United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

__X__ New Submission ____ Amended Submission
===
A. Name of Multiple Property Listing
===

Resources Associated with Segregation in Columbia, South Carolina, 1880-1960

===
B. Associated Historic Contexts
===
(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Segregation in Columbia, South Carolina, 1880-1960

===
C. Form Prepared by
===

name/title Ruth Bagley-Ayres, Heather Carpini, Elizabeth Coker, Rebekah Dobrasko, Kristina Dunn, J. R. Fennell, Jody Graichen, Lauren Ham, Eric Plaag, Michelle Purvis, James Steele, and Beth Wiedower

street & number Public History Program, University of South Carolina   telephone __(803) 777-6398__

city or town ___Columbia_____   state__SC_____   zip code__29208_____
===
D. Certification
===
As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (___ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

_____   _____
Signature and title of certifying official   Date

Mary W. Edmonds, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, S.C. Dept. of Archives & History, Columbia, S.C.
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

_____   _____

Signature of the Keeper   Date of Action

===
Table of Contents for Written Narrative
===
Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets *in How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

===

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Segregation in Columbia, South Carolina, 1880-1960

1. Segregation in the United States

Segregation in the United States was based on a mixture of custom and law which dictated the separation of whites and blacks in businesses and public places. This system, known as Jim Crow, arose after the end of the Civil War and Reconstruction in 1877 and continued into the 1960s. The system of segregation reached across the United States, afflicting the lives of both black and white citizens. Federal, state, and local governments passed laws ensuring the segregation of the races in places such as train stations, schools, and office buildings. In addition to this system of *de jure*, or legal, segregation, customary, or *de facto*, segregation, controlled the separation of the races in most other aspects of life.

The beginnings of segregation were apparent before the Civil War, especially in the northern United States. Northern states abolished slavery before the Civil War, and a system of racial segregation developed to take its place. Blacks and whites were segregated in public schools, housing, and transportation. The laws enforcing this segregation in the North were, for the most part, repealed after the end of the Civil War. However, *de facto* segregation continued in the northern states.[1]

At the conclusion of the Civil War, the northern states imposed what was known as Reconstruction within the southern states. The Reconstruction era in the South promised to help the newly-freed slaves gain political and social standing. To meet this goal, Congress developed the Freedmen's Bureau, which became a feature of race relations in the South during Reconstruction. The Bureau helped organize a system of employment and education for the freed blacks of the South. Additionally, the Reconstruction Act of 1867 gave the United States government control of the southern states and ensured blacks the right to vote in the new state elections. Southern states were required to amend their constitutions to give blacks full political and civil rights. The system of Reconstruction promised to give blacks the same rights as the white citizens in the South and imposed laws to help attain this equality.[2]

White southerners, however, fought against the Reconstruction administered by the federal government. Racial violence was widespread with the advent of the Ku Klux Klan, organized in Tennessee as a Confederate veterans' social club. The Klan targeted black politicians and leaders, as well as any black person believed to cause trouble, especially those trying to vote. When the Compromise of 1877 effectively ended Reconstruction in the South, southern blacks quickly lost the tenuous political and social gains made during this time. White southerners heralded the coming of "Redemption," and a policy of white supremacy returned to state governments across the South.[3]

Despite this, the end of Reconstruction did not automatically lead to a hardened Jim Crow system of segregation. State laws passed during Reconstruction were still in effect, and many blacks continued to exercise their political and social

---

[1] Richard Wormser, *The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), xi.

[2] Wormser, *Rise and Fall*, 3, 19.

[3] Wormser, *Rise and Fall*, 22-24; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 31.

rights as afforded by law. Racial segregation occurred through custom, and thus varied from state to state. Some areas of the South allowed blacks and whites to sit together in theaters and street cars, while other states had customs that ensured racial separation in these places. However, it did not take long for southern states to codify many of these customs into law.[4]

Several important court cases allowed the legalization of segregation and the separation of the races in public facilities. In 1896, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* that races could be segregated, as long as the facilities were "separate but equal."[5] Blacks were then stripped of the right to vote with the 1898 Supreme Court case *Williams v. Mississippi*, which allowed literacy requirements for voter registration without direct mention of race as a reason to be denied the vote.[6] Since the system of slavery had denied education to most blacks, this law effectively barred blacks from voting.

In 1913, President Woodrow Wilson mandated the segregation of the federal government and the workforce in all federal offices. Many federally-employed blacks were pushed into menial employment within federal agencies while others were fired from their jobs. The black workers who retained their positions discovered that they could no longer use the lunchrooms or the same restrooms as their white coworkers. In addition, the federal government allowed discrepancies in wages based on race. Segregation was reinforced in the armed forces as well, since they required blacks to serve in racially-separated regiments and live in separate quarters from white soldiers.[7] The acceptance of segregation in the federal government affected blacks throughout the nation.

State and local officials tightened the federal laws that enforced segregation. In most states in the South, the races were segregated on public transportation, in public facilities, and in hospitals. Georgia segregated its state parks in 1905; Alabama refused to allow white nurses to attend to black patients. In addition to these statewide laws, many local municipalities further enforced segregation. Baltimore, Maryland designated black and white blocks of the city to ensure residential segregation. Mobile, Alabama, had a curfew law that required only its black residents to be home by 10 p.m. each night.[8] Segregation had evolved into a system that was accepted by all levels of government.

At the local level, *de facto* segregation was more common than it was in higher levels of government. Water fountains and rest rooms were segregated by race and Jim Crow signs, designating separate entrances or facilities, were common throughout the South. In many cities separate business districts developed to cater to black customers. Cities that did not have ordinances requiring segregation in residential areas employed restrictive covenants to preserve color lines. These covenants dictated the race of the buyer of a house, effectively creating residential segregation. Custom also required segregation in leisure activities. Hotels, libraries, theaters, and local parks generally did not allow blacks to enter, so, in many cases, blacks opened their own theaters and hotels in response to segregation.[9]

Segregation had gained a firm hold as the nation entered World War I. Black soldiers enlisted in the war in segregated units. However, when they were sent to France, the soldiers encountered a new way of racial thinking. France did not have segregation laws, and the French treated all colors equally. With the return of black soldiers to America in 1919,

---

[4] Woodward, *Strange Career*, 33-34.
[5] Woodward, *Strange Career*, 71.
[6] Wormser, *Rise and Fall*, 71.
[7] Wormser, *Rise and Fall*, 119.
[8] Woodward, *Strange Career*, 99-101.
[9] Woodward, *Strange Career*, 98, 111.

numerous race riots occurred. Upon their return to the United States, many black soldiers felt that their war service entitled them to the right to vote and to receive equal treatment from whites. In response to these demands by blacks, whites retaliated with violence. In 1919, whites lynched about seventy blacks. Racial tensions also caused about twenty-five race riots across the nation, the worst of which occurred in Chicago.[10]

World War I and the subsequent economic depression contributed to another race-related event, the Great Migration. Blacks from the South moved north by the hundreds of thousands, searching for better economic opportunities and trying to escape the Jim Crow laws of the South. Although the North generally did not have laws segregating public accommodations like transportation, restrooms, and restaurants, customary segregation was still the norm. In the North, blacks found separate facilities for education, housing, and employment, similar to what they had left in the South. They were barred from many jobs and were not allowed to join the labor unions in northern cities. The Great Migration increased racial tensions in the North, as whites were forced to compete with newly-arrived blacks for employment. As a result, the lines of segregation in the North hardened, and as the nation entered World War II, segregation was firmly in place throughout the United States, both in social customs and legal arenas.

