematic, although 1723 seems appropriate. Reverend Guy identified Fitch and Rose as 1706 building supervisors but made no mention of a red

tile memorial to them. See Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. Dalcho (p. 338) included his account of the red tile when he discussed the 1723 church expansion. All of the details he described for the expansion were in the past tense, except for one—the last one. His account of the red tile was in the present tense. Such grammatical looseness opens the possibility that the placement of the red tile was part of the 1723 expansion, or rebuilding after a fire circa 1762, or even during repairs made after significant damage to the church during the American Revolution.

Col. William Izard Bull, who would play a significant role in church affairs and in reporting its history in the nineteenth century, corroborated Dalcho's location of the red tile in an 1889 letter to his cousin. Bull was the only person to indicate that the initials meant anyone other than Fitch and Rose. As subsequent chapters illustrate, Col. Bull's recollections late in his life could be fuzzy. See William Izard Bull to Miss E. McP. Ravenel, June 10, 1889, in Henry DeSaussure Bull, *The Family of Stephen Bull of Kinghurst Hall, County Warwick, England, and Ashley Hall, South Carolina 1600–1960* (Georgetown, S.C.: Winyah, 1961), 133. The original letter can be found in the archives of Historic Charleston Foundation.

50 Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 23. Tompkins, 73, 95. Keyes, *Preservation Plan*, 11. The discovery of the pavers and bricks under the floor in 1969 would add yet another layer to the mystery surrounding the old church.

51 Tompkins, 95. Keyes, *Preservation Plan*, 11. St. John's, Berkeley, VM, 1731–1813, July 25, 1753, SCHS, and in Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 200, 420n119. Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 29. Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728.

52 Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, 6, Appendices A and C.

53 Dalcho, 338. Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 177. Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 92.

54 Dalcho, 338. Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 19. Friary, "Architecture of the Anglican Church in the Northern American Colonies," 132–41. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 91. Nelson believed that the font was installed and "was the only such fixture to appear in either the documentary or physical evidence from any of the earliest churches in South Carolina." "Although a nineteenth-century pedestal now supports it," he said, "the marble basin of the font survives." Not so. The font in the church dates from 1842, and that period would explain the cast-iron pedestal, not make it an anomaly with the basin. For more information about the 1842 font, see Chapter 5 and *JAC, PECSC*, 1843, 53.

55 Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 94. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 71.

56 Edward Brailsford, "Devotions," 1710–1744, SCL. Webber, October 1911, 188; January 1912, 32. "South Carolina Gleanings in England," *SCHGM* 5 (July 1904): 165–6. Although Bridget Brailsford's burial was listed in the colonial register, her husband's was not, despite his intention of being buried next to her. Nelson, "Material World," 1:31–34. Nelson imagined Reverend Guy climbing the steps to the raised pulpit to read his sermon. But Guy did not stop at one sermon; he was inclined to preach more than once on the Lord's Day, as Eliza Lucas Pinckney wrote her husband in the 1740s: "Mr. Guy has entertained us very agreeably of things of a divine nature, but you may not be inclined to hear three sermons a day." See Harriott Horry Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney*, Reprint edition combines Harriett Horry Ravenel's *Eliza Pinckney* [original edition 1896] and the privately printed *Journal and Letters of Eliza Lucas* [original edition 1850], Women of Colonial and Revolutionary Times, South Carolina Heritage Series No. 10 (Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint, 1967), 90.

57 Guy to SPG, July 5, 1721. Bull to the Bishop of London, August 10, 1723. Garden to the Bishop of London, April 15, 1724. The location of the glebe to the church is given in geographical terms.

58 RMC, bk. F, 234. When the vestry sold its glebe lands to developer John Hogg in October 1950, the deed noted that fifty-seven acres was acquired by the church from Samuel and Dorothy Jones on February 27, 1727; see RMC, bk. Y-52, 465. Reverend Guy reported the purchase as “near 60 acres of good land”; see Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. Dalcho, 338.

59 Dalcho, 339. Schedule of Public Debt from March 25, 1731 to March 25, 1732, no. 536, in Cooper, *Statutes*, 3:317. Schedule of Public Debt from March 25, 1738 to March 25, 1739, no. 663, in Cooper, *Statutes*, 3:538. Churchwardens and vestry of St. Andrew’s Parish to SPG, January 20, 1751, SPG (B18/192), and in *LC*, 511.

60 Jones to SPG, June 5, 1721; Francis Varnod to SPG, January 4, 1727; Robert Ludlam to SPG, December 12, 1727; Hunt to SPG, May 6, 1728; Thomas Morritt to SPG May 3, 1731; Robert Gowrie to SPG, April 25, 1734, in Pyszka, “...unto Seynte Paules,” 316; also 316–21. Gregorie, *Christ Church*, 36–37. Dalcho, 351.

61 Pyszka, “...unto Seynte Paules,” 204–6, 389–90.

62 Orr to SPG, in Midwinter, “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: The Carolinas,” 289.

63 Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728.

64 Guy to SPG, January 15, 1722, SPG (B4/99), 200; August 1, 1722; January 22, 1728.

65 Guy to SPG, October 28, 1724, SPG (B4), 358; January 22, 1728; October 16, 1728, SPG (A21), 130–31.

St. James’s website dates the chapel of ease from 1722, based on Guy’s August 1 letter of that year. See “St. James Church: A Brief History,” [www.saint-james.org](http://www.saint-james.org). The Bishop of South Carolina, the Right Reverend Gray Temple, in an address to the 175th annual diocesan convention, dated the chapel of ease on James Island to 1730. See *JAC, PECSC*, 1965, 36. Guy referred to the church building on James Island as a “chapel” until a 1728 letter, in which he called it a “Chappel of ease.” His choice of words might have been colloquial but premature, since the building officially would not gain chapel of ease status until the colonial assembly passed an act authorizing it as such on March 19, 1756. See An Act Establishing the Chapel on James Island, in the Parish of St. Andrew, a Chapel of Ease, and for the Due Performance of Divine Worship in the Several Chapels of Ease Established by Law in This Province, no. 841, March 19, 1756, in Cooper, *Statutes*, 4:25.

66 Dalcho, 339. Guy to SPG, December 1, 1729, in *LC*, 420; March 30, 1730, in *LC*, 422; March 26, 1740, SPG (B10/239–40); September 30, 1748, SPG (B16/140).

67 Guy to SPG, September 30, 1742; March 26, 1744, SPG (B12/84), 229–32. P. B. [Philip Bearcroft] to Guy, December 11, 1744, in *LC*, 499–500. Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 116–19. Slaves were among Guy’s property offered for sale by the executors of his estate after his death. See *SCG*, February 18, 25, 1751; March 4, 1751.

68 Vestry of St. Andrew’s to the Bishop of London, November 16, 1719, SPG, Fulham Papers (128). Proclamation of Power of Attorney Given to William Guy, September 17, 1725, in *LC*, 380. SPG to Guy, October 2, 1725, in *LC*, 380. Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 128. Dalcho, 338.

69 Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 44, 136–37. Garden to the Bishop of London, April 30, 1734, in *LC*, 450–56. Trial of John Fulton, March 26, 1734, in *LC*, 447.

70 Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 49–56, 115–17. Edgar, *South Carolina*, 183–85. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 220–21. McIntosh, “Dedicated to the Calling,” 19. Guy to SPG, February 16, 1741, SPG (B10/132), 306. Garden to SPG, April 4, 1751, in *LC*, 514.

71 Vestry to the Bishop of London, November 16, 1719. Guy to SPG, October 17, 1721, in *LC*, 331; January 15, 1722; August 1, 1722; March 26, 1724, in *LC*, 362; July 13, 1724; January 6, 1729, in *LC*, 407; March 30, 1730; July 12, 1731, in *LC*, 431; June 30, 1732, in *LC*, 438; March 26, 1740, SPG (B10/239–40), 588–90; March 26, 1743, SPG (B10/145), 330; September 30,

1746, SPG (B14/221–22), 73; September 30, 1748, SPG (B16), 140, also in *LC*, 506; October 3, 1749, SPG (B17/179). P. B. to Garden, December 15, 1744, in *LC*, 499. The vacancy at St. James's, Goose Creek, was filled in June 1749 with the arrival of the Reverend Robert Stone; see P. B. to Guy, June 22, 1749, SPG (B17), 201. Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 89. Dalcho, 248, 367. Linder, *Anglican Churches*, 91. McIntosh, "Dedicated to the Calling," 18.

72 Guy to SPG, May 14, 1733; February 16, 1741. Dalcho, 339–40. *SCG*, November 20, 1740. Kenneth Scott, "Sufferers in the Charleston Fire of 1740," *SCM* 64 (October 1963): 203, 210. A future sale of one of William Guy's slaves in 1742 is recorded in Miscellaneous Records, Main Series (213003/2E), 167, SCDAH.

73 Guy to SPG, January 7, 1724.

74 Guy to SPG, March 26, 1724; July 13, 1724; December 29, 1724, SPG (B4/191), 671–72, and in *LC*, 373; n.d. [ca. 1725], in *LC*, 381. Francis Varnod to SPG, March 21, 1725, in *LC*, 374–75. Wardens and Vestry of St. Andrew's Parish to the Bishop of London, March 29, 1725.

75 John Fulton to SPG, December 4, 1730, in *LC*, 426. Guy to SPG, January 10, 1739, SPG (B10/221); March 26, 1743; March 26, 1745, SPG (B12/86), 235–36; September 30, 1746; March 26, 1748, SPG (B16/129), and in *LC*, 504. Webber, January 1913, 21, 35.

76 *SCG*, December 10, 1750; emphasis in the original. Webber, July 1913, 147.

77 Wood, "Constant Attendance," 207. "Anglican Clergy by Parish, 1702–1783," in *LC*, 12–14. Williams and Waddell provided a listing for "St. Paul's, Colleton," that included both St. Paul's, Stono, and St. John's, Colleton, so Dalcho (pp. 351–56) was used to determine rectors for St. Paul's, Stono.

#### CHAPTER 4 – PROSPERITY, FIRE, AND REVOLUTION (1751–1785)

1 Churchwardens and Vestry to SPG, January 20, 1751. Guy to SPG, October 18, 1746, SPG (B13/223). Reverend Quincy's postings in the 1740s were found in *LC*, 10. William Langhorne to SPG, [1750 ca. Mar.], n.d., in *LC*, 512. Given the uncertainty of when Langhorne's letter was written, it is more likely that the date was early in 1751, since Guy had died and his post had become available. Dalcho, 340.

2 Charles Martyn to SPG, February 14, 1752, SPG (B20/136), 328.

3 Martyn to SPG, June 25, 1752, SPG (B20/137), 329–31. Martyn's parochial estimates of 1752 were significantly lower than Guy's reported six years earlier (115 families vs. 180; 61 dissenter families vs. 73; 53 Anglican families vs. 107; 1,500 black slaves vs. 2,600). Guy believed that there were no Indians in the parish, while Martyn estimated there were 100. The discrepancies were more likely a function of rudimentary estimation rather than meaningful population shifts.

4 Martyn to SPG, December 28, 1752, SPG (B20/138), 332–34. *SCG*, February 18, 1751; April 29, 1751. SCDAH Miscellaneous Records, Main Series, recorded in 1751 Mrs. Guy's purchase of a black woman slave ([213003/2H], 413) and the appointment of a guardian for her infant daughter Rebecca ([213003/2H], 164).

5 Martyn to SPG, December 28, 1752. Dalcho, 340, including Martyn to SPG, July 4, 1753. William Wilson Manross, *The Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library: American Colonial Section, Calendar and Indexes* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 306, 329. Charles Martyn, Ordination Papers, 1751, Fulham Papers (23), 239–42. Charles Martyn, Missionary Bonds, 1751, Fulham Papers (34), 49. Weis, *Colonial Clergy*, 85. Webber, July 1913, 153. Smith, "Ashley River," 19–20.

6 Dalcho, 340, including Martyn to SPG, January 8, 1754. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 231, 315, 427n93.

7 Dalcho, 338. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 239, 316–18, 441n45.

8 Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 214–15. Edgar, *South Carolina*, 151.



<sup>9</sup> Bentley, “Wealth Distribution,” 76. Dalcho, 341, including Martyn to SPG, July 7, 1757. *SCG*, July 18, 1758, and February 14 and 21, 1761. The motive for offering the 1758 loan, other than providing income from the interest charged, is unknown. The timing of the loan occurred a few years before the fire, so it is unlikely that its purpose was to raise money for the rebuilding. If the funds were not earmarked for another purpose, however, they likely became a source of ready cash when the church needed it.

Loaning out the parish’s money was not something new for the vestry. The wealthy parish had a substantial amount of money—more than £1,170 *Cur.* (\$30,900)—in interest-bearing loans outstanding in 1744. See Dalcho, 340.

<sup>10</sup> Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 318–21; Appendix 5, 383–84. With so many Thomas Roses living at different times and different places in colonial Charles Town, it is difficult to pinpoint which one was which. Even H. A. M. Smith, who produced the most comprehensive guide to plantation ownership in the colonial Lowcountry, found tracing this lineage vexing. The Thomas Rose who purchased the pew at St. Michael’s in 1758 was likely the man who married Elizabeth Coppin in March 1726. See Smith, “Old Charles Town,” 9–12.

<sup>11</sup> An Act for the Better Relief of the Poor of This Province, December 12, 1712. Tim Lockley, “Rural Poor Relief in Colonial South Carolina,” *The Historical Journal* 48 (December 2005): 955–76.

<sup>12</sup> An Act Establishing the Chapel on James Island, March 19, 1756. Dalcho, 340–41.

<sup>13</sup> Dalcho, 341, including Martyn to SPG, July 7, 1757. William’s baptism on January 15, 1757, is noted in Webber, October 1913, 209.

<sup>14</sup> Dalcho, 174, 183. George W. Williams, ed., “Letters to the Bishop of London from the Commissaries in South Carolina,” *SCHM* 78 (January 1977): 5–7. Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 70–74.

<sup>15</sup> Martyn to SPG, December 28, 1752. Account of Parishes in the Province of South Carolina, Received from Charles Martyn, March 30, 1762, SPG (B5/202); summarized in *LC*, 522. SPG, *Classified Digest*, 18–19.

<sup>16</sup> Account of Parishes, March 30, 1762. Further Notes Attributed to Martyn, April 11, 1762, in *LC*, 522. Governor James Glen to a brother of Bishop Osbaldeston, April 10, 1762, SPG, Fulham Papers (170), and in *LC*, 522.

<sup>17</sup> Martyn to Bishop Osbaldeston, February 1, 1763, in *LC*, 523. Martyn to SPG, February 20, 1764, SPG (B5/227), 357–59.

<sup>18</sup> Martyn to SPG, January 1, 1760, SPG (B5/226), 354–56; February 20, 1764; December 3, 1764, SPG (B5/228), 360–61. Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 66–67.

<sup>19</sup> Dalcho, 341–42. Glen to a brother of Bishop Osbaldeston, April 10, 1762.

<sup>20</sup> Mabel L. Webber, comp., “The Early Generations of the Seabrook Family,” *SCHGM* 17 (January 1916): 25. Webber, October 1913, 217. Colonial Plat Books, Copy Series (S213184/18), 44 and 357, 1763, SCDAAH. Arthur Henry Hirsch, *The Huguenots of South Carolina* (1928; repr., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 2001), 313. Peter A. Coclanis, “Rice,” [www.georgiaencyclopedia.org](http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org).

<sup>21</sup> Garden Jr. to SPG, February 20, 1764, in *LC*, 524. Levi Durand to SPG, October 1, 1764, in *LC*, 525.

<sup>22</sup> Martyn to Bishop Terrick, October 20, 1765, in *LC*, 525–26.

<sup>23</sup> Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, 7–9, Appendix E. In a 1938 photo caption of St. Andrew’s Parish Church, a diocesan publication dated the fire to March 1763; a source for the date, unfortunately, was not provided. See Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina, *The Diocese of South Carolina* (Charleston: Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina, ca. 1938), 49.

It is unlikely, however, that the fire occurred in March 1763, since William Drayton took out ads in the April 9, 16, and 23, 1763, issues of the *South Carolina Gazette* seeking “workmen who will undertake to finish the inside.” Circa 1762 seems more reasonable.

24 *SCG*, April 9, 16, and 23, 1763; March 3, 1764. Dalcho, 342. An Act for Enabling the Church-wardens and Vestry of St. Andrew’s Parish, to Dispose of the Pews in the Church of the Said Parish, no. 929, August 10, 1764, in Cooper, *Statutes*, 4:181–82.

Shortly after he placed the ad in the *South Carolina Gazette*, William Drayton moved to East Florida where he served as chief justice. After the revolution, George Washington appointed him the first judge of the United States District Court for the District of South Carolina.

25 Richard J. Hooker, ed., *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant*, Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), xi–xxi, 4–5, 71–73; emphasis in the original.

Woodmason’s account of an organ after the fire leads to one of two conclusions: either the 1755 organ was removed from the church before the fire occurred and was saved, or a new organ was purchased to replace it after it was destroyed in the fire.

26 The fire has no bearing on the status of St. Andrew’s as the oldest extant church south of Virginia. The restored church following the fire of circa 1762 was built within the walls of the original 1706 and expanded 1723 church.

27 Leake to author, January 14, 2013. For the numbered roof rafter plan, see Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, Appendix D.

28 Bull to Ravenel, June 10, 1889. Bull’s memory was faulty on many aspects of the church’s history, but it was accurate that another fire had occurred about the same time as St. Andrew’s, at Biggin Church in 1755, although Biggin was in a different parish.

Citing Col. Bull and unable to find evidence of a fire in restoration work performed after the church reopened following a long period of dormancy in 1948, twentieth-century parishioner-historians doubted the existence of a fire. See, for example, historical sketches by Gene Taylor in 1958 and 1959 at OSA. Nearly all published accounts, however, discounted Bull’s claim. See John Grimké Drayton, “Extract from a Sermon Preached December 16th, 1855. At the Re-opening of the Church in St. Andrew’s Parish, by the Rev. J. Grimke Drayton, Rector,” *SE* 2 (February 1856): 484; Thomas, 270–71; Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 135–36; Kinloch Bull Jr., *The Oligarchies in Colonial and Revolutionary Charleston: Lieutenant Governor William Bull II and His Family* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 104–5. Rev. George Tompkins was more ambivalent in his 1990 dissertation; see Tompkins, 47–48, 64–65. Suzanne Cameron Linder, in her 2000 history of colonial churches in South Carolina, said, “Tompkins has carefully inspected the building and has found no sign of a fire. If there were a fire, it did not completely destroy the edifice.” See Linder, *Anglican Churches*, 17–18.

29 R. B. Rhett Jr., *Charleston Mercury*, April 10, 1860, in Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 121. “An Old Colonial Church. St. Andrew’s Reopened—Reminiscences of the Parish,” *N&C*, March 27, 1876. Bull to Ravenel, June 10, 1889. *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1878, 57.

30 Friary, “Architecture of the Anglican Church in the Northern American Colonies,” 59–60.

31 Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, 8. The tablets were outlined in a double gold pattern until the twenty-first century restoration simplified the design to one gold outline, of the interior frame.

32 Dalcho, 328–29. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 91–95, 124–27. Linder, *Anglican Churches*, 34–37, 105–6. Jane Searles Misenhelter, *St. Stephen’s Episcopal Church, St. Stephen, S.C.* (Columbia: State, 1977), 45–48.



33 “Gilded sunbursts”: Linder, *Anglican Churches*, 107. “Glory”: George W. Williams, *St. Michael’s Charleston, 1751–1951. With Supplements 1951–2001* (Charleston: College of Charleston Library, 2001), 155.

34 Louis Nelson (*Beauty of Holiness*, 128–29, 406n95) linked the design of the altarpiece at St. Stephen’s with plates 108–11 in Batty Langley, *The City and Country Builder’s and Workman’s Treasury of Designs* (London: S. Harding, 1741); plate 46 in Robert Morris, *Select Architecture: Being Regular Designs of Plans and Elevations Well Suited to Both Town and Country* (London: Robert Sayer, 1757); and plate 61 in William Pain, *The Builder’s Companion Demonstrating All the Principal Rules of Architecture* (London: Robert Sayer, 1769). These plates also resemble features of the St. Andrew’s reredos, plus Langley’s 53 and Pain’s 71 (3rd ed., 1769) and 82 (1781).

35 In a letter to Rev. Lynwood Magee dated December 16, 1956, Charleston historian Samuel G. Stoney suggested that the style of the lettering on the St. Andrew’s reredos dated it to the 1820–30 period. Stoney’s estimation coincides roughly with the building of St. Paul’s, Radcliffeborough (today the Cathedral of St. Luke and St. Paul in downtown Charleston) from 1811 to 1815. The lettering on both altarpieces is similar, but it is unlikely that the reredos at St. Andrew’s was built or the tablets relettered at that time. Only seven communicants were reported in 1812 and 1813 when Rev. Thomas Mills was rector. There were so few people in the area that the wardens and vestry petitioned the general assembly to operate Ashley Ferry to generate income for the church. After Mills departed for the upstate in 1816, the church was without a rector for the next seven years. William Izard Bull reported that the church was in a dilapidated condition after Mills left (see Chapter 5.) Most likely, the style of the script at St. Paul’s was patterned after either St. Andrew’s or St. Stephen’s. See *JAC, PECSC*, 1812–13. Bull to Ravenel, June 10, 1889.

Informal church sketches also dated the origin and style of the reredos—“set in the Honduran mahogany Federal capital”—to the late eighteenth century or about 1820. The source of origin for the wood used in the casing is unknown.

Another hypothesis could be that the reredos was built as part of the major restoration of St. Andrew’s Parish Church supervised by William Izard Bull in 1855. “I remodeled the entire inside of the Church except a portion of the Chancel,” wrote Bull to his cousin in 1889. “The Tablets, (except relettering) are original.” Bull’s sketchy description leaves much open for interpretation. Did he add the casing as part of this work, or was it excluded from the portion of the chancel he referenced? The church was still not prosperous, and money would have been spent for more basic repairs than installing a new and expensive altarpiece. The Reverend John Grimké Drayton, who was rector at the time, seemed to raise doubts that such an undertaking could have been financed. Drayton remarked at the reopening of the church following Bull’s restoration that the parish during colonial times raised “on a single occasion, in aid of the sufferers from a ruinous fire in Charleston, a sum nearly equivalent to the entire cost of these repairs just completed.” See Drayton, “Extract from a Sermon,” 483. Bull to Ravenel, June 10, 1889.

36 Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 120–27. The cover photograph of the paperback edition features the altarpiece at Aquia Church.

37 For excellent discussions of pews in the lives of colonial South Carolinians and Virginians, see Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, chap. 9, 309–29, and Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, chap. 8, 175–96. See also Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 22–23. Dalcho (p. 249) recounted that “the two lower Pews of the Middle two Rows of Pews” were reserved for the churchwardens and vestry at St. James’s, Goose Creek.

38 A profile of Elias Horry, the son of the first of the Horry settlers to Carolina and the father of Thomas and Elias Jr., can be found in Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2:330–31.

## Notes

39 RMC, bk. V-4, 338; also in Charleston Deeds (S372001/4V), 338, SCDAH. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 313–14. Gregorie, *Christ Church*, 32.

40 Smith, “Old Charles Town,” 7–8. Webber, April 1914, 97. Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2:94–95. “Branford-Horry House,” *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form*, 1970, [www.nationalregister.sc.gov](http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov).

41 RMC, bk. V-4, 335; also in Charleston Deeds (S372001/4V), 335, SCDAH. Smith, “Old Charles Town,” 9–13.

42 Thomas Horry: RMC, bk. Y-4, 62; also in Conveyance Books (S363001/4Y), 62, SCDAH. Elias Horry Jr.: RMC Z-4, 72; also in Conveyance Books (S363001/4Z), 72 (illegible), SCDAH. Smith, “Old Charles Town,” 8.

43 Smith, “Old Charles Town,” 8, 13–14. Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2:333–34. N. Louise Bailey, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, vol. 4, 1794–1815 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), 286–88. Jasper Adams, *An Eulogium, Pronounced 23d January, 1835, in the Chapel of the College of Charleston, before the Trustees, Faculty and Students; on the Life and Character of the Late Elias Horry, Esq.* (Charleston: published by the author, printed by A. E. Miller, 1835). “Branford-Horry House.”

The colonial register included Ann Branford’s birth on July 1, 1748 (Webber, April 1913, 86), her baptism on July 9, 1748 (Webber, April 1913, 87), and her marriage to Thomas Horry, officiated by Rev. C. E. Schwab, on June 13, 1772 (Webber, January 1914, 50).

44 Smith, “Old Charles Town,” 8. Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2:331–33.

45 For a discussion of the effect of wartime inflation on the purchasing power of local currencies, see McCusker, *How Much Is That in Real Money?*, Appendix C, 71–88.

46 Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 309–10 (St. John’s, Colleton); 313–14 (Prince Frederick’s); 318–26, 383–86 (St. Michael’s). The Prince Frederick pew plan in Nelson is labeled the “plan for the first Prince George, Winyah, Church” in Sarah Parker Lumpkin, *Heritage Passed On: History of Prince George, Winyah, Parish*, 2nd ed. (Columbia: Bryan, 2002), 15. Prince George’s parish was created from St. James’s, Santee, on March 10, 1721/2. Gregorie, *Christ Church*, 32.

Pews were numbered until they were repainted in 1992 and the numbers covered over. See “Junior Warden’s Report,” AR, 1992. No plan exists for any period of the church’s history that shows a complete numbering scheme. Twentieth-century photographs provide some help but still leave much to speculation. Pew #3 was the first pew in the southeast transept at the crossing of the aisles (where the choir sits today). Odd numbers ran along the north side of the nave, with pew #11 at the crossing of the aisles and pew #29 at the west end. Even numbers ran along the south side of the nave, with pew #12 directly across #11 and #30 at the west end.

47 Woodmason to the Bishop of London, October 19, 1766, in Hooker, *Carolina Backcountry*, 84–85. Montagu to Bishop Terrick, May 8, 1768, SPG, Fulham Papers (123), OSA; also in *LC*, 527. *SCG*, June 20, 1769, in “Extracts from the Journal of Mrs. Ann Manigault 1754–1781,” notes by Mabel L. Webber, *SCHGM* 21 (January 1920): 14n43.

48 *SCG*, November 14 and December 14, 1769; January 4, February 1, and May 10, 1770. Dalcho, 342. Smith, “Ashley River,” 20.

49 Gregorie, *Christ Church*, 50–52.

50 Weis, *Colonial Clergy*, 86. Webber, “Journal of Mrs. Ann Manigault,” 13 and n32, 22 and n94. Hennig Cohen, *The South Carolina Gazette 1732–1755* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1953), 37, 158, 196n48. Edward McCrady Jr., *Education in South Carolina Prior to and during the Revolution*, A paper read before the Historical Society of South Carolina, 6th August, 1883 (Charleston: News and Courier Book Presses, 1883), 33, SCHS. Charles Martyn advertised instructional opportunities to prospective students in the *South Carolina Gazette* on October 20, 1758; May 17, 1760; and June 29, 1769.

- 51 *SCG*, September 26, 1771. Webber, April 1914, 100. Mabel L. Webber, contr., “The Thomas Elfe Account Book, 1768–1775,” *SCHGM* 35 (July 1934): 100, 106; 36 (April 1935): 57. There is no record of Reverend Panting being buried at St. Andrew’s or in the graveyards of the city churches of St. Michael’s or St. Philip’s.
- 52 Dalcho, 342. RMC, bk. V-4, 335. Webber, April 1914, 100. *SCG*, September 26, 1771. “An Inventory and Appraisalment of all and Singular the Goods & Chattels of the Revd. Thomas Panting deceased, produced by the Revd. Robert Cooper, Executor, this 28 September 1771,” in Agnes L. Baldwin Research Papers, MS 142.00, box 53, SCHS.
- 53 Dalcho, 342. Manross, *Fulham Papers*, 307, 329. Christopher Ernst Schwab, Ordination Papers, 1771, Fulham Papers (23), 356, 360. Christopher Ernst Schwab, Missionary Bonds, 1771, Fulham Papers (34), 108.
- 54 Webber, April 1914, 102–3. *SCG*, July 5, 1773. The deed of sale of the “parsonage tract” from St. Andrew’s Parish Church to John H. Hogg dated October 30, 1950, indicated that thirty-four acres were added to the church’s lands in May 1773, when Reverend Schwab was rector. The source of the information cited in the deed, however, indicated that the addition to the glebe was fifty acres of marshland. See *South Carolina Council Journal*, May 4, 1773, 157, SCDAAH.
- 55 Miscellaneous Communications to the General Assembly (S165029/1), record 299, 1777, SCDAAH. John Cattell’s father William was one of the wealthiest men in South Carolina when he died in 1752. See Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2:146. Alice Hanson Jones, *Wealth of a Nation to Be: The American Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 171, 256.
- 56 Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, 63. Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 89. Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 48–51.
- 57 [John Faucheraud Grimké], “Order Book of John Faucheraud Grimké (August 1778 to May 1780),” *SCHGM* 16 (July 1915): 124–25n1.
- 58 Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution 1775–1780* (New York: Paladin, 1969), 352–59, 376–78. David Duncan Wallace, *The History of South Carolina* (New York: American Historical Society, 1934), 2:187–89. Robert Stansbury Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987), 86–88. David B. Mattern, *Benjamin Lincoln and the American Revolution* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 69–72. Walter Edgar, *Partisans and Redcoats: The Southern Conflict That Turned the Tide of the American Revolution* (New York: Morrow, 2001), 44–47. Walter J. Fraser Jr., *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 157–58. Sheldon Church, rebuilt in the 1820s, would be burned again in 1865 by Union General William Tecumseh Sherman.
- 59 Captain Johann Ewald, *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal*, trans. and ed. Joseph P. Tustin (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 206–11.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 211.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 211–16. For information on Benjamin Fuller’s plantation, see Smith, “Ashley River,” 16–17, 20. John C. Parker Jr., *Parker’s Guide to the Revolutionary War in South Carolina: Battles, Skirmishes and Murders* (Patrick, S.C.: Hem Branch, 2009), 76. Carl P. Borick, *A Gallant Defense: The Siege of Charleston, 1780* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 96–108. “The Revolution: War Comes to Drayton Hall,” [www.draytonhall.org](http://www.draytonhall.org).
- 62 Parker, *Parker’s Guide*, 79. “The Revolution: War Comes to Drayton Hall.” “Ashley River Road.”
- 63 Dalcho, 262–63 (St. James’s, Goose Creek), 273 (Biggin Church), 282 (Christ Church), 308 (Prince George’s, Winyah), 323 (St. Mark’s), and 384 (Sheldon Church; burning erroneously cited as 1780, not 1779). “Old Dorchester,” *National Register of Historic Places—Registration Form*,

1969, www.nationalregister.sc.gov. Bostick, *James Island*, 44. Thomas, 333. “St. James Church: A Brief History.” Petitions to the General Assembly (S165015/60), 1785, SCDAH.

64 Petitions to the General Assembly (S165015/60), 1785. N. Louise Bailey and Elizabeth Ivey Cooper, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, vol. 3, 1775–1790 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981), 688–89. In 1760 Richard Park Stobo, “merchant, Charleston and Jacksonburg,” purchased a pew in the gallery at St. Michael’s for £157 *Cur.* (\$2,800); see Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 385. Stobo died in 1785; see Webber, April 1914, 105.

## CHAPTER 5 – ANTEBELLUM REORIENTATION (1785–1851)

1 Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism*, chap. 4, 63–85. Thomas, 10–11.

2 Donald S. Armentrout, “Episcopalians,” in Edgar, *South Carolina Encyclopedia*, 308. Thomas, 12–13. The Diocese of South Carolina encompassed the entire state until the Diocese of Upper South Carolina, with its seat in Columbia, was created in 1922. The diocesan boundary approximates Interstate 95, with the upper diocese north of it and the original diocese south of it. Although the Diocese of South Carolina retained its historic name, it no longer reflects the geographic coverage its name implies.

3 Petitions to the General Assembly (S165015/60), 1785. The request to sell one of the glebes was a reference to the parochial lands near St. Andrew’s and the property near the chapel of ease on James Island.

4 An Ordinance for Vesting Powers in the Respective Vestries and Churchwardens of the Episcopal Churches in the Parishes of St. Paul and St. Andrew, and Their Successors for the Time Being, for the Benefit of the Said Respective Churches and Congregations, no. 1289, March 24, 1785, in Cooper *Statutes*, 4:703–4. For other acts of incorporation of Episcopal churches, see Cooper, *Statutes*, vols. 4–5: St. Thomas’s and St. Denis’s (no. 1198, 1784); the combined parish of St. Philip’s and St. Michael’s (no. 1278, the same day as St. Andrew’s and St. Paul’s in 1785); St. Bartholomew’s, St. Helena’s, and St. John’s, Colleton County (no. 1339, 1786); Christ Church (no. 1363, 1787); St. Luke’s, St. Matthew’s, Prince George’s, Winyah, St. Stephen’s, St. James’s, Goose Creek, Claremont, and St. Helena Island (no. 1415, 1788); and the separated parishes of St. Philip’s and St. Michael’s (no. 1533, 1791).

