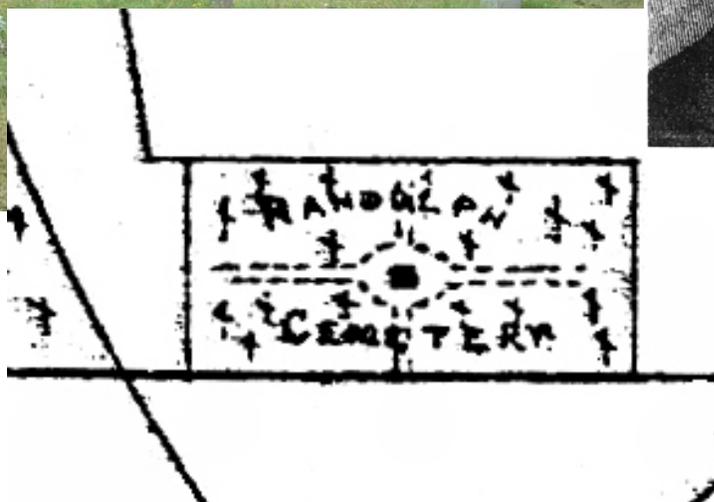
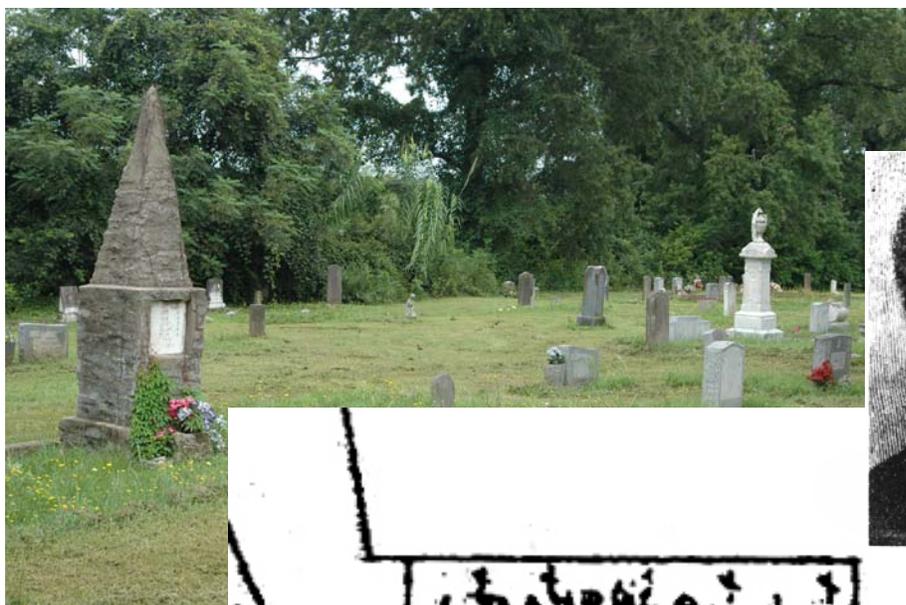


A SMALL SAMPLE OF BURIALS AT RANDOLPH CEMETERY: WHAT THEIR STORIES TELL US ABOUT THE CEMETERY AND AFRICAN AMERICAN LIFE IN COLUMBIA



CHICORA RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 461

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COLUMBIA**

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Oh, come along, come along, let's go to buryin',
Oh, come along, come along, let's go to buryin',
Oh, come along, come along, let's go to buryin',
Way over, way over in de new buryin' ground.

Sinners, don't you hear my Lord a-callin',
O sinners, don't you hear, hear my Lord a-callin',
O sinners, don't you hear my Lord a-callin'
Way over, over in de buryin' ground.

Oh, de hammer keep a-ringin', ringin' on somebody's coffin,
Oh, de hammer keep a-ringin', ringin' on somebody's coffin,
Oh, de hammer keep a-ringin', ringin' on somebody's coffin,
Way over, over in de new buryin' ground.

Oh, de hearse keep a-rollin', rollin' somebody to the graveyard,
Oh, de hearse keep a-rollin', rollin' somebody to the graveyard,
Oh, de hearse keep a-rollin', rollin' somebody to the graveyard,
Way over, over in de new buryin' ground.

De preacher keep a-preachin, preachin' somebody's fun'ral,
De preacher keep a-preachin, preachin' somebody's fun'ral,
De preacher keep a-preachin, preachin' somebody's fun'ral,
Way over, over in de new buryin' ground.

Sometimes I pray like, pray like my time ain't long,
Sometimes I pray like, pray like my time ain't long,
Sometimes I pray like, pray like my time ain't long,
Way over, over in de new buryin' ground.

Sometimes I feel like, feel like my time ain't long,
Sometimes I feel like, feel like my time ain't long,
Sometimes I feel like, feel like my time ain't long,
Way over, over in de new buryin' ground.

-- African American spiritual, *New Buryin' Ground*

ABSTRACT

This is a very preliminary effort to explore the stories of those buried at Randolph Cemetery and understand what they can tell us about the cemetery and African American life in Columbia during the late nineteenth century through the Depression. It also seeks to give a face to those buried at Randolph, reminding us that they were real people, with real lives; sometimes tragic, sometimes noble, but also possessing great dignity as they lived and struggled – just as we do today.

This research represents an effort to remind ourselves that Randolph Cemetery was not just a burial place for Reconstruction legislators and Civil Rights leaders. It is also the burial place of washerwomen, brick masons, insurance salesmen, grocers, and children. The cemetery almost certainly does not represent a true cross section of the African American population in Columbia, but it does provide us with far greater variety and complexity than previously documented.

This study also assembles available maps and historical documents for the Randolph Cemetery in one location. It briefly recounts the history of the cemetery, making note of the many questions that require additional research.

We have the opportunity at Randolph Cemetery to explore at least a part of Columbia's African American community – a subject that has thus far been overlooked by local historians. We explore those buried at Randolph, examining what they can tell us about class and work in the Columbia community. The results offer an opportunity to begin new lines of research and explore Columbia's hidden history – looking at black and mulatto.

A sample of 75 individuals with recorded stones in the cemetery, who died prior to 1940,

was selected. These individuals were then researched using the 1870-1930 Federal Census records, Columbia city directories, South Carolina Death Certificates, Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, and other available primary and secondary sources. Of these 75 individuals we have been able to assemble at least some rudimentary life history details for 59 individuals (79%). We see in these life histories a broad range of black and mulatto, working class through high class, male and female, adult and child. We see death from accident, diabetes, heart failure, and pellagra. We see the streets in Columbia where African Americans lived, generally discretely and definitely separately from white society.

Through the research we see that Randolph Cemetery, while certainly the resting place of many politicians and upper-class African Americans, was also the final home for many middle class and working class blacks able to afford the cost of a plot.

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INTRODUCTION

With the recent interest in Randolph Cemetery it has become recognized as the burial place for “at least nine African Americans who served in the South Carolina legislature from 1868 to 1878” (Anonymous 2006; see also Nickless 1994). Known¹ to be buried in the cemetery are:

- ❖ Senator Henry Cardozo (1831-1886)
- ❖ Senator William Fabriel Myers (1850-1917)
- ❖ Senator William Beverly Nash (1822-1888)
- ❖ Representative Robert John Palmer (1849-1928)
- ❖ Senator Benjamin Franklin Randolph (1820/1837-1868)
- ❖ Representative William M. Simons (1810-1878)
- ❖ Representative Benjamin Thompson (1837-1909)
- ❖ Representative Charles McDuffie Wilder (1835-1902)
- ❖ Senator Lucius Wimbush (1839-1872)

These nine individuals, however, represent only a very small fraction of those known to be buried in the cemetery. While there is good reason to focus on these men for their place in history and as representatives of the African American struggle for equality and freedom, there are nonetheless many other stories represented by at least 1,100 marked

¹Actually markers or monuments for only six of these nine have been identified. The others are thought to be buried in the cemetery based on historical accounts.

graves. A few of the more common stories include such individuals as Charles M. Wilder,



Figure 1. View of Randolph Cemetery looking east-northeast.

Columbia’s African American postmaster from 1869 to 1895 or George Elmore who was the plaintiff in the 1947 Federal court case, *Elmore v. Rice*, that ended all-white Democratic primaries in the state.

What of the stories not being told? Who are the hundreds – perhaps thousands – of others buried at Randolph? What can they tell us about the cemetery and the history of Columbia? A preliminary exploration of these questions is the goal of this brief review.

This study also seeks to fill two additional voids – providing a more widely available history of this incredible resource and beginning an examination of Columbia’s rich, but largely untapped, African American history.

The cemetery consists of a rectangle of about 6 acres bounded to the north and east by

A SMALL SAMPLE OF BURIALS AT RANDOLPH CEMETERY

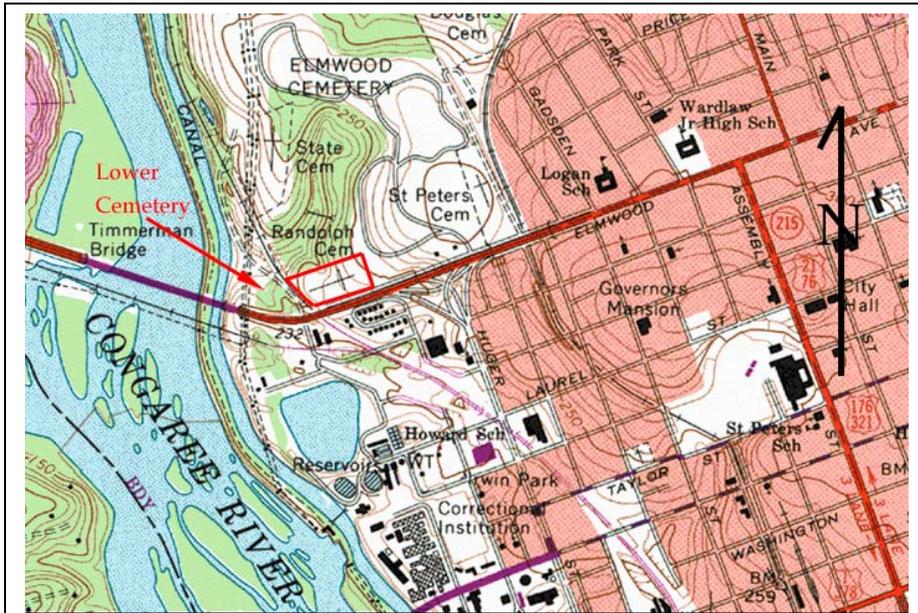


Figure 2. The location of Randolph Cemetery, with Elmwood Cemetery shown to the north and east. Lower Cemetery is to the west. Elmwood Avenue forms the southern boundary.

Elmwood Cemetery, to the south by Elmwood Avenue, and to the west by the city's burial ground, known variously as Lower Cemetery, Pauper's Cemetery, Negro Cemetery, and City Cemetery (Figure 2). The two cemeteries are separated by railroad lines of CSX and Norfolk Southern. The topography is rolling, sloping noticeably westward from a terrace separating it from Elmwood on the east. Today the cemetery bears only a vague resemblance to what it looked like historically, when it was landscaped in rows of cedars and may have had more than the one surviving circular drive.

The cemetery was named for Senator Benjamin Randolph, who was murdered (or assassinated) by whites during a campaign stop in Cokesbury (Abbeville County). Even this, however, raises fundamental questions concerning the cemetery and its origins.

A SYNOPTIC HISTORY OF RANDOLPH

Questions Abound

For such an important historical site, Randolph's history is poorly documented and incompletely understood. The National Register nomination suggests that 3 acres were purchased by the Randolph Cemetery Association in 1872, with an additional acre purchased in 1899 (Nickless 1994). The cemetery, however, nominally measures 6 acres - leaving unanswered how and when the remaining 2 acres originated.

Moreover, burials in the cemetery date from at least 1867¹, when the property by all accounts was owned by Elmwood. This suggests that burials were taking place on the property at least 5 years prior to the Association being formed, or alternatively, that burials were relocated to Randolph from elsewhere. In the

¹ There are at least three marked graves prior to the organization of Randolph Cemetery. One is for Mrs. Priscilla Thompson, "wife of E.B. Thompson," who died on September 2, 1868. The other two are of children, Joseph Henry Lee, who lived from August 18, 1860 to April 7, 1866 (identified as the child of John and Sarah Lee) and Sara Lee, who died on October 24, 1867. None appear in the 1860 census, although by 1870 Elisha B. Thompson is listed as a 36 year old mulatto. John Lee appears in the 1860 census as a free person of color in Columbia. He was 23 at the time and was married to 18 year old Sarah S. Lee. His occupation was listed as a shoemaker. There are four additional graves with death dates ranging from 1817 to 1829, for C.R. Driscoll, Samuel T. King, J.C. Robertson, and John Robertson. None can be identified in the Federal Census records.

past the latter would have been more reasonable, based on the assumption that Elmwood would not have allowed the burial of blacks during a time when the races - even in death - were segregated. More recently, however, we have discovered that at least two blacks - and probably others - were buried in Elmwood. The October 10, 1925 issue of *The Palmetto Leader* announced, "Colored Woman Buried in Elmwood Cemetery" (the headline itself supports that this was an unusual event). Apparently Mary S. Smith's husband, William Smith, purchased the plots in 1870. Today, side by side, in Square 35, Lot 10, Graves 10 and 11, lie William and Mary Smith.²

The National Register nomination also provides two citations for Randolph's burial in this cemetery - one for an October 19, 1868 *New York Times* article and another for the October 20, 1868 *Columbia Daily Phoenix*.

The *New York Times* article says only, "a negro member of the South Carolina Senate, standing on the platform of a railroad car, is approached by three white men on horseback and deliberately shot." There is no mention of his burial or grave location.

There are at least two *Phoenix* articles. The first is October 18, 1868 and it reports that "the body was brought down yesterday, in

² The 1860 Federal Census identifies Mary Smith as a free mulatto seamstress, living with her son, William, who was only one year old. By the 1880 Federal Census identified William as a mulatto carpenter living at 58 Washington Street, with his wife, Mary and their 20 year old son, William.

charge of the express messenger, and will be forwarded to Orangeburg [his home], by this morning's train, we presume." Two days later, on October 20, the *Phoenix* stated, "Randolph, the colored Senator, was buried in Columbia, Sunday afternoon, by his colored friends and admirers. The African Methodist Episcopal Church, corner of Taylor and Sumter streets, where the funeral services were performed, was densely thronged. Eulogies were pronounced over the dead man by three of his colored friends, after which a procession was formed and marched to the cemetery, where the body was interred."

Since there is a memorial to Randolph at the cemetery bearing his name it has been presumed he is buried there - but clearly none of the newspaper articles thus far identified offer any clear proof of this.

In fact, in 1868 there were - besides the various church cemeteries - only two burial grounds in Columbia. Elmwood had been created in 1867 with the sale of 250 acres by A.R. Taylor, executor of Sarah Taylor to Elmwood Cemetery for \$885 (Richland County RMC, DB C, pg. 298). This private cemetery was intended for the burial of Columbia's white citizens and both family and individual plots were offered. For the city's poor - whether black or white - and likely for most blacks, the only burial ground was Lower Cemetery. This cemetery was being used shortly after the City Burial Grounds (bounded by Senate, Pendleton, Pulaski, and Wayne streets) were closed in 1857.

The research by Klinar (1992:4) states, without support, that Randolph "was buried in the county in which he was killed" and then later reports that "Randolph's body was retrieved from its Abbeville County burial site, and reinterred in the newly named Randolph Cemetery" (Klinar 1992:5). These statements are clearly in conflict with the available newspaper accounts.

The Early Years

The earliest record of Randolph Cemetery dates to July 1, 1870 - a year and a half after Randolph's death and burial. This document is the Articles of Association for the Randolph Cemetery Association of Columbia, South Carolina (Richland County RMC, DB g, pg. 22). The articles recount the first property acquired by the Association (although no deed transferring the property to the Association can be identified). The property, with no acreage specified, was:

Bounded on the East and North by Lands of The Elmwood Cemetery; West by the Greenville & Columbia RR Company [today the CSX and Norfolk Southern joint lines]; and South by Upper Street [today Elmwood Avenue].

Why Elmwood was persuaded to make this sale is unclear. The organizers of Elmwood may have been civic minded and concerned that blacks also have a cemetery. They may have preferred selling property to the association rather than integration. They may have been concerned with the proximity of the parcel to Lower Cemetery (whose boundaries may have been poorly defined). Or they may have felt that this lower terrace, in close proximity to the stench of the Columbia Tannery (located on the south side of Upper [Elmwood Avenue] street west of Huger, would never be particularly attractive to white clientele.

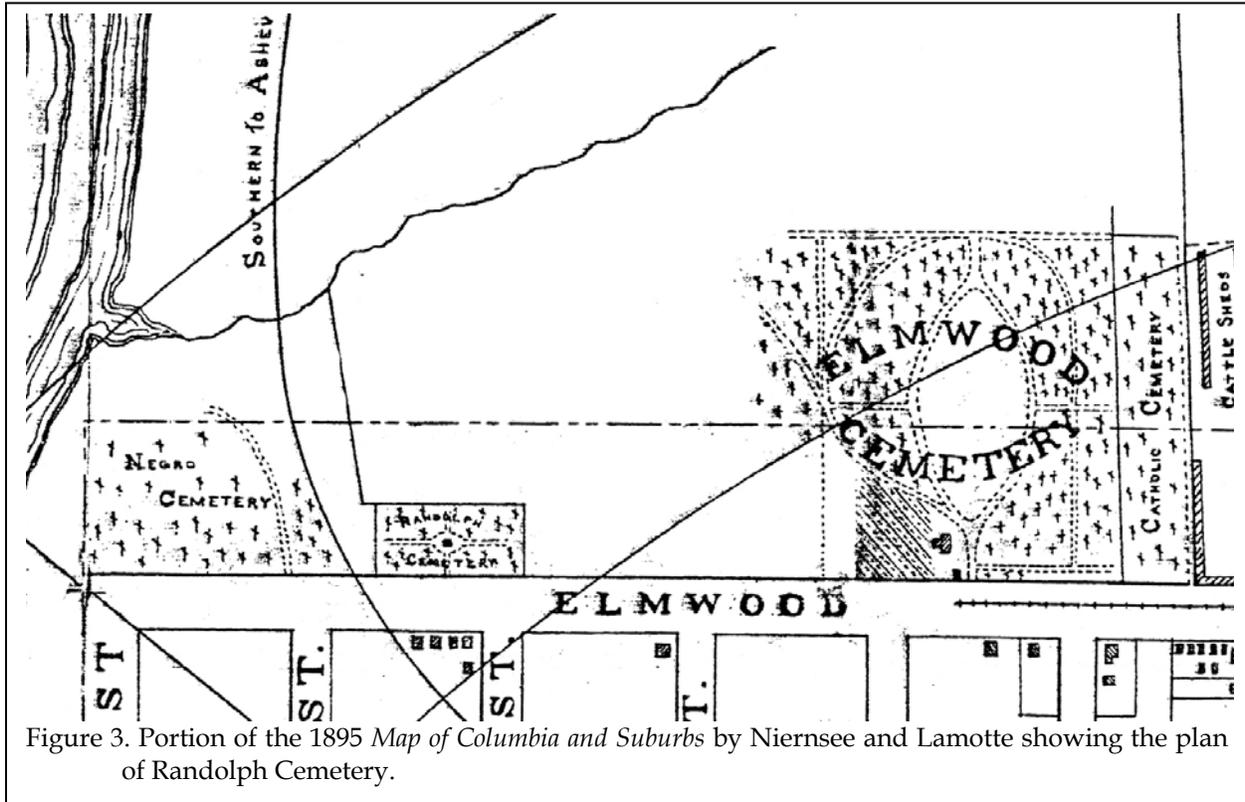
Although the Articles of Association specify that a plat was to be filed, none was (or at least none can be identified today). Those incorporating included William Beverly Nash, Samuel B. Thompson, Alonzo Reese, Adison Richardson, Capt. J. Carroll, H.E. Edwards, John H. Bryant, Charles M. Wilder, Isaac Black, Augustus Cooper, William Simons, and C.B. Thompson. The first board was composed of

Nash (as President), Black, Thompson, and Bryant.