An organized fight to end segregation began after World War II, often led by black soldiers who had been segregated throughout the war. In response to more organized and vocal demands from blacks, many segregation laws were gradually changed. President Harry Truman ordered the armed forces desegregated in 1948. Although this order was implemented slowly, it affected the military installations throughout the nation and began the dismantling of segregation. Cases concerning segregation became more prevalent on the United States Supreme Court docket. By 1946, the Court had ordered the desegregation of some graduate-level schools, barred segregation on interstate transportation, and struck down the all-white primary elections intended to keep blacks from voting.[11] Perhaps the most well-known desegregation occurred in 1954, with the Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. With this ruling, the Supreme Court ordered all racially segregated schools to be integrated.[12]

Although the Supreme Court declared segregation laws unconstitutional, segregation continued to be a part of American life. *De facto* segregation was deeply entrenched, and violence deterred many blacks from fighting against segregation on the local level. Yet, despite the fear of violent retribution, some blacks were determined to fight for desegregation and began to protest the daily patterns of segregation they saw. By the early 1960s, blacks were conducting sit-ins at all-white lunch counters and restaurants, organizing demonstrations against segregation, and signing petitions to allow their children to attend all-white schools.[13] As blacks proved willing to fight for equal rights and equal treatment, the strict system of segregation slowly came to an end, but the fight to end racial prejudice continues to this day.

2. Segregation in South Carolina

Segregation in South Carolina followed similar basic patterns as those dominating the rest of the South. Almost twenty years passed between the end of Reconstruction and the solidification of the power of white supremacists in the state, and South Carolina did not codify many of its segregationist laws until the constitutional convention of 1895. When the state did pass segregation laws they dictated the separation of the races in many segments of life, and blacks

---

[10] Woodward, *Strange Career*, 114-115; Wormser, *Rise and Fall*, 123.
[11] Woodward, *Strange Career*, 136-138; Wormser, *Rise and Fall*, 159, 165.
[12] Wormser, *Rise and Fall*, 184.
[13] Wormser, *Rise and Fall*, 183-185.

faced customary segregation throughout the state. During the early twentieth century, the Great Migration had a significant influence on South Carolina as black South Carolinians left the state in huge numbers for the North. When the struggle for desegregation intensified after World War II, South Carolina's blacks were quick to speak out and fight for their rights.

Shortly after the end of Reconstruction in South Carolina in 1877, the state began passing laws designed to segregate the races. In 1879, the General Assembly prohibited interracial marriage, and in 1889, the legislature reversed the Reconstruction laws that had guaranteed civil rights for blacks. Most of the segregation laws, however, were enabled by the 1895 revision of the South Carolina constitution. The 1895 state constitution mandated segregation in education. Later codes dictated segregation in the cotton textile mills, hospitals, state parks, and transportation.[14] By the end of the nineteenth century, segregation had become an official policy of the state of South Carolina.

Blacks and whites were segregated outside the legal arena as well. Residential segregation tended to be imposed by custom, although the city of Greenville had laws requiring residential segregation by designating city blocks for certain races. The system of segregation in South Carolina did not permit blacks in customarily white facilities like parks, playgrounds, and trains unless they were there in the capacity of nurses or servants.[15] The laws and nuances of custom were instilled in both blacks and whites at an early age, serving to reinforce the lines of segregation between the races.

Race shaped both rural and urban areas of the state. Blacks in South Carolina lived predominately in rural areas, usually as sharecroppers or as tenant farmers in cotton fields. When cotton production dropped to its lowest level in 1922, many black farmers left the state and moved north as part of the Great Migration. This migration began in the 1880s, peaked in the 1910s, and continued throughout World War II, spurred by the lack of jobs, education, and opportunity for South Carolina's black citizens. By 1960, black South Carolina had experienced a net population loss of about 600,000 citizens. The steady departure of blacks out of the state caused some white South Carolinians to become concerned over the loss of cheap labor.[16]

Numerous black farmers left their land for the urban areas of South Carolina. Here, they faced segregation in the workforce and were forced to work in more menial jobs. A 1915 state law dictated segregation in cotton mills down to the stairwells and drinking water. Professional employment for blacks was limited. Many black women served as domestic servants to white families in cities. Segregation extended to business owners as well, but here the lines between races became blurred. Both whites and blacks could own businesses that served either race, depending on the type of business, and black business districts developed in large cities of the state. Black-owned businesses with primarily black clienteles included funeral homes, bars, and restaurants.[17] Whites tended to frequent black-owned businesses that required blacks to remain in a more servile capacity, such as barber shops.

World War II helped relieve the economic depression in the state and reminded blacks that there was life outside South Carolina and its system of racial segregation. Returning soldiers were inspired by the fight against Adolf Hitler and

---

[14] Idus A. Newby, *Black Carolinians: A History of Blacks in South Carolina from 1895 to 1968*, South Carolina Tricentennial Commission, no. 6 (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 36-47; Pauli Murray, ed., *States' Laws on Race and Color* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1997), 406-419.
[15] Newby, *Black Carolinians*, 47-48l
[16] Newby, *Black Carolinians*, 190-196; Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 485.
[17] Newby, *Black Carolinians*, 133-135, 247-248.

his racist views. Blacks began to demand equal treatment and won a small victory when the state equalized black and white teachers' salaries in the 1940s. The membership rolls of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, previously a small organization within the state, swelled to 14,000 by 1948. The NAACP also began to help argue court cases in South Carolina on behalf of blacks. In 1950, the NAACP brought the school desegregation case of *Briggs v. Elliott* to court. Although the United States District Court in Charleston ruled against the plaintiffs, the NAACP appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court, where the case became part of the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* suit. In 1954, with its decision on *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court declared school segregation unconstitutional in the United States.[18]