5 Dalcho, 343–44.

6 *Ibid.*, 343. Derek J. Gill, *Mills of Miserden: The Story of a Gloucestershire Family* (Frome, Somerset, UK: Derek J. Gill, 1988), 21–24.

7 Dalcho, 343. Gill, *Mills of Miserden*, 24–25. Petitions to the General Assembly (S165015/76), 1778, SCDAH. General Assembly, Committee Reports (S165005/95), 1788, SCDAH.

8 Edgar, *South Carolina*, 265–69. “Ashley River Historic District,” sec. 8, 6–8. The observer quoted was Edmund Ruffin, who had come to the parish to investigate potential phosphate deposits along the Ashley River, as discussed in Chapter 7. See Edmund Ruffin, *Agriculture, Geology, and Society in Antebellum South Carolina: The Private Diary of Edmund Ruffin, 1843*, ed. William M. Mathew (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 78.

9 Census of the United States 1790.

10 Thomas, 13–15.

11 *JAC, PECSC*, 1785–1815, in Dalcho, 465–544. Thomas, 12–13.

12 *JAC, PECSC*, 1796–97, 1807, 1809–16, in Dalcho, 482–83, 502, 508–9, 512, 519, 521, 525, 529, 531, 537, 539, 547. Stuart Hanckel would serve on the diocesan Standing Committee later in the nineteenth century and Lynwood Magee and John Gilchrist in the twentieth century.

13 *JAC, PECSC*, 1810, 1812, in Dalcho, 511–12, 515.

14 Judgment Rolls (L10018/504A), 1797 (promissory note); (L10018/821A), 1797 (books and supplies); (L10018/532A), 1799 (house rent; satisfied 1817?); and (L10018/590A), 1804 (house rent; satisfied 1804), SCDAH.

Reverend Mills lived in various places in and around Charleston: at 47 Tradd Street in the city and in St. Bartholomew's Parish in 1790; at Charleston neck, in St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parish, in 1810; and on the east side of King Street in 1813. When and if he ever lived in the rebuilt parsonage in St. Andrew's Parish is unknown. See Gill, *Mills of Misserden*, 26–27.

15 Judgment Rolls (L10018/344A), 1813, SCDAH. Dalcho, 391. Thomas, 293. A. S. Salley Jr., comp. and ed., *Marriage Notices in Charleston Courier, 1803–1808* (Columbia: State, 1919), 34. “Our Heritage,” [www.christchurchfrederica.org](http://www.christchurchfrederica.org).

16 Petitions to the General Assembly (S165015/102), 1813, SCDAH. General Assembly, Committee Reports (S165005/98), 1813, SCDAH. Smith, “Ashley River,” 83–84.

17 Dalcho, 344. Thomas, 333. E. L. Rivers, *A History of St. James' Episcopal Church, James Island*, rev. and compl. Daniel W. Ellis (Charleston: St. James' Episcopal Church, 1930), 1. Gill, *Mills of Misserden*, 27.

18 Dalcho, 384, 397.

19 Gill, *Mills of Misserden*, 27.

20 Jeannie Heyward Register, cop., “Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette,” *SCHGM* 26 (April 1925): 134. “The Joseph Manigault House,” [www.charlestonmuseum.org](http://www.charlestonmuseum.org). A miniature portrait of Mrs. Joseph Manigault (Charlotte Drayton), a watercolor on ivory executed about 1801, resides in the Smithsonian American Art Museum in Washington, D.C. Gill, *Mills of Misserden*, 27, 29–30. Miscellaneous Records, Main Series (S213003/3X), 446, SCDAH. Judgment Rolls (L10018/220A), 1810; (L10018/117A), 1813, SCDAH. For more on the founding of St. Timothy's, see Chapter 10. For Mills planting the avenue of oaks, see Bull to Ravenel, June 10, 1889.

21 Gill, *Mills of Misserden*, 27–28, 30–31, 149–50. Register, “Marriage and Death Notices,” 172.

John Ladson Frazier Mills died January 24, 1831, at the age of twenty-six years and nine months. His entry in Rev. Paul Trapier's private register indicated that he was buried in the churchyard. See Paul Trapier, “The Private Register of the Rev. Paul Trapier,” trans. Henrietta P. Jervey, contr. Dalcho Historical Society, *SCHM* 58 (October 1957): 249. His grave marker has disappeared. Col. William Izard Bull erroneously said that Rev. Thomas Mills died at the age of 104, a claim used in many informal parish histories. See Bull to Ravenel, June 10, 1889.

22 Dalcho, 344. *JAC, PECSC*, 1817, in Dalcho, 560; 1831, 8–9; emphasis in the original.

23 Charles Fraser, *A Charleston Sketchbook 1796–1806*, Published for the Carolina Art Association (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1959), 15–16. Fraser sketched six other Lowcountry houses of worship, including a meeting house in Prince William's Parish that was likely the place where Reverend Mills participated in the worship service with Bishop Dehon and Rev. Christian Hanckel. These sketches are available online at: [www.gibbesmuseum.com](http://www.gibbesmuseum.com).

24 *JAC, PECSC*, 1819, 11–12. “Bishop Bowen's Address to the Last Annual Convention,” *SV* 2 (May 8, 1819): 75–76. Census of the United States 1820. Dalcho (p. 336) said there were 305 white inhabitants in the parish in 1819. Thomas, 269. Bull to Ravenel, June 10, 1889.

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, parishes often used their Episcopal churches as polling places; see for example, Resolutions of the General Assembly (S165018/6), 1808, and General Assembly and Other Miscellaneous Records (S390008/4), 1820, both SCDAH. But by 1837 and into the 1850s, voting in St. Andrew's Parish (north of Wappoo Creek; James Island had its own voting location at the School House) was held at the Club House on the Main; see General Assembly, Committee Reports (S165005/246),



## Notes

- 1837; (S165005/167), 1839; (S165005/178), 1843; (S165005/240), 1851; (S165005/5751), n.d., SCDAH. For the location of the Club House, see the map of Charles Jones's grant for a church along Coppain Creek in Chapter 2.
- 25 *JAC, PECSC*, 1821, 1823, 1824.
- 26 *JAC, PECSC*, 1824. N. Louise Bailey, Mary L. Morgan, and Carolyn R. Taylor, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina Senate 1776–1985*, vol. 2 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1986), 1034.
- 27 *JAC, PECSC*, 1825, 9–10. “Causes of Death in Charleston,” *GM* 3 (March 1825): 95. “Chronology of the History of Public Health in South Carolina.”
- 28 *JAC, PECSC*, 1825, 3; 1828, 16. Thomas, 269, 410.
- 29 On the Bowen Bible, see “An Old Colonial Church.” On the Gist Bible: States Gist was the son of Mordecai Gist, a Continental general from Maryland during the American Revolution. General Gist fought in South Carolina at the end of the war and later moved to Charleston. He had two sons, both with names that bespoke his passion for his new country, States and Independent. States married Sarah, and they had two children, Mary and Elizabeth. States became a warden of St. Andrew's Parish Church and died in 1822. On States and Sarah Gist, see *Porcher v. Gist*, in J. S. G. Richardson, *Reports in Chancery, Argued and Determined in the Court of Appeals of South-Carolina, from May Term 1831 to May Term 1832, Both Inclusive* (Charleston: McCarter, 1853), 209–10.
- 30 Paul Trapier, *Incidents in My Life: The Autobiography of the Rev. Paul Trapier, S.T.D. with Some of His Letters*, ed. George W. Williams (Charleston: Dalcho Historical Society, Diocesan House, 1954), vii–viii. Trapier's original handwritten autobiography is archived with the South Carolina Historical Society in the Gadsden Allied Family Papers, 1703–1939, MS 1032.03, 11/144/11.
- 31 *JAC, PECSC*, 1830, 14, 30–31. “Public Notice,” *Backward Glance: News Our Great-grandfathers Read in the Charleston Courier*, March 12, 1830, Vertical File 30-07-20, SCHS.
- 32 *JAC, PECSC*, 1830, 30; 1831, 13, 26–27.
- 33 *JAC, PECSC*, 1830, 31. Paul Trapier to Benjamin I. Haight, May 11, 1830, in Trapier, *Incidents in My Life*, 40. The original letter is archived in St. Michael's Church Records, 1751–1983, MS 0320.03 (T) 01 (C) 01, SCHS.
- 34 Trapier, *Incidents in My Life*, 18. Trapier to Haight.
- 35 Trapier, *Incidents in My Life*, 9–17. Karen D. Stokes, ed., “Sherman's Army Comes to Camden: The Civil War Narrative of Sarah Dehon Trapier,” *SCHM* 109 (April 2008): 96. “Register of the Parishes, Churches, and Clergy in the Diocese of South Carolina Commencing January 1st 1823,” in Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina, Records of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina 1706–1972, MS 273.01.07 (R), SCHS. Stephen H. Stackpole to Mary T. Gadsden, February 19, 1936, Gadsden Allied Family Papers, MS 1032.03, SCHS. Kimball C. Elkins to Mrs. J. Horace Adams, May 29, 1953, Biographical and Genealogical Research on Paul Trapier, Rev., Vertical File 30-04 Trapier, SCHS.
- 36 Trapier, *Incidents in My Life*, 11–17, 61n14.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 19; emphasis in the original.
- 38 Stokes, “Sherman's Army Comes to Camden,” 95–97.
- 39 *JAC, PECSC*, 1832, 9–10, 24.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 26–27. Thomas, 333–34. RMC, bk. K-10, 395. The plan for 70.4 acres surveyed by Robert K. Payne in 1831 for the vestry of St. Andrew's as the glebe for the new St. James's Church on James Island can be found in State Plat Books, Charleston Series (S213190/40), 292, 1831, SCDAH; also at SCR.
- 41 Trapier, *Incidents in My Life*, 18–19.
- 42 *JAC, PECSC*, 1833, 26, 30.

- 43 *JAC, PECSC*, 1834, 29, 33; 1835, 26–27, 29, 31–32. Trapier, “Private Register,” 95. Thomas, 261.
- 44 Trapier, *Incidents in My Life*, 19–20. *JAC, PECSC*, 1834, 29. Stokes, “Sherman’s Army Comes to Camden,” 97–98. Trapier, “Private Register,” 95–96. For information on Arthur Middleton and his Bolton plantation, see David S. Baluha, Charlie Philips, and Ralph Bailey Jr., *Archaeological Testing of 38CH2017, Beazer Bolton Tract, Charleston County, South Carolina*, Final Report Prepared for Beazer Home Corporation, Charleston, South Carolina (Atlanta, Charleston, and Raleigh: Brockington and Associates, December 2005), 40–41, SCHS; Langdon Cheves, “Middleton of South Carolina,” *SCHGM* 1 (July 1900): 253–54.
- 45 *JAC, PECSC*, 1835, 38–39; 1836, 12.
- 46 Trapier, *Incidents in My Life*, 20–38. Stokes, “Sherman’s Army Comes to Camden,” 98–105. Williams, *St. Michael’s*, 315–16.
- 47 Gregorie, *Christ Church*, 89–92, 104–9, 140. Adam Parker, “St. Andrew’s Cuts Ties,” *P&C*, March 31, 2010.
- 48 Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, “The Sermon, Delivered at Pendleton, by the Rector of Christ Church, Greenville, on the Occasion of the Death of the Rev. Jasper Adams, D.D.,” in Daniel L. Dreisbach, ed., *Religion and Politics in the Early Republic: Jasper Adams and the Church-State Debate* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 170–76. Reverend Pinckney characterized Adams as a “preacher of righteousness,” “teacher,” and “writer and a man of letters” in his eulogy, which includes an in-depth biography of Adams. See also Dreisbach, *Religion and Politics*, 163–67.
- 49 Dreisbach, *Religion and Politics*, 163–64. Jasper Adams, *A Historical Sketch of the College of Charleston, South Carolina*, first published by the *American Quarterly Register*, [1840], CLS.
- 50 Dreisbach, *Religion and Politics*, 3–14.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 14–18, including Jasper Adams, *Relation of Christianity to Civil Government in the United States*, 46, 51, 53–54.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 18–21, 113–50, 177–91.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 164–65. Adams’s baccalaureate address at St. Paul’s and his sermon at St. Michael’s can be found in the collections of the Charleston Library Society. *JAC, PECSC*, 1837, 29.
- 54 *JAC, PECSC*, 1836, 4, 11; 1837, 29–30; 1838, 16. In a sketch he gave at St. Andrew’s in 1917, diocesan historiographer the Reverend Doctor John Kershaw said that Rev. Cranmore Wallace succeeded Paul Trapier as rector of St. Andrew’s. (“Old St. Andrew’s. Kershaw Gives Interesting Sketch.”) This was incorrect. In the 1836 diocesan convention journal, Reverend Wallace was listed as assistant minister of St. Andrew’s, a teacher at the South Carolina Academy, and as assisting Trapier at St. James’s, James Island, and the Domestic Mission. The 1837 journal showed Wallace as assistant minister of St. James’s and principal of the academy. Thomas (p. 334) said that he became rector of St. James’s until resigning in 1839. Wallace became a missionary to various locations in the upper part of the diocese before serving briefly at St. John’s, Charleston. He was also rector of St. John’s, Berkeley (1842–48) and St. Stephen’s, Charleston (1848 until his death in 1860). See Thomas, 187, 222, 264–64, 489–624 *passim*.
- 55 Pinckney, “The Sermon,” in Dreisbach, *Religion and Politics*, 173. Jasper Adams, *Elements of Moral Philosophy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Folsom, Wells, and Thurston, 1837).
- 56 Pinckney, “The Sermon,” in Dreisbach, *Religion and Politics*, 172–73; also 164. *Register of the Officers and Cadets of the U.S. Military Academy. West Point, New-York, June, 1839*. For the slave sales, see Miscellaneous Records, Main Series (S213003/5T), 401, SCDAH.
- 57 James Stuart Hanckel was one of fourteen graduates in the class of 1834 when Jasper Adams delivered his commencement address. See the first page of Jasper Adams, *Characteristics*



of the Present Century: A Baccalaureate Address to the Graduates of the College of Charleston, So. Ca. Delivered in St. Paul's Church, at the Annual Commencement 31st October, 1834 (Charleston: Burges & Honour, 1836), CLS.

58 *JAC*, *PECUSA*, 1892, 529. *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1839, 10, 31. *History of St. Paul's Church, Radcliffeborough* (Charleston: Lucas & Richardson, 1878), 24.

59 *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1840, 23; 1841, 40; 1842, 37. Communicant size of St. Andrew's and St. Paul's was taken from *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1846, 29, 37. "St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Charleston. Register, 1719–1783, 1830–1859," 115–18, SCR.

The date of Hanckel's election to the rectorship has been reported inconsistently—1838, in Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina, *A Memorial of the Special Services Held May, 1875, at St. Philip's Church, Charleston, in Commemoration of the Planting of the Church of England in the Province of Carolina* (Charleston: Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina, 1876), 136; and 1839, in Thomas, 270. Diocesan convention reports from 1839 to 1841 identified him as deacon and minister of St. Andrew's Parish. (At the time parochial reports included activity covering the previous calendar year.) Bishop Christopher Gadsden noted in his remarks at the 1842 convention that J. Stuart Hanckel had been ordained to the priesthood since the last meeting of the convention. The 1842 convention journal was the first to list Hanckel's title as rector of St. Andrew's.

60 *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1841, 8; 1843, 15; 1849, 17. *GM* 20 (June 1843): 91–92. Thomas, 15.

61 *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1843, 53. Hanckel's brief mention of the font in his annual report to the diocese understated its historical significance. The first mention of a font in the church was 115 years earlier, in Rev. William Guy's 1728 description of the church expansion, when he wrote that, "A decent font bespoke and intended to be placed on a pedestal, 3 steps high in a semicircle at the entrance of the church." See Guy to SPG, January 22, 1728. In his 1820 history, Dalcho (p. 338) paraphrased Guy's letter as, "a decent Font was placed on a Pedestal of three steps, at the entrance of the Church." *Intended to be placed* in 1728 had become *was placed* by 1820. Perhaps Dalcho had seen the font himself; perhaps his paraphrase was overly generous. For years the church's visitor guides claimed the font's colonial heritage. Whether a font was actually placed in the church during Guy's tenure, on a pedestal, or on some other object is unknown. If it had been put at the entrance of the church during colonial times, then it had disappeared or was damaged beyond repair by 1842 and replaced.

Similar cast iron pelican designs have been found on stair railings in front of historic homes in Savannah. See "Ornate Ironwork," *EP*, March 2, 1972. Perhaps the intent of the design was spiritual; perhaps, a style in vogue with the times; perhaps, both. Which one, we will never know. What we do know is that the marble font on its cast iron pedestal remains as striking today as the day it was installed.

62 "The Church of St. Andrew, St. Andrew's Parish," *The Exposition* 1 (May 1901): 193.

63 Stiles Bailey Lines, "Slaves and Churchmen: The Work of the Episcopal Church among Southern Negroes, 1830–1860" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1960), 95–132, 146–47. Bernard E. Powers Jr., "The Worst of All Barbarism?: Racial Anxiety and the Approach of Secession in the Palmetto State," *SCHM* 112 (July–October 2011): 147. Donald G. Mathews, "The Methodist Mission to the Slaves, 1829–1844," quoted in Robert F. Durden, "The Establishment of Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church for Negroes in Charleston," *SCHM* 65 (April 1964): 63.

John Rivers of James Island was one of many planters who recognized the benefits of the religious instruction of slaves. "My most orderly negroes are those connected with the church," he said. "Religious instruction promotes the discipline and subordination on plantations. My conclusions are the result of experience on my own plantation." See Daniel

E. Huger, chm., *Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston, S.C., May 13–15, 1845, on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes, Together with the Report of the Committee, and the Address to the Public* (Charleston: B. Jenkins, 1845), 47, SCHS.

64 *JAC, PECSC*, 1847, 34. [Frederick Dalcho], *Practical Considerations Founded on the Scriptures, Relative to the Slave Population of South-Carolina. Respectfully Dedicated to the "South-Carolina Association."* By a South-Carolinian (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1823), 31–32.

65 Lines, "Slaves and Churchmen," 5, 143–44, 147. *JAC, PECSC*, 1819, 27–29; 1830, 31. Thomas, 546.

66 Huger, *Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston*, 45–47.

67 *JAC, PECSC*, 1849, 19; emphasis in the original.

68 Lines, "Slaves and Churchmen," 147, 149, 198–201, 267. *JAC, PECSC*, 1849, 19. *JAC, PECUSA*, 1859, 275. Lumpkin, *Heritage Passed On*, 98.

69 *JAC, PECSC*, 1846, 29; 1853, 11; 1854, 9; 1860, 10. *PECSC, Special Services*, 136. Probate Court, Charleston, vol. 40, 475, in Vertical File 30-04 Magwood, SCHS. Charles F. Philips, Kristrina A. Shuler, and Ralph Bailey Jr., *Cultural Resources Survey and Evaluative Testing of the Battery Gaillard Tract, Charleston County, South Carolina*, Final Report, Prepared for Eastern ENT, Lake Wylie, South Carolina (Atlanta, Charleston, and Raleigh: Brockington and Associates, January 2005), 35–36.

70 *JAC, PECSC*, 1846, 29. Baluha, Philips, and Bailey, *Beazer Bolton Tract*, 40–44, and Cheves, "Middleton of South Carolina," 254–55. N. R. Middleton, who owned 109 slaves in 1850, was the third largest slave owner in St. Andrew's Parish, according to the slave census of that year. He also owned twenty-one slaves in the city.

71 *JAC, PECSC*, 1843–61; also 1847, 21.

72 *JAC, PECSC*, 1847, 25; 1848, 37; 1849, 19; 1850, 41; 1851, 37; 1852, 17; also "Address by the Bishop, to the Convention of the Diocese of South-Carolina at Columbia, February 11th, 1852," *GM* 28 (April 1852): 3. "Journal of the Bishop—Extracts from the Same," *GM* 28 (May 1851): 62. Annie Middleton to N. R. Middleton, November [sic; December 1], 1850, and Henry Izard Middleton to N. R. Middleton, December 3, 1850, in N. Russell Middleton Papers, No. 507, Subseries 1.4, Folder 17, SHC.

Reverend Hanckel returned to the Middleton's later that week, on the first Saturday in December. Annie complained of Hanckel's "incessant talking" and was particularly perturbed that the rector had taken the opposing side in a dispute involving her husband. See [Annie Middleton] to N. R. Middleton, December 8, 1850, in N. Russell Middleton Papers, No. 507, Subseries 1.4, Folder 17, SHC.

73 Huger, *Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston*, 42.

74 *Ibid.*, 37, 42–43.

75 The first reference to ministerial activity at Barker plantation was in *JAC, PECSC*, 1853, 44–45. For the closing of the chapel, see *JAC, PECSC*, 1860, 44. For information on Barker's purchase of Bolton-on-the-Stono, see Baluha, Philips, and Bailey, *Beazer Bolton Tract*, 42. Barker owned thirty-two slaves, according to the 1860 slave census. Barker Chapel's use after the Civil War is described in Chapter 7. Bishop Thomas included the notation "Middleton (or Barker)" Chapel, which left his meaning open to interpretation; see Thomas, 270. Although the reference could indicate these names were used synonymously, the diocesan journals showed that Barker picked up where Middleton left off. Although the operation of the slave chapel on N. R. Middleton's plantation continued under S. G. Barker, linking these names has caused a good deal of confusion. Moreover, the "Middleton" Chapel that Thomas referenced has been incorrectly interpreted as the one located on Williams Middleton's plantation (Middleton Place), not on N. R. Middleton's.

## Notes

76 *JAC, PECSC*, 1851, 37. Huger, *Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston*, 50. John Grimké Drayton owned forty-five slaves in 1850 and forty-one in 1860, according to the slave censuses for St. Andrew's Parish.

77 Huger, *Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston*, 50–51.

78 For the slave ministry on the Faber plantation, see *JAC, PECSC*, 1843, 16; 1847, 25 (indicated the location was in adjoining St. Paul's Parish). Most of the Faber land was located in St. Paul's, but some was in St. Andrew's. The 1850 slave census listed Joseph W. Faber owning 121 slaves, making him one of the largest slave owners in St. Paul's. He married Isabella Catherine Bowen, daughter of the third Bishop of South Carolina, Nathaniel Bowen, and two of his brothers became ministers of St. John's Lutheran Church in Charleston; see Vertical Files 30-04 Faber, SCHS. J. W. Faber was active in diocesan affairs as a trustee of the "fund for aged and infirm clergymen," serving with N. R. Middleton. Maria C. Faber owned Milton Lodge in St. Andrew's Parish; see Smith, "Charleston and Charleston Neck," 48–50.

79 "Journal of the Bishop—Extracts from the Same," *GM* 28 (May 1851): 62.

80 "Preserving the Spring House," *Middleton Place Foundation Notebook* 20 (Winter 1998): 1–3. Dr. John Drayton to Williams Middleton, June 2, 1865, Middleton Place Foundation Archives. "The Plantation Chapel, 1851–1865," exhibit in the reconstructed slave chapel at Middleton Place, visited February 2013. Williams Middleton owned 116 slaves in 1850, according to the slave census for St. George's Parish, Colleton District.

81 "Journal of the Bishop," *GM* 28 (May 1851): 62. Williams Middleton to J. Francis Fisher, March 9, 1851, Pennsylvania Historical Society, in "Preserving the Spring House" and Charles Duell, *Middleton Place: A Phoenix Still Rising*, ed. and research assist. Barbara Doyle and Tracey Todd ([Charleston:] Middleton Place Foundation, 2011), 29.

82 See slave chapel exhibit at Middleton Place. For St. George's, St. Paul's, and St. James's, Goose Creek, see *JAC, PECSC*, 1851–62, specifically 1853, 46.

83 I discussed the denominational possibility of the chapel with curator Mary Edna Sullivan and museum vice president Tracey Todd at Middleton Place on February 15, 2013. For Parson Louisa, see Williams Middleton to Susan Middleton, March 18, 1850, Middleton Place Foundation Archives, and Mary Edna Sullivan, e-mail message to author, February 21, 2013. For "exhorters" and "class leaders," see Durden, "Establishment of Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church for Negroes," 67–68.

84 *JAC, PECSC*, 1839–51.

85 Nathaniel Russell Middleton, "Reminiscences," in *Life in Carolina and New England during the Nineteenth Century: as Illustrated by Reminiscences and Letters of the Middleton Family of Charleston, South Carolina, and of the De Wolf Family of Bristol, Rhode Island*, ed. Alicia Hopton Middleton (Bristol, R.I.: privately printed, 1929), 191–92, Charleston Archive, SCR.

86 Alicia Hopton Middleton, "A Family Record," in *Life in Carolina and New England during the Nineteenth Century*, 92–93. The antebellum register noted the baptism of Anna Elizabeth by Rev. Stuart Hanckel on March 4, 1847 (Easter Day); see "St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Charleston. Register, 1719–1783, 1830–1859," 117.

87 *Tributes to Lewis R. Gibbes, 1810–1894, Professor of Astronomy and Chemistry in the College of Charleston, 1838–1892, Professor Emeritus, 1892–1894* [Charleston: n.p., ca. 1894], 26, 29, 31, 33, SCHS.

88 *JAC, PECSC*, 1841–51.

89 *JAC, PECSC*, 1848, 37; 1849, 19; 1850, 41; 1852, 37. Thomas, 270.

90 Thomas, 242–44, 537–38. Unpublished manuscripts from Charlotte Hanckel Hay, from an interview by Donna Jacobs, March 28, 2011.

91 Frederick Adolphus Porcher, "Memoirs of Frederick Adolphus Porcher," ed. Samuel Gaillard Stoney, *SCHGM* 47 (January 1946): 49. *St. Paul's, Radcliffeborough*, 20–21.

92 *St. Paul's, Radcliffeborough*, 20–21, 24–25. Smith, “Ashley River,” 85.

93 Bull to Ravenel, June 10, 1889. “Register 1719–1783, 1830–1859,” 116–18.

Christian Hanckel is absent from the listing of rectors of St. Andrew’s Parish Church in PECSC, *Special Services*, 136, nor is he mentioned in Thomas (p. 270). Scott Howell, historian at the Cathedral of St. Luke and St. Paul, the successor to St. Paul’s, Radcliffeborough, told the author that he was “99.9% sure that Christian Hanckel was never rector of OSA [Old St. Andrew’s].” See Scott Howell, e-mail message to author, August 4, 2010. Rev. George Tompkins, in his history of St. Andrew’s, said that both Hanckels succeeded Jasper Adams as rectors, “although the dates are confused and even Bishop Thomas is not aware that there were two brothers [*sic*] with the same surname.” See Tompkins, 60–61.

## CHAPTER 6 – INTO THE STORM (1851–1865)

1 Delores Lashley, *Legacy of Beauty* (Columbia: State, 1969), 9–11, 24–25; “John Grimké Drayton,” *Sandlapper: The Magazine of South Carolina* 5 (February 1972): 43, 66.

John Grimké Drayton’s birth has been listed variously as 1815 or 1816; the latter is correct. Sources giving 1815 are: “John Grimké Drayton: The Death of an Eminent Divine and Distinguished South Carolinian—A Sketch of His Life,” *N&C*, April 3, 1891; *JAC, PECSC*, 1891, 161; Lashley, *Legacy of Beauty*, 2; and Lashley, “John Grimké Drayton,” 42. The date inscribed on his memorial stone at Flat Rock, however, is May 1, 1816, the date listed in Mabel L. Webber, cop., “St. John’s in the Wilderness, Flat Rock, N.C. Tombstone Inscriptions,” *SCHGM* 40 (April 1939): 55.

2 Lashley, *Legacy of Beauty*, 3–4, 7.

3 *Ibid.*, 7–14. Ocean Plantation in St. Luke’s Parish (3,500–4,000 acres) was put up for sale in December 1833, before John Grimké Drayton inherited Magnolia. See *Backward Glances: News Our Great-grandfathers Read in the Charleston Courier*, December 11, 1833, Vertical File 30-15-367, SCHS.

4 Lashley, *Legacy of Beauty*, 13–15. “John Grimké Drayton,” *N&C*, April 3, 1891.

5 Lashley, *Legacy of Beauty*, 16–26. Jim Cothran, Andrew Kohr, and Erica Danylchak, *Cultural Landscape Report: Magnolia Plantation and Gardens, Charleston, South Carolina*, Made possible by a grant from the Great Gardens of America Preservation Alliance (Atlanta: Robert and Company, April 2011), 12. Mary Robison, e-mail message to Lisa Randle, December 10, 2012, OSA. *JAC, PECSC*, 1838, 10; 1839, 10.

6 Drayton’s granddaughter, Marie Clinton Hastie, writing in the 1920s, said that Drayton had been troubled with “a weak throat and chest.” See Marie Clinton Hastie, *Magnolia-on-the-Ashley (Magnolia Gardens)*, self-published, ca. 1925, 7, SCHS. Delores Lashley, who wrote a biography of Drayton in 1969, offered a more specific diagnosis, saying that Drayton had suffered from “bacillus tuberculosis.” See Lashley, *Legacy of Beauty*, 27–31. John Drayton Hastie, writing in 1984, also claimed tuberculosis: “John Grimké Drayton stood to complete his clerical studies while bearing the burden of managing his large estate. The pressure took its toll, and his fatigue resulted in tuberculosis.” See John Drayton Hastie, *The Story of Magnolia Plantation and Its Gardens: Their First 300 Years* (Charleston: Magnolia Plantation, 1984), 26, SCHS. For a discussion of college environments and tuberculosis, see Sheila M. Rothman, *Living in the Shadow of Death: Tuberculosis and the Social Experience of Illness in American History* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 26.

7 Rothman, *Living in the Shadow of Death*, 24. Rothman explored in detail the various treatments for tuberculosis or consumption in the first half of the nineteenth century. Her personal accounts of men who were or desired to be ministers, and the medical advice they received to seek exercise, better nutrition, and working outdoors as farmers, relate directly to John

Grimké Drayton's condition; see pp. 13–74. Marie Clinton Hastie related that Drayton's doctor told him "that if he wished to recover and carry on the work he had chosen, he must turn to the soil and 'dig.'" See Hastie, *Magnolia-on-the-Ashley*, 7.

8 Cothran, Kohr, and Danylchak, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 14–22.

9 "The Address of the Bishop, to the Annual Convention of the Diocese of South Carolina, Delivered February –, 1851," *GM* 27 (March 1851): 455. "Journal of the Bishop—Extracts from the Same," 28 *GM* (May 1851): 62. "Erratum," *GM* 28 (June 1851): 96. "Religious Intelligence," *GM* 28 (November 1851): 249. "Address by the Bishop, to the Convention of the Diocese of South-Carolina at Columbia, February 11th, 1852," *GM* 29 (April 1852): 3. *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1852, 16; 1891, 30, 161. Thomas, 270.

10 For Drayton's preaching style, see Lashley, *Legacy of Beauty*, 40–41, 47, 77–78.

11 *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1853, 44–45.

12 *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1855, 49–50.

13 "Register 1719–1783, 1830–1859," 119.

14 Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 33–34, 116. Henry DeSaussure Bull, "Ashley Hall Plantation," *SCHM* 53 (April 1952): 61–63. Smith, "Old Charles Town and Its Vicinity," 65–66.

15 Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 33–34, 118–19, 141.

16 Bull to Ravenel, June 10, 1889.

17 *Ibid.* "An Old Colonial Church."

18 For Batty Langley's octagonal pulpit plan, see plate 115 in *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs*, 1741. Compared to the octagonal pulpit design at St. Andrew's, surviving colonial Virginia pulpits were hexagonal; see Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 134.

19 "An Old Colonial Church."

20 Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 196.

21 Bull to Ravenel, June 10, 1889. "Repairs at Old St. Andrew's Lay Bare Ante-Bellum Plans," *EP*, February 3, 1949. Bull's location of the red brick inscribed with *J. F.* and *T. R.* agrees with Dalcho (p. 338), over the north door, or ecclesiastical west.

An account of a restoration of the reredos in 1957 indicated that "they are lettered with gold leaf, retouched in 1855 but never since." See Hortense Fitzgerald, "Reredos Is Instructive: At Old St. Andrew's Church," *EP*, September 3, 1957. The white marble tablet dated 1706 that Bull described was also mentioned in a 1912 visit to the church; see "Inscriptions from St. Andrews Church-yard," 113.

22 Bull to Ravenel, June 10, 1889; emphases in the original.

23 Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 32, 121. Although Bull gave no mention when the memorials were added to the church, it is likely that they were part of his 1855 restoration.

24 *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1854, 38–39; 1856, 51–52. Sadie Smathers Patton, *A Condensed Story of Flat Rock (The Little Charleston in the Mountains)*, 3rd ed. (Hickory, N.C.: Hickory Printing, 1961), 35. See also Beverly M. Middleton, "Flat Rock, N.C.: Charleston's Playground," *N&C*, March 17, 1957. "Clerical Changes," *SE* 2 (June 1855): 136. The material used in this section comes from a lengthy extract of John Grimké Drayton's sermon that was printed in *SE* 2 (February 1856): 481–87. Thomas included a summary on pp. 270–71.

25 *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1853–58.

26 *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1857, 49–50; 1858, 51; 1859, 21, no report from St. Andrew's; 1860, 43–44; 1861, 33–34. John Grimké Drayton to Samuel Crawford Brincklé, March 6, 1857, OSA.