The meets and bounds suggest that this first parcel was at the western end of the cemetery, since it was bounded by the railway.

The next acquisition was made on January 8, 1872. The Association (with J.W. Parker now President), purchased from

These meets and bounds, if interpreted literally would suggest that the property did not abut the existing Randolph Cemetery property. There are several interpretations. One is that this deed was for the property already referenced in the Articles of Association. Perhaps the Association took a year and half to raise the funds to actually acquire the property they were using (although this would generally be dealt with through a mortgage). Another possibility is



Elmwood Cemetery, for \$900:

Three Acres of Land, Bounded on the south by Upper St., West by Elmwood Cemetery; Also bounded on the North and East by Elmwood Cemetery Company, containing three Acres Land, and running East and West and parallel with Upper Boundary Street (Richland County RMC, DB G, pg. 242).

that the meets and bounds are simply incorrect, and the western boundary was the existing Randolph parcel. A third possibility is provided below.

The 1899 Columbia City Directory lists Henry Barber as the “keeper” of Randolph Cemetery. Barber was an African American who, prior to 1899, was generally listed in the census as a laborer, living at 719 Washington Street. The 1891 directory lists him as an undertaker working at Fagan Brothers. Barber

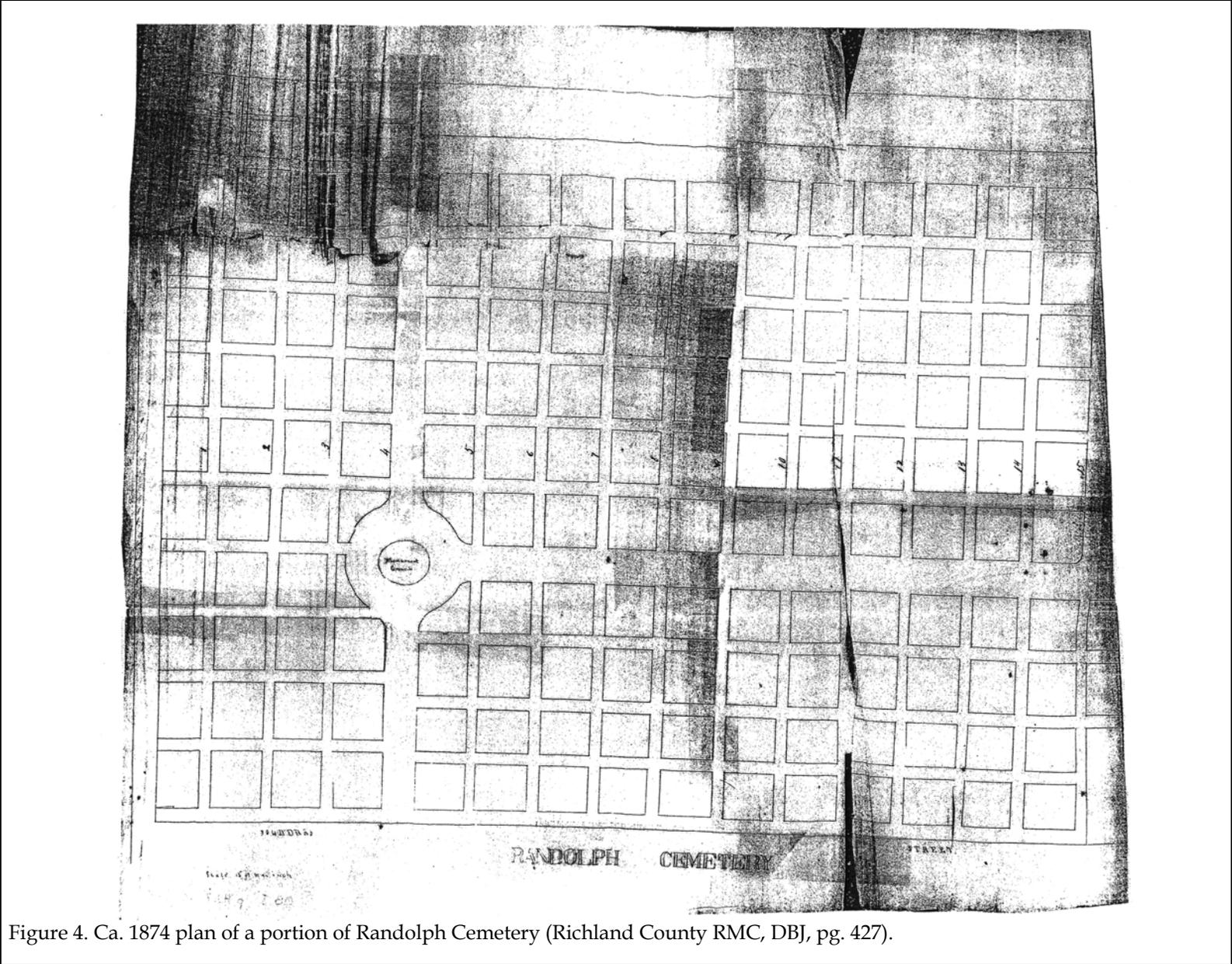


Figure 4. Ca. 1874 plan of a portion of Randolph Cemetery (Richland County RMC, DBJ, pg. 427).

shows up again in the 1906 directory, but now listed only as a gravedigger.

It appears that for a brief while – perhaps only a year – the Randolph Cemetery Company hired a “keeper” – whose duties were probably very much like those of a sexton, being responsible for digging and backfilling graves, and maintaining the cemetery.

On September 20, 1899, what was by that time called the Randolph Cemetery Company (not Association; with Isaac Black as President and C.J. Carroll as Secretary and Treasurer) paid \$300 for one acre of additional property, “fronting on Elmwood Avenue 145 feet more or less and running back 300 feet along the line of their present Cemetery” (Richland County RMC, DB AC, pg. 518).

This almost certainly reflects the eastern most strip of the Randolph property. It may also suggest that the cemetery grew from the edge of the Elmwood property, adjoining the railroad easement, eastward. With the two plats comprising 4 acres total, the first acquisition must have been for about 2 acres (to complete the total of 6 acres known today). Unfortunately, without plats (or any corporate history), our understanding of the cemetery’s development must be largely speculative.

Of course, there are maps, although most provide little good evidence. There is, however an 1895 map that shows not only Randolph, but also its layout at the time (Figure 3). While this could be simply an aesthetic creation on the part of the cartographer, this seems unlikely since considerable care was exercised to provide realistic portrayals of other features and cemeteries nearby.

If we assume the 1895 map to be correct, then we must reevaluate our understanding of Randolph and its layout. The map shows the cemetery to be about 400 feet by 200 feet – or just under 2 acres in extent, situated in the southwestern portion of what is today the

cemetery. This is too small to represent both the original portion (identified in the articles of incorporation) and the 1872 purchase of 3 acres. We suspect that it represents only the original portion and the additional three acres would account for the strip behind (north) of the original parcel and perhaps coming along one side of the original tract. The final purchase, as already suggested, would have been the eastern portion of today’s Randolph Cemetery.

While the puzzle of the acquisition is certainly not resolved, this map does reveal that the original cemetery layout was far more formal than nearby Elmwood. There was a single entrance into Randolph, with the road encircling a central monument – which we suspect was erected to Randolph – and radiating to the north, east, and west. This would have served to divided the cemetery into four quadrants – perhaps designated as wards (see below).

We have identified an undated (but reputed to be 1874) scrap of a map (Richland County RMC, DB J, pg. 427) that appears to represent about 1 acre and is bounded on the south by Boundary Street (Columbia has no Boundary Street, so this is almost certainly Upper Street, later known as Elmwood) reproduced here as Figure 4.

Although it is possible that this is only a hypothetical plan, it is nearly identical to the layout shown on the 1895 city map – suggesting that it is a more or less accurate representation of the cemetery, with the “Monument Ground” representing the Randolph Memorial. The plots, all apparently square and measuring about 20 feet, were to be numbered 1 through 15 from the west to the east. A north-south designation is not indicated, but might have been letters.

Helping to decipher this plat and any organization that might have existed for the cemetery, would be individual plot deeds, since these generally indicate some grid coordinates.

A SMALL SAMPLE OF BURIALS AT RANDOLPH CEMETERY

- I. All lots shall be held subject to the rules and regulations of the company, and to the provisions of the Charter of the Company, and shall not be used for any other purpose than as a place of burial for the dead.
- II. The proprietor of each lot shall have a right to enclose the same with a wall not exceeding one foot in thickness, nor one foot in height above the surface, to be placed on the margin allowed for the purpose; or with a railing (except of wood). The President and Directors request that all such railings be light, neat, and symmetrical.
- III. Proprietors shall not allow interments to be made in their lots for remuneration.
- IV. No disinterment shall be allowed without permission being obtained from the President and Directors.
- V. The proprietor of each lot shall have the right to erect any proper stones, monuments, or sepulchral structures thereon, and to cultivate trees, shrubs and plants in the same; but no growing within the lot or border shall be cut down or destroyed, without the consent of the President and Directors.
- VI. If any trees or shrubs, situated in any lot, shall, by means of their roots, branches, or otherwise, become detrimental to the adjacent lot or avenues, or dangerous or inconvenient to passengers, it shall be the duty of the President and Directors, and they shall have the right, to enter the said lot, and remove the said trees and shrubs, or such parts thereof as are detrimental, dangerous or inconvenient.
- VII. If any monument, effigy or enclosure, or any structure whatever, or any inscription, be placed in or upon any lot, which shall be determined by the President and Directors for the time being, to be offensive or improper or injurious to the appearance of the surrounding lots or grounds, the said President and Directors, or a major part of them, shall have the right, and it shall be their duty, to enter upon such lot and remove the said offensive or improper object or objects.
- VIII. It shall be the duty of the President and Directors, from time to time, to lay out and alter such avenues or walks, and to make such rules and regulations for the government of the grounds, as they may deem requisite and proper to secure and promote the general objects of the institution.
- IX. The proprietors of lots, and their families, shall be allowed access to the grounds at all times, observing the rules which are or may be adopted for the regulation of visitors.
- X. All earth or rubbish, accumulated by owners of lots or their agents, must be carefully removed as soon as possible, and deposited wherever the President and Directors shall direct.
- XI. That no monument, sepulchral structure or other improvement, erected or to be erected in the Randolph Cemetery, shall ever be removed without the consent of the President and Directors.

Figure 5. Rules and Regulations of the Randolph Cemetery Company, 1886 and 1910.

We have, however, been able to identify only two deeds.

One dates from January 1886 for Mr. M.G. Johnson and identified the purchase of one lot, identified as Lot 1 in Ward 3, "as designated on a plat of said Cemetery drawn by --- of date January 1st, 1873." This plot, containing 400 "superficial feet,"³ cost \$30 and was sold by the Randolph Cemetery Company under the signature of its president, Joe Taylor.

The second dates from 1910 and is for two lots, numbered 2 and 3, with no other designations sold to Hoover [Hoover]. These plots, also containing 200 "superficial feet," cost \$18 suggesting only a slight price increase between 1886 and 1910. By this time the president was C.A. Thompson (Richland County RMC, DB ED752, p. 180; the document was filed in 1985 by Mrs. M. Hoover Price).

³ This reflects a plot 20 by 20 feet.

The two deeds are on different generations of a pre-printed form that includes at the bottom of the page the "Rules and Regulations" for the cemetery (Figure 5).

The Founders

Understanding those who founded and were associated with Randolph may help us better understand its history. Below is a list of those known to have been associated with the cemetery.

Isaac Black

One of the founders in 1870, the 1875 Columbia City Directory lists Black - a barber - as living on Winn (today Gregg Street), near Lady. He does not appear in the 1870 census for Columbia. The 1879 directory now lists Black as operating a restaurant at 6 West Washington (still living on Winn), although his son, Isaac Junior, is a member of Means and Black, barbers

in the Columbia Hotel. The 1880 Census, however, shows only one Black in Columbia, a 60 year old mulatto who listed his occupation as shoemaker.

John H. Bryant

A founder and member of the first board, the 1870 Federal Census lists him as a 33 year old black male, who showed his occupation as "school commissioner" - although he could neither read nor write. Nevertheless, he is shown as possessing \$4,000 in real estate (indicating that he owned his home free) and as having a personal estate valued at \$1,000. The 1875 city directory lists his address as 67 E. Lady and, in 1879, as 97 S. Gates (today Hampton). The 1880 Federal Census lists him as a farmer, but still residing on Gates. Bryant was also now able to read and write. He was married to Anna, who did not need to work, listing her occupation as "keeping house." He had five children, three of whom (Ella, John, and Jessie) were attending school. The 1891 City Directory shows that Bryant was the principal of Sidney Park School and was still residing at 97 S. Gates Street. Bryant (who died in 1909) and his wife are both buried at Randolph.

Captain James Carroll

The 1870 Federal Census lists Captain Carroll as a 32 year old mulatto barber. He was married to Rebecca, a 29 year old mulatto, and had four children: James B., Jane F., Mary B., and Louisa. He listed real estate valued at \$1,000 (again indicating home ownership) and a personal estate of \$400. The 1875 Columbia City Directory indicates that he was a county school commissioner and was a partner in the firm Reese and Carroll, barbers located at 86 N. Richardson (today Main). His partner was Alonzo Reese. The 1879 city directory repeated this information. The 1880 Federal Census shows the same occupation, while his wife was listed as "at home." He now had six children: James, Mary, Jane, Lucius, Corinne, and Lilian. Louisa, no longer listed, is presumed to have

died as an infant. Carroll died in 1905 and is buried in Randolph, as is his wife and at least several children.

Augustus Cooper

Augustus Cooper was shown in the 1870 Federal Census as a 35 year old black grocery merchant. Still living with his parents, Harris and Lucy Cooper, he had amassed a sizeable estate, listed as \$3,000 in real estate and \$4,000 in personal estate (probably including his grocery stock). The 1875 city directory shows him in partnership with William M. Taylor in the firm of Cooper and Taylor at 48 S. Richardson (Main). Although not shown in the 1880 census, he is listed in the 1885 city directory, although only as a clerk, working for Oscar Ellington, a grocer and saloon keeper on Assembly Street.

H.E. Edwards

This is almost certainly Hardy E. Edwards, an African American clergyman listed in the 1870 census (incorrectly as Henry) as 45 years old. His wife, Francis, and six children are also listed. He is shown as having a very modest estate -- \$500 in real estate and \$100 in personal property. Hardy is listed in the 1875 city directory as living at 20 S. Main and in the 1879 directory he is shown as Rev. Hardy Edwards. The 1880 Federal Census continues to show him as a preacher. His wife, now listed as Harriet, was working as a washerwoman; his son, Hardy, was a teacher; and his younger son, Nesbit, was a servant. Hardly a wealthy man, his involvement as a member of the Association was likely because of his ministerial duties.

Robert B. Elliott

Details of Elliott's political life are provided by Foner (1996:69-70). He was a representative from Barnwell in the 48th General Assembly (1868-1870) and then represented Aiken in the 51st Assembly (1874-1876), serving as the Speaker of the House. He served in the

U.S. House from 1870 to 1874. The 1875 city directory shows his residence in Columbia at 50 E. Lady Street and by 1879 he is listed as an attorney living at 15 Taylor Street. The 1880 Federal Census reveals that he was born in Massachusetts and was married to a mulatto, Grace. Listing his age as 36, he was still an attorney, living on Taylor. He suffered a series of serious political and economic setbacks, dying penniless in New Orleans in 1882.

John Fitzsimmons

Fitzsimmons is not found in the 1870 Federal Census, but is listed in the 1875 and 1879 Columbia City Directories as a laborer living at 204 N. Pulaski Street. In the 1880 Federal Census we find him still on Pulaski, but listing his occupation as a farmer. He was identified as a 47 year old mulatto, married to Rebecca, a 40 year old mulatto who was at home. They had three children, two of whom were listed "at school." Little more is known about this individual.

Hampton Mims

Hampton Mims is shown in the 1870 Federal Census as a 28 year old illiterate mulatto "canvasser" with no real or personal property. His wife, Martha, was a 27 year old black listed as "at home." They had one child, James. The 1875 city directory lists his occupation as "street overseer," and a residence at 79 W. Devine. By 1879 the city directory lists Mims as a carpenter. While no occupation is listed in the 1880 census, the 1885 city directory continues to list his occupation as carpenter. Nothing more is known concerning this individual.

William B. Nash

A detailed synopsis is provided by Foner (1996:159) who notes that

Nash was one of South Carolina's most influential African American political leaders. He served in the state Senate (1868-1877) and held numerous positions, including Columbia magistrate (1867-1868), trial justice (1870-1874), registrar, president of the board of regents of the state lunatic asylum, trustee of the state orphan asylum, director of the state penitentiary, county agent of the state land commission, and militia officer. He was a black mason and a member of a fire company. His various occupations included brick manufacturing and coal yard operator. Nash (d. 1888), and his widow Dorcas (d. 1903), are both known to be buried at Randolph.

J.W. Parker

The 1870 Federal Census lists no J.W. Parker, but does list a 40 year old Jackson Parker, who was a blacksmith living in Ward 4. His wife, Charlotte, was not working. There is no listing in the 1880 Census.

Alonzo J. Ransier

Foner (1996:176-177) provides a more detailed account, but Ransier was a mulatto from Charleston who succeeded Randolph as chairman of the state Republic Party after Randolph's assassination. He served one term in the US House (1873-1875) and early in his career had amassed considerable wealth. After leaving Congress his fortunes waned quickly and when he died in 1882 he was living in a boarding house and doing day labor for the City of Charleston.