The system of segregation was of the utmost importance to white South Carolinians, and they fought to maintain segregation in their public school system. Since the NAACP's argument in the *Briggs v. Elliott* case revolved around the unequal conditions of black and white schools, South Carolina embarked on a school building campaign to "equalize" the situation. Most black schools in South Carolina did not have running water, electricity, or indoor plumbing, and for these schools to be considered "equal" they needed to be upgraded. In 1951, Governor James Byrnes signed a $75 million bond to equalize black and white schools and the people of South Carolina voted for a three percent sales tax to pay these bonds. The school building campaign lasted until 1956 and cost $124 million.[19]

The state government also authorized the creation of the South Carolina School Committee, popularly known as the Gressette Committee, to lead the official fight to maintain segregation in the public school system. The committee was to study segregation and develop legislation to circumvent a possible Supreme Court ruling to desegregate the public schools. The committee was formed in 1951 and lasted until 1966; during this period, many of the bills the Gressette Committee suggested were enacted as laws by the South Carolina General Assembly.[20]

Private organizations devoted to maintaining segregation also developed in the state. These groups included the National Association for the Advancement of White People, the States' Rights League, the Grass Roots League, and the Citizens' Councils. The Ku Klux Klan was also active in the state. These groups all tried to sustain segregation by intimidation. The Ku Klux Klan used violence against blacks who spoke out against segregation, while other organizations used economic pressure to preserve segregation. Many blacks who signed school desegregation petitions or who attended desegregation rallies suddenly found that they did not have a job or could not get credit.[21]

African Americans developed their own organizations to promote desegregation and integration. The NAACP gained new membership and visibility in the state, and smaller groups like the Progressive Democratic Party, the Palmetto Education Association, and the South Carolina Citizens' Committee worked for social, economic, and political advancements for blacks. These groups were dedicated to equalizing rights in the political and economic arenas of the state, as well as fighting for an end to segregation, especially in the public school system.[22]

[18] Newby, *Black Carolinians*, 278, 305-306; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 519-522; Howard Quint, *Profile in Black and White: A Frank Portrait of South Carolina* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1958), 14-15, 23.

[19] David Robertson, *Sly and Able: A Political Biography of James F. Byrnes* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 506, 512-513; Quint, *Profile*, 15-16.

[20] Quint, *Profile*, 17; Jeremy Richards, *The Story of South Carolina's Gressette Committee*, paper presented as part of the symposium "Very Deliberate Speed: The Response to *Brown v Board of Education*, 1954-1970" at The Citadel Conference on the Civil Rights Movement in South Carolina, Charleston, South Carolina, 5-8 March 2003. Available at http://citadel.edu/citadel/otherserv/hist/civilrights/papers/richards.pdf, 1.

[21] Quint, *Profile*, 38-41, 51-52.

[22] Quint, *Profile*, 41, 86-87.

Segregation in South Carolina continued well beyond mid-century. The public university system of South Carolina remained segregated until 1963, when Harvey Gantt, a black man, entered Clemson College. The state park system was desegregated in 1964 after a fight over racial separation cased the parks to close for seven months. Lunch counters and businesses across the state slowly began to desegregate, and most of the physical vestiges of segregation were removed by 1963. South Carolina was the last state in the South to desegregate its public schools; it maintained a dual school system with only token desegregation until 1970.[23]

3. Segregation in Columbia
a. Overview: Profile of Columbia, 1880-1960

Segregation defined the social, economic, and political life of Columbia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This racial system, however, evolved over time and created shifting *de facto* and *de jure* forms of segregation in Columbia. As the state capital, Columbia drew political factions from across South Carolina to discuss, debate, reinforce and challenge Jim Crow laws.

In Columbia, Jim Crow laws were the status quo. According to the state legal code, it was unlawful for any white person to marry a black man or woman, for pupils of one race to attend schools provided for persons of another race, and for a railroad not to furnish separate seating areas and meals for whites and colored persons. It was also illegal for blacks and whites to work together in the state's textile mills.[24] In addition, blacks had separate moving picture theaters and a separate fairgrounds, used to host the Palmetto Colored State Fair.[25]

Separate commercial districts existed, but were not exclusive. Many black and white businesses operated alongside one another and often received biracial patronage. However, in the "personal services" industries, such as undertaking, barber and beauty shops, and eating facilities, usually blacks served blacks and whites served whites. One area of town which consisted of predominately black-owned businesses was the Washington Street business district. It comprised a six-block area bound by Lady Street to the South, Lincoln Street to the west, Hampton Street to the North, and Main Street to the east.[26] Another black business district was Waverly, near Allen University and Benedict College, both historically black establishments of higher education. The major white business district, in comparison, was on Main Street and whites mainly patronized businesses here.

As the races were largely segregated in business and institutions, they were likewise separated in living space. During the era of segregation, neighborhood development followed racial lines even though there were no ordinances forcing racial segregation. Though segregation was not always completely definitive, a Columbia citizen of the time would have known which neighborhoods were black and which were white. There were four major black parts of town: the area between Assembly Street and the Congaree River; Wheeler Hill south of the University of South Carolina; the Arsenal Hill area, in the northwest portion of the city; and Waverly on the east side of the city near Allen University and Benedict College. Other black-only areas included Saxon Homes Apartments, roughly bounded by Elmwood

---

[23] Maxie Myron Cox, "1963—The Year of Decision: Desegregation in South Carolina" (PhD diss, University of South Carolina, 1996) 340, 471.

[24] *Code of Laws of South Carolina*, Vol. 1 (Charlottesville, Virginia: Mitchie Co., Law Publishers, 1912), Title IX, Chapters 24, 69, 81; *Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina* (Columbia, South Carolina: R.L. Bryan and Co., 1915), Number 69.

[25] Vennie Deas-Moore, *Black American Series: Columbia, South Carolina* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2001), 53-54.

[26] Steven A. Davis, "Historic Preservation and Social History of the New South," M.A. thesis (University of South Carolina, 1995), 72.

Avenue, Harden Street, Oak Street, and the railroad tracks; Allen Benedict Court, bounded by Harden, Read, Oak and Laurel Streets; and Washington Carver Village, which the *Palmetto Leader* advertised as "Columbia's most economical two-bedroom apartment for colored."[27] Parallel developments of white suburban neighborhoods also began to appear during this era, creating areas as Shandon, Heathwood, Rosewood, and Kilbourne Park.[28]

Segregation in Columbia operated with relative fluidity on a daily level. Theaters, although segregated, often had adaptable arrangements, with some nights designated for whites only, some nights for blacks only, and other nights allowing both races but with partitioned or separate sections. On these nights blacks could be assigned to balcony seating, but this was not always the case. For instance, during the 1931 performance of black tenor Roland Hayes at the Columbia Theatre, half of all the seats were reserved for blacks, not just the balcony section. Additionally, in spite of being black, Hayes was invited to a public reception and ball in his honor at the Township Auditorium. This shifting notion of "separate but equal" was also present in commercial establishments that opened their doors to both races. In November 1927, Tapp's department store placed the first advertisement in the *Palmetto Leader* targeting black customers; Belk's, J. C. Penney's, Eckard Drug, Colonial Life Insurance, R.L. Bryan, Kimbrell's, Adluh Flour, and J. Drake Edens' food stores all soon followed Tapp's lead. Locally-owned businesses maintained fluid commercial arrangements between the races as well. For instance, black-owned businesses sometimes served white patrons in the same way that white-owned businesses sometimes welcomed black customers. Thus, although codified, segregation in Columbia often operated on a more informal customary level where the distinctions between the races proved far more complex.[29]