27 *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1853, 19; 1855, 28; 1856, 37; 1858, 27–28; 1859, 21; 1861, 15. The only references to "Home Chapel" were in the bishop's journal in the 1855 and 1856 annual convention journals. This phrase did not appear in any of Drayton's parochial reports for St. Andrew's.



- 28 *JAC, PECSC*, 1858, 51; 1860, 54–55; 1861, 33–34, 42–43. Drayton to Brincklé, March 6, 1857; January 24, 1859; January 16, 1861, OSA. Thomas, 249–50.
- 29 Drayton to Brincklé, March 15, 1858; January 24, 1859, OSA.
- 30 *JAC, PECSC*, 1859, 61. Drayton to Brincklé, January 24, 1859; February 28, 1859, OSA.
- 31 Drayton to Brincklé, January 6, 1858, OSA; emphasis in the original. “John Grimké Drayton,” *Ne&C*, April 3, 1891. Thomas, 368. Cothran, Kohr, and Danylchak, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 23. Patton, *Condensed Story of Flat Rock*, 35. Louise Howe Bailey, *Saint John in the Wilderness 1836–, The Oldest Episcopal Church in Western North Carolina* (Asheville, N.C.: Biltmore Press, 1995), 46–47.
- 32 John Grimké Drayton, “Youth the Crisis of Character and Destiny: A Sermon, Preached before the Young Men’s Christian Association of Charleston, on the Evening of the 28th Nov., 1858, by Rev. J. G. Drayton,” *SE* 5 (January 1859): 505–21.
- 33 *JAC, PECSC*, 1859, 21; 1860, 43–44.
- 34 Lines, “Slaves and Churchmen,” 264–66. *JAC, PECSC*, 1861.
- 35 Rhett’s article is cited in Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 121. The cruciform shape of the church is based on the cross of Christ crucified, not the X shape of the cross of St. Andrew. Thomas Nairn was murdered by the Indians in 1715, not 1718. The graveyard at St. Andrew’s holds the remains of Thomas Nairn’s wife Elizabeth (who died in 1721) and son, also named Thomas (who died in 1718).
- 36 *JAC, PECSC*, 1861, 15, 33–34. Drayton to Brincklé, January 16, 1861.
- 37 Drayton to Brincklé, January 16, 1861; emphasis in the original.
- 38 Drayton to Brincklé, March 22, 1861, OSA; emphases in the original.
- 39 Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 125–27. “Ashley River Road, Fort Bull, Confederate Earthworks, SC,” [www.byways.org](http://www.byways.org). For the location of Fort Bull, see the map of Charles Jones’s grant for a church along Coppain Creek in Chapter 2. “Civil War Defenses of Charleston,” [www.northamericanforts.com](http://www.northamericanforts.com).
- 40 Armentrout, “Episcopalians,” in Edgar, *South Carolina Encyclopedia*, 308.
- 41 *JAC, PECSC*, 1862, 44.
- 42 *JAC, PECSC*, 1864, 43; 1866, 23. Thomas, 57. Bailey, *St. John in the Wilderness*, 46. Lashley, *Legacy of Beauty*, 59–61. Elise Pinckney, trans., “Register of St. John-in-the-Wilderness, Flat Rock,” *SCHM* 63 (July 1962): 179. “Farmfield Plantation House,” *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form*, 1982, [www.nationalregister.sc.gov](http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov).
- 43 *JAC, PECSC*, 1866, 54–55. “An Old Colonial Church.” Cothran, Kohr, and Danylchak, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 23.
- 44 “Ashley River Road, Fort Bull.” Cothran, Kohr, and Danylchak, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 23. Lashley, *Legacy of Beauty*, 69–71. Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 127. “Four Generations of Middletons: Williams Middleton, 1809–1883,” [www.middletonplace.org](http://www.middletonplace.org). Henry O. Marcy, *Diary of a Surgeon in U.S. Army. South Carolina 1865*, MS 34-496, SCHS. Harriott Cheves Leland and Harlan Greene, eds., “Robbing the Owner or Saving the Property from Destruction? Paintings in the Middleton Place House,” *SCHM* 78 (April 1977): 92–103. Drayton to Middleton, June 2, 1865. “The Civil War: How Drayton Hall Survived,” [www.draytonhall.org](http://www.draytonhall.org). Smith, “Ashley River,” 4–5 (mansions spared), 40–41 (Cedar Grove), 47 (Oak Forest), 100 (Runnymede), 106 (The Oaks), 120–21 (Middleton Place). Smith, “Old Charles Town,” 58–59 (Hillsborough). “Farmfield Plantation House.”

#### CHAPTER 7 – RUIN AND RECOVERY (1865–1891)

- 1 J. Stuart Hanckel, *Report on the Colored People and Freedmen of South Carolina*, Published by Order of the [Diocesan] Board [of Missions] (Charleston: Joseph Walker, 1866), 12–20, SCHS.

## Notes

- 2 Ibid., 3–12, 21.
- 3 Ibid., 14–15.
- 4 Wilbert Lee Jenkins, “Chaos, Conflict and Control: The Responses of the Newly-Freed Slaves in Charleston, South Carolina to Emancipation and Reconstruction, 1865–1877” (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1991): 2:264–69, 307–8. Joel Williamson, *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina during Reconstruction, 1861–1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965; Hanover, N.H., and London: Wesleyan University Press, Published by University Press of New England, 1990), 201–8. Citations refer to the Wesleyan University edition.
- 5 Williamson, *After Slavery*, 180–93.
- 6 Ibid., 193–99.
- 7 *JAC, PECSC*, 1860, 1868, 1875, 1876, 1885. Thomas, 446–48. Edgar, *South Carolina*, 382.
- 8 *JAC, PECSC*, 1868, 97.
- 9 Armentrout, “Episcopalians.” Thomas, 60–61, 64.
- 10 “Report of Committee to Collect Information concerning Destruction of Churches and Church Property in the Diocese of South Carolina,” in *JAC, PECSC*, 1868, 79–92.
- 11 Ibid., 84. *JAC, PECSC*, 1866, 54–55. PECSC, *Special Services*, 111–12. This account conflicts with other reports that the gardens at Magnolia had been spared. See Cothran, Kohr, and Danylchak, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 23; Lashley, *Legacy of Beauty*, 69–71.
- 12 Census of the United States 1860 and slave schedule, St. Andrew’s Parish. Abstracts of Voter Registrations Reported to the Military Government, 1868 (S213103), SCDAAH, in [www.lowcountryafricana.net/charleston-sc-voter-registrations-st-andrews-parish-1868/](http://www.lowcountryafricana.net/charleston-sc-voter-registrations-st-andrews-parish-1868/).
- 13 “Report of Committee concerning Destruction of Churches,” 88–89. Lumpkin, *Heritage Passed On*, 93–94. See also [www.draytonhall.org/research/people/bowens\\_caesar.html](http://www.draytonhall.org/research/people/bowens_caesar.html).
- 14 *JAC, PECSC*, 1868, 75, 84; 1871, 62, 69; 1873, 103.
- 15 *JAC, PECSC*, 1867, 49; 1869, 94; 1870, 50; 1871, 62, 105; 1872, 86; 1873, 145–46; 1874, 106.
- 16 *JAC, PECSC*, 1867, 50; 1869, 94; 1871, 69. Thomas, 283. Baluha, Philips, and Bailey, *Beazer Bolton Tract*, 44.
- 17 *JAC, PECSC*, 1871, 52, 69; 1873, 103.
- 18 *JAC, PECSC*, 1873, 44, 102; 1874, 94, emphasis in the original.
- 19 *JAC, PECSC*, 1875, 49, 106; 1876, 146.
- 20 John Grimké Drayton to Sophie Madeleine du Pont, March 16, 1881, No. W9-33466, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Del.
- 21 Thomas, 88–92.
- 22 *JAC, PECSC*, 1878, 162.
- 23 “St. Andrews Church: 1706 and 1876,” Vertical File 30-07-20, SCHS; includes a *News and Courier* classified advertisement for steamer service to the church’s reopening and the article “An Old Colonial Church.” *JAC, PECSC*, 1876, 146; 1878, 162. The account of both the red tile and white marble memorial visible over the doors of the church at the same time corroborates Col. Bull’s prewar description.
- 24 “An Old Colonial Church.”
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 *JAC, PECSC*, 1876, 145–46; 1878, 113. Drayton’s sermon on the January 2, 1876, reopening of St. James’s, Goose Creek, can be found in Joseph Ioor Waring, *St. James Church, Goose Creek, S.C.: A Sketch of the Parish from 1706 to 1909* (Charleston: Daggett, 1909), 29–36.
- 29 *JAC, PECSC*, 1878, 18–19, 57.
- 30 Ibid., 113–14, 163.



- 31 Ibid., 163. *JAC, PECSC*, 1880, 77, 102; 1881, 98; 1882, 87; 1883, 95. Hastie, *Magnolia-on-the-Ashley*, 12–13.
- 32 Tom W. Shick and Don H. Doyle, “The South Carolina Phosphate Boom and the Stillbirth of the New South, 1867–1920,” *SCHM* 86 (January 1985): 4, 6. Kristrina A. Shuler and Ralph Bailey Jr., *A History of the Phosphate Mining Industry in the South Carolina Lowcountry* (Mt. Pleasant, S.C.: Brockington and Associates, 2004), 6, 12. Lester D. Stephens, *Ancient Animals and Other Wondrous Things: The Story of Francis Simmons Holmes, Paleontologist and Curator of the Charleston Museum*, Contributions from the Charleston Museum, No. 17 (Charleston: Charleston Museum, 1988), 3, SCHS.
- Francis Holmes became a professor at the College of Charleston. To devote his efforts to opening the museum at the college, Holmes sold his Springfield plantation in St. Andrew’s Parish about 1851, where he had served his church as a diocesan convention delegate. Living in the city, he opened Holmes Book House in 1866, selling among other works, Bibles, Episcopal prayer books, and Sunday school and parish library books. In 1871 he bought a 702-acre parcel in Goose Creek and renamed it Ingleside. There he was instrumental, as chairman of the vestry, in restoring the colonial St. James’s Church. See Stephens, *Ancient Animals*, 13, 41, 44.
- 33 Shick and Doyle, “Phosphate Boom,” 6, 8. Shuler and Bailey, *History of the Phosphate Mining Industry*, 6–8, 12–14. Plat Collection of John McGrady (L10005, Plat 2825), SCDAAH; also at SCR. “St. Andrew’s Episcopal Church,” *National Register of Historic Places—Property Map Form*, 1973, OSA.
- 34 “Reconstruction: Mining Phosphate,” [www.draytonhall.org](http://www.draytonhall.org). “369 Individuals and Associated Phosphate Mines or Works,” Vertical File 30-13-10, SCHS.
- 35 Hastie, *The Story of Magnolia Plantation and Its Gardens*, rev. ed., ca. 2012, 20–21. Cothran, Kohr, and Danylchak, *Cultural Landscape Report*, 26. Lashley, *Legacy of Beauty*, 74–76. Michael Trinkley, “South Carolina Land Phosphates in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: Toward an Archeological Context,” in *Cultural Resources Survey of the Campbell Tract, Charleston County, South Carolina*, by Michael Trinkley, Nicole Southerland, and Sarah Fick, Research Contribution 442 (Columbia: Chicora Foundation, 2006), 36. Smith, “Ashley River,” 100. Shick and Doyle, “Phosphate Boom,” 8. *The City of Charleston and the State of South Carolina*, The Engelhardt Series, n.d., 109–10, Vertical File 30-13-10, SCHS.
- 36 Trinkley, “South Carolina Land Phosphates,” 30. Shick and Doyle, “Phosphate Boom,” 6, 8; emphasis in the original.
- 37 Baluha, Philips, and Bailey, *Beazer Bolton Tract*, 44. The authors called the operations Rose Phosphate Mining Company, yet a map of mining and production companies in Shuler and Bailey (*History of the Phosphate Mining Industry*, 14) showed the property as Bolton Mines near the Stono River, with a separate Rose facility on the Ashley River. Trinkley, “South Carolina Land Phosphates,” 32. “‘There’s Millions in It’: The Phosphate Mines in South Carolina,” *Supplement to N&C*, March 1, 1884, Vertical File 30-13-10, SCHS.
- 38 Shick and Doyle, “Phosphate Boom,” 21, 30. Shuler and Bailey, *History of the Phosphate Mining Industry*, 38–40.
- 39 Shick and Doyle, “Phosphate Boom,” 11. Trinkley, “South Carolina Land Phosphates,” fig. 17, 33. Stephens, *Ancient Animals*, 44. “369 Individuals.”
- 40 *JAC, PECSC*, 1880.
- 41 *JAC, PECSC*, 1879, 83; 1880, 102–4; 1881, 98–99; 1882, 87–88; 1883, 95–96.
- 42 *JAC, PECSC*, 1880, 102–4.
- 43 Ibid. *JAC, PECSC*, 1881, 98–99.
- 44 *JAC, PECSC*, 1882, 59; 1883, 74–75.

- 45 *JAC, PECSC*, 1883, 79–81.
- 46 Drayton to du Pont, March 16, 1881.
- 47 *Ibid. JAC, PECSC*, 1882, 87–88; 1883, 96; 1884, 105. Thomas, 334. Drayton perhaps overstated the loss of black communicants in 1882 (21 of 177).
- 48 *JAC, PECSC*, 1885, 84; 1886, 93–94.
- 49 Richard Côté, *City of Heroes: The Great Charleston Earthquake of 1886* (Mt. Pleasant, S.C.: Corinthian, 2006), 414, 416, 425; “South Carolina’s Earthquake History” and “The Great Charleston Earthquake of 1886,” [www.scearthquakes.com](http://www.scearthquakes.com). Trinkley, “South Carolina Land Phosphates,” 30.
- 50 *Florida Times-Union* (Jacksonville), September 9, 1886, in Clarence Edward Dutton, *The Charleston Earthquake of August 31, 1886* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890, repr. 1979), 507. Côté, *City of Heroes*, 70–73.
- 51 *JAC, PECSC*, 1887, 77.
- 52 Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, 8–9. Edward C. Fennell, “Out of the Past: Historic Church Renovation Yields Its Secrets,” *P&C*, August 12, 2004.
- 53 Waring, *St. James Church, Goose Creek*, 1909, 20–21.
- 54 “An Old Colonial Church.” Although Col. Bull’s recollection of the red tile over the west door date to his 1889 letter, written after the earthquake, he had not lived in the area near the church for a long time. It is reasonable to believe that his memories were of earlier days. See Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 132.
- 55 *JAC, PECSC*, 1887, 34.
- 56 Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 34, 127–28, 140. Bull, “Ashley Hall Plantation,” 61.
- 57 Bull to Ravenel, June 10, 1889.
- 58 *JAC, PECSC*, 1887, 77; 1888, 64; 1889, 72–73. Webber, “Flat Rock, N.C. Tombstone Inscriptions,” 55. Elise Pinckney, transcr., “Register of St. John-in-the-Wilderness, Flat Rock,” *SCHM* 63 (October 1962): 235. Jerry Crotty and Margaret Ann Michaels, *Summerville* (Charleston: Arcadia), 2011, 82. Linwood was built in 1883 and left to Julia as part of Reverend Drayton’s estate after his death. It was sold in 1901 when she and her family moved to Magnolia. Linwood Bed and Breakfast and its beautiful grounds at 200 South Palmetto Street in Summerville have been lovingly restored by innkeepers Linda and Peter Shelbourne. The March 2012 issue of *Southern Living* featured Linwood in full spring bloom.
- 59 *JAC, PECSC*, 1889, 49, 72–73.
- 60 *JAC, PECSC*, 1890, 81.
- 61 *JAC, PECSC*, 1891, 30; Necrology, 161. “John Grimke Drayton,” *N&C*, April 3, 1891. Thomas, 272.
- 62 “Register 1719–1783, 1830–1859,” 120. Despite the title of this register, its last entry is a marriage that Reverend Drayton performed in 1888.

## CHAPTER 8 – DORMANCY AND DECLINE (1891–1948)

- 1 Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 33–34, 116–17, 136–38.
- 2 *JAC, PECSC*, 1893–94. Thomas, 113.
- 3 *JAC, PECSC*, 1892, 35, 117–18; 1893, 7, 93; 1894, 7, 141; 1895, 170–71, 173; 1896, 44, 86–87, 182; 1897, 108; 1898, 81–82; 1899, 95, 97. Thomas, 272. “Register 1719–1783, 1830–1859,” 120.
- 4 Gustavus Memminger Middleton, *Sketches of South Carolina* (Charleston: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, 1908), 15–16. “Inscriptions from St. Andrews Church-yard.”
- 5 “Church of St. Andrew,” *Exposition*, 193, 196.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 193.
- 7 “Story of Old St. Andrews, across the Ashley River.”

- 8 For Bond's sketch, see *N&C-EP*, March 12, 1968. "Col. Oliver J. Bond, SCM (1908–1931)," [www.citadel.edu/citadel-history/presidents/25-bond.html?q=president-bond](http://www.citadel.edu/citadel-history/presidents/25-bond.html?q=president-bond). Twelve Sams were buried at St. Andrew's, including Franklin Frost Sams (1867–1937), his mother, father, wife, two sons, and grandson. Other photographs by Franklin Frost Sams have been published in Mary Moore Jacoby and John W. Meffert, *Charleston: An Album from the Charleston Museum*, Images of America (Dover, N.H.: Arcadia, 1997). See also Lula Sams Bond and Laura Sams Sanders, comp., "The Sams Family of South Carolina," *SCHM* 64 (July 1963): 175–76.
- 9 Tompkins, 96. "An Old Colonial Church."
- 10 Mrs. Charles Jervey [Emily] Ravenel, "Diary of St. Andrew's Parish Church" (unpublished manuscript, 1912–37), OSA.
- 11 Ethel (Pat) Pigott, "The Day I Fell in Love with Old St. Andrew's Parish Church" (unpublished manuscript, May 10, 2005), OSA. Pat and her husband Calvin were devoted parishioners. Calvin died in 1962, killed in an auto accident by a drunk driver; hymn boards were placed in the church in his memory. Pat outlived him by almost fifty years, passing away at the age of 101 in July 2013. Both were buried in the graveyard.
- 12 Drayton F. Hastie to W. A. Guerry, March 24, 1912, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS. Isabella G. Leland, "History of the National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of South Carolina" (unpublished manuscript, January 1984), 1, Vertical File 30-14-113, SCHS. Episcopal churches that received aid from the Colonial Dames from 1908 to 1967 included St. Philip's, St. James's, Santee, Pompton Hill, Old St. Andrew's, Sheldon ruins, St. Stephen's (Berkeley County), St. George's ruins, and Pon Pon ruins.
- 13 Hastie to Guerry, March 24, 1912. Waring, *St. James, Goose Creek*, 1909, 21.
- 14 "News from the Classes," *The Harvard Graduates Magazine* 26 (September 1917): 137. "Drayton Franklin Hastie," in *Harvard College, Record of the Class of 1893. June, 1893 to June, 1899*, Secretary's Report No. 2 (Cambridge: University Press, 1899), 74–75.
- 15 Hastie to Guerry, November 29, 1915, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS; emphasis in the original. A copy of Bishop Guerry's November 27, 1915, letter to Hastie is not in the SCHS files.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 Hastie to Guerry, December 9, 1915, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS. A copy of Bishop Guerry's December 7, 1915, letter to Hastie is not in the SCHS files.
- 20 Frank R. Frost to W. A. Guerry, December 10, 1915, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS. Frost dated the legislation that created the Diocesan Board of Trustees to 1901, but a letter that John P. Thomas Jr. wrote him on December 14, 1915, referred to the Act of 1902 (23 Stats. 1156). Thomas also referenced the Act of 1880 as 17 Stats. 257; see PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS. Frank R. Frost, "Some Memories of Last Summer's Clouds" (unpublished manuscript, 1922), Vertical File 30-04 Frost, SCHS.
- 21 Thomas to Frost, December 14, 1915.
- 22 [Frost] to Guerry, February 24, 1916, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS. "There's Millions in It."
- 23 [Frost] to Guerry, February 24, 1916; Frost to Thomas, February 24, 1916, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS.
- 24 W. M. Wallace and C. N. Hastie to Guerry, March 1, 1916; Guerry to Wallace and Hastie, March 1, 1916; Frost to Thomas, November 23, 1916, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS. Wallace later asked Frost to delete the reference to Hastie and himself being the "surviving members" of the church.

## Notes

25 Frost to Thomas, March 3, 1916; Thomas to Frost, March 4, 1916, and March 10, 1916; Henry S. Durden to Guerry, March 20, 1916; Thomas to Guerry, March 24, 1916; Guerry to Thomas, May 19, 1916 (two letters dated the same day), in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS. “Old St. Andrew’s. Kershaw Gives Interesting Sketch.”

26 Frost to Thomas, October 17, 1916; Thomas to Frost, October 28, 1916, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS.

27 Dalcho, 343.

28 William S. Hastie to Joseph Ioor Waring, March 18, 1896, MS 43/2126, SCHS.

29 Ibid. Waring’s history of St. James’s, Goose Creek, was originally published in 1897 and in expanded form in 1909. Notations from the register can be found in: “An Old Colonial Church”; “Story of Old St. Andrews, across the Ashley River”; and “Church of St. Andrew,” *Exposition*, 196.

30 Webber, October 1911, 174. The reference to the register being “in the custody of the Drayton family for several generations” can also be found in an undated draft manuscript beginning “The Old Colonial Parish of St. Andrew’s ...,” in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 11, SCHS.

31 Webber, October 1911, 172–74; April 1914, 105–6.

32 Some parishioners believed that the colonial register disappeared around 1931, but there was no indication where it might have gone. See Gene W. Taylor, “St. Andrew’s Parish Church 1706–1959: A Monument to the Past, An Inspiration to the Future” (draft unpublished manuscript, March 1959), 10, OSA.

33 Ravenel, Diary. Sarah C. Holmes von Kolnitz, “History of the South Carolina Society, the Colonial Dames of America, 1893–1935,” 11, handwritten notes, OSA. “Old St. Andrew’s. Kershaw Gives Interesting Sketch.” “Old St. Andrew’s Sketch by Rev. Dr. John Kershaw,” *The Diocese*, December 1916, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 11, SCHS.

The cross at the peak of the west gable end of the church could have been installed as early as 1916 in the first round of major repairs or as late as 1927, when the Colonial Dames added a metal roof. Among extant images, the last to show the west end with no cross dates to 1907, and the first to display it is a 1928 postcard.

34 Charles H. Drayton, letter to the editor, *The Diocese*, January 1917, OSA. Frost to Thomas, November 23, 1916; Thomas to Frost, January 9, 1917, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS. *JAC, PECSC*, 1916, 101; 1917, 81, 105.

35 *JAC, PECSC*, 1917, 81. Smith, “Ashley River,” 41, 100. Exchange Club of St. Andrew’s Parish, *The Progress of St. Andrew’s Parish 1706–1947: A Vision of Tomorrow* (Charleston: Exchange Club of St. Andrew’s Parish, April 1947). Exchange Club, *Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, 63. “Charleston County Parks Acquires West Ashley Farm,” *Charleston Regional Business Journal*, September 15, 2011. Rosamond and Sandiford Bee, interview with the author, December 5, 2011. Summary of ownership transactions, Westpanee/Fairfield plantation, in Records of the Preservation Planner, ser. 2-9-23, box 14, Charleston Archive, SCR. Robert P. Stockton, “Plantation’s History Began with Land Grant in 1697,” *NC&C*, April 16, 1990.

36 Thomas to Guerry, March 18, 1917, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS.

37 Ravenel, Diary. Thomas, 273. Bull, *Family of Stephen Bull*, 36–37.

38 C. S. Dwight Jr. to Thomas, February 28, 1918, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS. Kolnitz, “History of the South Carolina Society, Colonial Dames,” 13. Leland, “History of the Colonial Dames in South Carolina,” 15. Thomas, 273. *JAC, PECSC*, 1924, 74. Ravenel, Diary. Undated article on Old St. Andrew’s from the 1950s, OSA.

39 *JAC, PECSC*, 1928, 70, 72; 1941, 69. Leland, “History of the Colonial Dames in South Carolina,” 21. Ten broken panes: see photograph of George W. Johnson, catalog no. AN1963.018.0067.01, Gibbes Museum of Art, Charleston. Historic American Buildings

Survey, HABS SC,10-CHAR.V, 1-29, HABS SC,10-CHAR.V, 1-32, and data page 2, www.memory.loc.gov.

No consistent date has been reported for the installation of the metal roof by the Colonial Dames. The 1927 estimate seems appropriate given diocesan repair records, but the date has also been given as 1916 (VM, September 20, 1976) and 1933 (VM, September 17, 1962).<sup>40</sup> Although the 1907 postcard took artistic license with the interior, the cherub and ornamentation reappeared in the twentieth century. How it was described in church documents evolved over time. Visitor guides from the mid-1950s said it had been in place “for about a decade” or was “of very recent origin.” By 1959 it was called “modern” and “placed by a friend of the parish in 1937.” In the 1991 parish directory, the cherub “was placed there for a wedding in 1937,” and by the 2001 directory, “was placed in the Church for a Hanahan family wedding in 1937.” In his 1990 dissertation Tompkins said it dated to the 1933 [*sic*] Hanahan-Carter wedding. The remains of the Carters lie in the same plot in the new section of the St. Andrew’s graveyard, across the pond from the church. Thomas died on January 7, 1976, and Maria, on October 24, 1984.

The “period photograph” was found in parishioner Robert Strobel’s collection. For Batty Langley’s cherub, see plate 119 in *The City and Country Builder’s and Workman’s Treasury of Designs*, 1741. Various church histories have incorrectly referred to the cherub as the “adam putty [*sic*; putto] cherub,” a typographical error that remained uncorrected. For Charleston churches with cherubs, see Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 159, 161–62, 171, 221.

41 Lease from the Vestry and Wardens of the Parish of St. Andrew to A. J. Buero, August 31, 1894, with renewals, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS.

42 Frost to Thomas, May 29, 1916; Thomas to M. W. Simmons, July 13, 1916; Thomas to Buero, August 12, 1916; Thomas to Dwight, October 4, 1916, and October 28, 1916; Dwight to Thomas, December 27, 1916, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS. *JAC, PECSC*, 1917, 104, 106; 1919–49. RMC, bk. M-26, 269. Donna F. Jacobs, *West Ashley*, Images of America (Charleston: Arcadia, 2012), 16–17, 27, 44–45. Thomas, 273. Ravenel, Diary.

43 Thomas to Simmons, July 13, 1916; Frost to Thomas, August 19, 1916, Thomas to Dwight, October 28, 1916, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS. *JAC, PECSC*, 1917, 104, 106. RMC, plat bk. 14, 16. The 1916 McGrady plat showed today’s Old Parsonage Road as the “Old Ramsey Road.”

44 Walter Mitchell to Thomas, June 19, 1917 (two letters), October 23, 1917 (with handwritten note at the bottom by Thomas, dated November 29, 1917), October 27, 1917, and September 4, 1918; Thomas to Guerry, July 21, 1917, and September 26, 1917; Guerry to Thomas, September 8, 1917, and October 3, 1917; Thomas to J. M. Harrison, September 26, 1917; Dwight to Thomas, September 29, 1917; [Thomas] to Mitchell, October 26, 1917; Statement of Expense of Repairs to Farm Property, Porter Military Academy, May 18, 1918, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS. *JAC, PECSC*, 1918, 98. Thomas, 768.

45 *JAC, PECSC*, 1918–49. J. Ross Hanahan to B. Allston Moore, October 25, 1943; [Moore] to O. F. Flood, November 6, 1943; Lease Agreement between the Trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina and John O. M. Murray, March 1, 1944; Thomas N. Carruthers to Marshall Pye, September 6, 1945; Timber Title, Cooper River Lumber Company to Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, October 27, 1947; Murray to Moore, December 19, 1947, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.01, box 2, SCHS.

46 A visitor to Tea Room related this story to Lori Porwoll as she gave him a tour of the church on March 19, 2013. *Haint* is the Gullah word for *ghost*. In 1934 Ashley River Road was paved up to Middleton Place; before this time the surface was of dirt and crushed shell. See “Ashley River Road,” *National Register of Historic Places Inventory*, 1983.

## Notes

47 Ministers in charge (either deacons or priests) or vicars lead mission churches. Rectors are the spiritual leaders of parish churches.

48 Ravenel, Diary. Thomas, 273. *The Living Church Annual and Churchman's Almanac: A Church Cyclopaedia and Almanac 1920* (Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1919), 242.

49 *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1924–48.

50 Ravenel, Diary. The pump organ remained at St. Andrew's after being replaced by a pipe organ in the 1950s. The pump organ ended up in the children's chapel in the education wing until it was given to a parishioner in 2011. During the period of the church's dormancy, a visitor noticed the inscription on a plaque that was affixed to it: "Whosoever thou art that enterest this Church, leave it not without one Prayer to God for thyself, for those who minister, and for those who worship here." See Hazel Crowson Sellers, *Old South Carolina Churches*, intro. Chapman J. Milling (Columbia: Crowson, 1941), plate 18.

51 "St. Andrew's Service: Ancient Church to Be Open for Worship Sunday," *N&C*, [1929] and "St. Andrew's Service: Mr. Jessup, of Buffalo, to Preach Tomorrow," *N&C*, April 9, 1932, Vertical File 30-07-20, SCHS. See also "Historic Old Church, Situated on Road to Gardens, Scene of Annual Service: Old St. Andrew's Church," *N&C*, April 13, 1931.

52 Susan J. R. Allan, "Old Churches Girdling Charleston Trace Life of the Low Country: Colonists of Carolina Hastened to Build Houses of Worship in Their New Homeland. Some in Ruins, Others Well Preserved in Adjacent Land," *N&C*, May 1, 1932.

53 Ravenel, Diary. *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1923–48. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1892–1964) is buried in the new section of the graveyard at Old St. Andrew's.

54 Ravenel, Diary.

55 *Ibid.* That the font was returned to the church about this time is corroborated in 1940 HABS photographs. One photo showed the font in the chancel at the front of the reading desk where it appears today. See "Detail of Font and Pulpit," HABS SC,10-CHAR.V, 1-30 at [www.memory.loc.gov](http://www.memory.loc.gov).

56 The memorial stone placed by the Clement family in the brick enclosure tells of its efforts to restore the site.

57 These media are accessible through the South Carolina Historical Society, the South Carolina Library, and Historic Charleston Foundation. Old St. Andrew's also houses an extensive collection. HABS photos and drawings are in the public domain and available online through the Library of Congress.

58 See Samuel Gaillard Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country*, ed. Albert Simons and Samuel Lapham Jr., intro. John Mead Howells (Charleston: Carolina Art Association, 1938 and 1939), 49, 97–98; emphases in the original. The HABS drawings proved indispensable for solving the mystery of the red tile. Both the red tile and white memorial are barely visible until the drawings are enlarged. The red tile is shown in an east elevation of the church and the white memorial, in a west elevation. But the reprinted photo of the east end of the church with a man standing in front of the door—and the square tile over the window—was labeled north elevation. Confusing? The illustrator used geographic reference points, and the photographer, ecclesiastical, to describe the same location. In his 1889 letter, Bull was the first to depict the red tile, as a rough sketch in the shape of a square.

59 Thomas R. Waring, "Nobody Ever Had a Better Life," *EP*, May 17, 1981.

60 Exchange Club, *Vision of Tomorrow*. V. W. H. Campbell, "St. Andrew's Parish Story One of Steadfast Growth," *N&C*, April 30, 1959. By this time, James Island was no longer part of St. Andrew's Parish.

61 Exchange Club, *Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, 21, 23, 25, 45, 65. Campbell, "Steadfast Growth." For a 1943 baccalaureate photo taken in front of the church, see Jacobs, *West Ashley*, 91.



- 62 *JAC, PECSC*, 1924–45; 1946, 45; 1947, 114, 133. Thomas, 189, 273, 286, 337, 341–42, 443, 697.
- 63 Exchange Club, *Vision of Tomorrow and Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, 45. Campbell's population estimates of St. Andrew's Parish (in "Steadfast Growth") were less than half that reported by the *News and Courier* and Exchange Club—5,000 in 1946 and "less than 6,000" in 1948.
- 64 Exchange Club, *Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, 46–55.
- 65 *JAC, PECSC*, 1945, 15, 49, 73; 1946, 46, 103; 1947, 114, 133. Thomas, 158–59.
- 66 *JAC, PECSC*, 1946, 13, 46, 72, 103; 1947, 118; 1978, 128, 189. Exchange Club, *Vision of Tomorrow*. Rosamond R. Bee to George Tompkins, June 19, 1998, OSA. Bees interview. Gene W. [Eugenia Withers] Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 3, attached to Taylor to William Freegard, July 30, 1958, OSA. Reverend Jeffery died in February 1978 at the age of eighty-one.
- 67 *JAC, PECSC*, 1946, 119.
- 68 *JAC, PECSC*, 1946, 95; 1947, 68, 84; 1948, 71, 72, 74. Bees interview. "Old St. Andrew's Church Will Be Restored Soon," *EP*, August 27, 1947. Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 3–4. The descriptor "old" was not appended just to St. Andrew's, but to other colonial churches as well, such as "Old St. Stephen's."
- 69 L. Stanley Jeffery to Gene W. Taylor, July 22, 1958, OSA. Taylor to Ken Klyce, March 15, 1962, OSA. Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 4.
- 70 Taylor to Klyce, March 15, 1962.