Alonzo Reese

Reese, in 1875, was a partner with Captain J. Carroll in the grocery firm of Reese and Carroll. He lived at 45 S. Assembly. The 1870 Federal Census reveals that



Figure 6. William B. Nash, the first president of the Randolph Cemetery Association (from Foner 1998:159).

Reese was a 45 year old mulatto barber with real estate valued at \$2,500 and a personal estate of \$500. His wife, 44, was listed as black. He had nine children, all mulattoes: James, 22, a barber; Benjamin, 21, also a barber; Levinia, 19; Precilla, 17; Louise, 15; Harvey, 11; John, 9; Hannah, 6; and Samuel, 2. The 1880 Federal Census continues to list his occupation as Barber. Only four children – John (18, a barber), Lillie (16), Samuel (11), and Sydney (8) – are shown in the household. Reese died the following year and, along with his wife and numerous children, is buried in Randolph Cemetery.

Adison Richardson

One of the original incorporators, Richardson is not found in either the 1870 or 1880 census records. In fact, he has been found only in the 1875 city directory, where he is listed as a grocer at 85 E. Washington. This suggests that his involvement in Randolph lasted for only a few years.

William Simons

This is almost certainly William M. Simons, identified by Foner (1998:197). The 1870 Federal Census lists him as a mulatto, already 65 years old, with \$2,000 in real estate and \$1,000 in personal property. His wife was Eliza and there were three children living at home – Catherine, Emma, and Rosena. While he served in the South Carolina House from 1868-1872 and again from 1874-1876, the 1875 city directory lists his occupation as a contractor, living at 275 N. Sumter. He died in 1878, but his widow was still listed at the Sumter Street address in the 1879 directory.

William A. [M.] Taylor

We believe that this individual is actually William M. Taylor – a mulatto grocer appearing in the 1880 Federal Census. At that time he was 43, married to Maria L. and had seven children – William T. (16, at school), John C. (15, a grocery clerk), Hattie (12, at school),

Joseph C. (10, at school), Marion M. (10), Evilena F. (4), Leydia J. (1). Also living in the household was a black servant, Ellen Fox (16) and her one year old child. The family lived at 121 Lincoln Street. The 1875 city directory identified Taylor as a partner with Augustus Cooper in the grocery firm of Cooper and Taylor. By 1879 the partnership was apparently dissolved and Taylor is listed under his own name as a dealer in groceries and liquors at 73 N. Assembly. His residence was still on Lincoln Street.

Joe Taylor

This individual is known to be the president of the Randolph Cemetery Co. in 1886, but he cannot be identified in the 1870 or 1880 Federal Census for Columbia. He does appear in the 1885 Columbia City Directory, listed as a wholesale and retail dealer in coal and wood at the South Carolina Railroad yard, and having a residence at 25 S. Assembly. An earlier entry, in 1879, is for a Joseph Taylor, who owned a saloon at 107 N. Lincoln and lived at 66 N. Sumter. No additional information is known concerning this individual.

Adam Thomas

Thomas appears in the 1870 census as a 50 year old black, with no occupation listed. He is shown, however, to have \$1,000 in real estate (probably his house) and a personal estate valued at \$50. He was married to Annie, 40 years old, and had two children -- Victoria (18) and John (1). The 1875 city directory adds nothing more except noting a residence at 132 E. Blanding. The 1879 city directory lists his occupation as farmer. He apparently died shortly thereafter and is not listed in subsequent examined directories or the 1880 census.

C.B. Thompson/ C.A. Thompson

This individual cannot be identified. He is not shown in the 1870 census (although there are two Charles Thompsons in Columbia – one a

laborer and the other a brick mason). The city directories provide no entries until after 1890.

Samuel B. Thompson

Foner (1998:212) provides some information on Thompson, noting that he served in the State House (1868-1874), as well as a trial justice, regent of the state lunatic asylum, and official of the Union League. The 1870 Federal Census reveals that he was listed as a black man, had \$1,000 in real estate and a personal estate valued at \$500. His family included his wife, Eliza (27), and five children (Clarra, 11; Benjamin, 9; John, 6; Cecelia, 4; and Carrie, 1). By the 1879 census and now out of political office, Thompson was listed a carpenter living at 57 Senate Street. The 1880 Federal Census, while confirming these details, also suggests that his income was sufficient to allow his wife to remain at home. His household was still large, consisting of nine children - Clarissa (20, a school teacher), John (16, a servant), Celia (14, attending school), Caroline (10, attending school), Lottie (8), William (5), and the twins Eugene and Eugenia (3 years old). Samuel B. Thompson died in 1909 and while there is no monument in his name it is possible that several of his children are buried at Randolph.

Charles M. Wilder

Froner (1998:229) also provides a brief account of Wilder, a mulatto carpenter who served in the State House (1868-70), a U.S. Deputy Marshal in Richland County, and eventually as Columbia's postmaster from 1869 through 1885. While largely self-educated, when the University of South Carolina was open to black students Wilder took advantage of this opportunity and enrolled. In 1870 Wilder owned real estate valued at \$5,000 and had personal property valued at \$1,500. He was a director of several white-owned businesses, including the Columbia Building and Loan Association and the South Carolina Bank and Trust Company. Wilder and his wife are buried at Randolph Cemetery.

Looking at this information reveals a diverse group of middle class and higher African Americans. Two-thirds of the group were mulattoes. Six were either barbers or grocers - merchants and tradesmen of considerable respect and influence in the black community. One was a minister. Three were farmers - an occupation of middle class blacks lacking higher education. Several were politicians, at least during the period when Columbia's African Americans were able to hold political office. The group founding - and at least initially overseeing - the cemetery seem to represent the upper crust of Columbia's black community.

Their motivation for involvement in the founding or operation is unknown - we have found no records that would provide an explanation in their own words (although such records may exist somewhere).

It seems unlikely that the motivation was entrepreneurial. The cemetery was incorporated under laws governing "Religious, Charitable and Educational" groups. The fees known to have been charged (\$30-\$36) are in-line with those charged by other cemeteries of the period. This represents around \$600 in 2002\$, but perhaps a better way to look at the cost was that laborers might be paid as little as 10¢ an hour and even a first class carpenter was paid only \$1.25 a day ("Washington Heights," *Columbia Record*, August 9, 1978, pg. 1C). The only way that a working class or even lower middle class black might afford burial in Randolph - as opposed to the indignity of burial in the city's pauper cemetery - might be through the various burial aid societies. There is, however, no historical evidence that they acquired lots at Randolph for their members (although this does seem reasonable).

In any event, it is unlikely that the approximately 200 plots at Randolph would have generated more than \$6,000. While a small sum, it is unclear without records how the money was spent. We know that about \$2,000

was necessary to purchase the property itself – and at least some of those funds were likely fronted by the initial organizers. Upkeep was largely the responsibility of the families, advertising was minimal, and there seems to have rarely been anyone hired to tend the property.

Twentieth Century History

Little more is known about the cemetery's early history, although more detailed research scanning available newspapers may eventually provide other details. What is known is that by 1905 the "Negro Cemetery" was described as "a disgrace to the city" (Kelsey and Guild 1905:50) – suggesting that troubles were already upon the property.⁴ Additional concerns were apparently expressed around 1918 (Simons-Williams n.d.; quoted in Klinar 1992:7).

The National Register nomination places the decline of Randolph by the middle of the twentieth century, noting that as late as 1959 the cemetery was partially cleared by the City of Columbia for a construction project (Nickless 1994). This report is echoed by Klinar (1992:8), who notes that the work "knocked over or destroyed" stones.

These accounts may be a reference to the 1957 construction associated with I-26 (SC Department of Transportation, Docket No. 40.471, F.A.P. No. I-340-1(2)). Plan Sheet 6 reveals the modifications to Gist, Pinckney, and Elmwood that resulted in considerable disturbance to what was called then Potter's Field (shown as Negro Cemetery in Figure 5 and

⁴ While the term "negro cemetery" has been used for both the pauper/city/lower cemetery and Randolph (see Figure 3), the term is *most often* associated with Randolph. It likely sought to distinguish the "white" cemetery – Elmwood – from the "negro" cemetery – Randolph. The third cemetery – the pauper/city/lower cemetery was used by the poor, regardless of color.

called Lower Cemetery or the City Cemetery). There appears to have been no ground disturbance at Randolph Cemetery, although at least three graves and a graveled plot are shown to be within the existing 75-foot right of way for Elmwood Avenue. This plan sheet also illustrates the wire fence that separated Elmwood from Randolph (which exists today only in ruinous condition and remnant concrete posts).

This, however, seems to have been the least of the cemetery's problems since by 1982 the situation regarding the care of the cemetery resulted in a suit being brought in Richland County Court of Common Pleas (Richland County Fifth Judicial Circuit, Case 140156; 82CP404316). The case was brought by Wilhelmina Thompson Madden (a descendent of Samuel B. Thompson), Lucius Smith (a descendent of William Simons), and Natalie Frederick Martin (a descendent of Captain J. Carroll) against the founders of the cemetery and successors, William Pearson (as a descendent of William B. Nash), and others that might have an interest. The suit alleged that the plaintiffs were "capable of conducting the business of the Randolph Cemetery Association" and requested that the Court declare them "owner of all lands and properties" associated with the cemetery. William Pearson⁵ answered the complaint on

⁵ The Pearson family entered the funeral business about 1931 under the name Champion and Pearson Funeral Home at 1325 Park Street (the residence of Henry D. Pearson). Pearson was a mail carrier for the postal service and William C. Champion was relatively new to Columbia, not being listed in 1929 city directory. By 1934 Champion left the firm, being employed as an embalmer with the Johnson-Bradley Funeral Home. Between 1934 and 1950 Henry D. Pearson continued to operate the business while also being a mail carrier. During this period the firm even had its own choir – Pearson Funeral Home Choir, also known as the People's Burial Aid Society Choir – that was recorded by John

October 31, claiming that as a descendant he should be “included as a member of the Randolph Cemetery Association” and that he and his family “do own or have owned a large portion of the cemetery plots and lands.” As a result, he requested that the Court confirm ownership in the Association – not the plaintiffs.

Just over a month later, the complaint was amended, with the plaintiffs changed to Lucius Smith, Natalie Frederick Martin, Reed P. Johnson, and the Committee for the Restoration and Beautification of Randolph Cemetery. The revised complaint explained that the Committee was properly incorporated and “best represents the interest of the descendants [sic] of the persons buried in Randolph Cemetery . . . and therefore is the proper corporation to be declared successor to the Randolph Cemetery Association.” The plaintiffs asked the court to declare the Committee the owner of the cemetery.

On March 21, 1984 Judge James C. Harrison issued a declaratory judgment finding that the Committee was the successor to the Randolph Cemetery Association and that the Association was the declared owner of the cemetery.

In spite of the relatively clear cut and limited issues and finding, there is an undercurrent that far more was being alleged. Another version of the story surrounding this

law suit provides an interesting variation on its causes:

[in] a law suit brought against Pearson Funeral Home, the Committee was granted trusteeship of the cemetery by the court. The owner of the funeral home, who alleged he had inherited several plots from his grandfather, was engaged in selling plots from the cemetery without the consent of the Committee. According to Dr. [C. Read] Johnson, the number and size of the plots Pearson had inherited increased with his every telling of the story. The court granted the committee custodianship, and Pearson was prevented from continuing his entrepreneurial endeavors (Klinar 1992:11-12).

The difference is not only telling in terms of the division that the cemetery has caused in the African American community, but it also may address issues of condition and number of burial plots that have been filled.

A 1989 newspaper article, however, contends that the Committee for the Restoration and Beautification of Randolph Cemetery began in 1976 (“Randolph Cemetery restoration group seeks help,” *The State*, November 3, 1989, pg. 2B). This article also indicates that a “professional fund-raising company,” NIJA Enterprises, owned by William and Gwen Robinson, was raising funds for the care of the cemetery. This firm cannot be located today and is not listed in the South Carolina Secretary of State’s database. The Committee for the Restoration and Beautification of Randolph Cemetery was not incorporated until 1999 (South Carolina Secretary of State, 99-014441CC) and never sought non-profit status with the IRS (based on Publication 78, *Cumulative List of Organizations described in Section 170(c) of the*

A. Lomax (Archive of Folk Culture). Lomax reported that the leader was D.W. White, an illiterate black laborer. The group sang “for any funeral managed by the [Pearson] home. Another individual in the choir was Elise Jenkins. About 1955 the business appears to have been taken over by his son, William M. Pearson. By the 1980s Robert Pearson, the son of William, was largely responsible for the business, representing the third generation. Today the firm is operated by Robbie and Audrey Pearson at 4508 N. Main.

Internal Revenue Code of 1986). These issues probably severely crippled the organization's ability to raise funds.

Klinar explains another facet of the cemetery's decline:

Minnie Williams, the historian for the group, researched many deeds of sale of the plots, and gathered information on the Randolph Cemetery Association. . . . Williams died in February of 1992. The research she conducted, and the findings she made, are supposedly in the hands of Emma Kyer. Mrs. Kyer refused to be interviewed for this paper It is unfortunate she was unwilling to share her experiences of the Randolph Cemetery and the work of the Committee. The work that Mrs. Williams conducted cannot be accurately ascertained as a result (Klinar 1992:10).

In 1992 the cemetery was again in the newspaper. The Committee for the Restoration and Beautification of Randolph Cemetery and the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority were holding a clean-up event. The article also explained that the sorority's national office was promoting the preservation of 13 African American monuments across the region, with Randolph Cemetery being one ("Groups trying to preserve cemetery, history," *The State*, May 22, 1992, pg. 1B).

These efforts were largely unsuccessful and by 2000 the cemetery's appearance in the news focused on the unintentional destruction of several graves in the cemetery caused by more recent burials - and the abandonment of a used coffin in the cemetery. After an

investigation, Coroner Frank Barron reported that, "I don't think any more graves should be sold out there," noting that there was no additional room for burials. Ethel Berry, identified as a "former member of a cemetery-improvement committee," explained that the sad condition of the property was the result of a lack of ownership - in spite of the court awarding trusteeship (the equivalent of

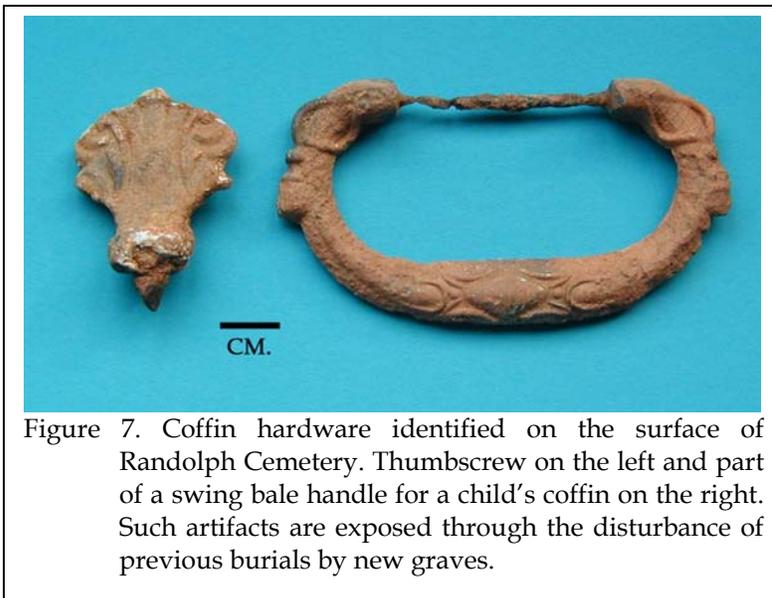


Figure 7. Coffin hardware identified on the surface of Randolph Cemetery. Thumbscrew on the left and part of a swing bale handle for a child's coffin on the right. Such artifacts are exposed through the disturbance of previous burials by new graves.

ownership) to the Committee a decade and a half earlier ("Cemetery desecration accidental, coroner says." *The State*, February 12, 2000, pg. B-1).

Unfortunately, bones continue to routinely turn up at Randolph Cemetery, along with fragments of coffin hardware - providing clear evidence of frequent intrusions. The 1873 plan that is referenced in the 1886 Johnson plot deed has disappeared, amid allegations that it was last seen in the hands of the same African American funeral home accused of selling plots. The absence of this plan, coupled by a complete absence of any corporate records, makes the effort to unravel the cemetery's history a nearly impossible task. The task is further compromised by the unwillingness of some Committee members to reveal information concerning the cemetery (see Klinar 1992).

A SMALL SAMPLE OF BURIALS AT RANDOLPH CEMETERY

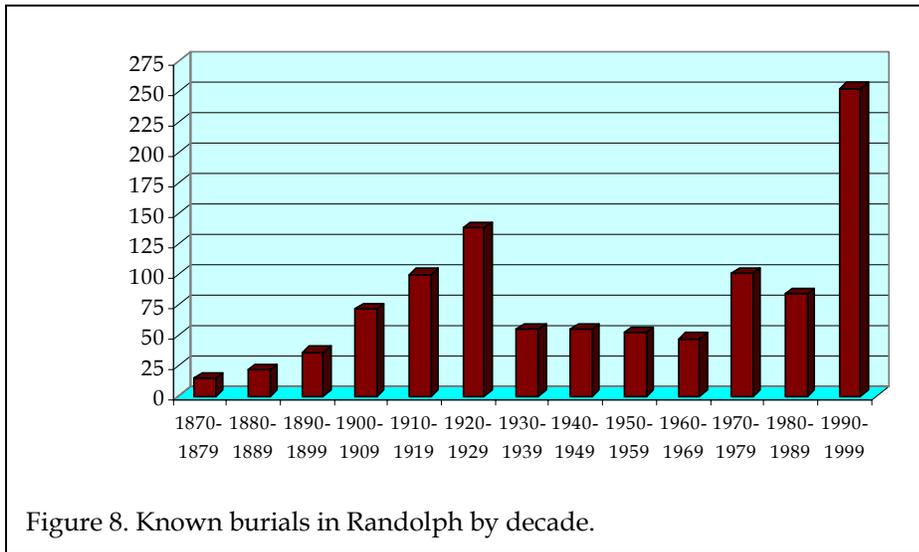


Figure 8. Known burials in Randolph by decade.

popularity of the cemetery among the African American community.

The number of burials stabilizes for four decades at around 50 per decade (or one every 2-3 months). This, too, seems reasonable. The cemetery was perhaps not as popular as it once was, but continued to attract those with ties to the property and who held deeds from the

Observations Concerning Cemetery Use

In 2002 the Columbia Chapter of the South Carolina Genealogical Society published a transcription of stones identifiable at that time in Randolph Cemetery (Osburn 2002). It lists 1,027 stones with identifiable dates ranging from the decade of the 1860s through 1999.