The first conference held by the black community in Richland County to discuss race relations was organized by Reverend Richard Carroll and met on 23 January 1907, at the Opera House in Columbia. Carroll, an influential member of the African American community who was known as Columbia's "Booker T. Washington," planned subsequent conferences on race relations for over a decade. These meetings included prominent members of the black community as well as powerful whites, such as the mayor. Carroll and his followers advocated a system of equality among the races, but not integration. Increasingly, however, Carroll's frustration with Columbia's white population surfaced. Immediately following the 1916 conference, which was attended by 1,600 delegates, Carroll bemoaned the lack of white Columbia's financial support for black Columbia's institutions, noting that, "Columbia has done nothing for the negro colleges in its midst…It has the poorest public school building for negroes for any city of its size in the South. Something is wrong. Some other cities in the South have negro physicians to practice among the poor negroes, negro policemen, parks for negroes."[30] Carroll's comments reflected a growing trend of frustration and dissatisfaction at the lack of services and facilities available for blacks. Such growing unrest, however, was temporarily muted by the patriotic fervor the ensued from the First World War.[31]

Although the war years united Columbia's population in pursuit of a common goal, the immediate aftermath strained the relationship between the two races. The return of black and white soldiers from the front created political and

[27] Advertisement, *Palmetto Leader*, 3 November 1956.

[28] Davis, "Historic Preservation," 77; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Maps of Columbia, South Carolina*, Microfilm edition (New York, D.A. Sanborn), 1956; John Hammond Moore, *Columbia and Richland County: A South Carolina Community, 1740-1990* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 384; John M. Bryan and Associates, "City-wide Architectural Survey and Historic Preservation Plan" (Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina Department of Archives and History and the City of Columbia, 1993), 59-60.

[29] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 381-385.

[30] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 375-376.

[31] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 371-375.

social unrest. During 1919, numerous conferences on race relations raised questions about segregation and spurred white reactions within Columbia society. Although Carroll continued to emphasize the importance of not making demands on the white community during this tumultuous time, members in Columbia's African-American community outlined specific grievances concerning their treatment by whites. Black leaders pushed for the rights to vote and to serve on juries, and to have black policemen patrol black neighborhoods. These complaints, however, focused on the "separate but equal" premise, and they were not a protest for desegregation. Through an interracial series of discussions and compromises by both sides, Columbia managed to defuse the rising racial tensions and avert violence for the time being.[32]

During the 1940s, racial tensions in Columbia dramatically increased. In 1941, the black community compiled a list of demands that included equal pay for black teachers, easier access to old age pensions, and an end to the harassment of local black businesses. Again, the arguments of the black community centered on equality rather than outright desegregation. In May of 1945, the United States Supreme Court ruled that equal pay must be granted to black and white teachers. In Columbia, however, white councilmen undermined the ruling at every opportunity. Additionally, the Ku Klux Klan actively sought to maintain racial inequality during this decade. In June 1947, the KKK left a burning cross in front of the business of Ernest Cromartie, a prominent black Columbian. This statement resonated through the black community, as Cromartie's store was two blocks from the home of James Hinton, the state NAACP President, and one block form the business of George Elmore, another prominent black leader.[33]

Despite these resistance activities in the city, white leaders in Columbia began to accede to the black demands for equal facilities and services. By the early 1950s, Columbia had black policemen, eight black firemen in a new engine house on Harden Street, a large recreational center at Seegers (Drew) Park, and a representative on the city planning commission, Dr. R.W. Nance. These white concessions, however, stemmed from an effort to abate growing black dissatisfaction, not an attempt by whites to promote equality.[34]

In December 1952, a conference was held at Allen University that called for an end to all segregation, demanding not just equality but integration as well. In reaction, the white community organized resistance rallies within city limits. The further polarization of the races and the resistance movements shifted the way that segregation operated. Instead of the fluid segregation of previous decades, whites became more militant in efforts to preserve racial boundaries. One white resistance group, the Citizens Council, held a rally at the Township Auditorium in 1956. Although the Supreme Court ruled against the "separate but equal" principle in 1954, Richland County schools and the City of Columbia effectively ignored the ruling for another eight to ten years while the court system sorted out the practical aspects of its implementation. Finally, in September 1963, three black students were allowed to enroll at the University of South Carolina, and the following fall thirty-one black students enrolled in local public schools.[35]

In the 1950s and 1960s, Columbia like many other cities throughout the country, took part in the urban renewal movement, a federally funded program that led to both the obliteration of historic structures and tremendous social displacement. In an attempt to cleanse the city of deteriorating structures, hundreds of antebellum homes that had become low-income black housing were demolished. Additionally, the Howard School, the first African American school built in Columbia after the Civil War, and portions of the predominately black neighborhood on Arsenal Hill

---

[32] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 377-380.
[33] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 415-418; *Lighthouse and Informer*, 15 June 1947.
[34] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 418-419.
[35] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 418-423.

were destroyed during this "renewal." By targeting poor areas, the urban renewal movement often dismantled black neighborhoods, leaving families and entire communities displaced. This renewal movement erased many of Columbia's Jim Crow era black and white neighborhoods from the map by demolishing black homes. By 1961, more than 1,000 buildings within the city-limits had been razed. Although by law, blacks and whites could no longer be kept separate, in many ways this movement reasserted the dominant position of whites by uprooting black residents in an attempt to shape the urban development of Columbia.[36]

Racial segregation in Columbia by no means ended in 1960. It would take years to fully integrate the city, but for the most part, the severe violent outbreaks of other southern cities were largely avoided. With the reorganization of communities due to the demolition of low-income housing, and with the end of segregation in sight, Columbia in the 1960s was a city in the midst of political and social change.

b. Segregation in Columbia in 1919: A Snapshot in Time

To understand the historical experience of segregation in Columbia, it is useful to examine the city at two distinct points in time, in 1919 and in the early 1950s. In 1919, World War I was over and the Great Migration was at its height; since the turn of the century, South Carolina's population had only increased slightly each decade, but the population gap between blacks, who had been a majority in the state since the end of the Civil War, and whites had shifted.[37] The city's population in 1919 was 37,522, with whites outnumbering blacks by more then 8,000. These Columbians could worship at one of more then sixty churches (thirty-nine white and twenty-three black), educate their children at any one of almost thirty public and private schools, and belong to more than sixty social organizations.[38] For higher education, Columbia boasted the white-only University of South Carolina, as well as two major black institutions of higher learning: Allen University and Benedict College.