#### CHAPTER 9 – REBIRTH AND REESTABLISHMENT (1948–1963)

- 1 Taylor to Klyce, March 15, 1962.
- 2 *Ibid.* Jeffery to Taylor, July 22, 1958. Bee to Tompkins, June 19, 1998. Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 4–5.
- 3 *JAC, PECSC*, 1949, 64, 84. Bishop Carruthers did not attend the reopening. He had a prior commitment in Eutawville.
- 4 *JAC, PECSC*, 1949–50. "History of Old St. Andrew's Parish Church, 1947–55" (unpublished manuscript, notes and timeline, ca. 1955), OSA.
- 5 "The Rector's Report," AR, 1999.
- 6 Eddie Trenholm, interview with the author, April 26, 2012. Eleanor Ball Gaillard Simons Long and Rachel Butt, interview with George Tompkins, 1998, OSA. Tompkins, "Frequently Asked Questions (and Other Things to Be Explained)" (unpublished manuscript, ca. 1988), OSA. [Stewart Real], "Guide Notes" (unpublished manuscript, ca. 1980s), OSA.
- 7 *JAC, PECSC*, 1948, 83. Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 5–6. "St. Andrew's Church Will Hold Services Sunday Afternoon," *N&C*, April 16, 1948. "Old Church in Use Again," *EP*, May 22, 1948. "Repairs at Old St. Andrew's Lay Bare Ante-Bellum Plans." "Restoration of Church Built in 1706 Finished," *N&C*, December 10, 1950.
- 8 Jeffery to Taylor, July 22, 1958. Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 6. "New Rector for Old St. Andrew's," *The Diocese*, June 1948. "Historical Data," St. Andrew's Parish Church, *The Canonical Parish Register*, vol. 1, 1947–63, 47, OSA. *JAC, PECSC*, 1949, 135.
- 9 Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 7. Jeffery to Taylor, July 22, 1958. "Old Church in Use Again." "Repairs at Old St. Andrew's Lay Bare Ante-Bellum Plans." "Restoration of Church Built in 1706 Finished." "History of Old St. Andrew's" (notes and timeline). Charles W. Simons Jr. and Elizabeth Mazyck Simons Dovell, interview with the author, March 11, 2013.
- 10 Bishop Carruthers dedicated the Drayton and Hastie memorials at the confirmation service held on December 10, 1950. See *JAC, PECSC*, 1951, 57.
- 11 Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 7.



## Notes

12 M. C. Bull's comments, dated August 24, 1954, were included in a note to a typewritten copy of Col. Bull's 1889 letter to Ravenel. These and Eleanor B. G. Simons's handwritten note to Commander Roland E. Moore, ca. 1954, were attached to a letter from Rev. Henry DeSaussure Bull to Bishop Albert Sidney Thomas, September 25, 1954, in PECSC, Records, MS 273.03, SCHS.

Mary Catherine Bull was sixty-seven when she viewed her grandfather's pew plan in 1952. "Sister" was either Gracia Bull (b. 1874, d. 1960) or Emma Anna Bull (b. 1876, d. 1970). The Bull sisters were the daughters of Col. Bull's son William Izard Bull, MD (b. 1838, d. 1917).

13 "Restoration of Church Built in 1706 Finished." Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 6. Taylor to Klyce, March 15, 1962. "New Rector for Old St. Andrew's." "Old St. Andrew's Being Renovated," *The Diocese*, May 1949. *JAC, PECSC*, 1949, 101, 104, 135; 1951, 32.

14 "Old St. Andrew's Being Renovated." *JAC, PECSC*, 1949, 73, 75, 107; 1950, 57.

15 Copies of the parsonage tract surveys and sales contract with John Hogg, OSA. GCM, July 17, 1950; September 12, 1950. *JAC, PECSC*, 1951, 59. Hogg's purchase price was 28 percent higher than the next highest of the three bids received.

A recap of the size of the St. Andrew's glebe might be helpful here. William Guy reported an original glebe of about twenty-six acres in letters he sent to the SPG in 1721, 1724, and 1728. His 1728 letter also mentioned that, in the last year, "there has been an addition of near 60 acres of good land to it," purchased by Col. William Bull and William Cattell at their own expense for £600 *Cur.* (\$12,100). In fact, this purchase was a fifty-seven-acre tract deeded to Bull and Cattell from Samuel and Dorothy Jones dated February 27, 1727. That brought the total acreage to eighty-three. A later and final tract was mentioned in the sales agreement to John Hogg in 1950—a May 4, 1773, grant of thirty-four acres (cited as State Records, 2:91–92). Investigation with the South Caroliniana Library in 2011 failed to locate the source cited, but it did find a warrant from the same date in the *South Carolina Council Journal*—but for fifty acres of marshland. The glebe lands could have totaled as much as 133 acres or as little as 117 acres. Two mid-twentieth century surveys provided even different estimates. A 1947 timber plat indicated the glebe was 115 acres (109 acres upland and 6 acres marsh). A 1948 survey for John Hogg indicated the parcel was 104 acres (92 acres high ground and 12 acres marsh).

16 "History of Old St. Andrew's" (notes and timeline). "Tour to Feature Four Plantations West of Ashley," *EP*, March 4, 1949. "Benefit Silver Tea Given Here by Old St. Andrew's Auxiliary," *N&C*, June 15, 1949. "Preserving the Old Churches," editorial, *N&C*, ca. June 1949, SFC. "Tea to Aid Old St. Andrew's," *N&C*, March 25, 1951. "Copies of St. Andrew's Etching on Sale to Raise Church Funds," *N&C*, March 6, 1949. "Alfred Hutty Etchings of Church Will Decorate New China Plates," *EP*, October 1, 1949. "Old St. Andrew's Auxiliary Votes to Repair Church," *N&C*, October 2, 1949. For a profile of Hutty's work, see James Hutchisson, "A Life's Work," *Charleston 26* (January 2012): 68–77.

17 Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 7–8. "Tearoom Opening, House Tours Spell Spring," *N&C*, March 14, 1973. Janice Shumake and Thurston Hatcher, "Church Tea Room to Mark 50th Anniversary Next Week," *P&C*, March 30, 2000.

18 *JAC, PECSC*, 1949–50. VM, June 19, 1951. "History of Old St. Andrew's" (notes and timeline).

19 "Old St. Andrew's Being Renovated." WSB, September 26, 1948. Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 6. *JAC, PECSC*, 1883, 95; 1949, 99; 1951, 32–33. "Old St. Andrew's Church Holds Homecoming," *N&C*, October 17, 1949. "Old St. Andrew's Church Planning Homecoming Day," *N&C*, October 15, 1955. "Old St. Andrew's Church's Annual Homecoming Is Today," *N&C*, October 21, 1956. "Homecoming Services Set at St. Andrew's," *EP*, October 12, 1957. "Old St. Andrew's Church to Observe Annual

- Services,” *N&C*, October 22, 1958. “Old St. Andrew’s Parish Church Sets Homecoming,” *EP*, October 23, 1959. “St. Andrew’s Schedules Homecoming,” *N&C*, October 23, 1960. “Old St. Andrew’s Plans Homecoming,” *EP*, October 26, 1961. Four confirmations were attributed to “St. Andrew’s, Charleston County” in 1946 (as were two for St. Andrew’s Mission), although where these were held is unknown. See *JAC, PECSC*, 1947, 64. Leland, “History of the Colonial Dames in South Carolina,” 25.
- 20 “Communion Silver of Old St. Andrew’s Again to Have Its Role in Services,” *N&C*, September 24, 1948. Reverend Drayton discussed the communion silver in his sermon on the reopening of the church in April 1876; see “An Old Colonial Church.” Milby Burton (1898–1977) was buried in the new section of the cemetery at St. Andrew’s. Simons and Dovell interview.
- 21 OSA, *Canonical Register*, 1947–63, 150. “History of Old St. Andrew’s” (notes and timeline). “Rector’s Christmas Greeting,” 1948, OSA. *JAC, PECSC*, 1949.
- 22 “History of Old St. Andrew’s” (notes and timeline). H. D. Bull to Miss Marie [Heyward], December 7, 1950, in George W. Williams Papers, 1945–1953, MS 1745.02.01, SCHS. *JAC, PECSC*, 1949, 32; 1951, 57. Thomas, 273.
- 23 GCM, October 13, 1950; July 9, 1951. “Mr. Riley Becomes Full-Time Rector of Old St. Andrew’s,” *N&C*, April 1951. “Old St. Andrew’s Names Mr. Riley Full-Time Rector,” *EP*, April 1951.
- 24 GCM, December 18, 1950; April 2, 1951. “Historic Parish Churchyard Now Ready for Landscaping,” *EP*, October 30, 1951. See also Loutrel W. Briggs, *Charleston Gardens*, photo. R. Adamson Brown and others (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951) and “Edens Lost and Found: The Gardens of Loutrel Briggs (1893–1977),” *Preservation Progress* [of the Preservation Society of Charleston] 50 (Summer 2006): 8–9, [www.preservationsociety.org](http://www.preservationsociety.org). Taylor, “St. Andrew’s Parish Church 1706–1958,” 7.
- 25 James R. Cothran, *Charleston Gardens and the Landscape Legacy of Loutrel Briggs* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010), xi, 144–85.
- 26 Briggs’s drawings for Old St. Andrew’s are housed at the South Carolina Historical Society, where they are available for viewing, and are documented in Cothran, *Charleston Gardens and the Landscape Legacy of Loutrel Briggs*, 179, reference numbers 800–808. Path names can be found in drawings 802 and 803. Old St. Andrew’s maintains one original Briggs drawing in its archives, and Grange Simons Lucas III has one in his collection.
- 27 The information in this section comes from the Simons and Dovell interview. On her death, the rector, wardens, vestry, and parishioners honored Eleanor B. G. S. Long with a resolution in her memory; see AR, 1999.
- 28 GCM, February 15, 1952; May 5, 1952. “Ordination at St. Philip’s,” *The Diocese*, June and the Summer 1952. *JAC, PECSC*, 1953, 62. Thomas, 274.
- 29 “Ordination at St. Philip’s.” “Even Rectors Have ‘Those Days’ Says Old St. Andrews Minister,” *W&J*, February 7, 1962. Frances Ellis, “Who’s New in Town? Charlestonians Move Inland for All Saints’ Episcopal,” *Florence Morning News*, September 8, 1963. *JAC, PECSC*, 2004, 182.
- 30 GCM, March 10, 1952. ACM, January 25, 1953. “New Educational Building for Old Church,” *N&C*, December 21, 1952. “Work Begun on New Parish Building for Old St. Andrew’s,” *N&C*, January 13, 1953. For church school statistics, see *JAC, PECSC*, 1952–53 and 1954, 34.
- 31 ACM, January 24, 1954. *JAC, PECSC*, 1953, 62; 1954, 55. As with Rev. Lawton Riley, Father Magee was priest in charge before the church regained parish status.
- 32 *JAC, PECSC*, 1954–56; 1957, 85. ACM, January 24, 1954. VM, June 7, 1954; October 11, 1954; March 14, 1955; May 9, 1955; May 14, 1956; August 13, 1956; August 18, 1958. “Report of the Vestry for 1956,” “Report of the Church School for 1956,” and “Woman’s Auxiliary

## Notes

Annual Report to the Congregation,” ACM, January 1957. Proposal with acceptance, Stehmyer Construction Co. and Old St. Andrews Episcopal Church, June 11, 1956, OSA. Taylor, “St. Andrew’s Parish Church 1706–1958,” 8.

33 JAC, PECSC, 1960. ACM, January 10, 1960; January 8, 1961. Beginning in 1953, wardens were elected as senior and junior warden. At Old St. Andrew’s, the senior warden also heads the finance committee, and the junior warden leads the buildings and grounds committee.

34 SVM, March 21, 1961. VM, July 9, 1961; August 20, 1961; January 15, 1962; February 12, 1962. JAC, PECSC, 1962, 38, 66, 73. Walter Shaffer and Lynwood C. Magee to Parishioners, April 20, 1961, OSA. “St. Andrew’s Parish Church Women Announce Building Fund Aid Plan,” EP, May 26, 1961. “Old St. Andrews Church to Expand Parish House,” WAJ, August 17, 1961. “Parishes Report Building Projects,” *The Diocese*, September 1961. “March Occupancy Slated for Parish House Addition,” WAJ, January 24, 1962. RMC, bk. R-73, 301.

35 GCM, December 7, 1953. ACM, January 24, 1954.

36 VM, April 5, 1954; September 12, 1955; October 17, 1955; November 14, 1955; December 12, 1955; January 9, 1956. “Old St. Andrew’s Rectory Begun in West Oak Forest,” N&C, [January–March 1956], undated clipping, OSA. “Old St. Andrew’s Rectory,” *The Diocese*, May 1956. “Old St. Andrew’s Sets Open House at New Rectory,” N&C, June 20, 1956. “Report of the Vestry for 1956,” ACM, January 13, 1957. JAC, PECSC, 1957, 85.

37 VM, September 13, 1954; October 11, 1954; April 9, 1956; November 12, 1956. “Report of the Vestry for 1956,” ACM, January 13, 1957. Taylor, “St. Andrew’s Parish Church 1706–1958,” 8. Fitzgerald, “Reredos Is Instructive.”

38 GCM, April 7, 1952. VM, October 11, 1954. The photograph showing the exposed exterior brick can be found in Vertical File 30-07-20, SCHS (Photo No. 333, R. A. Reilly of Charleston, 1954). Why there is no window in the north gable end of the church is unknown. Perhaps it is because this side of the building is the least used of the three entrances and faces what is now the rear of the property, or it was a cost-savings measure, or both.

39 VM, October 6, 1959. ACM, January 10, 1960. “1959 Report of Cemetery Committee,” ACM, January 10, 1960. Tompkins, 72.

40 SVM, January 25, 1960. VM, February 8, 1960; May 10, 1960. “About the Diocese,” *The Diocese*, September–October 1960. “St. Andrews Church Bldg. Renovation Is Reported,” N&C, January 15, 1961. Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*, Appendix D; *Old St. Andrews Episcopal Church: Construction Documentation*, A Report Prepared for the Old St. Andrews Vestry, Charleston, SC, and Glenn Keyes, Architect AIA (Charleston: Richard Marks Restorations, 2005), 2, OSA.

41 VM, September 12, 1955; October 6, 1959; June 12, 1960; August 14, 1960; February 11, 1963; April 8, 1963; June 9, 1963. ACM, January 8, 1961. “St. Andrew’s Church Repair Is Approved,” N&C, January 15, 1960. “About the Diocese,” *The Diocese*, September–October 1960. “St. Andrews Church Bldg. Renovation Is Reported.” Tompkins, 72.

42 Buildings and Grounds Committee to Vestry, “Plans for Development and Improvement to Grounds,” March 1, 1958, included a proposal for brick walkways, OSA. See Chapter 12 for information on the extension of the walkway to the parish house.

43 GCM, May 5, 1952. SVM, June 25, 1957; July 8, 1957; December 9, 1957; November 17, 1959. WSB, March 8, 1959. “St. Andrew’s Church Sets Dedication of Pipe Organ,” N&C, March 1, 1959. “Organ Recital Set Today at St. Andrew’s,” N&C, March 8, 1959.

44 “History of Old St. Andrew’s” (notes and timeline). Taylor, “St. Andrew’s Parish Church 1706–1958,” 8.

45 ACM, January 25, 1953. “Church Opens Tea Room,” N&C, February 10, 1954. “Old St. Andrew’s Church Gift Shop, Tea Room to Feature Luncheons—Afternoon Tea,”

*N&C*, March 6, 1955. Gene Taylor, "Church Women Will Open Gift Shop and Tea Room Tomorrow," *N&C*, February 26, 1956. "Old St. Andrew's Tea Room, Gift Shop Open," *N&C*, March 10, 1957. "Women to Open Gift Shop and Tea Room in Parish House at Old St. Andrew's Church," *N&C*, March 3, 1958. "Old St. Andrew's Church Women to Again Open Gift Shop and Tea Room and Conduct Tours of Church and Grounds," *N&C*, March 1, 1959. "St. Andrew's Parish Church Gift Shop and Tea Room Will Open Tomorrow," *N&C*, March 6, 1960. "Tearoom Menu Includes Okra Soup, Topsy Pudding," *N&C*, March 12, 1962. "Historic St. Andrew's Parish Now Open to Charleston Visitors," *The State* (Columbia), April 5, 1962.

46 "History of Old St. Andrew's" (notes and timeline). "Square Dance Planned for Friday Night," *N&C*, February 10, 1954. "St. Andrew's Church Plans Bazaar in Fall," *N&C*, July 28, 1954. "Plates of Old St. Andrew's to Be Sold at Bazaar Tomorrow," *N&C*, November 16, 1954. Gene Taylor, "Plans Are Listed for Bazaar and Turkey Supper Nov. 10," *N&C*, September 25, 1955. "A Variety of Gifts Will Be on Tap at Old St. Andrew's Harvest Festival," *N&C*, November 3, 1955. "Old St. Andrew's Men's Club Plans Barbeque Thursday," *N&C*, November 30, 1955. "Charleston Women Working Busily on Bazaar, Carnival Plans," *N&C*, October 21, 1956. "Old St. Andrew's Parish Church Auxiliary Announces Fall and Winter Projects," *EP*, September 5, 1958. "Did You Happen to See?" *N&C*, February 1, 1959. "St. Andrew's Church Plans Oyster Roast," *N&C*, February 5, 1959. "About the Diocese," *The Diocese*, May 1959. "Old St. Andrew's Church Women Plan for Fall," *N&C*, September 14, 1959. "Parish Church Will Sponsor Yule Party," *N&C*, December 19, 1959. "Oyster Roast Is Planned at Parish Church," *N&C*, February 18, 1960. "St. Andrew's Parish Church Women Announce Building Fund Aid Plan," *N&C*, May 26, 1961. *WSB*, May 28, 1961. "St. Andrew's Women Set Fish Supper for Friday," *N&C*, May 30, 1961. "St. Andrew's Men Plan Oyster Roast," *N&C*, March 9, 1962.

47 *VM*, May 9, 1955. *ACM*, January 12, 1958. "1959 Report of Cemetery Committee," *ACM*, January 10, 1960. "Cemetery and Grounds," *ACM*, January 14, 1962.

48 Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 9.

49 Simons and Dovell interview.

50 *VM*, October 22, 1951; October 11, 1954, emphasis in the original; October 21, 1960; September 17, 1962. Financial statement, December 31, 1956, OSA. *ACM*, January 10, 1960; January 8, 1961. Gene Taylor, news release, January 13, 1960, OSA.

51 "Senior Warden's Report," *ACM*, January 8, 1961. *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1953, 59, 61; 1954, 51; 1955, 58. "St. Andrew's Parish Church Lists Plans." Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958," 7.

52 *VM*, April 9, 1962; May 13, 1963. "Meet the Council's President: Bishop William J. Skilton," [www.sccouncil.net/newsletters/March06Newsletter.htm](http://www.sccouncil.net/newsletters/March06Newsletter.htm). "The Rt Rev William Skilton Receives Honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity at The Citadel," May 22, 2006, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge/USA, [www.spckusa.org/wp/?p=31](http://www.spckusa.org/wp/?p=31). Dave Munday, "Ex-bishop Returning to Roots: Caribbean Nation Beckons to Skilton," *Pe&C*, April 13, 2008.

Just before the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the reopening of the church in 1998, Rector George Tompkins extended an offer to Bishop Skilton and his wife Lynn to provide them burial spaces inside the church. The Skiltons gratefully accepted and requested that their ashes be placed under the floor directly in front of the altar in the sanctuary. See Tompkins to Skilton, May 7, 1998, OSA. Skilton to Tompkins, May 14, 1998, OSA.

53 Taylor to Freegard, July 30, 1958, with attachment "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1958." Taylor to Jeffery, August 2, 1958, OSA.

## Notes

- 54 John Burbage, "Memories of St. Andrew's Parish: Oaks, Fields, Avondale," *N&C*, June 10, 1985.
- 55 ACM, January 12, 1958; January 12, 1970. Lieutenant Donald Hand was the first military representative to the vestry, elected in 1958. He was followed by Maj. Douglas E. Culver (later in 1958 after Hand was transferred, and again in 1960), Lt. Cdr. E. G. Story (1959), Cdr. William J. Sawtelle (1961), Lt. Cdr. Robert H. Lughton (1962–63), Maj. William F. Kopacka Sr. (1964, 1967), Lt. Cdr. Richard W. Martin (1965–66), Lt. Cdr. Lincoln H. Mueller (1968), and Lt. A. Craig Yerkes (1969). Designated military representation on the vestry ended in 1970 when the number of vestry members increased from twelve to fifteen. One of the new vestry members elected in 1970 was Maj. Richard L. Tillman.
- 56 VM, May 6, 1957. SVM, April 20, 1958. A history of the vestry's concerns and its actions relating to the NCC can be found in: "Statement and Resolution Pertaining to the National Council of Churches of Christ in America," January 14, 1962, OSA.
- 57 VM, March 10, 1958. SVM, March 23, 1958; April 20, 1958. "Statement and Resolution Pertaining to the National Council of Churches of Christ in America," OSA. [Gaillard Vincent], "Statement in Support of Resolution to Withdraw the Episcopal Church from Membership in the NCCCA," OSA.
- 58 *JAC, PECSC*, 1958, 18–19, 132–34.
- 59 VM, December 9, 1957; March 10, 1958; June 9, 1958; October 20, 1958; December 8, 1958; March 10, 1959. G. S. Vincent to Thomas N. Carruthers, January 12, 1959, OSA. Carruthers to Vincent, January 16, 1959, OSA.
- 60 VM, January 15, 1962; February 12, 1962; April 9, 1962. "Statement and Resolution Pertaining to the National Council of Churches of Christ in America." ACM, January 14, 1962. *JAC, PECSC*, 1961, 41–42; 1962, 30–31; 1963, 57.
- 61 Henrietta Means, "Mr. Beckwith Lists Racial Suggestions," *N&C*, February 13, 1958.
- 62 *JAC, PECSC*, 1956, 30. VM, March 10, 1958. SVM, March 23, 1958. Vincent to Jesse Trotter, March 24, 1958, OSA.
- 63 VM, October 11, 1960; June 9, 1963.
- 64 ACM, January 25, 1953. VM, February 6, 1955; May 9, 1955. *JAC, PECSC*, 1955, 17–18. Campbell, "New Day Dawns for Church." Frances B. Taylor, "Episcopalian Diocesan Convention Makes Old St. Andrew's a Parish," *N&C*, April 27, 1955. Thomas, 274.
- 65 VM, March 14, 1955; November 12, 1956; May 6, 1957; June 10, 1957. ACM, January 13, 1957. Horres, "Church Marks Anniversary." "St. Andrew's Church Takes New Name," *EP*, April 18, 1957. Elise Pinckney, "St. Andrew's Parish Church—A Link with the Past," *South Carolina Magazine* 16 (August 1952): 14, 23–24. "Old St. Andrew's Episcopal Church Is Oldest in South Carolina," *N&C*, April 30, 1959. "Old St. Andrews Church Played Key Role in History of Parish," *W&J*, August 7, 1961. *JAC, PECSC*, 1957, 15, 48.
- 66 *JAC, PECSC*, 1956, 43; 1957, 8, 48; 1958, 56. Gregorie, *Christ Church*, 141.
- 67 Paul Trapier, "The Private Register of the Rev. Paul Trapier," transc. Henrietta P. Jervey, contr. Dalcho Historical Society, *SCHM* 58 (April 1957): 94–113; 58 (July 1957): 163–82; 58 (October 1957): 246–65. Taylor, "St. Andrew's Parish Church 1706–1959," 10, OSA. The original Trapier register can be found in St. Michael's Church Records, 1751–1983, MS 0320.03 (T) 01 (R) 01, SCHS.
- 68 Charlotte Lide, "Suburbs West of the Ashley Grow—and Grow," *N&C*, April 3, 1952. V. W. H. Campbell, "St. Andrew's Parish Story One of Steadfast Growth," *N&C*, April 30, 1959. "St. Andrew's Parish Protestant Episcopal Church," *N&C-EP*, December 23–24, 1961. Exchange Club, *Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, 21. *JAC, PECSC*, 1962.
- 69 SVM, September 10, 1956. *JAC, PECSC*, 1957, 24, 47.



70 SVM, September 10, 1956.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 Memorandum from H. D. Bull, Standing Committee, September 18, 1956, OSA. SVM, September 22, 1956. VM, December 10, 1956; June 10, 1957. Charles M. Furlow Jr., Thomas H. Carter, Lew Mathewes Jr., and Marshall E. Travers to Vestries and Church Wardens of the Parish of St. Andrew, November 30, 1956 (two letters, same date), OSA. C. N. Hastie Jr. to Thomas H. Carter, December 11, 1956, OSA. Hastie to Carruthers, December 11, 1956, and December 12, 1956, OSA. Carruthers to Hastie, January 4, 1957, OSA. Additional meetings were held between the bishop and committees from Old St. Andrew's and Holy Trinity Mission on November 28 and December 19, 1956. See *JAC, PECSC*, 1957, 15, 24, 27, 50–51. Thomas, 274.

74 VM, April 8, 1957; June 10, 1957; August 12, 1957; September 9, 1957; October 7, 1957; March 10, 1958. Vincent to Carruthers, March 27, 1958, OSA. Exchange Club, *Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, 49. "A Brief History of Holy Trinity Church" (unpublished manuscript, ca. 1968), OSA. *JAC, PECSC*, 1958, 30, 115. Bishop Carruthers said the land donated for the new church in Windermere came from "friends and relatives in his [Reverend Travers's] family." See VM, September 10, 1956.

75 W. R. Haynsworth to C. N. Hastie Jr., March 20, 1957, OSA. VM, April 8, 1957. Exchange Club, *Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, 58. David Farrow, "St. John's Church Survived War, Economic Hardships," *P&C*, October 19, 2000. "The History of St. John's Chapel," [www.stjohnseiscopalchapel.org](http://www.stjohnseiscopalchapel.org).

76 Magee to Parishioners, July 17, 1963, OSA. SVM, July 17, 1963. "St. Andrew's Parish Tells Rector Goodbye," *N&C*, August 24, 1963.

77 *JAC, PECSC*, 1953, 1963.

78 *JAC, PECSC*, 2004. "Episcopal Leader Magee Dies," *P&C*, November 20, 2003. A short biography of Lynwood Magee appeared in the worship service bulletin on the day that Magee House was consecrated, February 23, 1992, SFC.

## CHAPTER 10 – REVERSAL AND UNCERTAINTY (1963–1985)

1 VM, September 9, 1963. SVM, September 23, 1963. Bishop Temple met with the vestry soon after Lynwood Magee submitted his resignation and with senior warden Alfred Butt after he met with John Kelly. The meetings, included in the bishop's journal for 1963, did not mention specifics, but it is likely they focused on finding Magee's replacement. See *JAC, PECSC*, 1964, 53, 54.

2 "St. Andrew's Gets New Rector," *N&C*, October 17, 1963. "New Rector Arrives to Take Post at Old St. Andrew's," *N&C*, October 30, 1963. Howard (Rivers) Jacobs Jr., interview with Tricia Hartley, October 12, 2010.

3 VM, April 8, 1963; May 19, 1963; September 9, 1963. SVM, April 15, 1963. Jacobs interview. Lynwood C. Magee to Gray Temple, May 28, 1963, PECSC archives. Temple to Magee, June 3, 1963, PECSC archives. The Lamar lands became available in later years but the price remained prohibitive. See VM, June 15, 1975; August 18, 1975; Chris Clarke to Clyde H. Turner, February 3, 1976.

4 Resolution of the Vestry of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, August 10, 1964, PECSC.

5 Temple to John L. Kelly, September 12, 1964, PECSC. VM, September 14, 1964; August 9, 1965. A November 30, 1965, letter from the diocese to vestries reported the following breakdown: "Out of each \$1,000.00 [\$7,300] a parish pays to our Diocesan Apportionment, approximately \$300.00 [\$2,200] goes to our National Church. Of this \$300.00, the National

## Notes

Council of Churches receives \$3.00 [\$22]. Of this \$3.00, the racial work of the NCC receives 3¢ [22¢].”

6 *JAC, PECSC*, 1966, 33.

7 VM, October 11, 1965.

8 VM, October 12, 1964; January 11, 1965; May 10, 1965; October 11, 1965; November 8, 1965. SVM, August 24, 1964. ACM, January 19, 1964. Micah Jenkins to Parishioners, May 21, 1964; October 1, 1964; October 28, 1965, OSA.

9 ACM, January 16, 1966. SVM, January 17, 1966.

10 VM, January 10, 1966; May 9, 1966.

11 *JAC, PECSC*, 1963–67.

12 VM, November 9, 1964; December 9, 1964; February 8, 1965; April 14, 1965. *JAC, PECSC*, 1965, 63. Jenkins to Parishioners, [February 1965], OSA. Edwin Boyle Jr. to Temple, January 20, 1966, PECSC.

13 Jenkins to Temple, March 1, 1965, and March 27, 1965, PECSC. Temple to Jenkins, March 4, 1965, and March 10, 1965, PECSC.

14 Jenkins to Kelly, April 23, 1965, PECSC.

15 Kelly to Vestry, September 1, 1966, OSA. VM, May 10, 1965; September 12, 1966. SVM, January 17, 1966. *JAC, PECSC*, 1967, 37. Father Kelly later served Christ Church, Rocky Mount, North Carolina. He died in 1977; see *JAC, PECSC*, 1978, 137; WSB, “News and Announcements,” January 29, 1978, SFC.

16 SVM, February 18, 1967. “Senior Warden’s Report,” ACM, January 8, 1968.

17 VM, March 13, 1967; April 12, 1967. “Mr. Cutler Will Assume New Duties March 31,” *Kinston (N.C.) Daily Free Press*, March 6, 1967. “New Rector to Conduct First Service,” *N&C*, April 7, 1967.

18 VM, May 8, 1967; June 12, 1967; August 14, 1967; September 11, 1967; December 11, 1967. “Senior Warden’s Report,” ACM, January 8, 1968.

19 VM, July 10, 1967; November 13, 1967; January 10, 1968. SVM, June 26, 1967; October 2, 1967. “Senior Warden’s Report,” ACM, January 8, 1968. E. T. Simons Jr. to Parishioners, July 12, 1967, OSA; emphasis in the original.

20 VM, June 12, 1967; September 11, 1967.

21 MN, May 3, 1967. “Senior Warden’s Report,” ACM, January 8, 1968.

22 Richard Shiflett to Temple, December 6, 1967, PECSC.

23 “The State of Our Church,” ACM, January 8, 1968; emphasis in the original.

24 *Ibid.*

25 VM, January 10, 1968; June 10, 1968; August 12, 1968; September 9, 1968; October 14, 1968; November 11, 1968; December 9, 1968. “Every Member Canvass Report” and “1968 Report of Cemetery Committee,” ACM, January 9, 1969. Otis R. Conklin Jr. to Parishioners, June 13, 1968, OSA. “C. Norwood Hastie Elected by S.C. Historical Society,” *EP*, February 24, 1968. Howard T. Cutler to C. Norwood Hastie, March 2, 1968, OSA. Hastie would be reelected SCHS president in 1969 and 1970.

26 VM, December 9, 1968.

27 VM, February 12, 1968; November 11, 1968; December 9, 1968. “Annual Report by the Senior Warden” and “Report by the Junior Warden,” ACM, January 9, 1969.

28 VM, July 10, 1967; December 11, 1967; June 10, 1968; July 8, 1968. SVM, March 31, 1968. “State of the Church,” ACM, January 9, 1969; emphasis in the original. *JAC, PECSC*, 1968, 44. C. Kirk Hadaway, *Is the Episcopal Church Growing (or Declining)?* (New York: Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, 2004), [www.archive.episcopalchurch.org/documents/2004GrowthReport\(1\).pdf](http://www.archive.episcopalchurch.org/documents/2004GrowthReport(1).pdf).