It is reasonable to assume that a cemetery such as Randolph may incorporate around 500 burials per acre. With approximately 6.5 acres, the cemetery may hold upwards of 3,250 burials. Considering the portions of the cemetery that have become overgrown, the large number of children’s graves that are frequently unmarked, and the damage done to the property over time, it seems entirely reasonable that today only a third of the graves are still marked and legible.

What is more interesting is the graph shown in Figure 8. This reveals the number of known burials by decade. It reveals the anticipated slow, but steady, increase in the number of burials between the formal inception of the cemetery and the decade of the 1920s. This increase is likely the result of founding families and early subscribers dying and being buried in the cemetery, as well as the increasing

Association.

Beginning in the decade of the 1970s, however, the number of burials in the cemetery doubles. This sudden increase in use is difficult to understand. Might this increase be evidence that local funeral homes were selling plots in Randolph, as alleged by Dr. C. Read Johnson?

What is most curious, however, is that between 1990 and 1999 the number of burials in Randolph jumps from around 50 between 1930 and 1969 to over 250 – or about two burials a month. It seems unlikely that after 40 years of steady (albeit reduced) use, the fifth generation of Randolph’s founders would suddenly decide to return there for burial.

Instead, it seems more reasonable that this increase suggests that plots were again being sold in the cemetery – whether by local funeral homes or by the newly formed Committee can’t be determined.

This increase, regardless of origin, is important for several reasons. First, it introduces a very large quantity of new elements into a historic cemetery – creating significant difficulties in long-term preservation. Second, without a map of the cemetery, it has created the well-documented scenario of earlier graves

being disturbed by new interments. And third, it leaves unanswered who was profiting from the sale of these plots (at a fair market value of \$500 per plot, the sale of 150 plots would generate \$75,000 in funds for the care of the cemetery).

A SMALL SAMPLE OF BURIALS AT RANDOLPH CEMETERY

COLUMBIA'S AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY

There is surprisingly little written about Columbia's African American population, especially when the capital city is compared to Charleston. What is available seems to consist of either "recollections" (by either whites or blacks, e.g., C.A. Johnson's chapter entitled "Negroes" in Hennig's [1936] *Columbia: Capital City of South Carolina*) or is focused on one site or concept (for example, a neighborhood, such as Lewark [1998]). An exception, however, is the insightful study by Staci Richey (2005) documenting Columbia's unrelenting efforts to eliminate black residential neighborhoods. She provides well documented - and essentially irrefutable - accounts of one residential area after another falling victim to physical and social manipulation - leaving Columbia largely "cleansed" of historical ethnic or racial enclaves.

This brief overview will not correct this deficiency in scholarship, but hopefully will help readers understand the vast complexity - and importance - of the topic. It may also spur additional interest. Our primary goal, however, is to help place Randolph Cemetery and those buried there in a better historical context.

Columbia on the Eve of the Civil War

There seems to be no research on free people of color in Columbia prior to the Civil War (besides the work that focuses directly on the Mann-Simons House, a site owned by Historic Columbia, see, for example, Crockett 2002)

If the 1860 census is examined, there were 439 free persons of color in Richland County and 65% of these were mulatto (Kennedy 1864:453). Looking at the Federal

Population Census, 70% of the free persons of color (n=309) lived in Columbia. In town, however, the proportion of mulattos and blacks was slightly more evenly divided, with 54% of the population being classified as mulatto and the remainder black.¹

When occupations are examined, 84 individuals are identified by occupation (including the term "none"). These are about evenly divided between mulatto (with 44 occupations listed) and black (with 40). Many of these occupations split across these race indicators, although a few appear to be strongly associated with a particular group. For example three of the four shoemakers were blacks, while nine of the 12 carpenters and 11 of the 15 seamstresses were mulatto (Figure 9).

It appears that, in general, mulattos held positions that required more responsibility or that came into contact more often with whites, while free blacks tended to hold more menial jobs.

In general blacks over the age of 20 were more than twice as likely to be unable to read or write as were mulattos. However, regardless of racial designation, only a third of the men were illiterate compared to two-thirds of the women. Thus, literacy seems to have been far more common among mulattos and men.

¹ The instructions for the 1860 census fail to provide any definition of mulatto other than that such an individual has "mixed blood." Blacks are defined as "black without admixture" <http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1860f-01.pdf>.

A SMALL SAMPLE OF BURIALS AT RANDOLPH CEMETERY

The favored professions and literacy may also have affected real estate and personal estate values. As a group mulattos held over three times as much real estate and two and a half times more personal wealth as blacks. The disparity, however, is less obvious when averages are compared. The average real estate for mulattos was \$1,875 compared to \$1,178 for blacks. The average personal estate for mulattos was \$398, compared to \$168 for blacks.

Thus, while blacks were less able as a group to assemble wealth, on an individual basis those that did were not far behind mulattos in held real estate. Mulattos, however, were far more likely to own objects - suggesting a greater disposable income - than blacks.

a mulatto carpenter claiming \$5,000 in real estate and \$4,000 in possessions. Although Isom Mitchell, also a mulatto carpenter, could claim \$5,000 in real estate, his personal estate was listed at only \$225.

The 1860 census does not specifically identify husband and wife, but if we examine the family units and assume that males and females of similar ages were mates, then only 23 conventional family units are present. In comparison, 32 family units have only a female head. The most common unions are black-black (accounting for 35%) and mulatto-mulatto (accounting for 48%). Mixed unions are far less common, with male blacks and female mulattos found in 13% of the unions and male mulattos being paired with female blacks in only 4% of

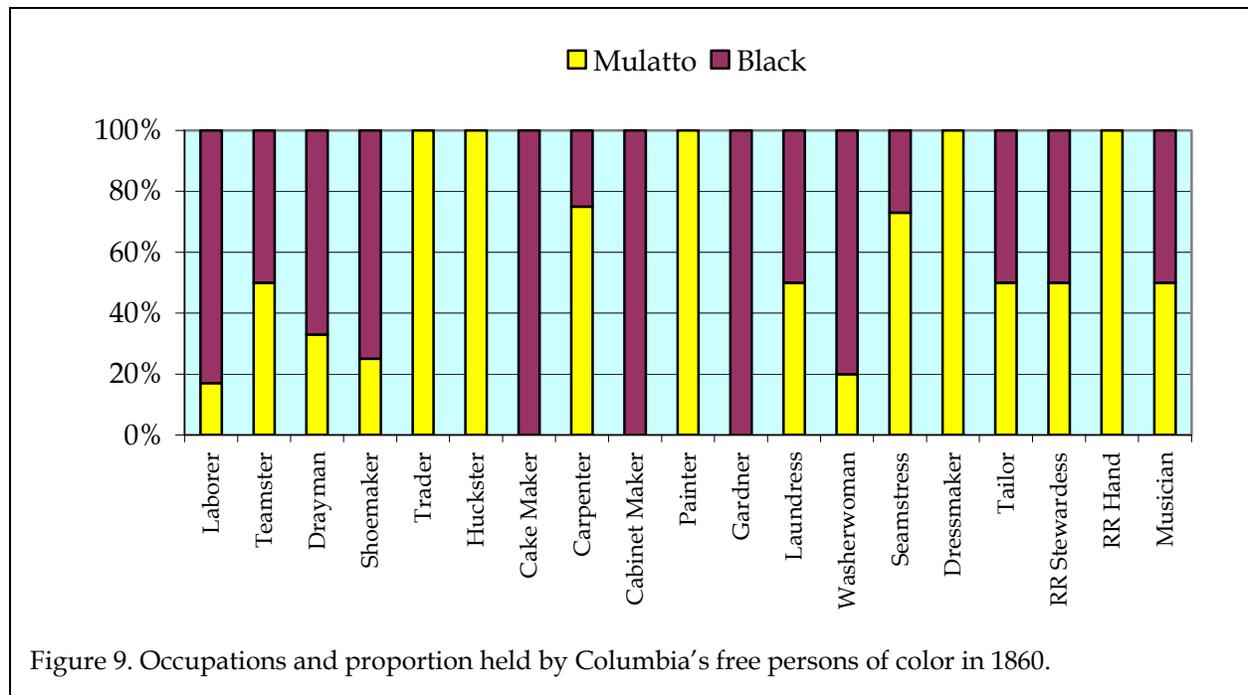


Figure 9. Occupations and proportion held by Columbia's free persons of color in 1860.

Some individuals were able to accumulate considerable wealth. For example the mulatto musician Joe Randal held \$2,500 in real estate and \$1,000 in personal estate. He was a bandmaster who played throughout the region. His home was on the west side of Assembly (Johnson 1934:304). The wealthiest person of color, however, was Green Guignard,

the cases identified. This suggests that African-Americans tended to marry partners with similar skin colors.

Regrettably, one of Columbia's best known free persons of color, Celia Mann, is not listed in the 1860 census (although she is listed

Table 1.
Columbia's Black Churches in 1895

Church	Location	Pastor
St. Luke's Episcopal	E. Lady, bet Main & Sumter	Rev. Henry T. Gregory
Ladson Presbyterian	Sumter, bet Blanding & Laurel	Rev. M.G. Johnson
Sidney Park M.E.	W. Blanding, ne cor Assembly	Rev. R.E. Hart
Wesley M.E.	Cor. Sumter and Gervais	Rev. James H. Johnson
Bethel A.M.E.	N. Sumter, ne cor Taylor	Rev. E.H. Coit
Zion A.M.E.	S. Main	
Zion Baptist	W. Washington	Rev. R.W. Baylor
Calvary Baptist	E. Richland, bet Marion & Bull	Rev. J.E. Daniels
Nazareth Baptist	N. Pickens	
Free Will Baptists	S. Lincoln	

bet - between; cor - corner; ne - northeast

free black community, clearly differentiated into those with darker and lighter skin color.

Late Nineteenth Century

By April 1870 African Americans held the majority of Columbia (and even Richland County) political offices. The only exceptions were

earlier; for an excellent overview see Crockett [2002]).

While most of these free persons of color were living in family units, probably in quite segregated sections of the city, there were at least a few that lived under the roof of a white patron. For example, under the roof of the extremely wealthy and prestigious Preston family² was the mulatto family of Gilbert Bynum. This included 40 year old Gilbert, Sarah (28 years old), Anna (18 years old), Rebecca (16 years old), John (12 years old), and Henry (4 years old).

Learning more about these individuals will be difficult since the period city directories fail to include free persons of color and most municipal records were destroyed during the Civil War. Nevertheless, it seems clear that Columbia had a small, but relatively prosperous

those jobs associated with financial responsibility, the city's mayor, and the county's sheriff - all of which remained in white hands. By 1877, however, the burgeoning political power of the black community ended with the Democratic ousting of Republican rule. The new State Constitution of 1895 has been described as "a vast, intricate, racist machinery." Hemmingway goes on to note that the combination of the state's educational, judicial, and political institutions worked together to "keep blacks functionally, if not absolutely illiterate, guided their education down 'safe' channels, denied them equal and fair treatment in the courts, and virtually excluded them from the political arena" (Hemmingway 1980:212). It was in this context that Columbia's African American community sought to create a safe haven for their families.

At the end of the nineteenth century the Columbia City Directories list 10 African American churches (shown in Table 1). Episcopal and Presbyterian each account for only one church, while four Baptist churches are found. As Tindall comments, the Baptists outnumbered all other African American denominations combined (Tindall 1952:187). DuBois found the A.M.E. church to be "the most compact and powerful" of the black churches, growing from 42 members and 2 ministers in 1787 to nearly 760,000 members and over 5,800

² John Preston married Wade Hampton's daughter Caroline. After Hampton's death in 1835 the Prestons moved into the Hampton Mansion with Hampton's widow, Mary. Today known as the Hampton-Preston house, it is situated at 1615 Blanding Street. The 1860 census lists Preston's wealth at \$135,000 in real estate and \$700,000 in personal property. Hampton's widow listed \$20,000 in real estate and \$150,000 in personal property.

ministers by 1903 (DuBois 1907:54, 57). The church was reported to hold property valued at nearly 9½ million dollars, primarily the value of the over 5,300 churches.

At the turn of the century the Baptist churches were generally small and disassociated. Their economic activities were generally small, but because of their large numbers their property was valued at over \$14 million in 1905 (DuBois 1907:63).

The Methodist Episcopal denomination boasted only 3,000 members; Presbyterians about 21,000; and the Episcopal Church had about 15,000 members (DuBois 1907:72). Combined they accounted for slightly more than a million dollars in property.

Outside of these churches the most common black social organizations were the various fraternal, beneficial, or friendly societies. Many provided an opportunity for social interaction, while others provided cooperative insurance funds from which members could draw in case of death or sickness (see Tindall 1952:283). DuBois cautions that no complete account is possible since "so large is their number and so wide their ramifications" (DuBois 1907:92). The dues might be about 50¢ a month, with benefits up to \$4,000 for death (the benefits varying on the total number of members).

The shift from secret societies to insurance companies was complex, but DuBois notes that by 1907 there were at least four larger African American industrial insurance associations operating in South Carolina, all in Charleston: Progressive Benefit Association, United States Life Insurance Company, Metropolitan Mutual Benefit Association, and The Home Insurance Company (DuBois 1907:99). As an example, the Progressive Benefit Association had fees of 5¢ to 40¢ a week collected by their agents. The company did about \$10,000 of business a year (DuBois 1907:104).

Far more common were the various secret societies, about which even less is known. In 1907 there were 39 Black Masonic lodges with 700 members in South Carolina. This is a curiously low figure since Georgia reported 187 lodges and over 4,000 members while North Carolina reported 84 lodges and nearly 2,300 members (DuBois 1907:109). The Odd Fellows (1843) appear to be more prevalent in South Carolina, reporting over 292 lodges with just under 10,000 members. It was reported that 3,200 brothers "were relieved," accounting for the payment of just over \$8,000 in sick and death benefits. Their property was valued at about \$12,000 in 1907 (DuBois 1907:121). In contrast the Knights of Pythias appear to have been rather inactive in South Carolina, with the Grand Lodge claiming assets of only \$135.50 (DuBois 1907:123). By 1919, however, the group statewide had disbursed \$203,543.26 from its "Mortuary Department" (Richardson 1919:441).

Other groups which were possibly active in Columbia at the turn of the century would have included the United Brothers of Friendship, Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Grand United Order of Galilean Fishermen (1856), Knights and Daughters of Tabor (1846), Benevolent Order of Buffaloes, Ancient Order of Forresters [sic], The Good Samaritans, Nazarites, Sons and Daughters of Jacob, Seven Wise Men, Knights of Honor, Royal Knights of King David (1883), United Order of Good Shepherds, Independent Order of St. Luke, Royal Circle of Friends of the World, Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks (1899), National Ideal Benefit Society, United Order of True Reformers, United Brothers of Friendship and Sisters of the Mysterious Ten (1854), Grand United Order Wise Men (1901), The United Brothers of Friendship, Grand United Order of Tends of the J.R. Giddings and Jollifee Union (1866), Independent Benevolent Order, Independent Order of Brothers and Sisters, Sons and Daughters of Moses (1868), Grand United Order Sons and Daughters of Peace (1900), Grand United Orders of Brothers and Sisters of Love

and Charity, and Mosaic Templars of America (DuBois 1907:126; Richardson 1919:588).

While 13 of Columbia's 14 barbers were African American in 1895, none of the City's attorneys were blacks. All of the City's dentists and druggists were white. And only two of the 25 physicians were African American - C.C. Johnson and C.L. Walton.

Groceries were largely a white trade, with 54 listing white proprietors and only five listing African Americans. One of these black shops, at 1626 Main Street, was called "Our Place," almost certainly an effort to encourage blacks to shop at a black-owned business.³

On the other hand, nine of the 13 shoe makers were blacks, and nearly two-thirds of the city's restaurants were operated by African Americans.

The higher education of blacks in Columbia was carried out by two institutions. Allen University was founded in 1870 as the Payne Institute in Cokesbury by the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. In 1880, the school reopened in Columbia under the name Allen University in honor of Richard Allen, founder of the AME Church. Departments included "College, Normal Grammar School,

Music, Sewing, Theological, and Printing" (Richardson 1919:440). By the early twentieth century the yearly enrollment was about 650 and between \$25,000 and \$30,000 was raised yearly by the church for the school's support.

Benedict Institute was founded by the American Baptist Home Mission Society, also in 1870. In 1892 the name was changed to Benedict College. It's early history focused on the training of ministers and teachers, but in addition to college classes it also offered college prep

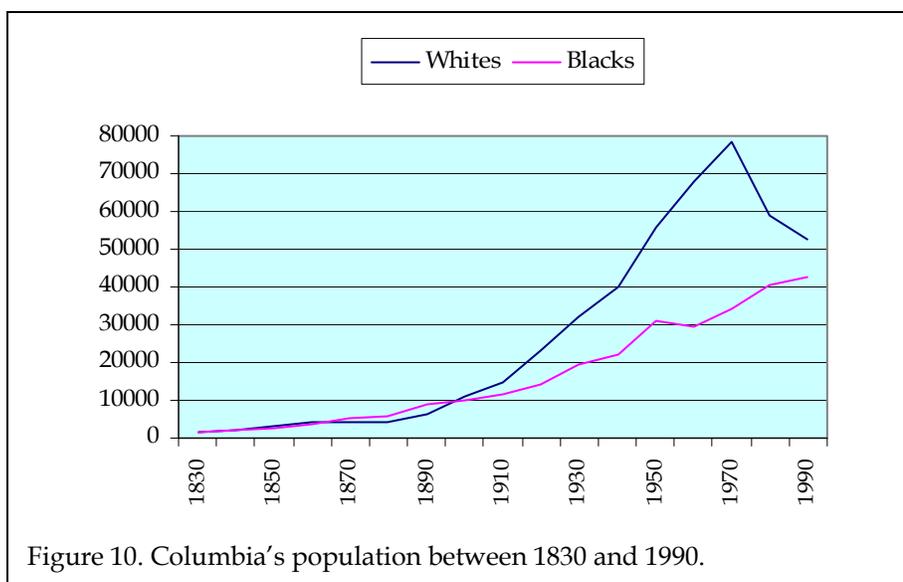


Figure 10. Columbia's population between 1830 and 1990.

classes.

Until 1916 Howard School (on the northwest corner of Hampton and Lincoln streets) was the only public school in Columbia for African Americans. It was a two story wood frame structure that continued well into the first quarter of the twentieth century, even adding a large wood frame kindergarten in the rear yard of the school. In 1916 Booker Washington opened as an elementary school, with high school classes added in 1918.

One of Columbia's first suburbs was Waverly, with lots being sold by the 1870s. Originally a white community, it rather quickly became predominantly African American as whites fled further out and Allen and Benedict

³ This effort to encourage support of black-owned businesses continued well into the twentieth century. As late as December 3, 1932 the *Palmetto Leader* editorialized on the importance of blacks shopping in black neighborhoods. Many did not, in spite of Jim Crow treatment, because of the lower prices and better selection in white stores (Lewark 1998:6).