In 1919, black soldiers were returning to Columbia from fighting in World War I and these soldiers led to a major development in Columbia's black community. They had been treated as equals while in France and many were decorated fighters, but they were still seen as second-class citizens in much of the South. Many local black activists, including Richard Carroll, adopted their homecoming as a rallying cry for better cooperation between the black and white communities, and throughout 1919, several conferences were held between black and white residents.[39] Meetings were held almost monthly, and at each black and white community leaders attempted to work together toward increased community relations.

Along with better treatment for soldiers, education and health care facilities were top priorities for Columbia's black community. Throughout the South, these elements of daily life were kept racially separate, and Columbia proved no different. In 1919, Columbia had seven black schools, including the two black colleges. In each of these schools, black principals worked with black teachers to educate the all-black student body, yet the State Superintendent of Negro Schools was a white male.[40] Similarly, leaders of African American healthcare facilities in Columbia were black. Because blacks were denied care in the city's white hospital, Waverly Hospital was built and later merged with

---

[36] Bryan, "City-wide Architectural Survey," 61.
[37] United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 34.
[38] *Walsh's Columbia, South Carolina City Directory for 1919* (Columbia: Walsh Directory Co., 1919).
[39] Detailed descriptions of several meetings held to work toward racial cooperation in Columbia can be founding a January 2, 1919 article in *The State*, entitled, "Emancipation Day is Celebrated," and in Moore's *Columbia and Richland County*, 379-380.
[40] *Columbia City Directory for 1919*.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Resources Associated with Segregation in Columbia, South Carolina, 1880-1960

Section ___E___   Page 12

___

Good Samaritan Hospital to provide medical care for Columbia's black community.[41] Black physicians and nurses were employed by the hospital, and Lillian Rhodes, a black woman, was the facility's superintendent. The 1919 *Columbia City Directory* listed 115 registered nurses, only two of whom were black. Alternatively, of the three midwives listed, all were black. Also in 1919, Columbia's only black female physician, Matilda Evans, had an office on Taylor Street, and black females were housed in the Mills Building of the South Carolina State Hospital.[42] It appears that in Columbia, white residents generally left blacks to fend for themselves when it came to educational and healthcare facilities.

Both black and white Columbians held memberships in social and fraternal organizations in 1919, although these groups were racially distinct. The Knights Templar, the Scottish Rite, and the Knights of Pythias were all available options for white men, while black men could be members of societies such as the Odd Fellows, the Good Templars, the Knights of Pythias, and the Masons. These African-American organizations had their own leadership and meeting halls, even if they were associated with similar white societies. For instance, the Colored Masonic Hall still stands at 1001 Washington Street. Additionally, there were social options for prominent black women in Columbia, many of whom belonged to either the Culture Club or the Tuesday Afternoon Club.[43]

Residential neighborhoods in Columbia were almost wholly segregated along racial lines. The Waverly community, roughly bordered by Hampton, Heidt, Gervais, and Harden Streets, was home to many black families, workers, and students attending Allen University and Benedict College. In addition to Waverly, two other sections of Columbia the area between Assembly Street and the Congaree River and the neighborhood bounded by Elmwood Avenue, Gadsden, Taylor, and Main Streets, were predominately African American. Conversely, the suburban neighborhoods of Shandon, situated on the southeast border of the city, and Eau Claire, bounded by Sunset Drive (I-176), Main Street, the Broad River, were exclusive to white property owners.[44]

Columbia's black workers in 1919 were mostly laborers, although a growing number of blacks owned their own businesses. Many worked as bricklayers, porters, undertakers, barbers, and grocers, but there were several doctors, dentists, and teachers.[45] It is clear from studying the 1919 *City Directory* that, for the most part, blacks maintained what would be considered blue-collar jobs while whites held white-collar professions. And although there were plenty of white residents who could have been classified as laborers, there were far fewer blacks who could claim upper-class professional status. However, those black professionals who broke the mold were most often the leaders in their community.

Extant structures associated with black-owned businesses from the time include John Cornwell's barber shop at 1629 Main Street, L.A. Lewie's Five & Dime at 1702 Main Street, and Adam Adams' dry cleaning at 1503 Taylor Street. In addition, several white-owned counterparts still stand: a barbershop in the basement of the Palmetto Building (now a restaurant and bar), Silver's Five & Dime at 1546 Main Street, and two white hotels—the McLean and the Glenwood, at 1736-38 and 1619 Sumter Streets respectively.

___

[41] Deas-Moore, *Black America Series: Columbia, South Carolina*, 45.

[42] Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Maps of Columbia, South Carolina*, Microfilm edition (Columbia, South Carolina: Sanborn-Perris Map Co., 1919); *Columbia City Directory for 1919*.

[43] Deas-Moore, *Black American Series: Columbia, South Carolina*, 73; Howard Woody, *South Carolina Postcards, Volume V, Richland County* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 2; *Columbia City Directory for 1919*.

[44] *Sanborn Map, Columbia, 1919.*

[45] *Columbia City Directory for 1919.*

---

c. Segregation in Columbia in the early 1950s: A Snapshot in Time

In the early 1950s, a visitor to Columbia would have discovered that segregation pervaded businesses and institutions, as well as becoming a major issue in local politics. While the early 1950s witnessed a few small victories for blacks, who comprised about forty percent of the population in Columbia, the status quo was preserved.[46]

In Columbia in the early 1950s, many businesses were segregated by race. Blacks had discovered that in order to meet their own needs they would have to establish their own businesses, particularly in the areas in which they were excluded from white-owned establishments. Thus, many blacks entered segregated sectors of the economy, including personal services and retail food.[47] The 1950 *Columbia City Directory* demonstrates the prevalence of black ownership in these types of businesses.[48] As blacks founded these establishments to serve the black community, they located them near black neighborhoods, leading to the development of separate black and white business districts.

In the 1950s the main African-American commercial area was the Washington Street business district. This district boasted numerous black-owned barbershops, beauty shops, tailors, dressmakers, funeral homes, restaurants, and grocery stores. Two notable black-owned businesses in the area were Leevy's Funeral Home, one of the few black-owned funeral homes listed in the 1950 *City Directory*, and the Trapp Building, which housed Trapp Radio and Electric Service and other small black-owned enterprises.[49] While whites were not excluded from these businesses, as many blacks were from white-owned establishments, very few shopped in the Washington Street district in the early 1950s. Black customers, on the other hand, traveled from all over the city to shop in this business district.[50]

Yet blacks were my no means confined to this one area, for they established their own businesses throughout the city. A black drive-in theater was opened in 1946; Marguerite Lewis operated her beauty shop at 1515 Harden Street, the Laurel Street Inn served blacks at 2510 Laurel Street, and the Carver Theater was located at 1519 Harden Street.[51] Beauty shops, pool halls, hotels, tourist homes, social organizations, and theaters arose around the city to serve Columbia's black population.