- 29 VM, February 12, 1968; November 11, 1968; December 9, 1968. Cutler to Parishioners, December 2, 1968, OSA.
- 30 Survey responses to trial liturgy, January 1969, OSA. For diocesan responses, see *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1969, 126–29.
- 31 VM, April 22, 1968; December 9, 1968. “Annual Report by Senior Warden” and “State of the Church,” ACM, January 9, 1969. Cutler to Parishioners, December 30, 1968, OSA.
- 32 L. K. Himelright, Soil Consultants, Inc. to L. A. McCauley, Pure Oil Division, Union Oil Company of California, April 24, 1968, OSA. A. C. [Anne Côté], memorandum to Cutler, November 13, 1968, OSA. VM, December 9, 1968; March 18, 1974; April 15, 1974; April 29, 2009; May 27, 2009.
- 33 Simons and Dovell interview.
- 34 “Senior Warden’s Report” and “Junior Warden’s Report,” ACM, January 9, 1969. VM, April 22, 1968. WN, July 29, 1969.
- 35 Tompkins, 72–73. Patricia W. Hartley, “Historical Presentation—Old St. Andrews Parish Church,” Final Revision (unpublished manuscript, June 26, 2006), 13, OSA. “Saltire: St. Andrew’s Cross,” CN, November 2005. Rivers Jacobs, who was senior warden during the 1969 restoration, discussed with the author on January 8, 2013, the discovery of the three levels of brick under the floor in the nave, including the “ballast brick.” William H., Sr., and Stacey Buck, interview with the author, March 17, 2013.
- 36 VM, September 22, 1969; October 20, 1969. Tompkins, 93–94. Jacobs interview. The color has been described as “pale blue” (Tompkins), “colonial blue-gray” (Jacobs interview), and “Williamsburg blue” (“Gift Shop, Tea Room Open: Old St. Andrew’s Church,” *N&C*, March 31, 1970).
- 37 VM, November 17, 1969. WN, September 16, 1969; September 30, 1969. “State of the Church” and “Music Committee Report,” ACM, January 12, 1970.
- 38 Jacobs interview. “Rejuvenating Work Continues,” MN, March 1969. VM, October 14, 1969.
- 39 “State of the Church,” ACM, January 12, 1970. VM, April 20, 1970. Charles M. Bull to Cutler, August 15, 1969, OSA. F. K. Bull to Cutler, September 8, 1969, OSA. Dorothy M. Rigsby to Charles M. Bull, November 3, 1969, OSA. A photo dated April 1967 in the OSA holdings shows the cast iron railing in place around the pulpit and reading desk. “Junior Warden’s Report,” AR, 1991.
- 40 “Rejuvenating Work Continues,” MN, March 1969. WN, June 10, 1969; July 8, 1969; July 15, 1969. “Junior Warden’s Report,” ACM, January 12, 1970. VM, November 11, 1968; January 13, 1969; August 11, 1969.
- 41 VM, March 17, 1969; August 11, 1969; September 22, 1969; October 14, 1969; November 17, 1969; April 20, 1970. WN, November 18, 1969. Howard R. Jacobs Jr. to Parishioners, March 28, 1969, and October 21, 1969, OSA. “State of the Church,” “Stewardship Chairman’s Report,” and “Annual Report of the Women of the Church of St. Andrew’s Parish,” ACM, January 12, 1970. Jacobs interview.
- 42 VM, April 22, 1969; June 16, 1969. Hastie to Parishioners, April 18, 1969. “Cemetery Report 1969,” ACM, January 12, 1970.
- 43 MN, “The Church: A Place to Re-fuel,” February 1, 1969; “Re-birth on Easter Morning: It’s Possible for You,” March 1969; “An Instant Physical Check-up,” May 1, 1969.
- 44 MN, “Notes from the Christian Education Office,” April 1, 1969. “State of the Church” and “Annual Report, Christian Education Committee,” ACM, January 12, 1970. “Report on Christian Education—1970,” ACM, January 10, 1971.
- 45 VM, October 14, 1969. “State of the Church,” ACM, January 12, 1970.

## Notes

46 A comprehensive review of the South Bend convention can be found in “General Convention Report,” *The Living Church*, September 28, 1969, 5–9, OSA. VM, September 22, 1969. WN, September 23, 1969. Bishop Temple prepared his clergy for possible disruptions of their services during the summer by “certain militants of Mr. James Forman’s organization.” See Temple to Clergy, Vestries, Mission Committees, May 27, 1969, with attachment “Report of the Very Rev. Charles A. Higgins, Seventh Province Representative on the Executive Council, to Provincial Bishops and Advisors,” May 19–23, 1969, OSA.

47 Among the newspaper coverage in the state: William P. Cheshire, “Churchmen Finance Black Revolution,” *The State*, September 3, 1969; “Episcopalians Pondering Capitulation to Demands,” *The State*, September 3, 1969; Margaret M. Wilcox, “Charleston Delegate Says Convention Discriminatory,” *N&C*, September 5, 1969; Jack Leland, “Stories Are ‘Distorted’: Episcopalians Report,” *EP*, September 9, 1969; “Confusion in Church,” *N&C*, September 13, 1969; Lester Kinsolving, “\$200,000 [\$1.3 million] ‘Gift’? Religion Today,” *EP*, September 19, 1969; and “Episcopal Leaders Open Meeting amid Rumbblings,” *N&C*, September 20, 1969.

48 Temple to Clergy, Diocese of South Carolina, September 14, 1969, OSA. Howard Cutler, remarks read on the Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity, September 14, 1969, OSA; emphasis in the original. Cutler and Jacobs to John E. Hines, October 1, 1969, with attached diocesan resolution of September 18, 1969, PECSC. Temple to Cutler, October 3, 1969, PECSC. WN, October 21, 1969. *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1970, 46, 59, 63.

49 MN, “Historical Research Committee Delving into the Long-gone Past!” March 1969. Dorothy Rigsby, interview with the author, November 15, 2011. Dot graciously shared memories of her days on the history committee and gave me the remaining research material she had collected during these years. The most prized of these pieces are her voluminous handwritten notes pertaining to St. Andrew’s from the journals of the annual diocesan conventions, starting in the late eighteenth century, and Gene Taylor’s original, edited manuscripts of the church’s history. One file folder Dot provided had belonged to Doris Gressitt. Titled “Historical Research,” it stated: “Project begun in October, 1968 by Mr. Cutler, and Parish Personnel.” Over the years Dot provided material to rectors John Gilchrist and George Tompkins for their own research.

50 VM, August 12, 1968; October 14, 1969; February 16, 1970; April 20, 1970. The historical marker was hit by a car in 1993 and broken into two pieces. These were bolted together, and the marker was reconstructed.

51 Cutler to Wardens and Vestry, June 15, 1970, OSA. VM, June 15, 1970. Group wardens interview (Arthur W. Bailey, William H. Buck Sr., Robert D. Fogel, James C. Hare Jr., Howard R. Jacobs Jr., Stanley Schultz III, David L. Seithel, and J. Howard Williams), August 12, 2010. Rigsby interview. Jacobs, Bucks interviews. *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1970–71.

52 VM, September 21, 1970. SVM, October 4, 1970. John E. Gilchrist to Reuben H. Brown, October 8, 1970, PECSC. Temple to Gilchrist, October 26, 1970, PECSC. “St. Andrew’s Rector Is Charleston Native,” *EP*, December 1970, OSA.

53 “St. Andrew’s Rector Is Charleston Native.” Group wardens interview. *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1962, 138; 1963, 63; 1981, 110.

54 VM, August 21, 1972; December 17, 1973. *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1972.

55 VM, March 15, 1971. A. G. D. Wiles to Vestry, August 10, 1973, OSA. Sarah B. Seithel to Wiles, August 24, 1973, OSA. Charles C. Pinckney Jr. to Vestry, August 23, 1973. Seithel to Pinckney, September 23, 1973. Kinloch Bull Jr. to George Tompkins, May 24, 1989, and June 13, 1989, OSA. Events soon overtook Bull’s request, and it likely got lost in the aftermath of Hurricane Hugo, which wreaked havoc in the graveyard. In 1991 the University of South Carolina Press would publish his history of Lt. Gov. William Bull II and his family titled *The Oligarchies in Colonial and Revolutionary Charleston*.

## Notes

56 VM, April 16, 1973; May 21, 1973.

57 Vestry to Parishioners, July 7, 1971, OSA. VM, July 19, 1971; September 20, 1971; June 15, 1975; July 19, 1976; February 21, 1977. "Music and Worship Annual Report," ACM, January 16, 1977. "Annual Report, Junior Warden," ACM, January 15, 1978. The piano used today in the church is a Yamaha.

58 VM, March 20, 1972; August 21, 1972; February 19, 1973; March 19, 1973; May 21, 1973; June 18, 1973; August 20, 1973; October 15, 1973; January 20, 1975; March 17, 1975; November 18, 1975; March 15, 1976; February 21, 1977; December 21, 1977; October 17, 1979; April 15, 1980. "Junior Warden's Annual Report 1980," ACM, January 18, 1981.

59 VM, December 21, 1970; July 19, 1971; March 20, 1972; February 17, 1975; July 16, 1980; August 26, 1981; September 26, 1981.

60 "Junior Warden's Report," ACM, January 10, 1973.

61 VM, February 16, 1976; March 15, 1976; May 17, 1976; September 20, 1976; October 18, 1976; November 15, 1976; December 15, 1976; March 21, 1977; September 21, 1977. SVM, August 10, 1976; March 1, 1977; July 25, 1977. *JAC, PECSC*, 1977, 4. J. Karl Geppert to Parishioners, September 21, 1976, OSA. "The Wardens and Vestry of St. Andrew's Parish Church Cordially Invite You to Attend the Dedication of the Enlarged and Renovated Parish House, Sunday, June 26th [1977] 10:00 A.M. and also to the Brunch and Open House to Follow" [summary description of the project], OSA.

62 VM, December 18, 1972; January 28, 1974; September 20, 1978; November 18, 1981. "Stewardship and Treasurer's Report," ACM, January 10, 1973. "Treasurer's Report," ACM, January 12, 1975. James Holland obituary, *Pe&C*, January 7, 2009.

63 Rigsby interview. "Innovations Planned," *Ne&C-EP*, March 8, 1975. Laurie Fedon, "Spring Tearooms Serve up Kitchen Capers," *Ne&C-EP*, March 5, 1978. Sue Brake, "Church Attracts Many Tourists," *Ne&C*, April 3, 1966. *The Women of St. Andrew's Parish Present the Tea Room Cookbook*, revised 1976, OSA.

64 VM, October 18, 1971. ACM, January 9, 1972; January 10, 1973. *JAC, PECSC*, 1971, 26; 1972–80; 1995, 4; 2005, 3. Barbara Gilchrist to Patricia Hartley, e-mail attachment, December 29, 2005. Rigsby interview; emphasis in the original.

65 Shiflett to Temple, April 16, 1972, *PECSC*.

66 WSB, March 28, 1973. VM, February 19, 1973; April 16, 1973. "St. Andrew's Episcopal Church," *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form*, 1973. [www.nationalregister.sc.gov](http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov).

67 VM, March 17, 1975. WSB, "St. Andrew's Parish Church Colonial Service and Homecoming: The Sunday Service of 1776—Morning Prayer, the Litany, and Ante-Communion," [October 10, 1976], OSA. Nancy Jacobs, "Day Captures Colonial Mood: Past Linked to Future," *EP*, October 5, 1976.

68 VM, August 16, 1978. Jacobs, "Family Explores British Ties."

69 VM, November 20, 1972; October 12, 1977. SVM, June 24, 1973; July 1, 1973. *JAC, PECSC*, 1972, 128, 153–54; 1984, 91. "A Historical Sketch of Saint Andrew's [Mission] Church" (unpublished manuscript, ca. 1989), OSA.

70 *JAC, PECSC*, 1972, 162.

71 *Ibid.*, 163–64.

72 WSB, "News and Announcements," March 24, 1974, *SFC*. VM, January 28, 1974; March 18, 1974.

73 Comments of Dr. Karl Geppert to Vestry, January 20, 1975, in VM, January 20, 1975.

74 Marion J. Yon Jr. to Vestry, November 18, 1975, OSA. Yon read his letter at the vestry meeting that day.

## Notes

- 75 *JAC, PECSC*, 1975, 124.
- 76 *Ibid.*, 169.
- 77 *Ibid.*, 53–54. *JAC, PECSC*, 1976, 129–30, 160–61.
- 78 Group wardens interview.
- 79 “Our Heritage: Saint Andrew’s Parish Church,” parish directory, 1988, OSA. Jacobs and Rigsby interviews. Langdon Brockington, “Church to Observe Anniversary,” *N&C*, July 16, 1982. “Where We Worship: St. Timothy’s Anglican Catholic Church,” *P&C*, May 1, 2005.
- 80 ACM, January 10, 1971; January 9, 1972; January 27, 1974; January 12, 1975; September 21, 1977. Brockington, “Church to Observe Anniversary.” Clyde H. Turner to Vestry, November 22, 1974, OSA. Rev. George Johnson Tompkins III, interview with the author, November 22, 2010. Clyde Turner died in 1986 at the age of 69. He was buried in the old section of the cemetery near the church.
- 81 VM, September 16, 1981. Jacobs interview. Rev. Ladson Frazier Mills III, interview with the author, June 8, 2010. Robert D. and Lilian Fogel, interview with the author, January 28, 2012. *JAC, PECSC*, 1981, 110, 135–36.
- 82 Tompkins interview.
- 83 Group wardens interview. *JAC, PECSC*, 1979, 140.
- 84 Fogels interview. Robert D. Fogel to William Bobo, November 4, 1981, with deed attached, OSA. VM, November 18, 1981. SVM, March 31, 1982. MN, May 1982. WSB, April 25, 1982; June 13, 1982. *JAC, PECSC*, 1983, 130. “Bishop to Install New Rector at Old St. Andrew’s,” *N&C*, October 18, 1982; also published the same date in the *Evening Post* as “Installation Set for Tuesday at Old St. Andrew’s.”
- 85 “Bishop to Install New Rector” and “Installation Set.” Fogels interview.
- 86 WSB, June 13, 1982. VM, June 16, 1982. BN, July 1, 1982. “Music and Worship Report,” AR, 1983.
- 87 VM, July 22, 1982; August 18, 1982; October 22, 1982; November 17, 1982; December 15, 1982. In 1986 after Father Imperatore resigned, the church began using *St. Andrew’s Parish Church* on its letterhead stationery and *Old St. Andrew’s* informally. See VM, May 21, 1986.
- 88 VM, May 18, 1983; June 15, 1983. BN, June 1, 1983.
- 89 Fogels interview.
- 90 VM, July 20, 1983. BN, November 1, 1983.
- 91 “Senior Warden’s Report,” AR, 1983.
- 92 VM, January 18, 1984. BN, February 1, 1984; February 15, 1984. “Debt Retirement,” ACM, January 20, 1985.
- 93 VM, April 18, 1984; June 20, 1984; August 15, 1984; September 12, 1984; November 14, 1984; December 19, 1984; January 30, 1985.
- 94 “Senior Warden’s Report” and “Rector’s Report,” AR, 1984.
- 95 MN, May 1, 1985, emphasis in the original; July 1, 1985.
- 96 VM, April 10, 1985. Rev. Ronald Warfuel’s photograph from the filming became a postcard and was featured on the cover of the church’s 1995 annual report.
- 97 VM, August 21, 1985. G. R. Imperatore to Wardens and Vestry, August 16, 1986, PECSC. Group wardens, Fogels, and Mills interviews.
- 98 Group wardens and Fogels interviews. Guy M. Leonard to C. FitzSimons Allison, August 19, 1985, PECSC. Mrs. William H. Searson and Family to Allison, August 22, 1985, PECSC. Allison to Searson, August 27, 1985, PECSC.
- 99 *JAC, PECSC*, 1971–86. The Census Bureau estimated that the 1980 population of West Ashley, which includes ZIP Codes 29407 and 29414, was 51,354, more than double that of 1960.
- 100 Group wardens interview. Hartley, “Historical Presentation,” 13.

After leaving Old St. Andrew's, Reverend Imperatore was put on nonparochial status in the Diocese of South Carolina. He moved to Jacksonville (Camp Lejeune), North Carolina, and later to Virginia Beach and Norfolk, where he continued as a chaplain and lieutenant commander in the U.S. Naval Reserves. He served with the Marine Corps in deployments to Okinawa, South Korea, Cuba, and a combat tour in the Persian Gulf. While based in Jacksonville and Norfolk, he noted in the annual reports he filed with the diocese for the years 1990 and 1992 that he had conducted more than 600 pastoral counseling sessions in each of those years. In June 1993 Imperatore took a parochial assignment in the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia, as rector of St. James's, Mount Vernon. A year later two women and their husbands brought charges against him for boundary violations. After a diocesan response team investigated the matter, Imperatore voluntarily renounced his orders and asked to be released from his ministry. The Right Reverend Peter James Lee then deposed him as an Episcopal priest. See *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1986, 21, 136–37; 1987, 158–59; 1988, 155; 1991, 230; 1992, 201–2; 1993, 194. “Northern Virginia Priest Deposed: Parishioners Allege Boundary Violations,” ca. September–October 1994, OSA.

#### CHAPTER 11 – CONFIDENCE REGAINED (1985–2006)

- 1 “Senior Warden’s Report,” AR, 1985. VM, September 18, 1985. Group wardens, Fogels, and Jacobs interviews.
- 2 VM, December 18, 1985; February 19, 1986. Fogels interview.
- 3 VM, February 19, 1986; March 19, 1986; April 16, 1986; May 21, 1986; July 16, 1986; August 20, 1986; September 17, 1986. SVM, September 1 and 11, 1986. Fogels interview.
- 4 SVM, October 8, 1986. VM, October 15, 1986.
- 5 Patricia Faris Trayer to Search Committee and Vestry, October 14, 1986, OSA. SVM, October 19, 1986.
- 6 Areas where George Tompkins and the vestry matched best were “in social functions, sparks the occasion and gets everyone to participate,” “relies on strong sense of direction,” “tends to reject denominational programming,” “engages in community action mainly through non-church channels in addition to own congregation,” and “plans regular family visits.”
- 7 Tompkins interview.
- 8 VM, December 17, 1986; January 21, 1987. SVM, January 4, 1987. Tompkins interview. ACM, January 18, 1987. *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1988, 73. “Pastor Called,” *Ne&C*, February 15, 1987.
- 9 Tompkins interview.
- 10 Tompkins’s biography is taken from his interview with the author and “Tompkins to Speak at Fall Service,” *The Huguenot Herald* 18 (September 2008): 1, [www.huguenotsociety.org/Herald%20Sept%2008.pdf](http://www.huguenotsociety.org/Herald%20Sept%2008.pdf).
- 11 Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 81. Dorsey, *Early English Churches*, 46.
- 12 *JAC*, *PECSC*, 1987–89. “The Rector’s Report,” AR, 1988. Parochial Report to the Diocese of South Carolina, 1988, OSA.
- 13 Tompkins and Fogels interviews. “Junior Warden’s Report,” AR, 1989.
- 14 Tompkins and Fogels interviews. Dr. Robert Ball, a physician specializing in infectious diseases, would become instrumental in keeping another colonial church alive, Strawberry Chapel along the Cooper River, where many of his ancestors lay buried in the graveyard.
- 15 Kerri Morgan, “Oldest Surviving Church in Carolinas Struggling,” *Ne&C*, April 2, 1990; also published the same date in the *Evening Post* as “Oldest Church Works to Cope.”
- 16 “Junior Warden’s Report,” AR, 1989. “Cemetery Committee,” AR, 1990. VM, March 21, 1990. Tompkins interview.

## Notes

- 17 Morgan, "Oldest Surviving Church in Carolinas Struggling" and "Oldest Church Works to Cope." "Revisiting Disaster at Historic Cemetery," editorial, *EP*, April 3, 1990. Michael E. Gordon, "County Council Can't Fund Restoration of Graveyard," *N&C*, April 6, 1990. "Recap of Hugo Recovery Finances," AR, 1990. Tompkins interview.
- 18 WSB, April 22, 1990, SFC. VM, March 21, 1990. Tompkins interview. Hartley, "Historical Presentation," 13–14, OSA.
- 19 Tompkins, 107–8. VM, September 18, 1991; February 19, 1992; March 18, 1992; May 20, 1992; June 17, 1992; July 19, 1992. "The Rector's Report," AR, 1991.
- 20 George Johnson Tompkins III, "The Ashes of Our Fathers, The Temples of Our God: An Architectural History of Saint Andrew's Parish Church, Charleston County, South Carolina, with Proposals for Restoration and a Columbarium" (DMin diss., University of the South, 1990).
- 21 "Junior Warden's Report," AR, 1991.
- 22 *Ibid.* VM, October 16, 1991; November 20, 1991.
- 23 Tompkins, 102.
- 24 VM, September 18, 1991; October 16, 1991; November 20, 1991. Tompkins to Magee, October 18, 1991, SFC. WSB, February 23, 1992, SFC. "The Rector's Report," AR, 1991. Although *Gilchrist Hall* has taken root in the church's vocabulary, the parish house is rarely called *Magee House*.
- 25 VM, March 20, 1991. "The Rector's Report," AR, 1991.
- 26 VM, June 20, 1993. "Senior Warden's Report," AR, 1994. "Old St. Andrew's Church Parish House 1993/1994 Renovation: Phases 1–3," presentation slides and notes, OSA.
- 27 VM, April 14, 1994; August 21, 1994; September 22, 1994. ACM, January 22, 1995. "Senior Warden's Report," AR, 1994–95.
- 28 "Parish House 1993/1994 Renovation." VM, September 21, 1995; October 19, 1995; December 21, 1995; August 18, 1996. "Senior Warden's Report," AR, 1995–96. Cover, AR, 1996. Howard Williams to Parishioners, March 21, 1996, OSA. WSB, December 15, 1996.
- 29 "Senior Warden's Report" and "The Rector's Report," AR, 1991; emphases in the original.
- 30 "Senior Warden's Report," AR, 1991.
- 31 "Annual Treasurer's Report," AR, 1991–99. VM, September 18, 1991; December 18, 1991.
- 32 *JAC, PECSC*, 1991–2000.
- 33 Edward L. Salmon Jr. to Leslie Herman, December 9, 1992, PECSC. "The Rector's Report," AR, 1992. "Senior Warden's Report," AR, 1993. VM, September 19, 1996.
- 34 "Senior Warden's Report," AR, 1997. "The Rector's Report," AR, 1998. VRM, March 27–28, 1998. VM, August 20, 1998; September 20, 1998. SVM, August 30, 1998. C. Louanne Mabry-Loch to Tompkins, January 4, 1999, OSA.
- 35 "The Rector's Report," AR, 1996. Tompkins interview.
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- 49 VM, April 25, 2002; May 23, 2002; June 30, 2002; September 26, 2002; October 24, 2002. Tompkins interview.
- 50 Keyes, *Preservation Plan*.
- 51 4SE Structural Engineers, “Preliminary Structural Evaluation, St. Andrews Church, Charleston, South Carolina,” October 1, 2002, in Keyes, *Preservation Plan*. Leake, *Construction Documentation*, 1–3.
- 52 Keyes, *Preservation Plan*. “The Rector’s Report,” AR, 2001.
- 53 Fogels interview; emphasis in the original.
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- 55 Dave Munday, “Restoring the Faith,” *Pe&C*, December 28, 2003.
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and April 11, 2005, OSA. Fogels and Tompkins interviews. Fogel, "A Secret Treasure Needs Help," *P&C*, January 12, 2004.

60 Tompkins to Skilton, July 3, 2003, OSA. Fogels interview.

61 VM, December 18, 2003; February 26, 2004; March 25, 2004; April 22, 2004; July 1, 2004; June 30, 2005; September 22, 2005.

62 Keyes, *Preservation Plan*, 13–15. "Preservation Committee Report 2003," AR, 2003. VM, May 27, 2004; July 1, 2004; September 23, 2004. Tompkins interview.

63 "Making Room for Renewal," *P&C*, April 26, 2004. "Music and Worship," AR, 2004. Tompkins interview.

64 VM, May 27, 2004. This latest version of a south and west gable end embellishment was the seventh in the church's history, as found in extant images: (1) circular window, south end, Charles Fraser's 1800 watercolor; (2) circular vent, south end, Professor Lewis R. Gibbes's 1840s sketch; (3) no embellishments, earliest images, 1891 photograph, south end, and 1894 sketch by O. J. Bond, south and west ends (*N&C-EP*, March 12, 1968); (4) triangular vents, south and west ends, 1952; (5) circular windows, south and west ends, 1969; (6) circular vents, south and west ends, 1998; (7) circular windows, south and west ends, 2005.

65 Leake, *Archeological and Architectural Findings*.

66 *Ibid.*, 6, Appendix A. Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 181, 202, 244n41. Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, 49. Fennel, "Out of the Past." Fennel's article was published in a different edition the same day (August 12, 2004) as "Historic Church Renovators Find Old Graves, Undetected Damage."

67 Trimble, *Cattell Family of South Carolina*, 1. Edgar and Bailey, *Biographical Directory*, 2:652–53, 720. Smith, "Ashley River," 89–90. Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Andrews Parish to SPG, January 7, 1717. Webber, October 1911, 187.

68 Fennel, "Out of the Past" and "Historic Church Renovators Find Old Graves, Undetected Damage."

69 Robert Behre, "Old Church Gets Needed Structural Improvement," *P&C*, October 25, 2004.

70 C. FitzSimons Allison, letter to the editor, *P&C*, October 31, 2004.

71 Leake, *Construction Documentation*, 3–6. VM, July 1, 2004; September 23, 2004.

72 Leake, *Construction Documentation*, 8–12. VM, October 28, 2004; December 16, 2004. "Preservation-Restoration 2005," AR, 2005.

73 Leake, *Construction Documentation*, 10–11. Tompkins interview.

74 VM, October 27, 2005. The Episcopal Church flag would be replaced in 2013 with the flag of Scotland (the cross of St. Andrew) following the parish's decision to align with the Diocese of South Carolina. See Chapter 12.

75 VM, February 26, 2004; March 25, 2004; November 18, 2004; December 16, 2004; January 27, 2005; March 31, 2005; September 22, 2005; October 27, 2005; December 15, 2005; March 25, 2006.

76 Michael Gartland, "Historic Church Celebrates Easter Rebirth: 10-Month Project Restores Faded Luster to Old St. Andrew's," *P&C*, March 27, 2005. Tompkins interview.

77 Drayton, "Extract from a Sermon Preached December 16th, 1855," 481, 486–87.

78 "The Rector's Report," AR, 2005.

79 *Ibid.* Tompkins interview.

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81 *Ibid.* Tompkins's reflections on the march of time and running the race of life permeated his report. VM, September 22, 2005.

82 "The Rector's Report," AR, 2005. Tompkins interview. VM, April 27, 2005; September 22, 2005.

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- 84 “Tercentennial Celebration Committee 2006,” AR, 2006. VM, October 26, 2006. CN, May 2006; June 2006. Tricia Hartley’s screenplay can be found at OSA as “Historical Presentation—Old St. Andrews Parish Church,” Final Revision, June 26, 2006.
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- 87 *JAC, PECSC*, 1988, 2006.
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## CHAPTER 12 – SHAPING THE FUTURE (2006–2013)

- 1 Old St. Andrew’s Parish Church, *Parish Profile*, April 2006, 4–6, OSA; emphases in the original.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 3 Rev. Stewart Marshall Huey Jr., interview with the author, December 2, 2010.
- 4 Fogels and Huey interviews.
- 5 Huey interview.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 *Ibid.* Adam Parker, “Church Marks 300 Years with Renovation, New Rector,” *P&C*, November 19, 2006.
- 9 Huey interview.
- 10 “Annual Report of the Rector, January, 2007,” AR, 2006.
- 11 “Annual Report of the Rector, January, 2008,” AR, 2007.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 VM, June 27, 2007; August 22, 2007; September 26, 2007.
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- 15 “Annual Report of the Rector, January, 2008,” AR, 2007; emphases in the original.
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- 19 Vicki Filan later resumed active participation in the life of the parish.
- 20 “Annual Report of the Rector, January, 2009,” AR, 2008.
- 21 *Ibid.* VM, May 28, 2008; June 18, 2008; July 30, 2008; August 27, 2008.
- 22 Kristen Hankla, “Drayton Hall to Host Sunrise Service,” *P&C*, March 19, 2008. Almar Flotildes, “Scouts Honor Dead on Memorial Day,” *P&C*, May 30, 2008.
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- 27 Ken Burger, “Bridging Religious Divide,” *P&C*, September 19, 2010.

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- 29 Jeff Chu, “10 Questions for Katharine Jefferts Schori,” *TIME*, July 10, 2006.
- 30 “Remarks by the Right Reverend Mark Lawrence, Bishop of the Diocese of South Carolina, to the Parishioners of St. Andrew’s Parish Church, February 10, 2013,” transcription provided to the parish, OSA.
- 31 Diocesan and national membership: Jan Pringle, “Diocese Seeks Declaratory Judgment to Prevent Episcopal Church from Seizing Local Parishes and ‘Hijacking’ Their Identities,” January 4, 2013, PECSC, [www.diosc.com](http://www.diosc.com). Average Sunday attendance: Parochial Report to the Diocese of South Carolina, 2011, OSA, and “Episcopal Domestic Fast Facts: 2011.” In 2012 ASA at Old St. Andrew’s increased to 270.
- 32 “Yarsiah Becomes Vorhees Chaplain, Vicar, September 29,” PECSC, [www.diosc.com](http://www.diosc.com). *JAC*, *PECSC*, 2009 (164 members in 2008), 2012 (42 members in 2011). Gallant installation: WSB, St. Andrew’s Mission, September 25, 2013.
- 33 “Events to Honor Drayton Legacy,” *Pe&C*, February 2, 2012. Adam Parker, “Tied in History: Magnolia Gardens, Church Mark Links to Grimke Drayton,” *Pe&C*, March 18, 2012. WSB, November 18, 2012. Parochial Report to the Diocese of South Carolina, 2012, OSA.
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- 35 RMC, bk. 230, 201. SVM, January 22, 2012.
- 36 “Declaration of the Standing Committee, The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina,” June 15, 2012, PECSC, [www.diosc.com](http://www.diosc.com).
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- 38 Open letter from Mark Lawrence, January 4, 2013, PECSC, [www.diosc.com](http://www.diosc.com). Jim Lewis, “The Real Story behind Our Split with the Episcopal Church,” *Charleston Mercury*, October 2, 2013.
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- 40 “Congregational Meeting to Introduce the Discernment Process, January 13, 2013,” transcription provided to the parish, OSA.
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- 42 “Remarks by Mark Lawrence to Parishioners, February 10, 2013.” Definitions were taken from Resolution D019, “Amend Canon I.17.5—Extending the Rights of Laity,” The Episcopal Church, General Convention 2012, July 11, 2012.
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- Bee, Rosamond and Sandiford (2010)
- Buck, William H., Sr., and Stacey (2013)
- Fogel, Robert D. and Lilian (2012)
- Group wardens—Arthur W. Bailey, William H. Buck Sr., Robert D. Fogel, James C. Hare Jr., Howard R. Jacobs Jr., Stanley Schultz III, David L. Seithel, and J. Howard Williams (2010)
- Huey, Rev. Stewart Marshall, Jr. (2010)
- Hunter, Elizabeth (2010)
- Jacobs, Howard (Rivers), Jr. (2010 and 2011)
- Kennerty, Joan (2010)
- Long, Eleanor Ball Gaillard Simons and Rachel Butt (1998)
- Mills, Rev. Ladson Frazier, III (2010)
- Rigsby, Dorothy (2011)
- Simons, Charles W., Jr. and Elizabeth Mazyck Simons Dovell (2013)
- Tompkins, Rev. George Johnson, III (2010)
- Trenholm, Eddie (2012)

# INDEX

(Illustrations in *italics*)

- Accabee plantation, 18, 90–91  
acts of Assembly, 4–5, 7, 9–10, 13, 42, 50, 77–78, 83, 85. *See also* Church Act  
Adam (slave), confirmation of, 150  
Adams, Katherine A., 337, 343  
Adams, Rev. David, 315–16, 316  
Adams, Rev. Jasper, 115–18, 116, 122, 123, 131  
Advent, Church of the, Marion, 212  
African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, 161  
air conditioning in church, 258, 283, 299  
Albemarle Point, 1–3, 90  
Alison, Rev. Hugh, 93  
Allan, Robert M., 339  
Allison, Rt. Rev. C. FitzSimons, 270, 274, 277–78, 297–98  
All Saints' Church, Florence, 240  
All Saints' Mission, Charleston, 208–10, 235, 239  
All Saints' Parish and Church, Waccamaw, 5, 122, 147, 160, 162, 164, 318  
altar: burial sites opposite, 55–56, 94, 296; in colonial period, 21, 28, 37, 60, 375n45; in dormancy, 187, 197, 208; at ecclesiastical east, 364–65; facing congregation, 262–63, 263, 294; flooring of, 63, 251; furnishings for, 48, 49, 139, 255 283; in Gilchrist Hall, 294; rail around, 21, 138–39, 164, 251, 263, 283, 294. *See also* reredos  
Altar Guild, 220–21, 229, 254, 262, 349  
altarpiece. *See* reredos  
American Revolution, 4, 10, 91, 94–98, 97, 99, 100, 101, 103, 142, 168, 304, 324  
AME Zion Church, 161  
Anderson, Helge C., 218, 340  
Anderssen, Sheri, 344  
Andrews plantation, 17  
Anglicans. *See* Church of England  
Anneaux, Dwight J., 336, 341–42  
anniversaries, 36, 78, 107, 143, 185, 236, 263–64, 255, 275, 287–88, 303–5, 305, 359  
Archdale plantation, 151  
Archdeaconry for Colored People, 183  
archeological discoveries, 295. *See also* 1706 church; 1723 church expansion  
Arques, Dr. Robert de, 55  
Ascension, Church of the, Combahee, 165  
Ashem Farm, 196  
Ashepoo Church, St. Bartholomew's Parish, 163  
Ashley Barony, 7  
Ashley Cooper, Lord Anthony, 1  
Ashley Ferry, 7, 17, 49, 57, 67, 75, 95–96, 105  
Ashley Ferry Town, 15, 57–58  
Ashley Hall, 9, 90, 94, 136–37, 147, 151, 178, 251, 308  
Ashley River: Civil War along, 149–51, 163; description of, 1–2, 6–7, 9; early religious activity along, 14–16, 49, 67, 70, 366n37; early settlement along, 2–4, 304; economy of, 3–4, 102; plantations along, 9, 11, 201, 228, 304; Revolutionary War and, 95–97, 102; Yamassee War near, 30. *See also* Ashley Ferry; Ashley Ferry Town; phosphate mining; St. Andrew's Parish; St. Andrews Town; West Ashley; *and names of individual plantations*  
Ashley River Road (S.C. 61): in American Revolution, 96–97; in antebellum period, 108, 123; in Civil War, 149; in colonial period, 7, 57, 66; in twentieth century, 7, 9, 200, 209, 220, 232, 242, 250, 255, 280, 399n46. *See also* Magnolia Garden Road  
assistant ministers, 117, 288, 289, 310–11, 315–16, 318, 324  
Atkinson, Col. Harry E., 349  
Austen, Amy, 324  
Austin, Dillon, Cook Engineering, 284  
Axson, William, 85, 87–88  
Axtell, Daniel, 3  
Aytes, Joe, 294  
Aytes, Karen C., 289, 337, 343  
backcountry, 4, 79, 80, 83, 94, 99  
Bacon's Bridge, 7, 49  
Bailey, Arthur W., 270–71, 336–37, 342  
Baitary, Martha, 344  
balcony. *See* gallery  
Ball, David Carroll, 348  
Ball, Dr. Robert, 280, 413n14  
Baptists: Ashley River (Baptist) Church, 49, 70, 207, 372n12; Baptist College,