(situated at the western edge of the community) attracted more blacks. By the 1920s the area had evolved into a prominent black community.

and raised the protest against white racism (Hemmingway 1980:219).⁴

Between 1890 and 1900 Columbia's

The Early Twentieth Century

With the rise and perfection of Jim Crow laws and attitudes at the end of the nineteenth century, Columbia was a very unpleasant place for African Americans. Johnson and Root describe the racial humiliation and degradation of Republic ex-congressman Robert Small at the Columbia Hotel in 1904. Litwack describes the period as one of desperate poverty, illiteracy, exploitation, and powerlessness (Johnson and Root 2002:16-17, 21). While there was certainly a rising black entrepreneurial class, the vast majority of Columbia's black residents were marginalized, degraded, and segregated. They were often reduced to debt peonage and entirely shut out of the political system. There was nothing pleasant about Columbia from the perspective of its African American community.

To be sure, many of Columbia's black leaders sought racial accommodation. One of the foremost champions of accommodation was Rev. Richard Carroll. Booker T. Washington observed that, "Mr. Carroll told me that one of the men who had been his constant personal friend and assisted him in all that he had attempted to do for the benefit of the Negro race was United States Senator Benjamin Tillman" (Washington 1909:36-37). It was Tillman's vision and voice that shaped the very foundations of Jim Crow under which black Columbians labored. In all fairness, by the 1920s Carroll was demanding better legal protections, better schools, better wages, better housing conditions,

Table 2.
Columbia's Black Churches in 1910

Church	Location	Pastor
St. Luke's Episcopal	1223 Lady	Rev. G.E. Howell
St. Mary's Episcopal	1002 Green	Rev. J.S. Quarles
Revelation (Episcopal) Chapel	1501 Gadsden	Rev. I.W. S. Ball
St. Anna's Episcopal	Liberty Hill	Rev. G.E. Howell
Ladson Presbyterian	1720 Sumter	Rev. M.G. Johnson
Sidney Park M.E.	1110-12 Blanding	Rev. N.C. Cleaves
Wesley M.E.	Gervais	Rev. C.K. Brown
St. Peter's M.E.	Laurens	
Wheeler Hill M.E.	409 Henderson	Rev. J.F. Jackson
Bethel A.M.E.	Sumter	Rev. W.P. Carolina
Zion Baptist	801 Washington	Rev. R.W. Baylor
First Calvary Baptist	1410 Richland	Rev. E.A.P. Cheek
Nazareth Baptist	1520 Pickens	Rev. A. Richbourg
Second Calvary Baptist	1516 Bull	Rev. P.P. Watson
Union Baptist	521 Main	Rev. A. Richbourg
St. John's Baptist	Asylum Rd.	Rev. Zach Dennis
Second Nazareth Baptist	Barhamville Rd.	Rev. R. Myers
Fifth Baptist	400 Marion	Rev. H. Gunter
Mount Zion Baptist	7 Sumter Ave.	Rev. W. Jumper
St. Paul's Baptist	Eau Claire	Rev. John Myers
Sanctified Baptist	912 Washington	
Pilgrim Congregational	1216 Henderson	Rev A.C. Pinckney

population increased from 15,353 to 21,108. While not a huge increase, it was nevertheless momentous. In 1900 the white population began a growth trend that reversed what for years had been a nearly equally divided population (Figure 10). By 1910 African Americans accounted for only 44% of Columbia's population. At least some of this decline during the early twentieth century was the result of the great out migration to northern factories.

While occupants retained at least some of the earlier segregation it seems clear that the growth in white population (coupled with rampant Jim Crow attitudes) also fueled the growth of black businesses. Between 1900 and 1920 black owned businesses increased from 96 to 220 (Brown 2002).

⁴ Carroll died on October 30, 1929 and is buried in Randolph Cemetery.

The 1910 City Directory lists 38 barbers in Columbia – over a third of whom were white. On the other hand the number of African American grocers increased so that they represented over a quarter of the 205 firms.

Midwives were no longer listed in 1910, but four of Columbia's 53 physicians and three of the 30 trained nurses were African Americans. There were even two African American undertakers – D. Cooper and C.A. Ferguson.

Occupations that remained largely held by blacks (in addition to barbering) included cleaning and pressing (where 60% of the owners were African Americans) and restaurants (where just over half of the 23 establishments were owned by blacks). In fact, all five of Columbia's advertising tailors were African Americans.

Waverly continued to be a focus of this growth, eventually boasting not only Allen and Benedict, but also the Chappelle Memorial Church, two black hospitals, a clinic, barbershops, a shoemaker, fish market, and a taxi service among its occupants (Brown 2002). The core of Waverly was roughly bounded by Harden to the west, Taylor to the north, Heidt to the east, and Gervais to the south (Lewark 1998:4-5). While some businesses were dispersed throughout the residential area, most were found on the major thoroughfares – Taylor, Harden, and Gervais, with Gervais presenting the most unified and continuous shopping district. Notable buildings include the Griffin Memorial Building, built by Columbia's preeminent African American female physician, Dr. Matilda Evans, on the corner of Taylor and Harden (this structure was demolished in the 1980). Also lost to development is Dr. Evans' home, adjacent to the Memorial Building. A drug store on the northwest corner of Hampton and Harden was razed just this year. One of the few remaining structures is the Carver Theater, opened by Clay S. Williamson between 1942 and 1943 as one of only two black theaters in

Columbia (it is now Agape Church) (Lewark 1998:6; "Waverly was city's first 'suburb,' *The State*, April 28, 1994).

Washington Street, however, was the black downtown, an area that the black community viewed as where special shopping was conducted (routine shopping would be done in the neighborhood) and where time was spent on Friday night or during the weekends (Brown 2002; Lewark 1998:4-5). There was a running competition between the two areas, with the black *Palmetto Leader* often containing ads for competing business shown side-by-side.

The number of African American churches dramatically increased from 10 in 1895 to at least 23 (Table 2). The largest increase is seen in Baptist churches, which increased from four to 11. A similarly impressive increase, however, is seen among African American Episcopal churches, which went from one in 1895 to four in 1910. The Zion AME Church is no longer listed, leaving just the Bethel AME Church.

The number of schools for blacks also increased. The Howard School was still present on Hampton Street, but there were two others. One was on Lincoln Street, the other on Sumter Street (in the Presbyterian Church). Allen University and Benedict College continued to be identified as "colored schools" in the various city directories, providing both college degrees and two-year teaching certificates.

Education for blacks, however, remained under-funded. Hemmingway (1980:212) notes that the per capita expenditures per child in 1900 averaged \$3.17 for whites and .55¢ for blacks – a ratio of 5 to 1. By 1915 expenditures per white children averaged \$13.98, while for blacks it was \$1.30, a ration of 12 to 1.

The area behind Benedict College was called "Jaggers Bottoms" by some and Waverly by others. Charles Jaggers appears in the Federal

Census by at least 1880, when he was listed as a black, 43 year old laborer (some report with the railroad). In spite of his menial occupation he could read and write. He had six children, Mary A. (17), who was a teacher; Harriet (13), who was at school; Charles (10), at school; Darcus (8), also at school; Silas (5); and Joseph (8 months). Jagers' wife, Susan, while unable to read or write, was "keeping house," suggesting their income was such that she was not forced to work.

By 1910 the 74 year old Charles Jagers listed his occupation as "city ministry." His first wife must have died immediately after the 1880 census and he was married to the 64 year old Harriet. She had four children, although only one was still living. Her occupation was listed as a cook to a private family. Also in the household were Susie (a 30 year old single daughter who was a maid to a private family), Anna B. (a 20 year old daughter who was a private family nurse), a grand daughter, Eloise, and grandson, James.

Even as Jagers aged he remained a man of determination. In 1919 he lead a group in protest of Columbia's showing of the incendiary motion picture, "Birth of A Nation." While the film was shown in spite of the group's objections, Columbia's was one of the few protests in South Carolina (Hemmingway 1980:220).

The 1920 Census again lists Jagers, now 88 years old. We learn that he was the owner (without a mortgage) of his home at 1313 Oak Street - in Waverly. Still living with him was his wife, Harriet (now 65 and listing no occupation), and the 15 year old Eloise. The 1920 Columbia city directory lists Jagers as a pastor of the United Strangers' Home Mission (and elsewhere as a Presbyterian minister).

Jagers died on August 18, 1924 of "trombo-phlibitus" after an operation at the Good Samaritan Hospital nearly a month earlier. He had the unusual honor of having his

obituary printed in *Time Magazine* (September 1, 1924) as well as the *Washington Post* (August 21, 1924). They explain that Jagers was born a slave in Chester County, began preaching at the age of 14, and was ordained in the AME church when he was 18. He was, however, a street or mission preacher; at the end of every year he took a salary of 1¢. He also operated a store for poor blacks in Jagers Bottoms, which provided low cost food and supplies.

Through fund raising among his white acquaintances Jagers was able to found what became known as the "Jagers Old Folks Home" - the only facility for aged African Americans in Columbia. Located at 2120 Elmwood, it provided care for over a dozen blacks and at his death the home was free of debt. In 1925 the matron of the facility was Gertrude Wright. By 1930 the superintendent was Susie Jagers. The home apparently ceased functioning, based on the city directories, between 1943 and 1944. By 1945 the address was being rented by a black laborer, Judge Murchison.

The *Washington Post* article explained that, "by official proclamation of Mayor W.A. Coleman" Columbia would "suspend all business activities while her citizens mourn the passing" of Jagers - a nearly unheard of honor. After the funeral service Jagers was buried in Randolph Cemetery (1924 South Carolina Death Certificate No. 15371). His photograph appears in Johnson and Dunn (1994:163), taken just years before his death.

Jagers is largely forgotten today - his house and old folks home are both lost. A housing project - the 74 unit Jagers Terrace - was named for him in 1956. By 1998 the "project" was razed and a series of homes were constructed in its place, being called Jagers Plaza. There is little indication, however, that Columbians remember the origin of the name or anything regarding this individual.

As early as 1905 Columbia began to fret over black neighborhoods. Drawing on the

“City Beautiful” movement and the “White City” at the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair, Columbia’s newly formed Civil Improvement League hired the Boston architectural firm of Kelsey and Guild to survey the city and provide a plan (Richey 2005:1-2).

The resulting report lists one problem after another – many, if not most, involving Columbia’s black neighborhoods. For example, the report cites how prime real estate in the area bounded by Pickens, Hampton, Laurel, and Gervais, “in the very heart of the residential section of the city, and but little more than three blocks distant from the State Capital” had been “given over to the cheapest negro tenements” (Kelsey and Guild 1905:20). Elsewhere the report condemns the “tenements” in the section bounded by Assembly, Hampton, Gadsden, and Pendleton, while the lower areas in the area of Gervais, Pickens, and Hampton were “covered with cheap negro tenements” (Kelsey and Guild 1905:37, 57). Gregg Street, north of Taylor, was found to be another “negro section” (Kelsey and Guild 1905:81). Around Elmwood were more “crowded negro tenements” while Washington Street was characterized as being little improved and consisting of “poor tenements” (Kelsey and Guild 1905:76). Randolph Cemetery, mentioned as the “negro cemetery” was simply “a disgrace to the city” (Kelsey and Guild 1905:50).

The solution – as early as 1905 – was the massive removal of African American neighborhoods, converting these areas to a string of parks (presumably for the remaining white citizens). The City of Columbia enthusiastically embraced the plan, but with no staff and no money, nothing of the plan was implemented. The only park created (and then not until 1915) was Irwin – made available to blacks on only Tuesdays and Thursdays. When blacks protested the inability to use the facility on the weekends the City tore up the park in anticipation of WWI expansion at Camp Jackson (Richey 2005:4).

In spite of these issues, Richey (2005:4) notes that at the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century Columbia’s black neighborhoods “increased in density, solidified their borders, and concentrated their locations to certain blocks and even specific sides of the street.” In addition to Waverly there was

Table 3.
Columbia’s African American Population in 1910 by Census Tract

	Blacks	Mulatto	Brown
Ward 1, ED 78	1640	610	
Ward 1, ED 79	422	186	
Ward 2, ED 80	501	163	
Ward 2, ED 81	516	48	
Ward 2, ED 82	859	31	
Ward 3, ED 83	263	595	44
Ward 3, ED 85	112	137	
Ward 3, ED 86	282	94	
Ward 4, ED 87	706	25	
Ward 4, ED 88	569	346	
Ward 4, ED 90	146	10	
Ward 5, ED 91	151	122	
Ward 5, ED 92	894	862	
Columbia, ED 75	572	121	
Columbia, ED 76	1337	1857	
Columbia, ED 77	173	13	
Columbia, ED 127	853	111	
Totals	9996	5331	44
Percent	65.0	34.7	0.3

Arsenal Hill, bordered by Richland, Assembly, Laurel, and Gadsden streets (Brown 2002), as well as Washington Heights, Camp Fornance, and others.

To better understand Columbia’s African American neighborhoods ca. 1910 we have examined the Federal Census for that year. Figure 11 shows the census tracts in the immediate Columbia area that have been studied.

Columbia’s African American population of 15,371 included 9,996 (65.0%)

A SMALL SAMPLE OF BURIALS AT RANDOLPH CEMETERY

Table 4.
Illiteracy Rates Among Blacks and Mulattos in
Columbia's 1910 Census

	Black		Mulatto	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Ward 1, ED 78	44.6	37.8	26.2	22.3
Ward 1, ED 79	45.6	31.8	21.2	23.3
Ward 2, ED 80	46.6	27.1	10.3	12.9
Ward 2, ED 81	27.9	16.7	11.1	0.0
Ward 2, ED 82	22.4	14.8	25.0	0.0
Ward 3, ED 83	45.1	22.7	11.8	7.4
Ward 3, ED 85	25.0	22.2	15.5	0.0
Ward 3, ED 86	50.4	46.2	45.8	16.7
Ward 4, ED 87	26.4	16.3	30.0	0.0
Ward 4, ED 88	42.2	41.1	24.8	14.7
Ward 4, ED 90	27.8	34.6	0.0	50.0
Ward 5, ED 91	64.0	50.0	48.6	30.2
Ward 5, ED 92	39.1	26.2	27.5	16.8
Columbia, ED 75	36.2	23.2	35.3	17.4
Columbia, ED 76	20.8	12.2	9.6	6.1
Columbia, ED 77	43.5	35.9	50.0	33.3
Columbia, ED 127	34.4	23.4	6.2	7.7

classified as black, 5,331 (34.7%) classified as mulatto, and 44 (0.3%) classified as "brown."⁵ Reference to Table 3 reveals that Columbia's African American population was not evenly distributed across the city, but occurred in pockets. In a similar manner, the mulatto population was particularly abundant in three sections: the vicinity of Benedict and Allen, or the north part of Waverly (Columbia, ED 76); the portion of Laurel, Blanding, Taylor, and Hampton west of Gadsden (Ward 3, ED 83); and the area between Harden and Main, and south of Blossom (Ward 5, ED 92). These three areas

⁵ All of the individuals identified as "brown" are found in one census tract (Ward 3, ED 83) where the census taker, William Z. Dantzler, apparently distinguished between black (B or Bl), mulatto (Mu), and perhaps an even lighter skinned African American population, identifying them as "brown" (Br). In these discussions the mulatto and brown have been included together.

account for two-thirds of Columbia's mulatto population. Elsewhere the African American population was predominantly black.

Several specific issues were examined, including literacy, home ownership, and occupations - each looking at the entire Columbia sample.

Considering illiteracy first, Columbia's African American population in 1910 was remarkably literate, offering testimony concerning their collective understanding that education was a way out of poverty and towards full citizenship, even when confronted by Jim Crow laws. There were, however, clear trends. In general mulattos were more likely to be literate than blacks and, in general, men were more likely to be able to read and write than were women (see Table 4). Overall, only 15.2% of the mulatto males were illiterate, compared to 23.5% of the mulatto females. In comparison, 28.4% of the black males were illiterate compared to nearly 38% of the black females.

It seems likely that there were a variety of cultural biases at work - a bias favoring mulattos both by whites and within African American society may have provided them with more opportunities for education. Culturally, males were favored over females. However, even within these boundaries Table 4 reveals that there were clusters of extreme illiteracy (as well as literacy), perhaps reflecting areas of poverty and (relative) wealth. For example, among mulattos the north Waverly and Ward 3, ED 83 areas exhibit very high literacy rates. Likewise, there are areas where black illiteracy was painfully high (such as Ward 3, ED 86 - the eastern part of Blanding and Taylor streets).

Home ownership is a means of estimating wealth and Table 5 shows considerable variability. The first observation is that home ownership among Columbia's African Americans was uncommon, whether black or mulatto. Only 18.7% of the families owned rather than rented their home.

Table 5.
Home Ownership Among African Americans in 1910

	Black		Mulatto		Total	% Mortgaged
	Female	Male	Female	Male		
Ward 1, ED 78	8	15	19	12	54	16.7
Ward 1, ED 79	3	4	6	7	20	5.0
Ward 2, ED 80	2	4	3	1	10	90.0
Ward 2, ED 81	7	12	3	1	23	8.7
Ward 2, ED 82	11	13	1	1	26	15.4
Ward 3, ED 83	6	5	8	35	54	24.1
Ward 3, ED 85	1	5	2	5	13	15.4
Ward 3, ED 86	3	2	1	2	8	50.0
Ward 4, ED 87	7	16	-	1	24	26.9
Ward 4, ED 88	2	5	8	16	31	38.7
Ward 4, ED 90	1	5	-	-	6	50.0
Ward 5, ED 91	1	2	-	1	4	0.0
Ward 5, ED 92	9	37	17	26	89	32.6
Columbia, ED 75	-	16	1	4	21	61.9
Columbia, ED 76	18	92	22	99	231	8.7
Columbia, ED 77	1	5	-	-	6	66.7
Columbia, ED 127	15	64	3	14	96	18.7
Totals	95	302	94	225	716	31.1

However, of those who owned, most owned free of a mortgage, although there was considerable variability depending on the enumeration district. Areas such as Eau Claire were not only primarily rental, but where a home was owned, it tended to be mortgaged. Another area of heavy rentals and heavy mortgages was Ward 2, ED 80 - the west end of Hampton, Washington, Lady, and Gervais streets. Although there continued to be heavy rentals just to the north in Ward 3, ED 83, it was clearly a more affluent area with a number of homes owned - and most owned clear of a mortgage. By far the wealthiest area, however, was ED 76 where there were 231 owned homes (and 517 rental units), with less than 9% mortgaged.

In sheer numbers, the black community was a slightly larger home owner, although on a percentage basis it seems clear that the mulatto community was slightly wealthier - having a home ownership rate of 6% compared to the

black ownership rate of 4%. Both, however, are very low.