In the 1950s, the white population of Columbia also had their own businesses and business districts, most notably the Main Street business district. Apart from a few black-owned barber shops, all of the businesses in this area were white-owned. While whites often welcomed blacks to shop in their stores, many restaurants completely refused to serve black patrons or banned them from sitting down inside, forcing them to wait outside if they wished to purchase food.[52] Such businesses included Mac's Drive-In, Woolworth's lunch counter, Kress Dime Store and lunch counter, McCrory's lunch counter, and the bus station lunch counter on Blanding Street.[53] Some small businesses, however, did not follow the lead of the larger department and retail stores in their flexible views toward segregation; Lisbeth Wolf's clothing store at 1643 Main Street, for example, refused to serve blacks at all.[54]

---

[46] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 418.
[47] Davis, "Historic Preservation," 73-78.
[48] *Columbia South Carolina City Directory, 1950* (Richmond, Virginia: Hill Directory Co., 1950).
[49] Davis, "Historic Preservation," 79-124.
[50] Martha Monteith, Oral History Interview, 19 November 2003.
[51] *Columbia City Directory, 1950*.
[52] Monteith, Oral History Interview.
[53] Bradley S. Sauls, "Desegregation in Columbia, South Carolina, 1960-1963," M.A. thesis (University of South Carolina, 1994), 15-19.
[54] Monteith, Oral History Interview.

Unlike businesses, in which there was some co-mingling of races, blacks and whites were completely segregated in Columbia's public schools. In the early 1950s, Columbia was home to many groups that feared the prospect of desegregation and sought to preserve the separate schools. One such group that operated out of the state capital was the Gressette Committee, established in 1951 by the state's General Assembly for the primary purpose of preventing desegregation in public schools. Another local group determined to preserve segregation in the city's educational system was Columbia's League of Women Voters, who advocated the termination of South Carolina's operation of free public schools if they were to be integrated. By 1956, the city was completely preoccupied with the school segregation issue. In a March 1, 1956 article from *The State*, Lieutenant Governor Fritz Hollings stated that public school were for education not integration.[55] When public schools opened in Columbia after the summer of 1956, a headline in *The State* read: "Schools Open this Week on Segregated Basis."[56] As the capital city of South Carolina, Columbia proved a hotbed for segregation supporters, as well as desegregation activities.

Segregation was prevalent in many other Columbia institutions in the early 1950s as well. In the realm of health care, the services rendered to blacks and whites were segregated. In 1943, the Columbia Hospital had unveiled a new 165-bed black wing. Likewise, the South Carolina Mental Hospital provided services for blacks, but on a strictly segregated basis.[57] In the 1950 *Columbia City Directory*, the only black-owned hospital listed was Good Samaritan Waverly Hospital.[58] Therefore, blacks seeking healthcare were either forced to rely on the separate facilities provided by white-owned institutions, or they went to the only black-owned hospital in Columbia.

In the area of financial institutions, there was one black-owned bank, the Victory Savings Bank, in the early 1950s. It was founded in 1921, and in 1955 it moved to a new two-story building at 1107 Washington Street, in the Washington Street business district. The Victory Savings Bank was one of only fourteen black-owned banks in the nation. Similar to the healthcare system, blacks were served at white-owned financial institutions, yet the impetus was present in Columbia for the establishment of a black-owned bank to serve the black community.[59]

Churches in Columbia were also segregated. Essentially there was no sharing of facilities, and blacks and whites had completely separate churches, though often of the same denomination.[60] Although the Lutheran Theological Seminary desegregated in the fall of 1954, a few years later Governor George Bell Timmerman, Jr., forced the evangelist Billy Graham to move a crusade rally from the State House grounds to Fort Jackson because of his endorsement of "racial mixing."[61] Thus, it seems while the church as a local place of worship was still starkly segregated, there were movements in the general church hierarchy to integrate and fight for equality, though the driving forces behind these movements seemed to have originated outside Columbia.

Segregation thrived in recreational outlets too. According to the 1950 *Columbia City Directory*, blacks had only one "Park or Playground," while there were eleven open to white residents. Blacks were only allowed access to the Waverly Branch County Library, while ten others in the city served whites. Similarly, the only country club in Columbia was white-owned, as were both golf clubs listed in the *City Directory*. Blacks did have their own social

---

[55] "Hollings Flays NAACP," *The State*, 1 March 1956.

[56] "Columbia Schools Open Doors Today: Schools Open this Week on Segregated Basis," *The State*, 4 September 1956.

[57] Lisa Randle, "The History of African Americans in Richland County," M.A. thesis (University of South Carolina, 1999), 206.

[58] *Columbia City Directory, 1950*.

[59] Davis, "Historic Preservation," 114-116; Monteith, Oral History Interview.

[60] *Columbia City Directory, 1950*.

[61] Moore, *Columbia and Richland* County, 419; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 528.

clubs, although not as many as whites.[62] One recreational area in which segregation of the races did not seem to matter as much to citizens of Columbia in the 1950s was sports. Many minor league baseball teams came to town with black players, including Henry Aaron.[63] Instead of protesting these integrated teams, ironically, white attendance soared. It seems that an intermingling of the races was accepted in such venues but not in most social situations.

Besides the battle over school segregation, there were many movements of resistance in Columbia in the early 1950s. In 1956, the State Association of Citizen Councils held a huge rally in Columbia at the Township Auditorium. A much more violent group than the Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan attempted a revival in Columbia during this same time period. The KKK quickly realized, however, that it was not welcome in the capital of South Carolina; state officials largely considered it a terrorist organization.[64] Hence, while the Citizens' Councils and organizations such as the Gressette Committee were common in Columbia in the early 1950s, the city did not embrace every group that upheld a segregation platform.

As a reaction to these white resistance movements, many blacks in Columbia began to push for change in the early 1950s. A few small battles were won on the local level. Blacks finally received the black policemen in their neighborhoods that they had been requesting for years. Likewise, eight black firemen were appointed to the new Harden Street Fire Station.[65] Another local feat in the eyes of black Columbians occurred when Woolworth's opened its new store on 10 July 1956, which provided a "Modern Lunch Department for its Colored Customers." For many local blacks, this event marked the dawning of a "new era" for black customers in Columbia and would be something they would "treasure forever."[66] Four years later, however, the Woolworth's white lunch counter was the site of the first sit-in in Columbia, a move that reflected blacks' growing frustration with segregated society and set in motion the fight for integration.[67]

---

[62] *Columbia City Directory, 1950.*
[63] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 419.
[64] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 420; Edgar, *South Carolina*, 525.
[65] Moore, *Columbia and Richland County*, 418.
[66] "Woolworth's Opening New Era," *Palmetto Leader*, 7 July 1956.
[67] Sauls, "Desegregation in Columbia," 15.