- 249; conversion to Church of England, 47, 75; First Baptist Church, Charleston, 23; General Baptists at Stono, 49–50, 372n12; meeting house near Sheldon Church, 105, 119; ministry to slaves, 121–22, 125, 127; Northern, 161; St. Andrew's Parish First Baptist Church, Charleston, 207; visiting church, 262. *See also* black exodus from Protestant denominations after Civil War; denominational affiliation; Magee, Rev. Lynwood, background
- Barbados, 1–3, 5, 6, 10, 34, 40
- barbed wire, proposed for church exterior, 189, 197–98
- Barker, Samuel Gaillard, 125, 389n75
- Barker Chapel: in antebellum period, 125, 128, 136, 144, 146, 389n75; in Reconstruction, 165–66, 176
- Barker plantation, 125, 165, 173
- Barton, Sherry, 286
- bats flying out of vaults, 188
- Beckwith, Rev. Cary, 197
- Beckwith, Rev. John Q., 234–35
- Bee, Harriett, 346
- Bee, Joseph, F., 7, 346
- Bee's Ferry, 7, 160, 167, 171
- Bees Ferry Road, 7, 123, 149
- Bell, Sheryl, 272, 344
- Bellinger, Edmund, 52
- Bennett, Rev. F. I. A., 183
- Berry, Col. Ferris M., 336, 342, 350
- Berry, Jean, 341
- Bigelow, Dr. Paige, 264
- Biggin Church. *See* St. John's, Berkeley, Parish Church
- Bissell, Glorvina, 346
- Black Economic Development Conference (BEDC), 253–54
- black exodus from Protestant denominations after Civil War, 161–62
- “black roses,” 145
- Blitch, Anne M., 344
- Blitch, Darlene, 344
- Blitch, John H., 337
- Bluff, The, 51
- Bolton, Sidney Charles, 25, 44
- Bolton-on-the-Stono plantation, 114, 123, 125, 173, 176
- Bond, Oliver J., 186
- Bowen, Rt. Rev. Nathaniel, 106, 108–9, 112, 113, 115, 134, 168
- Bowen Bible, 109, 168
- Brailsford, Bridget, 64, 345
- Brailsford, Edward, 64, 65, 128, 326, 345
- Branford, Ann, 91, 382n43
- Branford, Elizabeth, 91
- Branford, William, Jr., 77, 90–91, 196, 335
- Branford-Horry House, 90
- Brewer, Charles, 37
- Brick Church, The. *See* St. James's, Santee, Parish Church
- bricks, 153, 295, 299; “ballast,” 250; Clement family gravesite enclosure of, 203; Col. William Izard Bull's 1855 description of, 140; earthquake, effect on gable, 177; evidence of fire on, 81; in James Island chapel, 68; kiln, use and location of, 19, 294; large east window replaced by, 87; not used as foundation of vestry room, 20; red tile set in, 140; repair to, 296–97; Rev. Ebenezer Taylor knelt on, 37; in 1706 church, 18–19, 49; in 1723 church expansion, 58, 60, 64; in 1750 parsonage, 66; visible in encased pew plan on wall of nave, 299, 299; walkway from church to parish house, 227, 311. *See also* floor; graveyard, vaults in; Tompkins Walk; walls
- Briggs, Loutrel, 219, 219–20
- Brincklé, Rev. Samuel Crawford, 144–45, 148, 148–49
- Brisbane, John S., 339
- Brown, Christen, 289, 310, 343
- Brown, Frank, 289
- Brown, Nathaniel, 335
- Brown, Reuben H. (Buster), 252, 336, 341
- Brown University, 116
- Bruce, Peter H., 337–38, 343
- Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg, Va., 279–80
- Buck, William, Jr., 337, 343
- Buck, William, Sr., 268, 274, 336, 341
- Buero, Anthony J., 198–99
- Bull, Capt. William. *See* Bull, Lt. Gov. William, Sr.
- Bull, Col. William Izard, 137, 139, 326, 335, 339–40; background of, 136–37; in Civil War, 149, 151, 205; on condition of church after departure of Rev. Thomas Mills, 108; death of, 183; description of church, by guests of, 147; fire, reaction to occurring, 84, 179; *J. F. and T. R.* memorials and, 140, 376n49; letter to Elizabeth McPherson Ravenel, 84, 131, 137, 178–80, 180; poverty after Civil War, 179; interment of requested, 258; on succession of ministers, 131, 179; tablets above altar, mention of, 84, 140; tiles on altar floor, possibly from, 63.

## Index

- See also* memorials, stone, in church,  
Bull and Izard; pew plans, Col. William  
Izard Bull's 1855; restorations, 1855
- Bull, Dr. William Izard, 183, 197, 203, 335
- Bull, Elizabeth, 52
- Bull, Emma Anna, 402n12
- Bull, Fort, 149–50
- Bull, Gracia, 402n12
- Bull, Kinloch, Jr., 258
- Bull, Lt. Gov. (and Capt., later Col.)  
William, Sr., 10, 12, 24, 27, 44, 51, 52,  
54, 66, 69, 296, 335
- Bull, Lt. Gov. (and Dr.) William, Jr., 51,  
55, 94, 335
- Bull, Mary, 24, 51
- Bull, Mary Catherine Mazyck (second wife  
of Dr. William Izard Bull), 213
- Bull, Rev. and Commissary William  
Tredwell, 30, 32, 38–41, 58–59
- Bull Stephen (b. 1635, founder of  
Carolina), 251
- Bull, Stephen (b. 1708, son of William Bull  
Sr.), 24, 51, 52
- Bull, William (fishmonger), 55
- Bull, William Izard (son of Dr. and Mrs.  
William Izard Bull), 197
- Bull memorial. *See* memorials, stone, in  
church
- “Bull” pew, 283
- Bull interments, requested and  
rejected, 258
- Burden, Henry S., 193
- Burger, Ken, 316–17
- burial sites inside church, 294, 296
- Burns, Ann, 344
- Burns, Rev. Karl, 310–13
- Burnt Church, The. *See* Pon Pon Chapel,  
St. Bartholomew's Parish
- Burton, E. Milby, 216, 348
- Bushnell, Lloyd G., 336, 348
- Butler Town. *See* Ashley Ferry Town
- Butt, Alfred W., 223, 225, 227, 241, 263,  
268, 326, 336, 338, 340–41, 349
- Butt, Rachel P., 211, 268, 326, 344, 350
- Bywater, Rev. John, 236–37
- Caesar (slave), baptism of, 52
- Calvary Church, Charleston, 115, 123,  
165, 174
- Calvitte, Evan W., 346
- Calvitte, Frederick W., 345
- Calvitte, Mary Ann, 346
- Calvitte, Rebecca Ann, 346
- Cambridge University, 45
- C&W Roofing, 258–59
- Caneup, W. D., 213
- Cann, Jessica, 304
- Canterbury House, 313
- caretaker's cottage, 197, 210, 211, 213, 214,  
220, 222–24, 226, 259
- Carroll, Emma, 346
- Carroll, infant girl, 345
- Carruthers, Rt. Rev. Thomas N., 207–10,  
213, 218, 221, 223, 231, 234, 236–39,  
401n3, 401n10
- Carter, Maria Grayson Hanahan, 399n40.  
*See also* Hanahan, Maria Grayson
- Carter, Thomas Heyward, 198, 399n40
- Cast Net*, 289, 304, 316
- Cathedral Basilica, St. Augustine, Fla., 23
- Catholic*, spelling on reredos, 300
- Catholics, 9; Blessed Sacrament Catholic  
Church, Charleston, 207. *See also*  
denominational affiliation; Exchange  
Club of St. Andrew's Parish, used for  
worship
- Cattell, Anne, 55
- Cattell, Benjamin (son of William Sr. and  
Mary Cattell), 54
- Cattell, Benjamin, Jr., 80, 335
- Cattell, Catherine, 33
- Cattell, Charles, 335
- Cattell, Edward, 54
- Cattell, Elizabeth, 54
- Cattell, John, Jr. (son of William Sr. and  
Mary Cattell), 94
- Cattell, John, Sr., 296
- Cattell, John, III, 55
- Cattell, Mary, 33, 54
- Cattell, Peter, Sr., 33, 54
- Cattell, William, Jr., 335
- Cattell, William, Sr., 33, 38–39, 54, 55, 57,  
66, 335
- Cattell, William, III, 335
- Cattell, William, IV, 335, 339
- Cedar Grove plantation, 151
- ceiling, arched: added in 1723 church  
expansion, 63, 64; chandeliers proposed  
for, 294; in 1940 HABS photograph,  
198; roof rafters hidden behind, 83;  
in 2004–5 restoration, 291, 294, 298;  
ventilation grilles cut into, 283
- cemetery. *See* graveyard
- Chamberlain, Lillian Doty, 208, 349
- Chamberlain, N. A., 184
- Chamberlayne, Esther, 106
- chancel, 156, 198, 263; condition of in  
1907, 187; credence table and retable  
made for, 226; in cruciform churches,  
59; earthquake, effect on gable of,

- 177; floor tiles of, 63; location of, 364–65n23; most expensive pews in, 89; organ in, 227; polling held in, 164; screen, 19, 294; in 1706 church, 21, 60, 296; size of, 59; Skiltons' burial location in, 405n52; windows in, 60–61, 81, 87, 187, 375n45. *See also* altar; "Bull" pew; cherub and ornamentation; memorials, stone, in church, Bull and Izard; reredos; restorations, 1855, 1969, and 2004–5
- chapels: antebellum plantation slave, 120–28, 128, 143–44, 145; Civil War, effect on, 162; colonial, 20, 23, 53, 58–59, 85, 333; in 1890s, 183; on James Island, 68–69, 78, 83, 98–99, 105, 113, 377n65; in Reconstruction, 165–66, 169–71, 174–76, 177, 180–81; in twentieth century, 209, 242
- Chapman, Jane, 52
- Chapman, William, 52
- Charleston City Council, 318
- Charleston County Council, 282
- Charleston Evening Post*, iv, 195–96, 208–9, 216, 281, 282, 348
- Charleston Mercury*, 137, 147
- Charleston Mining and Manufacturing Co., 171–73, 172, 192
- Charleston News and Courier*, 168, 182, 183, 186, 194, 201, 202, 216, 229, 234, 236, 237, 242, 254
- Charleston Post and Courier*, 292, 293, 296, 316
- Charles Town fire (1740), aid to sufferers of, 71, 178
- cherub and ornamentation, 9, 167, 187, 198, 198, 399n40
- cherubs painted on church walls, 140
- Chihaw Chapel, St. Bartholomew's Parish, 333
- children's chapel, 271, 400n50
- choirmasters. *See* organists
- Christ Church, Eagle Lake, Tex., 221
- Christ Church, Mount Pleasant, 18, 27, 90, 92, 97, 163, 237, 333, 384n4
- Christ Church, Savannah, Ga., 241
- Christ Church, Wilton, Adams Run, 163, 212, 216, 218
- Christ Church Parish, 4, 5, 39, 41, 66, 70, 73, 102, 115, 371n72
- Christensen, Rev. David, 276–77
- Christian education directors, 213, 249, 268, 271, 285–86, 289, 310–11, 316
- Church Act, 4, 10, 12–17, 21, 23, 50, 99, 282, 333
- church and state, relationship between, 9–13, 99, 116–17
- Church Creek, 7, 9, 15, 18, 67, 96, 149, 184, 198, 200, 242, 317
- Church of England, 9–10, 12, 25, 26, 34, 38, 41, 68, 85, 99–100, 137. *See also* Church Act; denominational affiliation; disestablishment; dissenters; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG)
- churchwardens: duties of, 12–13; first women, 271, 358. *See also* Appendix 3
- Circular Congregational Church, Charleston, 23, 53
- Citadel, The, 149, 186, 231, 255, 256, 258, 264, 313
- City Gazette*, 106
- Civil War, 30, 120, 125, 148–51, 160–64
- Clement, Col. Moultrie Johnston, 192–93, 203, 347
- Clement, Cpl. Edward W., 150, 346
- Clement, Edward W., 346
- Clement, Edward Wilkinson, 346
- Clement, Emma Eliza, 346
- Clement, Isabelle Mortimer, 347
- Clement, John Pinckney, 346
- Clement, Martha Savage, 346
- Clement family gravesite, 203
- Clemson University, 315
- clerk: as lay assistant at worship, 12, 21, 37, 89; as vestry secretary, 219, 233, 258, 262, 271, 350, 366n29
- Club House on the Main, 15, 108, 385n24
- Colclough, Samuel M., 208, 349
- College of Charleston, 91, 108, 115–19, 123, 129, 131, 133, 222, 281
- Colonial Dames, South Carolina Society of, 188–89, 195, 197–98, 216, 397n12, 398n33, 399n39
- Colonial Williamsburg, 19, 291
- color scheme of church, 227, 250, 251, 283
- columbarium, 282–83
- Columbia University, 116
- commissioners, duties of, 10, 12
- communion table. *See* altar
- Condon, Veronica Puckhaber, 301
- Conklin, Otis R., Jr., 336, 341
- Cook, Rick, 284
- Cooper, Rev. Robert, 93
- Cooper River, 1, 3, 4, 14, 23, 53, 111, 115
- Cooper River Lumber Co., 200
- Coppain Creek. *See* Church Creek
- Cornish, Rev. Ernest, 197
- Courtauld (Courtlands) plantation, 76
- Courtright, Milton, 165, 173



- cows in church, 188–89
- Crafts, George I., 340
- credence table. *See* chancel
- Cripps, John Splatt, 335, 339
- “crossroads, church at,” 224, 246, 247, 263
- crossform plan of church design, 58–59, 152, 153, 279
- Culver, Maj. Douglas E., 406n55
- Cuppain Creek. *See* Church Creek
- Curtis, Harry B., 337, 342
- Cuthbert, R. B., 174, 340
- Cutler, Rev. Howard T., 245, 255, 260, 265, 275, 277; background of, 245–46; financial difficulties under, 246, 252; focus on history under, 254–55; membership under, 357; parish house, problems with, under, 246, 248; rectory, sold under, 248; renewal in first year of, 246–47; resignation of, 255; Sunday attendance under, 248, 252–53. *See also* Diocese of South Carolina, black militants, national funding of, issues with; Diggs, Cathie; graveyard, plot sales and use of income; organ, Zimmer pipe; prayer book controversy; restorations, 1969; Younkin, Sara
- Cutts, Ernest A., 326, 336, 341, 348
- Cutts, Sue, 211, 326
- Cyrus (free black man), 94
- Dalcho, Rev. Frederick, 42, 56, 61, 62, 63, 76, 84, 93, 94, 121, 178, 179, 193–94, 232
- Davis, Rev. Edward Braxton, III, 313
- Davis, Rt. Rev. Thomas F., 144, 150, 160, 162, 165, 167
- Dawson Engineering Co., 211
- deacons, 109, 110, 117, 118–19, 208, 221–22, 237, 289, 313, 318
- Deden, John D., 283–84, 337, 342
- Dehon, Rt. Rev. Theodore, 103, 105, 112, 119
- denominational affiliation: in parish, 14, 25, 27, 28, 34, 47, 49–50, 74–75, 378n3; in province, 14, 366n36
- desecration of church during Reconstruction, 164–65
- desk. *See* reading desk
- Diggs, Cathie, 249, 253
- diocesan convention delegates, from parish, 103, 108, 123–24, 173–74, 191, 233–34, 262 (first woman), 268, 347–50, 356, 358. *See also* Appendix 4
- Diocese of Dallas, 208
- Diocese of East Carolina, 245, 255, 277
- Diocese of South Carolina: administration of church under (1916–47), 195–203, 207–9; annual parish pledge to, 285, 288; approached for restoration funding, 293; bishops of, 103, 106, 120, 144, 166, 189, 216, 207, 242, 270, 283, 317; black militants, national funding of, issues with, 253–54; church admitted as organized mission by, 200, 217; and Episcopal Church—leaving in Civil War, 149–50, leaving in 2012, 317–21, rejoining after Civil War, 162; establishment of, 99, 103; establishment of new churches in parish, 237–40, 257, 257; fragile state of (1890s), 183; freedmen, condition of and exodus from Episcopal Church, 160–62; geographical boundary of, 384n2; jurisdictional debate with church (1912–15), 188–92; Standing Committee, 103, 130, 240, 262, 266; Trustees of—account for church, held with, 193, glebe rentals, receipts from, 198–200, restoration discussions, held with (1948), 211, transfer of church to (1916), 192–93, vestry book and register, possession of, 193–94. *See also* National Council of Churches of Christ (NCC); prayer book controversy
- directions used (ecclesiastical vs. geographical), 364–65n23
- disease and illness, in colonial period, 2, 52–53, 73, 373n22; and Rev. Alexander Wood, 24–25; and Rev. Charles Martyn, 75, 80, 92; and Rev. Christopher Schwab, 94; and Rev. William Guy, 47, 53, 58, 71–72
- disestablishment, 99
- dissenters, 9; Anglican uneasiness with, 13, 14; Church Act of 1704, reaction to, 10; and disestablishment, 99; houses of worship in parish, 49–50, 69, 70; James Island, activity on, 68–69; material culture, meaning for, 61; rectors—fears of pushing parishioners to, 24, 48, relationship to, 12. *See also* backcountry; Baptists; denominational affiliation; Huguenots; Presbyterians; Quakers; Taylor, Rev. Ebenezer, dissenters and doctoral degrees, clergy with: ministerial, 105–6, 115, 116, 231, 270, 282; secular, 289 (Johnson, PhD), 309, 313 (Davis, PhD), 318 (Hershon, DDS)
- Doe, Rt. Rev. Michael, 304
- Dojan, Kenneth Paul, 326, 349



- Dominican Republic, 231, 288, 310, 313, 315, 368n22
- Don Couch Construction Co., 259
- doors, 13, 154; described by N. R. Middleton, 129; described in 1860, 147; in desecrated church, 164–65; in dormant church, 188; equal size, 60–61, 64; font near, 64; great and small, 18–19, 22, 36–37, 40; handicap ramp added near, 299; locked and nailed shut, 39, 371n72; open, before air conditioning, 250; proposal for barbed wire around and iron, 189, 197–98; to vestry room, 20. *See also* color scheme of church; J. F. and T. R. memorials
- dormant*, church classified as, 183, 190–92, 235
- dormant and extinct*, church classified as, 183, 235
- Dovell, Elizabeth, 220, 230
- Dovell, Floyd I., III, 341
- Drayton, Charles, 106, 335
- Drayton, Charles, V, 196
- Drayton, Charles H., 172, 174, 190, 192, 195, 203, 335, 340
- Drayton, Charlotta Bull, 54, 54, 56, 184, 345, 374n31
- Drayton, C. N. (misattribution), 196
- Drayton, Dr. John H., 151, 339, 340
- Drayton, John, 54, 129, 335
- Drayton, Mary, 52
- Drayton, Rev. John Grimké, 133, 326–27; afflicted with tuberculosis, 134–35, 166, 176, 180–81, 391n6, 391–92n7; background of, 132–35; Civil War and, 146–51, 163–64; at College of Charleston with Stuart Hanckel, 133; communion silver used by, 216; death of, 181–82, 194–95; designated as “missionary” (1870), 170; elected rector, 135; events honoring, 319; family of, 132–34, 147, 180–81, 189, 194, 215; honored by 2013 resolution, 319; ministry at other churches, 144–45, 165, 169; ministry to freedmen, 160, 164, 165–67, 169–71, 174–76, 180–81; railed at condition of church after Civil War, 164–65; residence at William Gibbs House, 134; resumed as rector (1878), 170; salary of, 170; sermons by, 141–43, 145–46, 168–69, 194, 301–2; slaves—attitudes toward, 125–26, ministry to, 125–26, 128, 135–36, 143–47, owned by, 390n76; summary of tenure of, 182. *See also* black exodus from Protestant denominations after Civil War; Brincklé, Rev. Samuel Crawford; Bull, Col. William Izard; earthquake; Flat Rock, N.C.; Magnolia (Magnolia-on-the-Ashley, Magnolia Plantation and Gardens); memorials, stone, in church; phosphate mining; Ravenswood; reopenings of church, 1876; restorations, 1855; St. John in the Wilderness Church, Flat Rock, N.C.
- Drayton, Thomas (d. 1717), 3
- Drayton, Thomas (d. 1825), 133
- Drayton, Thomas (m. 1730), 52, 55, 77
- Drayton, William, 81, 82, 335, 380n24
- Drayton Hall, 9; in American Revolution, 96, 304; in antebellum period, 106, 129, 134; in Civil War, 151, 163; in colonial period, 3, 17, 34; in Reconstruction, 172, 174, 177; in twenty-first century, 304, 313, 314, 319
- Dubay, Lisa, 313
- Duckett, Dr. Ricky, 316, 324, 326
- Duke University, 308
- Dunham, Joseph E., 215, 336, 338, 340, 347
- Dunham, Sarah, 344. *See also* Neese, Sarah Dunham
- du Pont, Sophie Madeleine, 176
- Durand, Rev. Levi, 81
- Dwight, Charles S., Jr., 196, 199–200, 202–3, 207–8, 239, 336
- earthquake, 61, 173–74, 176–78, 198, 291, 296
- East Carolina College (University), 245
- Edmundsbury Chapel, St. Bartholomew’s Parish, 333
- “education wing” of parish house, 224–25, 225, 258, 259, 272, 280, 283–85, 310
- Edwards, Arabella, 29, 33, 143
- electricians’ inscription on church wall, 213, 299
- electricity installed, 213
- Elements of Moral Philosophy* (Adams), 118
- Elenor, burial of, 53
- Elfe, Thomas, 93
- Elizabeth (Indian), death of, 55
- Elliott, Benjamin, 56
- Elliott, Joseph, 335
- Elliott, Mary, 56, 179, 345
- Elliott, Rev. Charles Pinckney, 109
- Elliott, Rt. Rev. Stephen, Jr., 144
- Elliott, Thomas, 335
- Epiphany Church, Eutawville, 245

## Index

- Episcopal Church: establishment of, 99;  
General Conventions of, 153–54, 320;  
liberalization of, 233, 243, 267, 290, 317,  
320; membership trends in, 248, 287,  
318; parish disaffiliation with, 319–25.  
*See also* black exodus from Protestant  
denominations after Civil War; Diocese  
of South Carolina; Episcopal Church  
in South Carolina; National Council of  
Churches of Christ (NCC); prayer book  
controversy
- Episcopal Church in South Carolina,  
320–25
- Episcopal Church Women (ECW), 209,  
262, 268, 349; under Rev. George  
Tompkins, 280, 285, 289, 293; under  
Rev. Howard Cutler, 246, 248, 251, 252;  
under Rev. John Gilchrist, 260; under  
Rev. John Kelly, 243. *See also* Appendix  
5; Woman's Auxiliary; Women of Old  
St. Andrew's; Working Society
- Episcopal Young Churchmen (EYC), 230,  
288, 304
- "Ethiopia, my mission to, is closed,"  
150, 169
- Ewald, Capt. Johann, 95–96, 97
- Exchange Club of St. Andrew's Parish,  
used for worship, 207–8
- Exposition, The*, 185, 194
- Faber, Maria C., 126, 128
- Fairfield plantation, 9, 91, 191, 196. *See also*  
Westpenny (Wespanee) plantation
- Farmfield plantation, 150–51
- Farrow, Ashby and Emily Ravenel, 196
- Fenters, Rev. LaVerne Harold (Hal), Jr.,  
288–89
- Filan, Vicki, 303, 311–12, 417n19
- Finch, Capt. Gerald L., 337, 343
- Finch, Peggy, 344
- fire (ca. 1762), 81–84, 82, 294, 379–80n23,  
380nn25–26, 380n28
- Fishburne, Lawrence G., 215, 336
- Fisher, J. Francis, 126–27
- Fitch, Capt. Jonathan (*J. F.*), 10, 12, 16–17,  
17, 49, 54, 62, 140, 179, 204, 205, 296,  
335, 366–67n5, 367n10, 376n49
- flags in church, 301, 416n74
- Flat Rock, N.C., 141, 144, 146, 150–51,  
165, 169, 175, 180–81. *See also*  
Ravenswood; St. James's Church,  
Hendersonville, N.C.; St. John in the  
Wilderness Church
- Flintom, Annie Bird, 348
- Flintom, David Sidney, 348
- Flood, Ernest, 347
- Flood, O. F., 200, 347
- floor, 154, 156, 159; in chancel, 63; dating  
of pavers of, 62; reset and new pattern  
laid, 250–51; Rev. Ebenezer Taylor  
knelt on bare bricks of 1706 church,  
37; repaired, 226; sandstone pavers, set  
without mortar, on, 187, 212, 250; stone  
pavers and bricks found under, 250–51;  
wood, under pews, replaced, 19, 299. *See  
also* saltire (cross of St. Andrew)
- Florida Times-Union* (Jacksonville), 177
- Fludd, "Daddy Billy," 120, 132, 164, 165,  
185, 185
- Fogel, Lilian, 344
- Fogel, Robert D., 271, 337, 342–43; under  
Rev. Geoffrey Imperatore, 271–72;  
under Rev. George Tompkins, 277, 280,  
283–84, 292–94; and Rev. Kal Larsen,  
269–70; under Rev. Marshall Huey, 308,  
312–13
- font, baptismal, 63–64, 120, 129, 138–39,  
157, 187, 187, 203, 376n54, 388n61,  
400n55
- Forman, James, 254
- 4SE Structural Engineers, 291
- Franz, Julia, 312
- Fraser, Charles, 107, 107
- Freazer, Sarah, 7, 105
- free blacks: in antebellum period, 102; in  
colonial period, 52, 94; at end of Civil  
War, 150, 160–61, 164. *See also* black  
exodus from Protestant denominations  
after Civil War; Drayton, Rev. John  
Grimké, ministry to freedmen
- Freegard, William, 224, 230, 336, 340–41
- Freelandia Institute, 270
- frogs and lizards run out of church and  
caretaker's cottage, 211
- Frost, Edward, 9, 191, 196, 339
- Frost, Frank R., 191–94
- Frost, Richard, 335
- Fuller, Ann Blake, 345, 373n23
- Fuller, Benjamin (in 1780), 96
- Fuller, Benjamin, Jr. (d. 1873), 346
- Fuller, Benjamin, Sr. (d. 1832), 345
- Fuller, Capt. Richard, 51, 52
- Fuller, Capt. Thomas, 55
- Fuller, Capt. William, 33, 39–40, 49,  
66, 335
- Fuller, Caroline Savage, 347
- Fuller, Christopher Innes, 347
- Fuller, Jane Porteous, 345
- Fuller, John Alexander, 345
- Fuller, Joseph, 335

- Fuller, Sarah Green, 346  
 Fullers plantation, 33  
 Fulton, Rev. John, 70  
 Fundamental Constitutions, 1, 9  
 fundraising, 214, 218, 224, 228, 229, 230, 260, 292–93. *See also* graveyard, plot sales and use of income; Tea Room
- gable ends of church, additions to: 1800 (circular windows), 107; 1840s (circular vents), 130; 1876–1951 (none), 181; 1952 (triangular vents), 226, 236, 250; 1969 (circular windows), 250; 1989 (circular vents), 297; 2005 (circular windows), 152, 153; cross at west end, 195; summary of, 416n64. *See also* J. F. and T. R. memorials
- Gadsden, Rev. Philip, 109, 110  
 Gadsden, Rt. Rev. Christopher E., 120, 122, 126, 135  
 Gallant, Rev. James S., III, 318  
 gallery, 59, 156, 158, 326; benches installed in, 251; built ca. 1755, 76; carpet on stairs of, 251; coat of arms hung outside of, 301; ductwork removed from, 283; envisioned in 1723 church expansion, 63; organ and pipes in, 228, 251, 294; rebuilt after fire, 83; Rev. Marshall Huey visiting, viii, 308; Sunday school held on stairs of, 220; used for slaves and poor, 76, 89
- Gantt, Brig. Gen. J. Lawrence, 347  
 Garden, Rev. Alexander, Jr., 81  
 Garden, Rev. and Commissary Alexander, 44, 52, 69, 70, 72, 74, 79  
 Gary, James, 208  
 general committee, 215, 218–19, 222–23, 226  
 General Theological Seminary, 112, 119, 123, 133, 279  
 Geneva College, 116  
 George Peabody College, 241  
 Georgia, funds raised for settlement of, 71  
 Georgia Southern University, 241  
 Geppert, Ann, 344  
 Geppert, Dr. J. Karl, 263, 267, 336, 341  
 Gerhardt, Jeanne, 312  
 Gerrard, Rev. Henry, 23  
 Gervais, Charles, 55  
 Gibbes, Lewis R., 129, 130  
 Gibbes, William, House, 134  
 Gibbes Museum of Art, Charleston, 107  
 Gibson, James M., 337, 343  
 Gift Shop. *See* Tea Room  
 Gilbert, Rev. Joseph M., 108–9, 131
- Gilchrist, Barbara B., 256, 256, 261, 262, 303, 324, 337, 341–43, 344, 358  
 Gilchrist, Rev. John E., 256, 263; background of, 256; caretaker's cottage razed under, 259; death of, 269, 270, 348; elected rector, 255–56; diocesan work of, 266; financial situation under, 260; historical celebrations under, 263–64, 264; learned of burial sites of Rev. Alexander Wood and Rev. William Guy, 56, 264–65; membership under, 358; nominated for coadjutor bishop, 358; parish house, addition to, under, 259–60; parish life under, 262, 274; property considerations under, 257–59; St. Andrew's Mission, relationship with, under, 265; St. Peter's, moved to West Ashley, during tenure of, 257; women, increased role of, under, 262. *See also* graveyard, plot sales and use of income; parish house; prayer book controversy; Tea Room
- Gilchrist Hall. *See* parish house  
 Girardeau, John, 38, 335  
 Gist, Sarah B., 109, 386n29  
 Gist, States, 109, 335, 386n29  
 Gist Bible, 109  
 Givhans Ferry State Park, 304, 304  
 glebe: on James Island, 68–69, 93, 113, 176, 386n40; as location of St. Timothy's Anglican Catholic Church, 268; not sold during Reconstruction, 174; proximate to Magwood plantation, 122; public funding and use of, 10, 12, 15; rentals of, 190, 193, 197, 198–200, 211, 347; request to sell (1785), 100; sale of (1950), 214; size of— compared to other parishes, 48, 66, in 1708 (26 acres granted), 15, 33–34, in 1727 (57 acres added), 49, 66, in 1773 (50 acres added), 94, 383n54, summary of transactions and surveys of, 402n15; Taylor, Rev. Ebenezer, use of, 38; turned over to diocesan Trustees, 193, 202; value of, 83, 184
- Glennie, Rev. Alexander, 122, 124, 162, 164  
 Godfrey, Elizabeth, 52  
 Godfrey, John, 52  
 Godfrey, Mary, 52  
 Godfrey, Richard, 38, 52  
 Godin, Martha, 52  
 Goldsberry, Dr. Dennis M., 281, 341  
 Goldsberry, Dr. Mary S., 342, 344  
 Good Shepherd, Church of the, Charleston. *See* St. Peter's Church, Charleston (later West Ashley)