Another way of attempting to gauge wealth is to examine occupations. This approach again demonstrates that most African Americans were caught in a web of extraordinary poverty. A quarter of the 8,194 gainfully employed African Americans (primarily men) worked as "laborers." Another 19.5% worked as "servants" or cooks for private (white) families or businesses. An additional 23.5% (all women) worked as laundresses. While this allowed women to remain at home, it was hard work and the wages were modest. Trades, such as carpenters, painters, blacksmiths, tailors, and barbers accounted for just 11.9% of the

African American working population. Columbia's African American professional community, consisting of doctors, dentists, ministers, and teachers, was small, accounting for just under 5% of the total.

Within these different occupations there are also clear differences between blacks and mulattos. For example, 77% of the laborers were blacks, while two-thirds of the teachers and over half of the seamstresses or dressmakers were mulattos. There were, however, no occupations that excluded dark skinned African Americans.

Even sexual divisions were not clearly marked. While there were no male laundresses, men did work in commercial laundries and pressing clubs. There was at least one female porter, one female hack, two female hucksters, one female mason, one female carpenter, four female farmers, one female minister, and two female doctors. The only occupations from which females appear excluded (whether by choice or convention is unclear) are pool room

operators, barbers, painters, and messengers/watchmen.

This preliminary analysis also suggests that most occupations were spread out over the different neighborhoods and wards. A few occupations seem to have weak clustering. For example, almost a half of the black barbers lived in Ward 2, while over a third of the mulatto barbers lived in Ward 3. Seventy percent of the farmers lived on the outskirts of Columbia – although this was almost certainly related to the proximity of their farms. Most pool room operators lived in Ward 5.

Looking at a sample of 859 family units drawn from throughout the city, it is clear that blacks tended to marry blacks (61.9% of the sample) and mulattos tended to marry mulattos (18.3%). Where “mixed marriages” occurred there tended to be a slight preference for male blacks to marry mulatto women (11.4%). Rarely did mulatto men marry black women (6.2%).

Some Events Later in the Century

In the mid-1930s when Helen Kohn Hennig was compiling her history of Columbia (Hennig 1936), C.A. Johnson contributed the section entitled simply “Negroes.” The account, while providing interesting anecdotal comments on a number of period African Americans, suffers from its focus on showing how Columbia’s blacks were mindful of their place and loyal to the prevailing order.

The mosaic of African American history only got more complex as the century progressed. This was at least partially the result of black participation in the First World War. Hemmingway observes that “black Carolinians threw off the shackles of isolation, became a mobile, pulsating community, raised their expectations, broadened their vision, and enjoyed numerous opportunities heretofore denied them” (Hemmingway 1980:214). While the changes that resulted were in many respects brief, quickly quelled by whites determined to

maintain the status quo and fearful of black independence, the teens proved to be a training period and set the stage for much of what happened by the 1950s and 1960s (Hemmingway 1980:223-224).

The 1931 Columbia City Directory provides another snapshot of African American activities. There were five listed meeting halls – Goodwin’s, two Masonic lodges (on Main and Washington streets), an Odd Fellows Hall, and a hall for the Sons of Zion (at 1606 Waverly). The directory also lists some (but clearly not all) of the lodges. There was one African American Woodmen lodge – Camp No. 10 – meeting on Washington. There were seven Grand United Order of Odd Fellow lodges and five Knights of Pythias lodges (all meeting on either Assembly or Washington streets).

There were two African American hospitals – Good Samaritan at 1508 Gregg and Waverly at 2202 Hampton. By 1931 Columbia had seven segregated black schools – Blossom Street, Howard, Leevy, Ridgewood, Booker Washington, Booker Washington Heights, and Waverly. There were, however, 18 schools for Columbia’s white students.

The number of black churches increased dramatically, with 40 being listed in the city directory and shown in Table 6.

By 1931 a number of professions once dominated by African Americans were faced with stiff white competition. There were 69 barbers listed, 28 of whom (40.6%) were African Americans. Only a third of the blacksmiths were African Americans. Only 38 of the 285 grocers (13.3%) were blacks. Of the 94 restaurants listed, only 24 (25.5%) were operated by African American proprietors.

Black dressmakers and seamstresses still comprised over half of those listed and six of the seven midwives listed were blacks. Likewise, eight of the 15 Columbia tailors were blacks.

COLUMBIA'S AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY

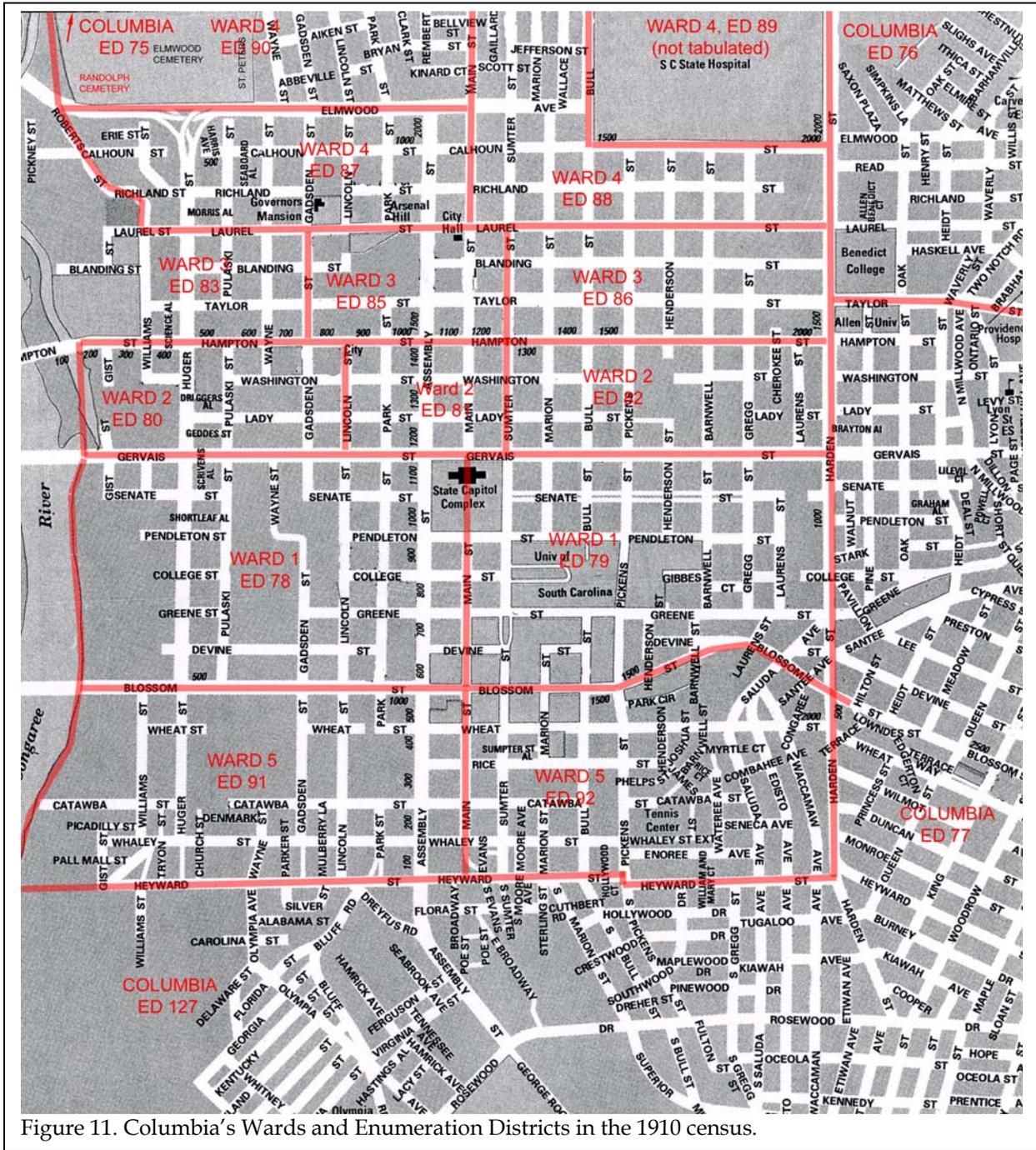


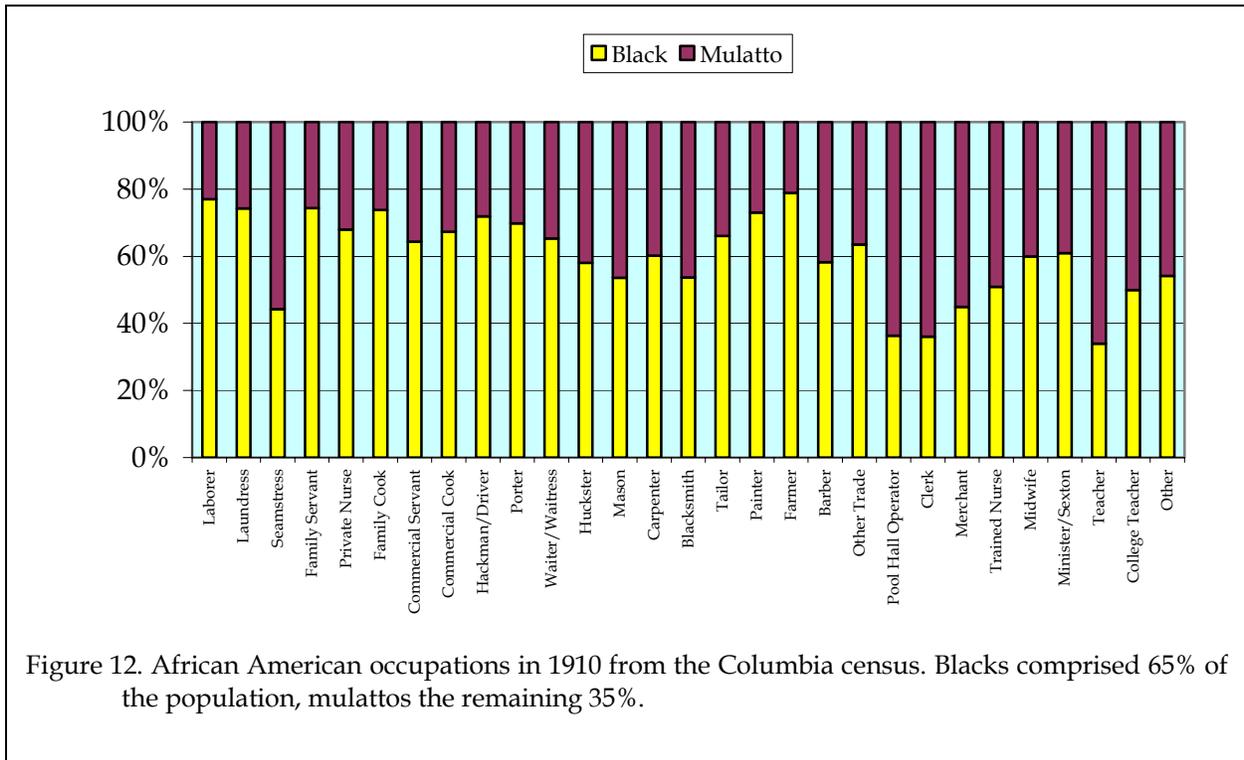
Figure 11. Columbia's Wards and Enumeration Districts in the 1910 census.

There remained relatively few African American professionals. For example, only five of the 40 dentists and nine of the 88 physicians were blacks. Only five of the 129 listed graduate nurses were blacks, although half of the practical nurses (which required less training

and was likely more affordable to many in the black community) were African Americans.

There were two African American notaries and two black real estate firms. The directory also listed at least three large African

A SMALL SAMPLE OF BURIALS AT RANDOLPH CEMETERY



American insurance companies - the Mutual Relief and Benefit Association, the National Benefit Life Insurance Company, and the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. The first was on Taylor Street, while the latter two had offices on Washington Street.

One of the most significant forces to affect African American neighborhoods - and our perception of them today - has been the unrelenting efforts by the City of Columbia to eliminate them. By the early 1920s zoning was seen as a tool for the regeneration of the city. A code was adopted by Columbia in 1924 and while race was not mentioned, the various zones "carefully broke to follow the divides between black and white sections," even to the point of carefully covering one side of a street, but not the other or even to encompass half of a block (Richey 2005:5-6). Perhaps more notably the code allowed "expulsive zoning" - which allowed disruptive or incompatible uses in black neighborhoods that served to undermine their stability.

By 1937 the Federal Housing Act gave impetus to "slum clearance." Updated in 1949 these laws not only provided federal funding for the removal of slums, but included provisions that allowed private investment in luxury apartments and shopping complexes, rather than replacement housing. And by 1954 the federal laws allowed for redevelopment of any type, with no provision made for housing (Richey 2005:7).

The 1950 census found that Columbia had more than 7,500 substandard dwellings in and immediately surrounding Columbia's downtown (Richey 2005:11). As the city began to attack one after another historically black neighborhood there was little protest. Richey suggests that in the midst of the Civil Rights movement, black Columbians were preoccupied with larger issues. Certainly there was no concern expressed by the nescient preservation community - primarily whites far more concerned with mansions and white columns than with shotgun houses or brick grocery

Table 6.
Columbia's African American Churches in 1931

	Adventist
Seventh Day	1216 Henderson
	Baptist
Antioch	1717 Rice
Bethlehem	College Place
Bethlehem	1218 Lyon
Ebenezer	1927 Lady
First Calvary	1412 Richland
First Nazareth	2353 Gervais
Jehovah	1913 Gregg
Macedonia	501 Pendleton
Mt. Olive	2134 Sumter
New Brookland	Augusta Rd.
Ridgewood	Ridgewood
St. James	2413 Rembert
St. John's	Asylum Rd.
St. Luke's	1002 Green
St. Mark's	2818 Senate
St. Paul's	4603 Main
Second Calvary	1516 Bull
Second Nazareth	2314 Elmwood
Union	1016 Divine
Zion	801 Washington
	Episcopal
St. Anna's	1308 Liberty Hill Ave.
St. Luke's	912 Hampton
	Holiness
Church of God	1014 Pendleton
Five Baptized	1507 Williams
Jones Tabernacle	1116 Laurens
	Methodist
African ME Zion	1300 Blossom
Bethel AME	1528 Sumter
Chappelle Station AME	1101 Pine
Cleave's Chapel	Beaumont
Double Branch AME	New Brookland
Emanuel AME	2104 Barhamville Rd.
Ridgewood	Palmetto Ave.
St. James AME	413 Henderson
Salters Memorial AME	2223 Washington
Sidney Park AME	1112 Blanding
Trinity AME	1109 House
Wesley ME	1727 Gervais
	Pentecostal
Pentecost	2125 Richland
	Presbyterian
Ladson	1720 Sumter

stores, even if they did represent Columbia's nineteenth century history.

By 1965 Columbia's effort to remove black neighborhoods had resulted in the creation of only 1,298 public housing units (almost all massive brick buildings that were built on top of the demolished neighborhoods). Yet there were still 6,000 blacks living in dilapidated buildings and 600 families on waiting lists.

Historically working to serve mutual purposes, the City and the University of South Carolina in 1968 dislocated blacks from the location of what would become the Carolina Coliseum and its associated parking lot - together encompassing two city blocks. The city fell short by some 700 relocation units, but the neighborhoods were demolished just the same (Richey 2005:23).

While historic preservationists could never justify the protection of dilapidated housing or slums, Richey compares the 1960 Urban Rehabilitation Commission's identified blighted blocks (those with 50% or more substandard housing) with those blocks actually cleared. She found that fully 25 streetscapes were cleared that had never been designated - and surprisingly all were historically African American. She notes that, in the matter of less than a generation the city swept a "destructive path across the landscape that effectively removed any evidence of black neighborhoods that had stood for half a century and more" (Richey 2005:24). For example, she notes that the 1600, 1800, and 2000 blocks of Lady Street were entirely emptied. As another example, Crockett notes that most of the "Mann-Simons family properties were destroyed between 1970 and 1977 to make way for an apartment building to the north and a parking lot to the northeast" (Crockett 2002:54).

This has resulted in an extraordinarily depleted reservoir of African American architectural and archaeological sites in the City of Columbia. There is no indication that the City is any more interested in the preservation of black resources today than it was 30 years ago.

A SMALL SAMPLE OF BURIALS AT RANDOLPH CEMETERY



Figure 13. Typical African American working class housing in Columbia by the late 1950s. At the top is the rear of 813 Lady Street (December 14, 1956). At the bottom is 1401-05 Pulaski Street (January 16, 1961). Photographs are from the Joseph Winter Collection, courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.



Figure 14. Typical African American middle class housing in Columbia by the late 1950s. At the top is the rear of 1815 Barnwell Street (July 1957). At the bottom is 1007 Lady Street (March 1967). Photographs are from the Joseph Winter Collection, courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.



Figure 15. Typical African American upper class housing in Columbia by the late 1950s. At the top is 717 Richland Street (ca. 1966). At the bottom is the 900 block of Barnwell Street (February 1965). Photographs are from the Joseph Winter Collection, courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.



Figure 16. The vicinity of Randolph Cemetery in the mid-1960s. The top photograph is of Elmwood, probably the 800 block, looking west, toward Elmwood and Randolph. The bottom photograph, taken March 1968, is at Elmwood looking south down Pinckney Street. Randolph Cemetery would be behind the photographer to the left. Photographs are from the Joseph Winter Collection, courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Class and Status of Blacks and Mulattos

Where the differences between blacks and mulattos have been studied, most recently by Mack (1999) in the Orangeburg area of South Carolina, we begin to see complex and sharp class divisions that developed among African Americans. While focusing on women, her study provides at least an introduction to the larger social dynamics that divided the African American community in the early twentieth century.

The Elite or Upper Class

Others, such as Gatewood (1990) have noted that certain, more wealthy blacks, such as head waiters, cooks, and barbers, sought to imitate the “aristocratic white people” with whom they came into contact. And Taylor (1969) observed that merchants were among the most prosperous of African Americans during reconstruction.

Mack – looking at a community not terribly dissimilar to Columbia of that time – notes that the African American elite consisted of stable occupations, such as carpenters, barbers, blacksmiths, tailors, and dressmaking. These skills made them indispensable to blacks and whites alike. The college-educated professionals were similarly prestigious (Mack 1999:5-8), consisting of what W.E.B. DuBois described as the “talented tenth.”

This upper class elite had far more wealth than other blacks, although it did not compare to the wealth of whites. Nevertheless, the black elite, according to Mack, sought to distance and distinguish themselves from the rest of the African American population as they “enjoyed a more privileged and comfortable life-style” (Mack 1999:11). Homes tended to be spacious brick or two-story white frame styles. By the 1930s they contained relatively modern appliances, and included running water and electricity. The elite sought to distance themselves from rowdy religions and more

frequently attended “high-toned” Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, or Catholic churches. Their newspaper was the *Palmetto Leader*, which catered to the African American elite in the Midlands.

A woman, according to Mack (1999:35) could contribute to her husband’s prestige and prosperity through her own occupation or respectable background. Education was crucial, but most did not work outside the home. She suggests, however, that skills such as dressmaking may have allowed these women to engage in a home-based business. She also notes that many were engaged in “racial uplift” through various women’s clubs.