---

d. Segregation in Columbia: Conclusion

Segregation in Columbia was more complicated than rigid boundaries. Throughout the twentieth century, the strict separation of races was enforced in the school system, healthcare system, churches and leisure organizations, but a more fluid system of segregation appeared in other sectors of society, including the commercial arena. The duplicate structures that whites built to enforce the "separate but equal" principle, the buildings that housed alternative businesses that blacks opened to serve their own communities, and the spaces that retain vestiges of separate facilities used to keep blacks away from whites all provide physical evidence for the various and complicated forms which segregation took.

F. Associated Property Types

Name of Property Type:

Properties Associated with Segregation in Columbia, South Carolina, 1880-1960.

Description:

A property associated with segregation is connected to the legal and cultural system of segregation in Columbia, South Carolina from 1880 to 1960. Association is determined in the affirmative if the property is an example of either (a) an exclusive space, (b) a partitioned space, (c) a duplicative space, or (d) an alternative space. Exclusive spaces are those from which either whites or blacks were prohibited by law or custom. An example of exclusive space would be a public school that enrolled white students but did not enroll black students. Partitioned spaces are those that represent attempts to segregate within properties. An example of partitioned space would be a doctor's office that maintained two waiting rooms, one for white patients and one for black patients. Duplicative spaces are those that represent attempts to provide separate facilities in order to maintain segregation. An example of duplicative space would be two public housing projects, one for white tenants and the other for black tenants. Alternative spaces are those that represent responses to segregation on the part of blacks, either to minimize indignities or to give outlet to entrepreneurial ambitions. An example of alternative space would be a black-owned restaurant that served black diners.

Significance:

Properties are significant for their association with segregation in Columbia, South Carolina from 1880 to 1960. They express in physical form the legal and cultural manifestations of segregation in an urbanized southern community from the end of Reconstruction into the era of Civil Rights. Associated properties reflect the impact of institutionalized segregation on society and culture as well as on landscapes and the built environment. The associated historic context for this property type is "Segregation in Columbia, South Carolina, 1880-1960."

Registration Requirements:

In order to qualify for registration, properties must be significantly associated with the history of segregation in Columbia, South Carolina from 1880 to 1960, and meet Evaluation Criterion A or B. Properties must retain sufficient integrity to convey how segregation functioned as a spatial system. Integrity for properties associated with segregation is defined as retention of major exterior and/or interior features that communicate how whites and blacks were separated. Because properties derive their significance primarily from their association with segregation, some loss of historic fabric is acceptable. Minor alterations do not disqualify a property from listing as long as sufficient material evidence remains to illustrate the experience of segregation. In terms of association, properties must retain physical features that convey the experience of segregation and should evoke a feeling of segregation when viewed in their historical contexts. In terms of design, properties must retain the exterior and/or interior design elements that historically organized space for purposes of segregation. Because Columbia has undergone significant demographic changes since the end of segregation in the 1960s, integrity and significance are enhanced for properties maintaining their historic locations and functions; however, changes in setting and use do not necessarily compromise integrity of properties. Workmanship and materials may be important aspects of integrity if they illustrate inequalities in the physical construction of white and black properties.

G. Geographical Data

The geographical area for this multiple property nomination consists of the current limits for the city of Columbia, in Richland County, South Carolina.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

A preliminary list of potential properties for inclusion in a multiple property nomination on segregation in Columbia, South Carolina was developed by the students in History 792 (Introduction to Historic Preservation) taught in the University of South Carolina's graduate Public History Program in the Fall 2003 semester. Researchers in the Fall 2003 class also conducted two oral interviews with individuals who resided in Columbia during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s in order to verify the history of segregation associated with the identified properties. Building upon this initial research and in the consultation with staff members of the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, students in the Fall 2004 course defined a set of five properties to be individually nominated with the submission of the multiple property document.

Resources Associated With Segregation Which Are Currently Listed on the National Register of Historic Places

While all the properties listed here are associated with segregation in Columbia, South Carolina, each has been previousely listed on the National Register of Historic Places for other reasons, such as architectural significance, or its association with African-American heritage more generally.

Allen University Historic District, 1530 Harden Street. Allen University is a historically black university in Columbia and was founded in 1881 by the African Methodist Episcopal Church. It was the first private African-American school in South Carolina. Since the University of South Carolina was segregated until 1963, Allen gave blacks in Columbia an opportunity for higher education during the era of segregated education.

American Legion of South Carolina, 1705 Hampton Street. This building hosed the American Legion of South Carolina, a white-only social organization, during the 1950s.

Arcade Building or "Historic Arcade Mall," 1332 Main Street. The Arcade Building's most direct connection to segregation was its role in housing Columbia's United States Navy Recruiting Station in 1919. Since the Navy remained segregated until 1948, this location served as a gateway to a more "nationalized" experience of segregation for Columbia blacks willing to give their lives for their country.

Benedict College Historic District. This historically black college was established in 1870, during Reconstruction, to educate freedmen and their descendents. It offered blacks an opportunity to pursue higher education in Columbia throughout the Jim Crow era and students on campus were active in the early civil-rights movement, taking part in one of the first civil-rights campaigns in the state during the 1930s.

Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1528 Sumter Street. This building was designed by John Anderson Lankford, the first registered African-American architect, in 1921. This was one of many churches that served the African-American community in the early twentieth century.

Carver Theater and Varsity Sandwich Shop, 1519 Harden Street. The Carver Theater was one of two theaters in Columbia that catered to black patrons. The Varsity Sandwich Shop, historically located at 1519 ½ Harden Street, was a small shop within the Carver Theater building. It was a black-owned restaurant that likely served the patrons of the all-black Carver Theater, as it shares the same building with the theater.

Columbia City Hall (historically the United States Post Office and Court House), 1737 Main Street. This building served governmental purposed and accommodated both black and white patrons. Oral history interviews indicate that the building had separate restroom facilities for black patrons. In addition, any African Americans observing a trial would have been required to sit in a separate colored section.

Good Samaritan Waverly Hospital, 2204 Hampton Street. This hospital has long roots in the Waverly neighborhood. It was built in 1950 as a modern facility to serve the black residents of Columbia.

House of Peace Synagogue (The Big Apple), corner of Hampton and Park Streets. The building was built in 1907 as the House of Peace synagogue and was originally located at 1318 Park Street. When its congregation outgrew the

building, it was sold with the stipulation that it never be used as a synagogue again. In 1936, the building became an African-American dance hall called the Big Apple Club. It was at this club that the Big Apple dance craze was born.