- Goodwin, Jean H., 344, 350
- Goodwin, Lt. Col. Robert C., 341, 349
- Grace Church, Charleston, 135, 197, 289, 318, 320
- Grace Church, Sandersville, Ga., 241
- Grace Church, Sullivan's Island, 105, 108, 162–63
- Graham, Willie, 291
- graveyard: in American Revolution, 96; bridge over pond in, 229, 282; burial policies of, 219, 252, 257–58, 282; “cleanup,” 290; colonial monuments in, 56; columbarium in, 282–83; condition of, 147, 163, 167, 184; damage from Hurricane Hugo in, 280–82, 287; expansion of, 219, 219–20, 242, 248; fencing in, 10, 56, 76, 186, 236; grave decoration ceremonies in, 313; Graveyard Walk, 304; inscriptions in, published (1912), 184; interments in—colonial, 25, 30–31, 54, 54, 55–56, 64, 72, 94, 265, 383n51, nineteenth century, 106, 150, twentieth century, 186, 221, 269; maintenance of, 197, 203, 211, 290; number of burials in, 359; pet, 359; plot sales and use of income, 224, 229, 230, 243, 244, 246, 248, 252, 257–58; size of, 18, 48; terms used for, 369n29; vaults in, 53, 147, 153, 163, 184, 188, 373n23. *See also* Appendix 6; Briggs, Loutrel; Hastie, Carlisle Norwood, Jr.; Johnson, Betsy; Johnson, Tom
- Great Awakening, 70
- Greene, C. O., 187, 204
- Greenville News*, 137, 179
- Gressitt, Doris, 254–55
- Grimble, Mrs. William, 203
- Grimké, Dr. Theodore D., 339
- Grimké, Mrs. John Drayton, 197, 216
- Grimké-Drayton, Theodore Drayton, 181
- Grimmer, Marjorie, 344
- Guerry, Rt. Rev. William A., 189–96, 199–201
- Gupton, Debra J., 271, 337, 344
- Guy, Rev. William, 326; background of, 32–33, 46–47; burial place of, 56, 72, 345; comparison to Rev. Ebenezer Taylor, 45–46; death of, 55, 72; elected rector, 47, 372n5; family of, 45, 46–47, 51, 52, 55, 56, 72, 75; funds raised for settlement of Georgia under, 71; Great Awakening and, 70; illness affecting, 48, 58, 71–72; infant baptism and, 52; ministry to slaves, 48, 69; parishioners' attitudes toward, 47, 58, 72; parochial reports to SPG by, 47–50, 68, 71–72; prosperity under, 56–58; as provincial leader, 69–71; 1706 church, description of, 16, 49; 1740 Charles Town fire and, 71; summary of tenure of, 45–46, 73; supply clergy, parishes served as, 48, 70–71; testimonial provided for Rev. Samuel Quincy, 74; “three sermons a day” by, 376n56. *See also* Ashley Ferry Town; denominational affiliation; dissenters; glebe; James Island, ministry to; parsonage; Presbyterians; register (book), colonial entries in; 1723 church expansion; St. Andrews Town
- Habermeyer, Sally, 344
- Haig, Dr. George, 339–40
- Haig, Maham, 347
- Haige, Lilia, 29, 33
- Haight, Benjamin, 111
- haints* (ghosts), 200
- Halsey Lumber Co., 193
- Hanahan, Maria Grayson, 198. *See also* Carter, Maria Grayson Hanahan
- Hanchey, K. Kenneth, 337, 342–43
- Hanckel, John, 339–40
- Hanckel, Rev. Christian, 105, 119, 130–31, 179
- Hanckel, Rev. James Stuart: as agent to Board of Missions to Colored People and Freedmen of South Carolina, 160–61; antebellum life at church under, 128–29; arrival as deacon, 119; assistant at St. Paul's, Radcliffeborough, Charleston, 119, 131; background of, 118–19; at College of Charleston with John Grimké Drayton, 133; “Daddy Billy” Fludd, as sexton under, 120, 185; deed unrecorded for Magwood Chapel under, 175; elected rector, 119, 388n59; elected to Standing Committee, 130; first confirmations under, 120; font added under, 120; ministry to slaves, 119, 120–28, 128, 182, 234, 389n72; prepared John Grimké Drayton for ministry, 134; repairs to church under, 119; resignations of, 130; seasonal church schedule under, 119
- Hanckel, Rev. William Henry, 119, 351
- Hand, Lt. Donald, 406n55
- Hannaford, Lois (Mrs. Thomas), 213, 214, 344
- Hannaford, Lois Constant, 217
- Hannaford, Thomas V., 215
- Hardin, Ellen, 344

- Hardin, Tillie, Prayer Garden, 359  
 Hare, James C., Jr., 337, 343  
 Harriott Pinckney Home for Seamen, 201, 207, 212  
 Harrison, Joseph M., 199–200  
 Hartley, Patricia, 304  
 Hartnett, Lawrence A., 337, 342–43  
 Harvard University, 111–12, 189  
 Hastie, Carlisle Norwood, Jr., 215, 219–20, 244, 248, 252, 326, 340–41  
 Hastie, Carlisle Norwood, Sr., 180, 192–93, 195–96, 197, 336, 348  
 Hastie, Drayton Franklin, 180, 189–92, 195, 197, 212–13, 292. *See also* memorials, stone, in church  
 Hastie, John Drayton, 391n6  
 Hastie, Marie Clinton, 170–171, 180, 391n6, 392n7  
 Hastie, Sara Calhoun Simons, 205, 348  
 Hastie, William S., 180, 194, 340  
 Haynsworth, Rev. W. R., 239  
 heating in church, 197, 212, 220, 258, 283, 299  
 Hendricks, Nancy, 303  
 Henrikson, Mary, 342  
 Heriot, William, 346  
 Herman, Leslie G., 285–86, 288, 289, 344  
 Herman, Steve, 284  
 Hershon, Rev. Lee, 318–19  
 Heyward, G. C., 340  
 Hill, Charles, 49, 51, 52, 61  
 Hill, Elizabeth Godfrey, 50, 52, 55  
 Hill children, births of, in register, 51  
 Hillsborough plantation, 51, 151  
 Hines, Rt. Rev. John E., 253–54  
 Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), 140, 157, 187, 198, 203, 204, 205, 400n55  
 Historic Charleston Foundation, 180, 219, 376n49  
 historical marker, 255, 410n50  
 history of church, x–xii, 49–50, 141–43, 179, 194, 195, 232, 254–55, 282, 299, 304, 353. *See also* Appendix 7  
*History of Infant Baptism* (Wall), 52  
 Hobart and William Smith Colleges. *See* Geneva College  
 Hoel, Cdr. Jack Ira, 348  
 Hofstra University, 270  
 Hogg, John H., 214  
 Holland, Anne, 262, 341–42  
 Holland, J. Wilbur, 260, 270, 271, 336–37, 341–42, 350  
 Holland, Katie, 312–13  
 Hollings, Rev. E. N., 181, 183  
 Holman, two sets of twins born to Thomas and Mary, 51  
 Holmes, Francis S., 171, 173, 339, 395n32  
 Holy Communion, Church of, Charleston, 165, 324  
 Holy Cross Church (Claremont), Statesburg, Sumter Co., 76, 384n4  
 Holy Innocents Church, Moss Hill, N.C., 245  
 Holy Trinity Mission (later Church), Charleston, 228, 231, 237–39, 257, 257  
 “Home Chapel.” *See* Magnolia Chapel  
 “homecoming service,” 216, 230, 231, 236, 264, 304  
 Hooper’s Creek. *See* Church Creek  
 Hopkins, Selina, 344  
 Horry, Elias, Jr., and Thomas, 90–91  
 Howe, Rt. Rev. William Bell White, 166, 167, 170, 174, 175, 178, 180, 182  
 Huey, Rev. Stewart Marshall, Jr., vii–ix, 309, 315, 326; background of, 288, 308–10; comparison to Rev. George Tompkins, 311–12; difficult beginnings of, 311–12; Easter sunrise service, established under, 313, 314, 319; elected rector, 307–8; Family Service, established under, 310, 313; flag retirement and grave decoration ceremonies, established under, 313; led discernment of parish relationship between Diocese of South Carolina and Episcopal Church, 317–18, 319–25; membership under, 318, 324, 359; mission work in Dominican Republic under, 310, 313, 315; new mission statement under, 316; parish committees reorganized under, 310, 324; as “recovering attorney,” 309, 321; reduction of debt under, 319; renewed ties with St. Andrew’s Mission under, 310, 316–17; staff under, 310–19, 324; vision, goals, and accomplishments of, 310–11, 315  
 Huffman, Samuel Jacob, III, 217  
 Huger, Dan, Jr., 203  
 Huger, Daniel E., 339  
 Hughes, Lydia V., 344, 350  
 Huguenots, 4, 21, 23, 80, 90, 106, 268. *See also* denominational affiliation  
 Hull, Mary, 53  
 Hunt, Rev. Brian, 57, 70  
 Hunter Library, 358  
 hurricanes, 68, 177, 226, 280–83, 281, 296  
 Huty, Alfred, 214, 215, 228  
 Hyers, Carlotta J., 344

## Index

- Imperatore, Rev. Geoffrey R., 269–76, 270, 413n100
- incorporation of church (1785,) 100, 384n4
- indigo, 4, 9, 51, 77, 80, 102
- integration, 233–35
- iron doors and windows proposed, 189, 197–98
- Izard, Mary, 52
- Izard, Ralph Stead, 339
- Izard memorial. *See* memorials, stone, in church
- Jackman, D. K., 165
- Jacobs, Howard (Rivers), Jr., 252, 254, 263, 269, 336, 341
- James, Jonathan, 55
- James Island: and American Revolution, 95, 98; Civil War and aftermath affecting, 149, 160, 163; Fort Johnson, 7, 95, 114; ministry to 50, 68–69, 75, 78, 105, 113–14; as part of St. Andrew's Parish, 6–7, 9, 237; suburbanization of, 205. *See also* chapels; glebe; Presbyterians; St. James's Church, James Island
- Jameson, Norman, 293
- Jeffcoat, Larry, 296–97
- Jeffery, Rev. Leonard Stanley, 208–12, 263, 401n66
- Jenkins, E. John, 341
- Jenkins, Eloise R., 344
- Jenkins, Micah, 243–44, 336
- Jenkins, W. T., 340
- Jennings, Martha, 55
- Jenys plantation, 151
- Jerusalem Ebenezer Lutheran Church, Rincon, Ga., 23
- Jervey, Henrietta, 237
- Jervey, James L., 174, 340
- Jessup, Rev. Charles A., 201
- J. F. and T. R.* memorials: red tile, 62, 140, 167, 178, 203, 204, 205, 375–76n49, 400n58; white marble, 16–17, 17, 140, 153, 167, 181, 181, 204
- John and Mary (slaves, then free people) and their two sons, 52
- Johnson, Betsy, 290, 304
- Johnson, Charles and Margaret, 217
- Johnson, Dr. Thomas Henry, 55
- Johnson, Margaret Susan, 217
- Johnson, Nicole. *See* Watts-Johnson, Nicole
- Johnson, Ralph, 200–201
- Johnson, Rev. John R., 289
- Johnson, Tom, 290
- Johnston, Frances Benjamin, 205
- Johnston, Rev. and Commissary Gideon, 14, 25–27, 31–36, 44, 46, 98
- Jones, Charles, 15, 15, 57
- Jones, Rev. Gilbert, 39, 41
- Jones, Samuel and Dorothy, 66
- Jones, Sarah Bailey Hood Seithel, 350. *See also* Seithel, Sarah
- Jones, W. Clarke, 336
- Judith and seven of her children (slaves), baptism of, 51–52, 326
- Junior Daughters of the King, 304, 315–16
- Kate (slave), baptism of, 114
- Kelly, Rev. John L., iv, 241, 241–45, 246, 260, 275
- Kemp, Carmel, 294
- Kemp, Rev. Ray, 289
- Kennerty, Joan S., 304, 308, 344
- Kerrison, Charles, 340
- Kershaw, Rev. John, 195–96, 387n54
- Keyes, Glenn, 62–63, 291–92, 294, 297
- kiln, brick, 19, 294
- King, Mrs. E. W., 197
- Kings Highway, 7
- Kinswilder, Isabella van, 50
- Kirby, W. Jackson, 336, 341
- Kirkpatrick, Daniel, 345
- Kirkpatrick, Jane Spears, 346
- kneelers, 21, 37, 139, 221
- Kopacka, Maj. William F., Sr., 406n55
- Lacour, Andrew, 319–20, 321
- Ladson, Ann, 52
- Ladson, Capt. Isaac, 55
- Ladson, Elizabeth (wife of John Miles), 52
- Ladson, Francis, 335
- Ladson, James, 103, 335
- Ladson, Robert, 335
- Ladson, Samuel and Elizabeth, 51
- Laighton, Lt. Cdr. Robert H., 406n55
- Lancer, George E., 215, 340, 347
- land grant for church, 15, 15
- Langhorne, Rev. William, 74
- Langley, Batty, 87, 88, 138, 198
- Larsen, Rev. Knud Anthony (Kal), III, 269, 276
- Lawrence, Rt. Rev. Mark J., 317–24
- Leafe, John, 53
- Leake, Larry, 21, 22, 61, 62, 83–84, 375n45
- Leazer, Bonnie, 317
- Lee, Mary Borden, 228
- Legare, Susan G., 342
- Legge, Edward, 81, 83
- Lehmann, Millie, 304



- Le Jau, Rev. Francis, 16, 23–25, 28–29, 30  
 Leonard, Guy, 274  
 lighting: added to upstairs of “education wing,” 248; candlelight used, 200, 217; in caretaker’s cottage, 213, 220; chandeliers proposed, 294; cove, atop walls, 213, 294; electricity added, 213; exterior, 213, 259; new added (1996), 284; sconces added, 294; from windows, 60–61, 375n45  
 Lining, Dr. John, 55  
 Lining, Maj. Charles, 339  
 Linwood, Summerville, 180–81, 396n58  
 Liston, John, 55  
 Lloyd, John, 100  
 location of church, 15, 15, 18  
 Loch, Rev. Louanne. *See* Mabry, Rev. Louanne  
*locum tenens*, 269, 276  
 “lodge in the wilderness,” 114  
 Loewenthal, Robert G., 258  
 Logan, Rev. Mercer, 197  
 Long, Eleanor Ball Gaillard Simons, 211, 213, 216, 220–21, 349  
 longitudinal plan of church construction, 18  
 Lords Proprietors, 1, 2, 42, 51  
 Louisa, Parson, 127  
 Lounsbury, Carl, 290–91, 415n48  
 Lucas, Grange Simons, Jr., 220, 336, 348  
 Lucas, Grange Simons, III, 219  
 Lucas, John, 51  
 Ludlam, Rev. Richard, 55  
 Mabry, Rev. Louanne, 286  
 Mackey, Rev. Stephen, 265  
 Magee, Rev. Lynwood C., 159, 222, 326; attended twenty-fifth anniversary of reopening, 263; background of, 222; death of, 240; diocesan work of, 240, 266; elected rector, 236; establishment of Holy Trinity Mission under, 237–39; financial situation under, 230–31; fundraisers under, 228–29; membership growth under, 240; named deacon in charge, 221–22; name of church changed under, 236; ordained priest in parish church, 223; parish status regained under, 235–36; as priest in charge, 223, 334, 403n31; property considerations under, 242; race relations under, 234–35; repairs to church under, 226–27; resignation of, 240, 244; spirit of congregation under, 229–30; St. John’s, relocated to Oakland, under, 239–40; summary of tenure of, 240, 304; 250th anniversary under, 236. *See also* Bywater, John; National Council of Churches of Christ (NCC); organ, Moller pipe; parish house; rectory; Skilton, Rt. Rev. William J.; Sunday school; St. Andrew’s Parish, values of (1950s); Tea Room  
 Magee House. *See* parish house  
 Magnolia (Magnolia-on-the-Ashley, Magnolia Plantation and Gardens), 9; in American Revolution, 96; in antebellum period, 129, 132–35, 141, 145; in Civil War, 150–51, 163; in colonial period, 3, 17; in Reconstruction, 171, 172, 177, 181–82; in twentieth century, 189, 201, 215; in twenty-first century, 319. *See also* Drayton, Rev. John Grimké; Hastie, Carlisle Norwood, Jr.; Hastie, Carlisle Norwood, Sr.; Hastie, Drayton Franklin; Hastie, John Drayton; Hastie, Marie Clinton; Hastie, Sara Calhoun Simons; Hastie, William S.; Magnolia Chapel  
 Magnolia Cemetery, Charleston, 221, 258  
 Magnolia Chapel: in antebellum period, 125, 126, 127, 128, 135–36, 144, 146, 147–48; in Civil War, 150; in Reconstruction, 169–70, 174–77, 181, 184  
 Magnolia Garden Road, 200, 214. *See also* Ashley River Road  
 Magwood, Col. Simon, 108, 110, 122, 184, 326, 335, 339, 345  
 Magwood, Harriet Jane, 345  
 Magwood, James, 345  
 Magwood, James Holman, 122  
 Magwood, Mary Elizabeth, 345  
 Magwood, Simon John, 122–23, 339–40, 373n22  
 Magwood Chapel: in antebellum period, 122–23, 124, 126, 127, 128, 136, 144, 146, 147–48; in Civil War, 150; in Reconstruction, 165–66, 169–70, 174–77, 180–81, 183–84. *See also* St. Andrew’s (Mission) Church, Charleston  
 Magwood plantation, 122. *See also* Magwood Chapel; St. Andrew’s (Mission) Church, Charleston  
 Manigault, Joseph, 106  
 Marsden, Rev. Richard, 23  
 Martin, Dr. and Lt. Cdr. Richard W., 336, 406n55  
 Martin, Rev. Wallace, 200–203, 207–8, 216, 235



- Martyn, Rev. Charles: affluence of, 80; arrived as minister, 74; background of, 75–76; and colonial register, 50, 52; death of, 92; elected rector, 75; gallery built under, 76, 83; illness affecting, 80, 92; infant baptism and, 75; ministry to James Island, 75, 78; ministry to slaves, 75; organ, purchase of, 76; parochial reports to SPG by, 74–75; probationary period of ministers, attitudes toward, 79; prosperity under, 77–78; repairs to church under, 76; resignation of, 92; returned salary to SPG, 80–81; as schoolmaster, 92; sought post of commissary, 78–81; travel to backcountry, 80. *See also* fire (ca. 1762); pew purchases; reredos
- Mary (slave), baptism of, 52
- Maryville plantation, 17
- Massey, Gail, 280, 344
- Mathewes, Lt. Col. Paul Haig, Jr., 349
- Mathewes, Susan Pauline, 347
- Mathews, Maurice, 2
- Matthews, Rev. Edmund, 104
- Maule, Rev. Robert, 32
- Maxon, James, 337–38
- McCown, Lucille, 262, 359
- McCown, Richard (Mac), 359
- McDaniel, Frances H., 344. *See also* Rosier, Frances McDaniel
- McGowan, James F., 336, 340–41
- McGowan, Marjorie M., 344
- McGraw, Rev. Jean, 289, 310–11, 318, 324
- McGraw, Rev. Stanley, 289, 303, 310–11
- McGuckin, Dorothy, 254
- McHain, Robert, 55
- McKay, A. Bradshaw, 337, 343
- McKay, Cheryl M., 344
- McKellar, Andrea, 316, 316, 324
- McPhail, Rev. Donald, 318
- Meggett, Little Jimmie, 346
- Meggett, Pinckney, 346
- membership: in antebellum period, 104, 108, 109, 110, 117, 119, 128, 135, 143–44; colonial communicants, 28, 47–48, 75, 78; among freedmen, 162, 170, 174, 175; in Reconstruction, 170, 174, 175; slave communicants, 128, 135, 143; in twentieth century, 201, 208, 210, 221, 235, 237, 240, 244, 248, 255, 274, 278, 280, 287, 306; in twenty-first century, 306, 318, 324. *See also* Appendix 7; denominational affiliation; seasonal worship patterns
- memorials, stone, in church: Bull and Izard, 141, 167, 187, 283; Drayton, 182, 212, 296; Hastie, 212–13, 301
- memorials, stone, over door. *See* J. F. and T. R. memorials
- Men's Club, 217–18
- Methodists: John Wesley United Methodist Church, Charleston, 207; ministry to slaves, 121, 125, 127; Northern, 161; Southern, 161–62. *See also* black exodus from Protestant denominations after Civil War; Exchange Club of St. Andrew's Parish, used for worship; Huey, Rev. Marshall, background of “middle Chapel.” *See* Magwood Chapel
- Middleton, Alicia Hopton, 128–29
- Middleton, Annie, 124, 389n72
- Middleton, Arthur (d. 1737), 10, 12, 52
- Middleton, Arthur (d. 1837, of Stono), 114, 123
- Middleton, Arthur (son of Nathaniel Russell Middleton), 124
- Middleton, Gustavus Memminger, 184
- Middleton, Harry, 124
- Middleton, Henry, 126
- Middleton, Izard, 339
- Middleton, Nathaniel Russell (Rus), 123, 123–24, 126, 128–29, 339
- Middleton, Susan Pringle Smith, 127
- Middleton, Thomas, 77, 102
- Middleton, Walter, 124
- Middleton, William, 52
- Middleton, Williams, 126–27, 128, 151, 173, 194, 389n70
- Middleton Chapel (on Nathaniel Russell Middleton's plantation), 123–25, 126, 128, 389n75
- Middleton Chapel (on Williams Middleton's plantation), 126–27, 128, 151
- Middleton Place, 9; in American Revolution, 96; in antebellum period, 126–27, 129, 134; in Civil War, 151; in colonial period, 6; in Reconstruction, 173, 177; in twentieth century, 196, 201. *See also* Middleton Chapel (on Williams Middleton's plantation)
- Miles, Edward, Jr., 54
- Miles, Edward, Sr., 54
- Miles, Elizabeth (daughter of William Miles Sr.), 54
- Miles, Elizabeth (wife of Edward Miles Sr. and mother of Edward Miles Jr.), 54
- Miles, John (husband of Elizabeth Ladson), 52
- Miles, John (husband of Mary Miles), 15, 33–34

- Miles, John (husband of Sophia-Sarah Guy), 52
- Miles, Martha, 54
- Miles, Mary, 15
- Miles, Thomas, Jr., 52
- Miles, William, Sr., 54, 55, 335
- Millar, Betty, 254
- Millbrook plantation, 9, 198
- Miller, Tracy S., 337, 342
- Mills, Dr. John Ladson Frazier, 345
- Mills, Rev. Ladson Frazier, III, 323
- Mills, Rev. Thomas, 88, 101–8, 118, 119, 130, 179, 268, 306, 323
- Milton Lodge plantation, 126
- Mitchell, Rev. A. R., 195
- Mitchell, Rev. Walter, 197, 199–200
- Mock, Elizabeth, 55
- money conversion methodology used, 365n27
- Montgomery, Mildred S., 254, 344
- Moore, Catherine, 214, 216
- Moore, I. C., 184
- Moore, Roland, 211
- More, Pua, 271–72
- Moreland, Andrew, 346
- Moreland, Elizabeth Holman, 345
- Moreland, Isabella Pinckney, 346
- Moreland, Julia Eveline, 346
- Moreland, Susan Helena, 184, 346
- Morillo, Ralph, 208, 211, 215
- Morris, Paul W., 213
- Morris, Robert, 87
- Morton, Sarah, 52
- Motter, Maj. William S., 340–41
- Mueller, Lt. Cdr. Lincoln H., 406n55
- Murdaugh, William, 55
- Murray, Mary, 303, 311–12
- Murray, John O. M., 200
- music directors. *See* organists
- Nadol, Augusta, 326
- Nairn, Elizabeth, 30–31, 56, 184, 345
- Nairn, Thomas (d. 1715, Indian agent), 29–31
- Nairn, Thomas (d. 1718, son of Indian agent), 30–31, 56, 184, 345
- names used for church, 208, 210, 217, 236, 271, 358, 401n68, 412n87
- Nash, Ben D., 340
- National Bicentennial Commission, 264
- National Committee of Black Churchmen, 253
- National Council of Churches of Christ (NCC), 233–34, 242–43
- National Register of Historic Places, church placed on, 264
- Native Americans: characterized in nineteenth century account, 147; Charles Hill, as trader with, 51; in colonial register, 12, 55; and founding of Carolina, 1–2; “Indian vents” in church, 211; ministry to, 13, 23, 28, 55, 69, 75; parish population of, 75, 378n3; in Rev. John Grimké Drayton’s 1876 sermon, 168; slavery of, 3–4, 30. *See also* Guy, Rev. William, background, and parochial reports to SPG by; Nairn, Thomas (d. 1715, Indian agent); Yamassee War
- nave, 140, 154, 156, 159, 415n48; bricks and pavers found under floor of, 250–51; burial sites found under floor of, 294, 296; in cruciform churches, 59; in 1948 church, 212; pews numbers in, 382n46; roof rafters strengthened along, 226; in 1706 church, 19–21; in 1723 church expansion, 63; size of, 59, 375n39. *See also* memorials, stone, in church, Drayton and Hastie; pew plans; pulpit, location of; reading desk, location of; sacristy
- Neese, Sarah Dunham, 349. *See also* Dunham, Sarah
- Nelson, Gerald A., 341
- Nelson, Jane S., 341
- Nelson, Louis P., 36–37, 61, 64, 76, 87, 374n31, 376n54
- Nettles, Brad, Jr., 316
- Nettles, Brad, Sr., 278, 292–93, 314
- Newington plantation, 3
- New London. *See* Willtown
- newly organized parish*, church classified as, 236
- Newton, Harold Scott, 348
- Nicholson, Gov. Francis, 58
- North and South*, filming of miniseries, 273
- Oak Forest plantation, 151
- Oaks, The, plantation, 151
- occasional services in church (1916–46), 196–97, 201
- O’Hear, Catherine, 345
- oldest church, as, viii–ix, x, 23, 368n22, 380n26
- oldest gravestones, 30–31
- oldest images of church, 107, 107, 129, 130, 181, 181, 187, 187
- oldest surviving churches, 23, 368n22
- “old Faber Place.” *See* Milton Lodge plantation
- Old Mr. Ferguson, 53

- “old painter named West,” 140  
 Old Parsonage Road, 48, 106, 268, 399n43  
 Old Ramsey Road, 399n43  
 Old St. Andrew’s. *See* names used for church  
 Old Town plantation, 9, 90–91, 196  
 “one Crofts,” 55  
 “one Griffith,” 55  
 “one Mr. Howard on James Island,” 55  
 organ: colonial, 76, 83, 107, 380n25; at Exchange Club, 208; Moller pipe, 227–28, 229; Weaver pump, 200, 201, 400n50; Wurlitzer electric, 217, 227–28; Zimmer pipe, 158, 248, 251, 258, 294, 301  
 organists, 228, 246, 303, 312–13, 316  
*organized mission*, church classified as, 200, 235  
 Orr, Rev. William, 44, 56, 67, 72, 74  
 Our Saviour, Church of, Johns Island, 307, 310  
 Oxford University, 75–76, 92, 101  
 Pain, William, 87  
 Panting, Rev. Thomas, 50, 55, 92–94, 105, 383n51  
 Papists. *See* Catholics  
 parish house, 159, 197, 213, 242; building of (1953–62), 222–25, 223, 225, 304; building of brick walkway leading to, 227, 311; building of front meeting hall in (1977), 259–60; burning of mortgage on, 263; events held in, 246, 287, 303, 321, 323; financing of, 228–30, 243, 248, 251, 260, 272–73, 283–84; Gilchrist Hall named, 282; hurricane damage to, 226, 280; Magee House named, 283; playground built behind, 311; repairs to, 246, 248, 251, 258–59, 272, 277, 283–84, 306, 310–11; Tea Room in, 228, 261; vandalism at, 259; worship space during 2004–5 restoration, 294  
 parish status regained, 235–36  
 parish system, 4–5, 5, 13  
 parking lot, 227, 258, 280, 281, 311  
 Parmenter, James, 55  
 parsonage: avenue of oaks planted at, 106; brick, two-story house (1750), 66, 75; burned in American Revolution, 98; burned in Civil War, throughout diocese, 162; colonial, in other parishes, 66–67, 74; condition of, when bequeathed to Rev. William Guy, 48; as “lodge in the wilderness,” 114; publicly funded, 12, 15, 48, 66, 99; rebuilt after revolution, 100, 385n14; repairs to, 66, 110–14; ruins seen, 193; survived Civil War, 163, 165. *See also* rectory  
 parsonage tract. *See* glebe  
 Paszek, Anne Worsham Richardson, 350  
 Penyman, John, 55  
 Perry, Benjamin, 335  
 pew plans: Carl Lounsbury’s, 415n48; colonial, 92; Col. William Izard Bull’s 1855, 139, 139, 213, 299, 299; HABS, 140  
 pew purchases: by Branford, Rose, and Horrys, 89–93; in colonial galleries, 76; for funding 1723 church expansion, 50; ownership by Col. Simon Magwood passed to sons, 122; owners needed to claim or have sold (1830), 110; by parishioners in city churches, 77; to supplement public funding, 12–13  
 pews, 154, 156, 158, 159; Benjamin Elliott’s, 56; “Bull” or “Squire’s,” 283; burial sites under, 294, 296; chosen after fire, 81, 83; color of, 227, 251, 283; condition of (1907), 187; flooring under, 19, 226, 250–51, 299; in galleries—colonial, 76, added in 1969, 251; handicap access added to, 299; “Indian vents” under, 211; numbering of, 227, 251, 283, 382n46; repairs to, 212, 226, 299; replaced (1855), 138–39; in 1706 church, 21; in 1723 church expansion, 63; Simons’ family, 220; speaker boxes added at end of, 299; in symmetry with windows, 139; value of to determine contribution to church repairs (1785), 100. *See also* pew plans; pew purchases; seasonal worship patterns  
 Phillips, Col. Sidney N., 341  
 phosphate mining, 7, 171–74, 172  
 piano, 258, 294, 411n57  
 Pierponts plantation, 33, 66, 126, also 205  
 Pigott, Calvin, 397n11  
 Pigott, Ethel C. (Pat), 188, 326, 344, 350  
 Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth (church secretary), 202, 347  
 Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth (phosphate mining), 173, 202  
 Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, Jr., 258  
 Pinckney, Eliza Lucas, 51  
 Plainview Road property, 249–50  
*Plantations of the Carolina Low Country* (Stoney), 203, 205  
 “Planters’ Church.” *See* St. Paul’s, Radcliffeborough, Church, Charleston  
 Pollard, Rev. J. M. H., 180–81, 183–84

- polling place, church used as, 108, 164–65, 385–86n24
- Pompey and wife (free blacks), baptism of, 52
- Pompion Hill Chapel, St. Thomas's Parish, 20, 23, 85, 397n12
- Pon Pon Chapel (The Burnt Church), St. Bartholomew's Parish, 333, 397n12
- poor man, mender of broken china, 55, 168
- poor relief, in colonial parishes, 13, 77–78
- Popham, Rear Adm. William Sherbrooke, Jr., 348
- Porcher-Holland, Dorothy, 313
- Porter-Gaud School, 199, 309, 313. *See also* Porter Military Academy
- Porter Military Academy, 199–200. *See also* Porter-Gaud School
- Poutiatine, Prince Sergei M., 347
- Poutiatine, Princess Shirley Bowers Manning, 349
- Pratt, Dr. Nathaniel, 171, 173
- prayer book controversy, 248–49, 265–68, 269, 275, 278
- prayer patio, 359
- Pregnall, H. D., 340
- Presbyterians: Anglican ministers, converts from, 25–27, 44; Anglican views of, 25–26; in backcountry, 80; Church Creek Presbyterian Church, Charleston, 250; James Island, influence on, 68, 78, 105, 122; James Island Presbyterian Church, 50, 93, 98; ministry to slaves, 121–22, 127; Presbyterian Church on Edisto Island, 291; St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, Charleston, 207. *See also* black exodus from Protestant denominations after Civil War; denominational affiliation; Magee, Rev. Lynwood C., background of; Taylor, Rev. Ebenezer
- Preservation Committee, 288, 290–94
- Preservation Fund, 288
- Price, Emma Elizabeth, 305
- Price, Grace Caroline, 305
- Price, Mary Catherine, 305
- Prince Frederick's Parish and Church, 5, 90, 92
- Prince George's, Winyah, Parish and Church, 5, 58, 90–91, 97, 104, 164, 364n23, 382n46, 384n4
- Prince William's Parish and Church (Sheldon), 5, 12, 95, 105, 119, 162, 296, 385n23, 397n12
- Pringle, Edward, 339
- Pringle, William Bull, 137–38, 335, 339–40
- Pringle Smith, J. J., 196
- Prioleau, Mrs. Edward, 197, 203
- Project 1855*, 293
- Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States, 150, 162
- Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of South Carolina. *See* Diocese of South Carolina
- Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. *See* Episcopal Church
- Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina, 103, 107–8, 114, 117
- Puckhaber, Marion, 301
- pulpit, 157, 159; Bibles, 109, 167–68; canopy over, 18, 37; cloths, 48–49; colonial pattern books, used to design, 87, 138; description of, 138, 167; font near, 120, 157; iron railing around, 138–39, 251, 283; location of, 19–21, 63, 138; organ console placed behind, 228, 251; post molds found of, 19–20, 295; in 1706 church, 37, 40; in 1723 church expansion, 63; repairs to, 170, 251, 299; replaced in 1855, 138; trap door in, 308
- Purcell, Rev. Henry, 101
- Pye, Marshall, 200
- Quakers, 17, 23, 28. *See also* denominational affiliation
- Quarter House plantation. *See* Stock Prior plantation
- Quincy, Rev. Samuel, 74
- quitclaim deeds, 318–20
- quoins, stucco, 60, 260
- Ramsay, John A., 124, 339
- Ransom, Charles, 55
- Rantowles Creek, 6–7
- Ravenel, Arthur, Sr., 208, 211, 215
- Ravenel, Charles J., 196, 201–3, 336
- Ravenel, Daniel, Jr., 77
- Ravenel, Elizabeth McPherson, 84, 131, 179, 180, 183
- Ravenel, Emily (Mrs. Charles J.), 187–88, 196–97, 201–3
- Ravenel, Molly, 282
- Ravenel, Mrs. Arthur, 216
- Ravenel, René, 8
- Ravenel, William, 150, 151
- Ravenswood, 146, 151
- reading desk, 157; cloths, 49; description of, 138; font near, 120, 157; graffiti on