Mack, like other researchers, reports that despite factors such as property, income, and education, “skin color, white blood, or mixed ancestry” were still significant enhancing factors. There also existed “intra-racial” segregation based on skin color. While light skin alone did not determine class status, it did create significant advantages, both socially and economically. She notes that the notion of white ancestry was sufficient to create a strong sense of family pride that resulted in attitudes of superiority. Light-skinned African Americans typically married similarly light-skinned African Americans, often in the hope of enhancing non-African phenotypical characteristics that were seen as superior, regardless of class position (Mack 1999:17-19). She notes, too, that darker skinned African Americans sought spouses with lighter skin and straighter hair (“good hair”), hoping to not only enhance their social standing, but to also pass along these benefits to offspring.

The Middle Class

Mack notes that the African American Middle Class was clearly divided into the upper and lower middle classes, with the upper middle class most financially secure and consciously separating themselves from the lower middle class. This upper middle class included teachers and ministers, while the lower

middle class included traditional service jobs such as janitor, nursemaid, cook, and maid. Those in the middle class, according to Mack (1999:74), were employed by public institutions and upper-class whites, thus gaining access to better pay and perquisites.

The middle ranks grew as more working-class African Americans graduated from college and worked as skilled professionals, such as teachers, seamstresses, carpenters, and barbers. The middle-class African American barber, however, was more likely to service only other African Americans, while the upper-class African American barber was able to open a shop that serviced only whites (see Gordon 1929:147). Those with less education tended to hold semiskilled jobs, such as hotel waiter, farmer, restaurant keeper, or midwife (Mack 1999:77-78).

The middle-class income, especially among the lower middle-class, was never sufficient to easily sustain their life-style and passage into the upper-class was rarely possible. Houses were generally single story wood-frame and comfortable. They were well maintained with planted yards, but rarely had amenities such as electricity, indoor plumbing, or telephones.

The upper middle class attended the Episcopal, Methodist, or Presbyterian church, while those in the lower middle class attended the Methodist or Baptist church.

Mack suggests that light complexion was not as important in the middle class as it was among the upper class. Nevertheless, she notes that mulatto and light skinned middle class African Americans tended to socialize with similar looking upper class Africans Americans. Light skin alone, however, would not qualify a middle class African American for advancement into the upper class (Mack 1999:78).

To be a woman and not be required to work was a status symbol in the African

American community - albeit a difficult status to acquire given the pay of most middle class jobs held by African American men (ranging from farmer to fireman to the more skilled brickmason and carpenter). Those women who did work were generally seamstresses or laundresses. Middle class women also belonged to a variety of church and secular clubs (the former focused on service the latter on social interaction).

The Working Class

While in the rural areas working class African Americans were tenant farmers and farm laborers, in the urban setting of Columbia, they were working the most menial of jobs - domestics, day laborers, laundresses, furnace firemen, sewage diggers, cooks, and draymen. They earned the lowest of wages, had the most dangerous jobs, and lived in the worst (even squalid) conditions. Mack (1999:120) notes that these individuals often relied on family and friends for survival.

Those in the working class were almost never homeowners, instead renting dilapidated housing on unpaved dirt roads. They relied on wells or street hydrants for water. Privies were used in common by a number of tenants.

Few attended the Methodist or Presbyterian churches, but were regulars at the grass-root Baptist churches. Columbia, for example, had one Episcopal, Congregational, and Presbyterian church each, three African Methodist Episcopal churches, and eight Baptist churches - clearly revealing how the majority of the African American population focused on the Baptist or occasionally AME churches.

Education was much harder to come by for the working class. Mack (1999) even notes that many working class African American families routinely placed "financial imperatives" over "book learning." She notes that many failed to see education as a way out, given the racism that would prohibit any meaningful job

advancement. Others feared that education of their race would only provoke the wrath of whites. Regardless of the cause, illiteracy among the working class was rampant.

Unlike the upper and middle classes, the women in working class African American families had no choice but to work. Unskilled and uneducated, most worked as domestics for meager wages. Gordon (1929:176) comments on the "drudgery and moral danger of domestic service."

THE RANDOLPH SAMPLE

Methods

The sample consists of the first 75 burials with death dates prior to 1940 listed in Osburn (2002). No effort was made to randomize the selection since the list is not alphabetized and there is no explanation of how the names were collected. While this may introduce a bias into the sample, it is not of our creation and during the work we did not encounter any evidence of a bias. Nevertheless, readers should understand that the sample selection was not elaborate.

The 75 interments included represent a 7.3% sample of the known burials at Randolph. This is actually a rather large sample and its size may help to minimize bias that might be introduced through the causal means of burial selection.

The cut-off date was based on our belief that the Second World War may have brought changes to the African American community that might dramatically change burial practices. In addition, as demonstrated in previous discussions, by the 1940s burials in the cemetery had declined. It would certainly be of interest to compare those buried in the cemetery during the post-1940 period with the earlier interments, but that is another study.

There are a number of sources that could be used to identify and elaborate on the lives of those identified from the cemetery. We limited our work to the Federal Census (excluding 1890 which is not available for South Carolina), the South Carolina Death Certificates (available beginning in 1915), the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, the Columbia City Directories,

and the indexed obituaries available at the Richland County Public Library. Occasional secondary sources were included, although no exhaustive search was conducted.

There remain other, untapped sources. Perhaps most notable are the available issues of the *Palmetto Leader* – a newspaper of primarily elite African Americans in the Columbia area. It is available, however, from only 1925 through 1941 and only a very small portion has been indexed for obituaries. Somewhat earlier is the *Southern Indicator*, although only occasional issues survive and none are indexed. While there are a number of other black papers, such as *Light*, *Palmetto Gleaner*, *People's Recorder*, *Record*, *South Carolina Herald*, *South Carolina Standard*, and *Southern Sun*, few (and in many cases, no) issues are available today. It may also be worthwhile to examine the various Republic newspapers published early in the history of the cemetery.

Nevertheless, this study is intended to provide a brief overview of those buried in the cemetery – not an exhaustive biography. Hopefully this work will create an increased interest in better understanding those buried in Randolph.

The People

Henry B. Adams

Adams was born August 21, 1854 and died March 11, 1923 from paresis and a stroke (South Carolina Death Certificate 4800). He was first encountered in the 1879 city directory, where he was listed as a huckster living in the rear of 101 E. Richland. The 1891 directory

indicates that he was a porter, working for a grocery store and was living at 241 N. Lincoln (later, when addresses changed, this became 1514 Lincoln). Adams continued to live at this location through at least 1905, all the while working as a porter.

The 1900 Federal Census places him at this address (Ward 3, ED 87) renting and described him married to the 42 year old Elsie. He was a day laborer, she was a washerwoman. His wife had eight children by age 42, although only five were living (and at school). Both he and his wife were literate.

His occupation by 1915 was listed as a driver for a retail grocery and he had moved to 2116 Lady Street. By 1920 his address changed to 930 Harden. The 1920 Federal Census indicates that he was a mulatto, although by 65 (perhaps because of deteriorating health) he was no longer employed. His and Elsie's daughter, Hattie S., a 34 year old public school teacher, was living at home. She was likely providing support to her parents.

At Adams' death his funeral was handled by Johnson-Bradley-Morris and his death certificate indicates burial in Randolph Cemetery.

Rosa L. [Butler] Bennett

Rosa Bennett was born in 1856 and died July 27, 1910. She first appears in the 1900 Federal Census where we learn that she was married (in 1890) to Glen Bennett. She had eight children and surprisingly all eight were still alive. Her husband performed farm labor and she was a laundress. She was literate and was renting a house in Eau Claire (ED 81). She appears in the 1905 city directory, still living in Eau Claire, but listed as a cook.

In the 1910 census she was identified as mulatto. In spite of her age (about 54) she was still working as a laundress, but was by this time widowed. Only three children were still living.

Because of her financial condition, she was living with her daughter, Mary, and son-in-law, Otis Sloan, who were 16 and 19 years old respectively. Both were mulattos; he was a laborer for the electric company and she was not working. All were able to read and write, and they were renting at 1713 Wheat Street (Ward 5, ED 92).

John Saxton Bevil

Bevil was born December 27, 1856, the son of Saxton Bevil and Maneva [Minerva] Stell, and died November 16, 1919 of pellagra and chronic enteritis (inflammation of the intestine) at the age of 62 (South Carolina Death Certificate 20516).

As early as 1891 Bevil is found in the city directory working as a bartender at a black saloon on Assembly Street, while residing at 130 W. Lumber (today Calhoun) Street. The 1900 Federal Census shows Bevil renting at this address (Ward 4, ED 90) and reveals that the 40 year old Bevil had been married to 30 year old Martha for 11 years. He was working as a salesman, she as a bookkeeper. They were living with Martha's mother, Harriette Stowers, a 54-year old widow whose occupation was listed as a washerwoman. Martha had borne 12 children, but only six were still living.

By the next year the city directory listed Bevil as a laborer. In 1905 he was listed as retired, but still living at 712 Lumber Street. The 1910 census shows Bevil living in a rented house at 1720 Pulaski Street (Ward 3, ED 83). He was a mulatto, was literate, and still apparently retired. His wife, Martha, had no living children, although they did have an adopted son, 16 year old Harry Stowers (perhaps a nephew), who was an apprentice at a barber shop.

In 1915 - only four years prior to his death - Bevil was again listed as a laborer. At his death he was apparently a clerk in a store. He was buried by Johnson Bradley Morris

Funeral Home at Randolph, leaving Martha as his widow.

Nancy Boatwright

Nancy Boatwright was a mulatto born on October 3, 1876 in Marion, South Carolina. Her father was Henry Johnson and her mother is known only by her first name, Christina. She is found in the Columbia city directories as early as 1901, living at 1718 Lumber Street. Her husband, Julian Boatwright, was a carpenter at the State Asylum.

The 1910 Federal Census reveals that they were living at 1414 Elmwood (Ward 4, ED 88). This was just a half block from the Asylum. The 1910 Sanborn map reveals that nearby houses were modest, wood frame, single story, with a porch across the street façade. Her husband, Julian, was still listed as a carpenter. Both were literate and they owned their own home. They had one daughter and an adopted son. Nancy Boatwright was not listed with an occupation, suggesting that her husband was able to provide for the family without the necessity of her working outside the home.

The 1920 census provides little additional information. City directories reveal no change in their address, until 1930 when they are shown living at 2311 Richland Street. The 1919 Sanborn map shows this as a two story frame house with a porch wrapping around two sides and a shed in the rear yard. Surrounding houses were a mix of one and two story, although the Boatwright structure appears to be one of the larger.

On April 7, 1937 Nancy Boatwright was admitted to the Waverly Hospital with lobar pneumonia where she died April 19 at the age of 60. Her husband was still living at 2311 Richland Street and he arranged her funeral through the Manigault Funeral Home, with her burial taking place in Randolph (South Carolina Death Certificate 5942).

Edward Bookman and Silas W. Bookman, Jr.

Both individuals were the sons of Silas Bookman, who was born in 1841 and in 1900 was listed as black, able to read and write, owning his own house at 1016 Gates (today Park), and working as a drayman. This house is shown on the 1904 Sanborn maps for Columbia as a single story frame, front gable house with a porch wrapping around two sides of the house. What appears to be a privy was located immediately to the rear of the house. Situated in the middle of the block, it was surrounded by similar houses, while on Senate Street to the north there were larger, white owned houses.

Silas W. Bookman, Jr. was born April 14, 1888 in Columbia. The 1900 census shows that he was attending school and was able to read and write. Silas Jr. is next shown in the 1920 census, living in the Liberty Hill region of Richland County. He owned his own barber shop. His 1917 WWI draft registration card shows his address as 2011 Gervais Street. By this time he was a barber employed by Beecher in Columbia. Silas also claimed an exemption citing the "physical disability" of rheumatism. He had black hair and black eyes according to the draft board.

The 1901 and 1910 Columbia city directories lists Silas' address as 1016 Gates (Park today); by 1915 it is listed as 2511 Gervais and Bookman was apparently affluent enough to have a telephone. He is listed as a barber until later in his life when he begins to be listed as a carpenter, suggesting a change in status or at least occupation.

At the age of 38, Silas Bookman, Jr. died on November 1, 1927 (South Carolina Death Certificate 18954) from "chronic phthisis" - a progressing wasting disease that is especially today associated with TB. His address was listed as 2511 Gervais Street and his occupation is again listed as barber. The death certificate records his burial in Randolph two days later, on November 3 by T.H. Pinckney. His father is

listed (probably relying on a phonetic spelling) as Cyrus rather than Silas (from Richland County); his mother is listed as [Cya] Montgomery from New Orleans. Silas received a brief obituary in *The Palmetto Leader* (November 12, 1927, p.4, c. 4) that noted he "bore his sickness with a smile and always spoke of it as being a big joke to everyone who came in contact with him." The funeral services were held at "Sidney Park C.M.E. . . . floral tributes were numerous and beautiful attesting the popularity of this young man of whom so beautiful a life had been closed."

His brother, Edward Bookman, was born on August 18, 1896. The 1900 census lists him as Eddie Herbert. His 1917 WWI draft registration shows that he was born in Columbia, but by that time was living at 100 W. 141st Street, in New York, employed by Pullman Co. He listed his brother, Silas, as his nearest relative, living at 2511 Gervais in Columbia.

The 1920 census shows Edward as being a boarder with Casper Garrett in Manhattan. Garrett was also a young black from South Carolina. Edward and Casper both were working at Pullman Co., with Edward shown as a porter.

By the 1930 census (taken in April 1929) Edward was living on Sobu Street in Pittsburg. He had married at age 23 to a woman from Alabama. He was shown as a laborer with a local building company.

The very next month, on May 1, 1929, Edward was committed to the S.C. State Hospital, was discharged on May 25, and died at his house at 2437 Gervais Street just a few days later on May 29, at the age of 32. His death certificate (South Carolina Death Certificate 8968) indicates that he suffered from pellagra and psychosis. Pellagra was a common disease among the poor, resulting from a dietary insufficiency of niacin (vitamin B3) and protein, resulting from a corn-based diet. Untreated the disease can kill within five years; it is today

readily treated through either a change in diet or nutritional supplements. Aggression, mental confusion, and dementia were common symptoms, resulting in many black and white poor being sent to the mental hospital where they typically died. Although research conducted as early as 1926 demonstrated the dietary link and appropriate treatment, there was considerable skepticism and resistance well into the late 1930s - resulting in much needless suffering and death, especially among poor African Americans.

His occupation - consistent with his recent work experience in Pittsburg, was listed as a plasterer. He was buried in Randolph on May 31, 1929 by the Johnson-Bradley firm.

Alfred Brown and Susan Brown

The 1895 Columbia city directory lists Alfred Brown as a laborer living at 1925 Taylor Street. The 1900 census shows his residence at 1913 Lady Street, where he was renting. He was a black, unable to read or write, born in 1840, and by this time widowed. He worked with locomotives in the Columbia shops. By 1910 he was still living at 1913 Lady Street.

The 1919 Sanborn map shows this to be a rambling one story frame house with a front porch, just one block off Laurens. It was one of the larger houses in what was a neighborhood of primarily small frame shotgun houses.

He had married his cousin in 1902 (see below) and was still working at the railroad shop. He was still listed as unable to read or write.

According to his stone in Randolph he died on November 20, 1913 (aged 73).

Susan Brown is Alfred's wife. The 1900 census shows her living in Alfred's home at this point (along with four other female cousins). She was born in February 1857 and was listed as single. While able to read, she could not write,

and was a cook. The 1910 Census lists her as 40 years old and notes that this was her second marriage, having married Alfred in 1902. She had one child, who was still living at the time. She is listed as a cook for a private family.

She died at the age of 59 on August 22, 1916 from "heart failure and acute indigestion" (South Carolina Death Certificate 39273). At the time she was living at 1730 Wheat Street. Her father is listed as Randall Brown and her mother was Susan Mobley, both of Fairfield. She was born in Winnsboro. She was buried at Randolph on August 26 by Hardy, Pinckney, and Biggs.

Mathew C. Brown

According to the 1910 census, Mathew was then 21 years old, a mulatto barber working for wages and able to read and write. He was living with his mother and father at their Harden Street home. The 1910 Columbia city directory lists this address as 1804 Harden.

The 1919 Sanborn map shows 1904 Harden at the corner of Harden and Laurel. It was a large one story frame dwelling with a front porch. The residence, by the 1950s, had been destroyed to make way for Allen Benedict Court.

His step-father was Loten A. Green (Greene) and his mother was Violet R. Brown. Green was 54, a mulatto working as a hotel cook. Violet was 47, listing no occupation. She had seven children and all seven were still living.

Earlier city directories list Violet R. Brown as a seamstress at 1802 Harden in 1901. By 1905 she was listed as a dressmaker at 1804 Harden.

Nothing more, however, could be discovered concerning Mathew Brown, whose stone at Randolph records his death on July 13, 1913, at about 24 years.

Susan D. Brown

In the 1910 census Susan Brown is listed as a 56 years old mulatto married for the past 14 years to Willie Brown, a bricklayer. Susan is reported to be able to read and write (as could her husband) and she had five children, all living. Two, Willie Jr. (12 years old) and Carolina (9) were in the household, at 1314 Blossom Street, which they were renting.

The 1920 census lists W.A. Brown, now 60 years old, and Susan. He was still a mason, while she is listed as a maid in a private residence. No children are listed and the couple are still living at 1314 Blossom Street. The 1919 Sanborn maps shows this to be a relatively small one story frame dwelling about two doors east of the Jones Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church and a block west of Booker T. Washington school.

The 1930 census shows W.A. and Susan still together at their 1314 Blossom Street residence that they were renting for \$20 a month. Several other houses on the street were renting for \$9.75 to \$11.00, suggesting that while modest, the Brown home may have been well cared for.

Her stone at Randolph lists a death date of June 2, 1932. We have not, however, been able to find a death certificate for a Susan or Susie Brown in Richland County for the month of May or June.

James L. Bumgardner

The 1905 Columbia city directory lists James L. Bumgardner as a teacher at Allen University. He was married to Frances and was living at 2330 Plain (which became Hampton Street).

The 1910 census lists him as James M. but this is certainly the same individual. He was a 46-year old mulatto who had been married for 14 years. While his parents were from Virginia, he was born in South Carolina and was a teacher

of math and theology. He owned his house on E. Hampton free of a mortgage. His wife, Frances, was also a mulatto, 37 years old. She had given birth to six children, four of whom were still living (and in the household). Also present were two lodgers, including another teacher - Richard E. Brogden.

The 2820 Hampton house is shown on the 1919 Sanborn map as a large two story frame dwelling in a neighborhood of predominately middle and upper income residences.