Kress Building, 1508 Main Street. Although black patrons were allowed to shop at the Kress Dime Store, they were not allowed to eat at the lunch counter.

Ladson Presbyterian Church, 1720 Sumter Street. This is one of the oldest black congregations in Columbia, organized as a separate but affiliated congregation of First Presbyterian Church in 1838. It served the black community during the Jim Crow era when they were not allowed in white Presbyterian churches.

Modjeska Monteith Simkins House, 2025 Marion Street. Modjeska Simkins was a leader in the civil rights movement in South Carolina from 1931 until her death in 1992. She helped draft the Clarendon County lawsuit, *Briggs v. Elliott*, which became part of the *Brown v. Board of Education* case in 1954, challenging "separate but equal" education.

National Loan and Exchange Bank Building or "Barringer Building," 1338 Main Street. In 1919, the offices of the State Agent for Negro Schools were on the seventh floor of the Barringer building. This is its most direct connection to segregation, although there is some evidence to suggest that *de facto* segregation was associated with some of the building's tenants over the years.

North Carolina Mutual Building, 1001 Washington Street. This was the site of numerous black-owned businesses during the Jim Crow era. It was also a meeting place for Columbia's black Masons and the Phyllis Wheatley Club.

Randolph Cemetery, western terminus of Elmwood Avenue. This cemetery is one of the oldest in Columbia and contains the graves of some South Carolina's most prominent black leaders. It was established in 1872 by a group of black civic leaders.

South Carolina State Hospital, Mills Building¸ 2600 Bull Street. This building served as a black female ward in 1919 and as a black nurses' home in 1956.

Supreme Court of South Carolina, 1231 Gervais Street. The Supreme Court of South Carolina had a lengthy association with segregation. This building was originally the site of a United States Post Office and was converted to use as the state Supreme Court in 1936. This building was the place where all South Carolina Supreme Court cases on segregation-related issues were heard. In addition, oral history interviews confirm that seating in the court's gallery was partitioned during the Jim Crow era.

Tapp's Department Store, 1642-1646 Main Street. This was a white owned department store from 1915 through the early 1950s. Black customers could shop in this store, and they were encouraged to do so through advertisements in the African American newspaper, the *Palmetto Leader*. Despite this, they were not allowed to eat at the popular lunch counter in the basement.

Union Depot, 401 Main Street. The railway station used partitioned spaces during much of the Jim Crow era. The 1919 Sanborn Map shows the waiting room separated into black and white sections, although a physical partition did not yet exist. The more elaborate entrance to the west provided access to the area reserved for the white waiting room, whereas the smaller entrance to the right led to the black waiting room.

Waverly Historic District. Waverly was a historically black neighborhood in Columbia. It serves as an example of the segregated residential pattern that existed in the city, although there was no segregation through zoning. Instead, the residential segregation in Columbia developed through custom.

Woodrow Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Church (Bishiop's Memorial A.M.E. Church), 2221 Washington Street. This church was built in 1907 and served the African-Americans in the Waverly neighborhood throughout the segregation era.

I. Major Bibliographic References

Primary Sources

Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina. Columbia: R.L. Bryan Co., 1915.

Cayruth, Stanley. Oral History Interview, Columbia, S.C., 18 November 2003.

Code of Law of South Carolina, Volume 1. Charlottesville: Mitchie Co., Law Publishers, 1912.

Columbia City Directory, 1919. Columbia: Walsh Directory Company, 1919.

Columbia, South Carolina City Directory, 1950. Richmond: Hill Directory Company, 1950.

"Emancipation Day is Celebrated." *The State* (Columbia, S.C.), 2 January 1919.

Monteith, Martha. Oral History Interview, Columbia, S.C. 19 November 2003.

Murray, Pauli. *States' Laws on Race and Color*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997.

Palmetto Leader (Columbia, S.C.), 1956.

Qunit, Howard. *Profile in Black and White: A Frank Portrait of South Carolina*. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs
        Press, 1958.

Sanborn Map Company. *Fire Insurance Maps of Columbia, South Carolina*. Microfilm edition. Sanborn-Perris Map
        Co., 1919.

Sanborn Map Company. *Fire Insurance Maps of Columbia, South Carolina*. Microfilm edition. New York: D.A.
        Sanborn, 1956.

The State (Columbia, S.C.), 1956.

United States Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Part 1*. New
        York: Basic Books, 1976.

___

Secondary Sources

Bartley, Numan. *The New South: 1945-1980,* Volume 11 of *A History of the South,* eds. Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995.

Cox, Maxie Myron, Jr. "1963—The Year of Decision: Desegregation in South Carolina." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of South Carolina, 1996.

Davis, Steven A. "Historic Preservation and Social History of the New South." M.A. thesis, Applied History Program, Department of History, University of South Carolina, 1995.

Deas-Moore, Vennie. *Black America Series: Columbia, South Carolina.* Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2000.

Edgar, Walter. *South Carolina: A History.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998.

McMillen, Neil. *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-1964.* Second edition. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Moore, John Hammond. *Columbia and Richland County: A South Carolina Community, 1740-1990.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993.

Newby, Idus A. *Black Carolinians: A History of Blacks in South Carolina from 1895 to 1968.* South Carolina Tricentennial Commission, No. 6. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973.

Raines, Howell. *My Soul is Rested: The Story of the Civil Rights Movement in the Deep South.* New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977. Reprint ed., Penguin Books, 1983.

Randle, Lisa B. "The History of African Americans in Richland County." M.A. thesis, Applied History Program, Department of History, University of South Carolina, 1999.

Richards, Jeremy. *The Story of South Carolina's Gressette Committee.* Paper presented as part of the symposium "Very Deliberate Speed: The Response to *Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954-1970," at The Citadel Conference on the Civil Rights Movement South Carolina, Charleston, South Carolina, 5-8 March 2003. Available at http://citadel.edu/citadel/otherserv/hist/civilrights/papers/richards.pdf.

Robertson, David. *Sly and Able: A Political Biography of James F. Byrnes.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994.

Sauls, Bradley S. "Desegregation in Columbia, South Carolina, 1960-1963." M.A. thesis, Applied History Program, Department of History, University of South Carolina, 1994.

Seman, Paul Frederick. "Structure and Spatial Distribution of Black Owned Businesses in Columbia, South Carolina, 1900-1976." M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of South Carolina, 1977.

Theoharis, Jeanne. "Introduction." In *Freedom North: Black Freedom Struggles Outside the South, 1940-1980*, ed. Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Weyeneth, Robert R. *The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past*. A report prepared for The James Marston Fitch Charitable Foundation, February 2004

Woodward, C. Vann. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Second edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Woody, Howard. *South Carolina Postcards, Volume V: Richland County*. Postcard History Series. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2000.

Wormser, Richard. *The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003.