- drawer of, 184; iron railing around, 138–39, 251, 283; location of, 19–21, 63, 138; in 1706 church, 19–21, 37, 39–40; in 1723 church expansion, 63; repairs to, 170, 251; replaced in 1855, 138
- Real, Col. Stewart, 211
- Reconstruction, 160–74
- rectors: difficulty of removing, 10, 31, 43–44; and dissenters, 12, 24, 48; duties and election of, 12; first to grow up in parish, 222; first to reside in parish when elected, 135; most influential, 46, 182, 240, 306; probationary period of, 74, 79; reluctance to ask parishioners for money to supplement state salary, 24, 48; succession of, by Col. William Izard Bull, 131; tenures of—longest, 73, 75, 107, 182, 306, shortest, 23–25, 92–94, 108–9, 115. *See also* Appendix 2; vacancy, periods of ministerial; *and names of individual rectors*
- rectory, 225–26, 228–30, 242, 248, 250, 259, 286–87, 357–59. *See also* parsonage
- Redeemer, Church of the, Charleston, 212
- Reed, Stephanie Mann, 324
- Reeves, William C., 350
- Reformed Episcopal Church, 161
- register (book): antebellum, 131, 136, 182, 351, 390n86; colonial—entries in, 12, 24, 50–56, 61, 93, 94, 194–95, 296, 373n24, 376n56; in nineteenth century, 142, 167–68, 194, in twentieth century, 192–95, 237, 398n32; establishment of, 12; Rev. Paul Trapier's personal, 237, 351, 406n67
- register (person keeping records), 12, 366n29
- Relation of Christianity to Civil Government in the United States* (Adams), 116–17
- reopenings of church: anniversaries of, 263, 287; 1840, 119; 1855, 141–43; 1876, 167–69, 168; 1948, 209–11, 401n3; 2005, 301. *See also* seasonal worship patterns
- reredos, 84–89, 86, 155, 381n34, 381n35; large east end window, in same space as, 60–61; later design features of, 187; repair of, 212, 226, 251, 300, 300
- restorations: 1762–65, 81–84, 379–80n23; 1785–87, 100; 1829, 110; 1840, 119; 1855, 136–41, 299; 1876, 167, 174; 1949–50, 212–15; 1969, 250–51; 2004–5, 158, 290–302
- retable. *See* chancel
- rice, 3–4, 9, 56, 77, 96, 102, 164, 171
- Richard Marks Restorations, 22, 62, 295, 297–300. *See also* earthquake; fire (ca. 1762); restorations, 2004–5; 1706 church; 1723 church expansion
- Richards, Rev. John, 265
- Richardson, Anne Worsham. *See* Paszek, Anne Worsham Richardson
- Ridgell, Rob, 304
- Rigsby, Dorothy M., 254–55, 262, 344
- Riley, Rev. Lawton, 212, 212, 216–18, 221, 263
- Rivers, John, 388n63
- Rivers, Mrs. Mallory, 105
- Roach, Mary C., 346
- Roach, William, 346
- Roberts, Col. Owen, 95, 335
- Robinson, Randal, 346
- Robinson, Rt. Rev. V. Gene, 290
- Robinson, Susan Hunter, 346
- roof: color of, 227, 250; composition of—cypress (in 1723 church expansion), 60, metal (in 1927 replacement), 198, 399n39, pine (in 1706 church), 18, 49, wooden shake shingles (in 1891 photograph), 181, 181; hurricanes, effect on, 177, 226, 280; leaking, in parish house, 258–59, 284; repairs to, 170, 193, 212, 258; rafters and support structure of, 83–84, 226, 227, 291–92, 297–98, 298. *See also* steeple; stump tower (wooden porch)
- Rose, Francis, 90–91, 93
- Rose, Thomas, plantation near church, 7, 17–18
- Rose, Thomas (1758 pew), 77
- Rose, Thomas (T. R.), 7, 16–18, 17, 34, 38–40, 49, 62, 140, 179, 204, 205, 296, 335, 367n10, 376n49
- Rosier, Frances McDaniel, 350. *See also* McDaniel, Frances H.
- Rowan, Rev. John, 74
- Royall, William, 335
- Rudisill, Hillyer, III, 228
- Ruffin, Edmund, 171, 384n8
- Runnymede plantation, 151, 172–73, 202
- Russell, Nathaniel, House, 112
- sacristy, 139, 169, 212, 228, 299. *See also* vestry (room)
- Salmon, Rt. Rev. Edward L., Jr., 283, 285, 286, 304, 305, 308
- saltire (cross of St. Andrew), 251, 304
- Sampson and wife (free blacks), baptism of, 52
- Sams, Barnwell Frost, 346

- Sams, Dr. Donald D., 347  
 Sams, Franklin Frost, 186, 186, 347  
 Samuel (slave), baptism of, 52  
 sanctuary. *See* chancel  
 Sanderson, Fiona, 316, 324  
 Savage, Christopher, 55  
 Savannah Highway (U.S. 17), 9, 123, 207, 225, 237, 238, 239, 243  
 Sawtelle, Cdr. William J., 406n55  
 Scarborough, Nancy, 342  
 Schultz, Alice, 341  
 Schultz, Stanley, III, 256, 263, 336  
 Schwab, Rev. Christopher Ernst, 50, 55–56, 93–94, 345, 373n15  
 Scouting, 262, 313, 357  
 scrapbooks, black archival, 232  
 screen. *See* chancel, screen  
 Seafarers’ ministry, 313  
 Searson, Jackie, 274  
 Searson, Lila O., 344, 349  
 seasonal worship patterns, 77, 108, 109, 110, 117–18, 119, 128, 135–36, 141, 144, 165, 169, 176  
 “seasoning,” 53  
 secretaries (church officers), 202–3, 208, 215, 217  
 Seithel, David L., 337, 343  
 Seithel, Sarah, 258, 262. *See also* Jones, Sarah Bailey Hood Seithel  
 Seminary of the Southwest, 310  
 Serfass, Terry, 254–55  
 servant of John Drayton, 55  
 1706 church, 15, 15, 16–23, 22, 49  
 1723 church expansion, 48–50, 58–64, 62, 76, 83, 87, 120, 179, 368n22, 375n45  
 Sewanee. *See* University of the South, Sewanee  
 sexton, duties of, 12. *See also* Dojan, Kenneth Paul; Fludd, “Daddy Billy”  
 Shaffer, Walter L., 336, 341, 347  
 Shaftesbury, Earl of. *See* Ashley Cooper, Lord Anthony  
 Sheldon Church. *See* Prince William’s Parish and Church (Sheldon)  
 Shem Town. *See* Ashley Ferry Town  
 Shier, George L., Jr., 342, 349  
 Shiflett, Cecile Ann, 341  
 Shiflett, Richard T., 246, 247, 253, 262, 336, 341  
 Shokes, Mr. (catechist), 136, 144, 326  
 silver, church, 49, 169, 197, 203, 216, 217, 304  
 Simmons, J. Betts, Jr., 184  
 Simmons, Morton Waring, 199  
 Simons, Charles W., Jr., 212, 220–21, 245  
 Simons, Charles W., Sr., 221  
 Simons, Eleanor. *See* Long, Eleanor Ball Gaillard Simons  
 Simons, Edward T., Jr., 245, 246–47, 336, 341, 348  
 sister churches, 42, 113, 265  
 1696 congregation (misattribution), 366n37  
 Skene, Alexander, 29, 33–42, 44, 69, 143, 369n39  
 Skene, Jemima, 33  
 Skilton, Rt. Rev. William J., 231, 231–32, 237, 284, 288, 303, 305, 308, 319, 405n52  
 slaves: in American Revolution, 95, 97; as “black roses,” 145; in Civil War, 150, 164; descendants of, at Magnolia, 319; in earliest colonial times, 3–4; as laborers in building 1706 church, 19, 367n10; as laborers in 1855 restoration, 138; ministry to, in antebellum period—benefits described by John Rivers, 388n63, church attendance described by Rev. Philip Gadsden, 109, by Rev. Jasper Adams, 117, by Rev. John Grimké Drayton, 135–36, 143–44, 146, by Rev. Paul Trapier, 110, 113, 114, by Rev. Stuart Hanckel, 119–28, 128; ministry to, in colonial period—on Alexander Skene’s plantation, 29, 42, criticized by Rev. George Whitefield, 70, as mission of SPG, 13, by Rev. Charles Martyn, 75, by Rev. Ebenezer Taylor, 28–29, 69, by Rev. William Guy, 48, 49, 69; “missionary crop” planted by, 125; Native American, 3–4, 29–30; ownership of, by free black man, 94; ownership of, on plantations—91 (Horrays), 102 (Thomas Middleton), 122 (Magwood), 123–24 and 389n70 (N. R. Middleton), 125 and 389n75 (Barker), 126 and 390n78 (Faber), 126–27 and 390n80 (Williams Middleton), 137 (William Izard Bull), 367n10 (Rose); ownership of, by rectors—52, 78, and 92 (Rev. Charles Martyn), 71, 75, and 377n67 (Rev. William Guy), 102 (Rev. Thomas Mills), 114 (Rev. Paul Trapier), 118 (Rev. Jasper Adams), 125–26, 135, 150, and 390n76 (Rev. John Grimké Drayton); population of, in parish—colonial, 14, 49, 56–57, 75, 94, 372n11, 374n32, 378n3, antebellum, 102, 108, 164; in register, 12, 51–52, 326; seating for, 76, 89



- Smith, Christopher, 5–6  
 Smith, Donald S., 341  
 Smith, Edward, 55  
 Smith, Gadsden, Jr., 336, 340  
 Smith, Henry A. M., 58  
 Smith, Rev. Gregory, 289, 303  
 Smith, Roger Moore, 184, 345  
 Smith, Rt. Rev. Robert, 103  
 Smith, William, 55  
 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), 90, 103, 255; Church Act of 1704 and, 10; mission of, 13; Rev. Alexander Wood and, 24–25; Rev. Charles Martyn and, 74–81, 83; Rev. Ebenezer Taylor and, 18, 26–44; Rev. Henry Gerrard and, 23; Rev. Samuel Thomas and, 13–14; Rev. William Guy and, 16, 20, 46–47, 51–52, 56, 59, 69–73. *See also* United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG)  
 Soldier's Retreat plantation. *See* Maryville plantation  
 South Carolina, founding of, 1–5  
*South Carolina Gazette*, 72, 81, 82, 93  
*South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, 194, 237  
*South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 237  
 South Carolina Historical Society, 131, 194, 219, 237, 248  
 South Carolina Tricentennial Commission, 255  
 Southworth School, Charleston, 133  
 Springfield plantation, 171, 395n32  
 “Squire’s” pew. *See* “Bull” pew  
 Standing Committee, diocesan: Barbara Gilchrist on, 262; rectors on, 103, 130, 240, 266  
 St. Andrew, cross of. *See* saltire  
 St. Andrew’s Chapel (later Church), Mount Pleasant, 115  
 St. Andrew’s Mission Church, Charleston: in nineteenth century, 123, 175, 183–84; in twentieth century, 208, 235, 265, 271; in twenty-first century, 313, 316–17, 318. *See also* Magwood Chapel  
 St. Andrew’s Parish: boundaries of, 5, 5–6, 8, 42, 43, 50; economy of—antebellum, 102, colonial, 3–4, 9, 56–57, 77–78, 94, Reconstruction, 160, 171–74, 172, 179; establishment of, 1–4, 10, 12–13; plantations in, 9, 11, 201, 228; population of—antebellum, 102, 108, 164, colonial, 14, 24, 47, 49, 57, 74–75, 94, 378n3, Reconstruction, 164, twentieth century, 207, 237, 274, 401n63, 412n99; schools in, vii, 13, 55, 78, 80, 93, 206, 256; suburbanization of, 205–7, 206, 237; transportation in, 7, 49, 71, 151, 184, 200, 205–6, 237; values of (1950s), 232. *See also* Ashley Ferry Town; denominational affiliation; earthquake; glebe; graveyard; hurricanes; parsonage; rectory; St. Andrews Town; West Ashley; *and names of individual plantations*  
 St. Andrew’s Parish Church: exterior—nineteenth century, 107, 130, 181, twentieth century, 186, 202, 204, 215, 236, twenty-first century, 152, 153, 297; interior—twentieth century, 187, 198, 263, twenty-first century, 154–59, 298–300. *See also* Church Act; land grant for church; reopenings of church; restorations; 1706 church; 1723 church expansion; *and various aspects of material culture*  
 St. Andrews Town, 15, 57–58  
 Stanyarne, James, 33, 38, 55, 296  
 Stanyarne, Jane, 33  
 Starr, Rev. Mr., 197  
 St. Bartholomew’s Parish and Church, 4, 5, 28, 30, 35, 66, 71, 73, 74, 90, 163, 183, 333, 384n4, 385n14  
 St. David’s Parish and Church, Cheraw, 5, 241  
 St. Denis’s Parish and Church, 4, 333  
 steeple, 49, 51, 59–60, 61, 62, 81  
 Stegall, Carrie, 326, 344  
 Stehmeyer Construction Co., 224, 226  
 Stent, Joseph, 51, 55  
 Stewart, Clara Atkinson, 349. *See also* Stewart, Clara M.  
 Stewart, Clara M., 344. *See also* Stewart, Clara Atkinson  
 St. Francis Church, Charleston, 324  
 St. George’s, Dorchester, Parish, 5, 33, 42, 49–50, 55, 66, 68, 71–74, 99, 126–27, 151, 372n13  
 St. George’s, Dorchester, Parish Church, 42, 58, 97, 99, 113, 127, 265, 364n23, 397n12  
 St. Helena’s Parish and Church, Beaufort, 5, 30, 32, 46, 160, 163, 233, 370n47, 384n4  
 St. James Church, New London, Conn., 279  
 St. James’s, Goose Creek, Parish, 12, 28, 90, 102; establishment of, 4–6, 5; clergy serving, 16, 55, 73, 74, 109; glebe and parsonage in, 66–67; Wassamassaw chapel of ease in, 58–59



- St. James's, Goose Creek, Parish Church: earthquake damage to, 178; elements of, 56, 60–61, 76, 85, 89, 189, 198; establishment of, 21, 333, 384n4; history of, 185, 194; periods of vacancy in, 127, 183; reopening after Civil War of, 169, 395n32; spared in Revolutionary War, 97–98
- St. James's, Santee, Parish, 4, 5, 66, 85, 90–91, 146
- St. James's, Santee, Parish Church (The Brick Church), 21, 53, 333, 397n12
- St. James's Church, Hendersonville, N.C., 169
- St. James's Church, James Island, 113–15, 117, 176, 207, 265, 309. *See also* chapels, on James Island
- St. John in the Wilderness Church, Flat Rock, N.C., 141, 150, 165, 169, 180, 181
- St. John's, Berkeley, Parish, 4, 5, 20, 32, 57, 66–67, 70, 73, 77, 81, 121, 147, 207, 387n54
- St. John's, Berkeley, Parish Church (Biggin Church), 18, 63, 76, 104, 121, 333
- St. John's, Colleton, Parish and Church, Johns Island, 5, 44, 71, 72, 74, 79, 92, 147, 207, 320, 384n4
- St. John's Church, Charleston (later Oakland, West Ashley), 238–40, 257, 257, 324, 387n54
- St. John's Church, Florence, 236
- St. John's Lutheran Church, Charleston, 292, 390n78
- St. Luke and St. Paul, Church (later Cathedral) of, 234, 240, 313. *See also* St. Paul's, Radcliffeborough, Church, Charleston
- St. Luke's Church, Smithfield, Va., 23
- St. Mark's Church, Charleston, 166–67, 174
- St. Mark's Parish and Church, Pinewood, 5, 97, 256
- St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, Charleston, 185
- St. Matthew's Parish and Church, Fort Motte, 5, 245
- St. Matthias's Church, Summerton, 256
- St. Michael's Church, Charleston, viii–ix, 21, 108, 116–17, 185, 384n4, 384n64; elements of, 76, 77, 89–90, 92, 198, 383n51; furnishings from, 197, 203
- St. Michael's Parish, 5, 93, 101, 115, 121, 195, 256
- Stobo, Richard Park, 50, 98, 335, 384n64
- Stock Prior plantation, 6
- Stone, Rev. Robert, 74, 378n71
- Stoney, Samuel Gaillard, 205, 381n35
- Stoney Point plantation, 296
- Stono River, 5–7, 14, 18, 30, 67, 114, 163, 177
- Story, Lt. Cdr. E. G., 406n55
- St. Paul's, Radcliffeborough, Church, Charleston, 106, 108, 117, 119, 131, 208, 211–12, 381n35. *See also* St. Luke and St. Paul, Church (later Cathedral) of
- St. Paul's, Stono, Parish, 4, 5, 6–7, 28, 30, 44, 66–67, 100, 183, 212, 390n78; clergy serving, 32, 48, 71, 73, 74, 109
- St. Paul's, Stono, Parish Church, 18, 19, 49, 56, 58–59, 127, 163, 333, 364n23, 375n40, 384n4
- St. Paul's Church, Beaufort, N.C., 255
- St. Paul's Church, Montrose, Pa., 201
- St. Paul's Church, Orangeburg, 318
- St. Paul's Church, Pendleton, 118
- St. Peter's-by-the-Sea, North Charleston, 273
- St. Peter's Church, Charleston (later West Ashley), 144–45, 257, 257, 289
- St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parish, 384n4, 385n14
- St. Philip's Church, Charleston, 18, 21, 23, 49, 72, 76, 106, 108, 145, 198, 201, 222, 320, 333, 374n31, 383n51, 384n4, 397n12
- St. Philip's Church, Denmark, 318
- St. Philip's Parish, 4, 5, 6, 23–24, 44, 46–47, 66, 74, 237
- Strawberry Chapel, St. John's, Berkeley, Parish, 20, 53, 121, 413n14
- Strobel, CMSgt Robert K., 342–43
- Strobel, Mildred L., 344
- St. Stephen's Church, Charleston, 114–15
- St. Stephen's Parish and Church, St. Stephen, 5, 76, 85, 86, 87–89, 102, 104, 147, 384n4, 397n12, 401n68
- St. Thaddaeus's Church, Aiken, 165
- St. Thomas Church, Bath, N.C., 23
- St. Thomas's and St. Denis's Parish, 5, 108, 384n4
- St. Thomas's Church, Windsor, N.C., 277
- St. Thomas's Parish, 4, 20, 23, 66, 85
- St. Thomas's Parish Church (The White Church), 18, 20, 53, 60, 333, 368n22
- St. Timothy's Anglican Catholic Church, Charleston, 106, 268, 278
- stucco, 152, 153; added to 1723 church expansion, 60; added to parish house, 259–60; condition of, 106, 226; evidence of possible stump

## Index

- tower on, 20–21; fallen off gable end, after earthquake, 187; mentioned in nineteenth century account of church, 128; not part of 1706 church, 19; red tile, possibly under, 205; repair of, 226–27, 250, 297. *See also* cherub and ornamentation
- stump tower (wooden porch), 20–21, 22, 61, 64, 294
- Sunday school: at chapels, 119, 124, 125, 135–36, 147, 175; at church, 110, 197, 213, 220, 222, 224, 225, 244, 259, 304, 310, 324; at missions, 184, 208
- Sunday school directors. *See* Christian education directors
- surveys, property, 199, 386n40, 402n15
- Swenson, Sherri, 254
- Swiss servant of Lt. Gov. William Bull Jr., 55
- tablets. *See* reredos
- Taylor, Eugenia Withers (Gene), 209, 210, 230, 232, 255, 326
- Taylor, Rev. Ebenezer, 48; allegations of poisoning and bounty against, 34–36; approach to Anglican liturgy by, 33, 36–37; Bible and Book of Common Prayer, taken from, 39–40; comparison to Rev. William Guy, 45–46; conversion to Church of England of, 25–26, 34; dissenters and, 25–26, 34; elected rector, 27; financial status of, 17, 32, 34, 38; first preaching at church, 27; glebe, use of, 38; governor and council, meetings with, 40; leaving parish, 40–41; letters to SPG by, 28, 32, 34–36, 38–40, 41; locked out of church, 39–40, 371n72; ministry to slaves, 28–29; North Carolina, posting to, 31–32, 35–36, 38, 40–42; parishioners' complaints against, 32–36, 38–39; physical elements of church used against, 36–37; preaching style of, 32–33; prohibited from preaching, 38–41; pulpit and reading desk, mention of, 18, 37; register entry of, 52; summary of tenure of, 43–44. *See also* denominational affiliation; Johnston, Rev. and Commissary Gideon; Skene, Alexander; Yamassee War
- Tea Room, 261, 324–25; beginnings of, 214–15; Gift Shop, 228–29, 261, 293, 304; in Gilchrist Hall, 259, 261, 304; in 1950s, 228–29, 232; use of income from, 224, 293, 319
- Tea Room Cookbook*, 261
- Temple, Rt. Rev. Gray, 242, 244, 247, 249, 254, 256, 262, 263, 265, 267, 268, 269
- Thexton, Arthur R., 341
- “third Chapel.” *See* Barker Chapel
- “Third Church.” *See* St. Paul's, Radcliffeborough, Church, Charleston
- Thomas, John P., Jr., 191–93, 196–97, 199–200
- Thomas, Ralph C., 280, 337, 342, 349
- Thomas, Rev. Harold, 197
- Thomas, Rev. Samuel, 13–14
- Thomas, Rt. Rev. Albert Sidney, 21, 103, 182, 216, 232
- Thompson, 1st Sgt. Thomas L., 347
- Thomson, Christine, 300
- Through These Doors—Bread of Heaven: A Collection of Recipes*, 304
- Tillman, Maj. Richard L., 406n55
- Tillman, Rear Adm. Edwin Hord, 349
- Tilton, Shannon R., 336
- time capsule, 305
- Tobias, Emanuel, 51
- Tompkins, Rev. George J., III, 278; assistant rector for youth ministry, search for, 285–86; awarded DMin, 282–83; background of, 279–80; columbarium built under, 282; comparison to Rev. Marshall Huey, 311–12; as “dead rector,” 307; divorce of, 286; elected rector, 277–78; fiftieth anniversary of reopening under, 287; financial situation under, 281–85, 287–88; Gilchrist Hall named under, 282; as historian, 62–63, 278, 282; illness affecting, 287, 302–3; issues faced when elected rector, 269, 278; as liberal in conservative parish, 278, 324; Magee House named under, 283; membership growth under, 280, 287, 306; mission work in Dominican Republic under, 288; new mission statement under, 285, 287–88; on 1948 reopening, 210–11; rectory purchased under, 286–87; repairs to—church under, 283; parish house under, 283–84; response to ordination of Rt. Rev. V. Gene Robinson, 290; response to parish disaffiliation with Episcopal Church, 324; response to September 11, 2001, 290; retirement of, 287, 305–6; search for, 276–77, 413n6; staff under, 288–89, 303; summary of tenure of, 306; 300th anniversary celebration under, 303–5, 305. *See also* hurricanes; restorations, 2004–5; Younklin, Sara
- Tompkins Walk, 305, 359

- tornado (1973), 358  
 Toumey, Michael, 171  
 tower. *See* stump tower (wooden porch)  
 transept, 140, 159, 415n48; brick kiln, located in, 19, 294; bricks and pavers found under floor of, 250–51; in cruciform churches, 59; Hurricane Hugo and, 280; most expensive pews in, 89; oil heater in, 212; organ pipes in, 251, 301; in 1723 church expansion, 60; Simons' pew in, 220; size of, 59; 2004–5 restoration and, 298–99. *See also* J. F. and T. R. memorials; pulpit, location of; reading desk, location of; saltire (cross of St. Andrew)
- Trapier, Aida (Mrs. Pinckney Alston), 255  
 Trapier, Rev. Paul, 110; autobiography of, 110, 114, 354, 386n30; born about same year as “Daddy Billy” Fludd, 120; comparison to other rectors, 119, 122, 131, 132, 135, 182, 214; inexperience of, 33, 111, 119; ministry to slaves, effect on successors, 122, 135, 182; parsonage called “lodge in the wilderness” by, 114; private register of, 237, 351, 385n21, 406n67; rectorship of, 109–15, 131
- Travers, Rev. Marshall, 237–39  
 Trayer, E. Gene, 272–73, 276, 337, 342  
 Trayer, Patricia, 277  
 treasurers, 189, 196, 202–3, 208, 215, 260, 271, 293, 347, 349, 350  
 Trego, Alan E., 342  
 Trenholm, Eddie, 211  
 Trident Community Foundation, 282  
 Trinity Church (later Cathedral), Columbia, 131, 270  
 Trinity Church, Myrtle Beach, 270  
 Trinity Church, Pinopolis, 207, 289  
 Trinity Wall Street, New York, 304  
 Trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina. *See* Diocese of South Carolina
- Tschudy, Rev. John Jacob, 121  
 Turner, Clyde H., 268, 341, 348  
 Turner, Col. Edward B. (Bo), Jr., 292–94, 343  
 Turner, Ethel G., 268, 344
- Union Oil Co. of California, 249–50  
 Union Theological Seminary, 241  
 United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG), 264, 304. *See also* Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG)  
 United States Military Academy at West Point, 118
- University of Edinburg, 279  
 University of South Carolina, 64, 106, 227  
 University of the South, Sewanee, 231, 256, 282, 288, 309  
 University of Utah, 222  
 University of Virginia, 189, 279  
 “usurping” church activities, 277
- vacancy, periods of ministerial, 75, 94, 107, 118, 165, 183, 210  
 value of church and glebe (1890s), 184  
 vandalism, 163, 184, 189, 198, 259  
 Vanderbilt University, 309  
 Varnod, Rev. Francis, 55  
 Vauclose plantation, 17, 33, 296  
 vaults, burial. *See* graveyard  
 Vella, Rev. Joe, 324  
 Vestries and Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Andrew. *See* incorporation of church, 1785  
 vestry (book), 12, 193–94  
 vestry (lay body): duties of, 12; first African American on, 317; first woman on, 262  
 vestry (room), 20–21, 22, 195, 294, 296. *See also* sacristy
- Veyera, Alice, 344  
*View of the Church of St. Andrews Parish, A.* *See* Fraser, Charles
- Villepontoux, Francis and Zachariah, 85, 87  
 Vincent, Lt. Col. Gaillard S., 233, 235, 340, 348  
 Virginia churches and parishes, comparisons to, 4, 18, 19, 20, 23, 56, 59, 88–89, 279–80  
 Virginia Theological Seminary, 222, 234–35, 245, 270  
 vonRosenberg, Rt. Rev. Charles, 322–24  
 Vorhees College, 318
- Walker, Amanda, 346  
 Walker, Mrs. Joseph, 201  
 Walker & Burden Architects and Engineers, 193  
 walkway, brick, 227, 311  
 Wallace, M. W., 192–97, 397n24  
 Wallace, Rev. Cranmore, 117, 387n54  
 walls: altar along, 21, 263, 263; deteriorating, 185–86, 226; earthquake, effects on, 177, 181, 181, 291–92; fire (ca. 1762) and, 81, 84, 87, 142; grave of Mary Elliott along, 56; inscriptions on, 213; lighting atop, 213, 294; organ and pipes along, 158, 251; pulpit seat, attached to,

## Index

- 138; repairs to, 212, 226–27, 250, 297–98, 297; sconces on, 294; settlement, effect on, 291; in 1706 church, 19–21, 267n10; in 1723 church expansion, 59–61; stucco on, 19, 20, 60, 128, 181, 205, 226–27, 250, 297; tilt of, 177. *See also* cherub and ornamentation; gable ends of church, additions to; gallery; *J. F.* and *T. R.* memorials; memorials, stone, in church; pew plans; reredos
- Wappoo Creek and Cut, 6–7, 9, 95–96, 113, 150, 237, 239
- wardens. *See* churchwardens
- Warfuel, Rev. Ronald, 412n96
- Waring, Joseph Ioor, 194
- Warren, Clemmie, 326
- Warren, Kenneth R., 342
- Warren, Ralph F., 336
- Watts-Johnson, Nicole, 289
- Weaver, Rev. William C., 265
- Webber, Mabel L., 194–95, 237
- Weldon, Matt, 286
- Welshuysen, Daniel, 50
- West, Rev. Eugene J., 208
- West Ashley, vii, 6, 205, 207–8, 237–39, 257, 257, 274, 302, 310–11, 317, 324, 412n99. *See also* St. Andrew's Parish
- Westpenny (Wespanee) plantation, 9, 90, 91, 196. *See also* Fairfield plantation
- Wharton, Peggy, 344
- White, Dorothy L., 303, 303, 307, 337, 343
- White, Thomas, 225
- White Church, The. *See* St. Thomas's Parish Church
- Whitefield, Rev. George, 70, 92
- Wicks, Rev. Earl, 248
- widow, unnamed, of John Robertson, 55
- Wiles, A. G. D., 258
- William (slave), baptism of, 52
- Williams, Boynton R., 214, 347
- Williams, Elizabeth, 56, 184, 345
- Williams, Frances L., 344
- Williams, J. Howard, 280, 284, 337, 342–43
- Williams, John, 33, 38, 335
- Williams, Joseph, 56, 184, 345
- Williams, Patricia M., 337, 342, 358
- Williams, Rev. Croft, 197
- Williamson, Manley, 38, 296
- Willtown, 7
- Willtown Road, 7, 17–18
- Wilson, David L., 337, 342
- Wilson, Marty, 344
- Wilson-Cohen, Vivian, 326, 359
- Wilton. *See* Christ Church, Wilton, Adams Run; Willtown
- windows: added to gable ends of church, 107, 152, 153, 250, 294; alignment with pews, 165; described by N. R. Middleton, 129; in desecrated church, 165; fire and, 81, 82, 295; flue in, 212, 283; Mary Elliott's gravestone visible through, 56; open, before air conditioning, 250; proposal for barbed wire around and iron, 189, 197–98; repair of, 170, 212, 297, 299; and reredos, 85–89; in 1706 church, 18, 21, 49; in 1723 church expansion, 59–61, 64, 375n45; tilt of, 291
- Wintley, Rev. John, 371n72
- Winters, Donna C., 344
- Woman's Auxiliary, 113, 209, 214, 217–18, 224, 349–50. *See also* Appendix 5; Episcopal Church Women (ECW)
- Women of Old St. Andrew's, 325. *See also* Appendix 5; Episcopal Church Women (ECW)
- Wood, John (apprentice), 55
- Wood, John (overseer), 55
- Wood, Rev. Alexander, 23–25, 45, 56, 345
- “wooden cathedral,” church as, 212
- Woodmason, Rev. Charles, 80, 83, 92
- Working Society, 113–14. *See also* Episcopal Church Women (ECW)
- Wright, Richard, 49
- Wye, Rev. William, 47
- Yale University, 116, 279, 289
- Yamassee War, 29–31, 32, 46, 47, 67, 71, 168, 304
- Yarsiah, Rev. James, 313, 318
- Yates, Col. Joseph A., 173–74, 340
- Yerkes, Lt. A. Craig, 406n55
- Yon, Marion J., Jr., 267, 336
- young gentleman belonging to Scarborough man of war, 55
- Younkin, John E., 336, 349
- Younkin, Sara, 246–48, 289, 289, 301, 303, 304
- youth ministers, 231, 285–86, 288, 289, 313, 316
- Zobel, Col. Rudolph Deas, 349





The tranquility of the magnificently restored Saint Andrew's Parish Church, surrounded by stately oaks and ancient gravestones, belies a tumultuous past. If its walls could talk, they would tell a story as old as the human condition.

Founded in the forest of a new colony, this simple Anglican church served planters and their slaves during the heyday of rice and indigo. Before the Civil War, ministry shifted to the slaves, and afterward to freed men and women. Following years of decline and neglect, Saint Andrew's rose like the phoenix.

The history of the oldest surviving church south of Virginia and the only remaining colonial cruciform church in South Carolina is one of wealth and poverty, acclaim and anonymity, slavery and freedom, war and peace, quarrelling and cooperation, failure and achievement. It is the story of a church that has refused to die, against all odds.

### ***ABOUT THE AUTHOR***

Paul Porwoll fell in love with St. Andrew's Parish Church the first time he walked through the graveyard and stepped inside the church. He joined, as did many before him, because of the historic building, but stayed because of the people he met. His passion for history, research, and writing compelled him to tell the story of this wonderful place, its remarkable people, and its extraordinary past. Paul and his wife, Lori, live on Johns Island.