Bumgardner's stone in Randolph cemetery shows he died on November 20, 1913 at about 46 years of age.

Laura and Steve Bynum

Laura and Stephen Bynum are found in the 1880 census living on Richland Street. He is 35 years old, listed as a laborer; she is 30 years old and listed as keeping house. They had three children - Hampton (10), John (8), and Kate (5).

The 1905 city directory shows Stephen as a laborer and the 1910 census has Steve Bynum listed as a street huckster, unable to read or write and reported to be blind in both eyes. Laura, who also could not read or write, was employed as a servant for a private family. They were living at 1321 Lumber (today Calhoun) Street, a one-story frame dwelling on the north side of the street in a neighborhood of primarily larger and two-story dwellings. They were living with their daughter, Catherine, and son-in-law, J.C. Cannon who were renting. Cannon was a machinist, she was a seamstress. Both were able to read and write.

By the 1920 census Laura and Steve were living with their son, John, and his wife Emma at 1717 Wayne Street. John was a driver for Palmetto Ice Co. and Emma was a cook for a private family.

On March 21, 1922 Stephen Bynum died of chronic kidney inflammation and hardening

of the arteries. Combined with the earlier eye problems, this suggests that he suffered from a diet that lead to diabetes and high cholesterol, although he lived to the old age of 77. His occupation, however, was still listed as a laborer. He was buried in Randolph Cemetery on March 26 by the T.H. Pinckney firm.

Not quite a year later, on March 2, 1923, Laura Bynum died of influenza and pneumonia at the age of 65 with an address of 2229 Gervais listed. She was buried on March 4 by T.H. Pinckney.

James B. Carroll
Jannie S. Carroll
Lucius Carroll
Kattie Carroll

All were children of Captain and Catherine R. Carroll. Captain J. Carroll is listed in the 1880 Columbia city directory as a barber and school commissioner. He was also one of the founders of the Randolph Cemetery Association. His shop was on S. Richardson (today Main Street), while his residence was at 76 W. Lady. By the 1901 city directory, the shop is listed at 1342 Main Street and the residence as 908 Lady. In 1905 Carroll was apparently partnered in the firm of Carroll & Bailey Grocers, doing business at 1122 Washington Street. Because their house on Lady had been acquired by the Seaboard Coast Line for the construction of the new Columbia terminal (under construction in the 1904 Sanborn maps), the family had moved to 1416 Gates (now Park) Street, a two story frame dwelling with a wrap around porch. The neighborhood included a number of other sizable one and two story houses.

The 1880 census lists Carroll, a 40 year old mulatto and his wife, Catherine, also a mulatto and 35 years old. Living with them were six children: James (16), an apprentice barber; the twin sisters Mary and Jane (14); Lucius (10); Corinne (6); and Lillian, later to be known as Kattie, born in June 1879.

We know very little about any of the children. James B. died in 1897 at the age of 34, but with the absence of the 1890 census, he does not appear in any other records we have identified. Jannie S. died in 1886, at the age of 20. Lucius died at the age of 27. Kattie died in 1891, at the age of 12.

Eliza D. Cleckley

The first record we have for Eliza is her listing in the 1891 city directory as a white dressmaker living at 44 Whaley Street. By 1901 the race had been changed to "colored," and although she was still a dressmaker, her address was 1014 Lady Street. According to the 1904 Sanborn map this was a modest single story frame house set back on the south side of Lady Street on a lot that contained several other dwellings. On the same block was Hotel Carolina (which also contained a barber shop and the beer dispensary), while to the south on Gervais were a number of commercial establishments.

Upon her death a funeral announcement was placed in the predominately white *State* newspaper (March 8, 1910, p. 9, c. 7):

Cleckley - the friends and acquaintances of *Miss Eliza D. Cleckley* are invited to attend her funeral services at St. Luke's Episcopal Church (Lady Street) THIS (Tuesday) AFTERNOON at 4 o'clock.

Her stone reveals that she was buried in Randolph, listing a birth date of July 1864 and a death date of March 7, 1910.

Andrew W. Curtis

The stone in Randolph reveals that he was born on December 8, 1811 and died on November 14, 1894. No one with this name can be found in the 1860 census. The 1880 census does enumerate an Andrew W. Curtis, a mulatto

listed as a merchant and carpenter. This individual, however, was listed as only 37 years old and married to the 35 year old Betsey. No Andrew Curtis could be found in the 1900 census.

It is uncertain if the census record was in error, if this might be a son, or if the listed individual is no relationship. Nothing more has been identified.

Jane M. Dark

The 1891 city directory lists Dark as living at 818 Washington Street and working as a janitor at the Court House. The individual that later records identify as her husband, Henry Dark, is listed separately as living at 44 W. Gervais and working as a waiter for J.C.H. Troeger, the owner of a saloon and restaurant at 145 N. Richardson.

The 1900 census reports that Dark was born in January 1864 (her stone lists a birth date of October 6, 1861). She was a washerwoman, but was able to both read and write. She was also listed as a black and she had been married for 10 years (suggesting that the 1891 city directory was using the pre-marriage addresses). Her husband, Henry, was born in February 1857 and was a head waiter. They had an 8-year old adopted daughter, Christanna Thompson.

The 1910 census, collected in April of that year, reveal that Henry and Jane Dark, both mulattos, 51 and 47 years old respectively, were living at 906 Huger Street. He had no occupation, she was listed as a laundress.

Jane Dark's stone lists her death date as December 29, 1910, just months after the census was taken. Her husband, Henry, has no known grave at Randolph although it seems likely that he, too, is buried there (there is no Henry Dark listed in the SC Death Certificates, suggesting that he may have died prior to 1915).

Mary Delaney

Mary Delaney was born in South Carolina about 1875 of Florida parents and, in the 1880 census, she was in East Jacksonville. Her father was David Delaney, a 28 year old engineer, and her mother was Isabella, 23 and keeping house.

By 1895 we find a listing for John Delany in the Columbia city directory. He was a laborer living at 1300 Blossom. In 1905 John is listed at 8 South Alley and is shown married to Mary.

The 1910 census lists their address as 7 South Alley, which they rented. Mary had been married for 15 years and given birth to six children, five of whom were still living. She could not read or write and worked as a laundress from her home. Her husband John was a black farm laborer, who was able to both read and write. The 1910 city directory lists the address as 8 South Alley and his occupation was listed as a gardener. Regardless of whether the address was 7 or 8 South Alley, the 1904 Sanborn map shows these structures to both be one story frame shotgun houses (South Alley ran off Assembly between Green and Devine).

By 1915 only Mary is listed, now residing at 20 Greens Alley. By 1920 she is living at 915 College Street. The census for that year reports that she was a widow. Four of the children were still living with her and she was listed as a laundress.

Her stone at Randolph lists her death date as August 9, 1923. Her death certificate (South Carolina Death Certificate 13397) lists her age as 59, with a birth date of 1864.

John Dix

The parents of John Dix, Reed and Julia (Wallace) Dix, are listed in the 1905 city directory as living at 26 Science Alley (running from Taylor to Hampton). Reed Dix was listed

as a laborer. Information concerning John Dix comes from the 1910 census, at which time he was listed as a 19 year old mulatto barber who could read and write. His 65 year old father was a sweeper in a cotton mill.

Their 26 Science Alley house was a large one story frame house with a front porch. It was one of the larger on the alley and was present as late as the early 1960s.

John Dix died on April 27, 1915 at the age of about 24 years of phthisis – a progressing wasting disease that is especially today associated with TB (South Carolina Death Certificate 7470). His residence was still listed as 26 Science Alley, although he was married to Sally Dix. He was buried in Randolph Cemetery by the Hardy & Pinckney firm.

Rev. J. J. Durham

Sketches of the Rev. Durham are provided by Tindall (1952), Caldwell (1919), and Richardson (1919). Durham was born in Woodruff, Spartanburg County April 14, 1849. His father was James Wofford Durham, a blacksmith and planter; his mother was Dorcas Payden. He taught himself to read and write, and was ordained in 1868, becoming the minister of a small Baptist church in Spartanburg County.

He entered a Greenville school, where he stayed for three years, after which he was tutored in Latin and Greek in order to prepare for admission to South Carolina College in Columbia. He entered the college in 1874 and stayed for two years until the Democrats closed it to African American students. From there he went to Atlanta University and finally graduated from Fisk University in 1880. After a brief tenure at a Columbia church he went to the Meharry Medical College in Nashville, from which he graduated in 1882 as valedictorian of his class. He moved to Society Hill, South Carolina the following year where he served as both minister and physician for about a year.

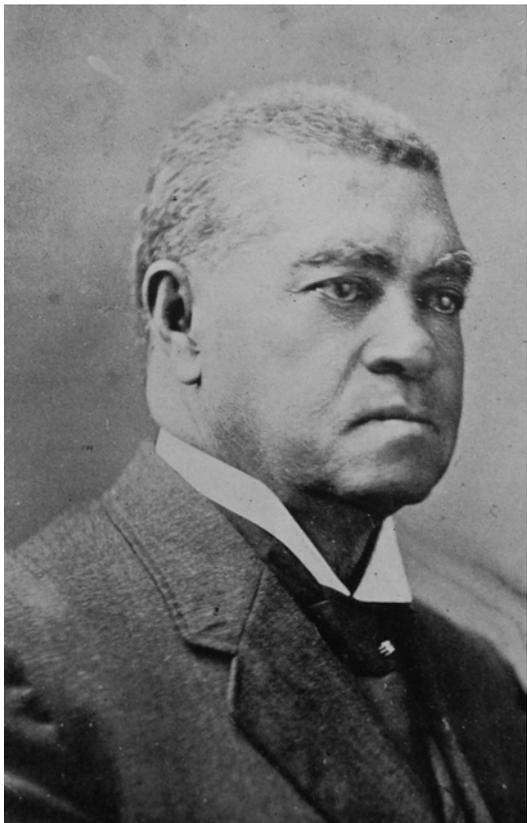


Figure 17. Photograph of the Rev. J.J. Durham (Richardson 1919:250).

He pastored at the Savannah Baptist Church for 15 years and spent 7 years at an Aiken church. He was, for a very long time, the Secretary and Financial Agent of the S.C. Baptist Convention, and served as the pastor of the Nazareth Church in Columbia. By 1918 he served at the Second Calvary Church. He was the Grand Chaplin of the Masons. He also apparently read the Bible in five languages - English, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Richardson (1919:250) also reported that he was a "man of considerable wealth."

He was married twice. First on June 20, 1888 to Mary Ella Simpkins with whom he had one son. His second marriage was to Emma M. Ramey.

For most of his life in Columbia he lived at 2016 Sumter Street - a large two-story frame house with an "auto garage" in the rear. He was surrounded by other large houses typical of the black upper class in Columbia. By the 1960s the house had been torn down and the address was a vacant lot surrounded by used auto lots and commercial establishments.

Durham died on December 11, 1920 at the age of 71. His death certificate lists the cause as "mitral insufficiency" - essentially heart failure. He was buried in Randolph Cemetery on December 14 by the T.H. Pinckney firm (South Carolina Death Certificate 23037).

M.R. Foxworth

Foxworth's stone in Randolph lists a birth of June 1, 1873 and a death of July 7, 1909. No Foxworth, however, can be found in the 1880, 1900, or even 1910 census, nor does a Foxworth appear in the city directory. This is one of the truly invisible people buried in Randolph Cemetery.

James H. Goode, Sr.

Goode appears in the 1901 city directory married to Carrie and living at 1810 Harden Street. He listed his occupation as collector, probably (given other information) a collector of insurance premium. By 1905 his occupation was listed as "insurance."

The 1910 census lists his address as 1013 Pine Street. This, according to the 1919 Sanborn map, was a single story frame house on the west side of the street, between Senate and Pendleton. It had a full front porch and a garage on the side and was typical of the middle class neighborhood.

The census reveals that Goode was born in Georgia and was a 36 year old mulatto. His wife, Carrie, was also 36 and listed as a mulatto. She had no occupation listed.

We know that Goode by this time was the general manager of the Mutual Relief and Benefit Association. This firm was founded by the Rev. A.P. Dunbar, pastor of the Second Calvary Baptist Church (Johnson 1939:309). An advertisement for the company in the *Palmetto Leader* lists Goode as the General Manager and also exclaims, "Every member of the family should have one of our SPECIAL \$500.00 CONTRACTS. Our agents are anxious to talk with you about it."

The 1915 city directory continues to list Goode as the General Manager, living at 1013 Pine. It also lists the Mutual Relief & Benevolent Association at 1501½ Taylor Street, with the Rev. A. P. Dunbar as Manager.

The 1920 census shows that they own their Pine Street residence, free of a mortgage. While earlier accounts listed his birthplace as Georgia, this census lists it as South Carolina. The 1920 city directory also lists Goode as the manager, rather than the general manager. By 1925 the title had become superintendent.

The 1925 city directory also lists Goode's son, James H. Goode, Jr. - a dentist working at 1323 Assembly Street. He and his wife, Hattie, are shown living at the Pine Street address.

While we haven't located a photograph of Goode, Johnson and Dunn (1994:41) illustrate one of his daughter, Laura, taken by Columbia photographer Richard Samuel Roberts.

Goode died on August 28, 1929 (South Carolina Death Certificate 14686). The death certificate lists the death caused by an auto verses railroad accident - ironic considering Goode's career selling insurance. He was buried September 1 at Randolph by the Johnson-Bradley firm.

Violet R. Brown Greene

Violet was the mother of Mathew C. Brown (discussed earlier) and Sarah Walker

(discussed below). She was listed in the 1880 city directory as a cook living at 41 W. Pendleton. By the 1910 census she had been remarried to Loten A. Greene for only six months. She was 47 years old and was a mulatto who could read and write. They owned their house free of a mortgage.

Violet died on February 27, 1928 (South Carolina Death Certificate 3241) at the age of 63. Her obituary in the *Palmetto Leader* (March 3, 1928, p.1, c. 6) is entitled, "Resting Under Ground." It goes on to explain that "Mrs. Violet R. Brown-Green of 1804 Harden street died at her late residence Monday, February 27th, after an illness of several weeks." She had a "simple and impressive funeral service" at the Ladson Presbyterian Church. The story goes on to note, "under a mound of earth, the body of Mrs. Green is resting at the Randolph cemetery in this city by the side of relatives." Her relatives were listed as living in Columbia, Cheraw, New York, and Boston.

Ella Greggs

Ella Greggs is listed in the 1895 city directory as a laundress married to Mack Greggs, a plumber, living on Canal Alley (running between Pulaski and Huger streets).

The 1900 census reports that Ella was born May 1864. She had been married to Mack, listed as 37 year old, for 17 years and had borne 10 children, seven of whom were still living. They were residing at 1823 Pulaski Street, which they were renting.

The 1901 census lists Mack as a tinner working for L.S. Tompkins & Co. By 1905 Mack was listed simply as a laborer. The 1910 census, however, lists Mack as a plumber, while Ella was a cook for a private family. By this time only five of her 10 children were still living - providing yet another clear indication of the poor living conditions under which African Americans struggled. By this time they were living at 705 Richland Street.

The 1915 city directory reveal that Mack and Ella Greggs had moved to Gardners Ferry Road, confirmed by the 1920 city directory, which by that time lists their address as 826 Gardner's Ferry Road.

The 1920 census indicates that Ella, at 51 years old, was still a cook for a private family. Mack, by this time 53 years old, was working as a laborer for the street railway. She could read and write, he could not.

Ella Greggs died on January 20, 1922 (South Carolina Death Certificate 1302) of "cardiac stenosis" or narrowing of the arteries. Her occupation was listed as "Domestic" and her address was Gardnersferry [sic] Road. Her father was listed as William Barr. She was buried in Randolph on January 22 by the firm of Hardy and Manigault. Her husband lived until December 20, 1932 (South Carolina Death Certificate 19210). Rather than be buried with his wife at Randolph, he (or his family) chose burial at Palmetto Cemetery, a new burial ground that had begun in the late 1920s off Fairfield Road in North Columbia. It is today owned by the Palmer Funeral Home.

Emily and Samuel Hagood

We find Emily Hagood first in the 1900 census where she is listed as Haigood, living in Congaree, Lexington Co. and married to Samuel Haigood. She is 34 years old, born in December 1865. She had given birth to nine children, seven of whom were still living. Samuel was listed as a carpenter and able to read and write. She was a washerwoman. They owned their farm free of a mortgage.

The 1905 city directory list Samuel and Emily Hagood as living in the Fairview area, with Samuel working as a carpenter.

By 1910 they had moved to the East Senate Street Extension where they owned their home free of a mortgage. Samuel was listed as a

mulatto, as well as Emily. He was a carpenter, she was not working.

The 1915 through 1925 city directories list their address as 2417 Gervais Street. By 1930 the address is listed as 2401 Gervais. No listing for the Hagoods could be found in the 1920 or 1930 census. We have also been unable to identify their death certificates.

The stones at Randolph, however, reveal that Emily died in 1932, while Samuel died four years later in 1936.

Sally Johnson Hopkins

This individual has been found only in the 1910 census, listed as Sallie Hopkins. At the time she was listed as a 41 year old black, married for 20 years to Moultrie Hopkins, a 40 year old mulatto. He was a driver of a public carriage, she had no occupation listed. The census does tell us that she had six children and that all six were still alive. Living with her and her husband were Flora B. (18) and Euelina (10). Both Moultrie and Sallie were able to read and write.

The next record we have is the death certificate for Sallie (South Carolina Death Certificate 16914). She died on September 16, 1928 of cerebral apoplexy (a stroke) at the age of 54. She was still married at the time and her occupation was listed as a "Domestic." Her father was Henry Johnson and her mother was Christine Paul. Both were from Marion, where Sallie Johnson was born. She was buried in Randolph Cemetery on September 19, 1928 by the T.H. Pinckney firm.

The address listed on the death certificate is 2216 Louzon (Lozon) Avenue. By the late 1950s this area had become Saxon Homes, while the area to the south had been razed for Allen-Benedict Court.

Moultrie lived to the age of 71, dying on July 4, 1948 (South Carolina Death Certificate

9387). For whatever reason, he was not buried with his wife, but was laid to rest at Palmetto Cemetery on Fairfield Road.

W. C. Johnson

The stone for this individual lists a birth of February 11, 1876 and a death of March 15, 1910. We have been unable to identify this person in any of the census records or city directories. Willis C. Johnson was a well known African American undertaker, but the birth and death dates are incorrect; this particular Johnson has not been identified in the Willis C. Johnson family tree (based on the Johnson Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library).

John Kennedy

This individual is first encountered in the 1900 census for Upper Richland. He is listed as a 37 year old black farmer. He had been married for 16 years to Hester. She had given birth to nine children during their marriage, six of whom were still living. She was listed as working on the farm and was 36 years old.

The 1910 city directory lists Kennedy as working at Columbia College and living in "N. Columbia." The 1910 census indicates that this was the Eau Claire area where they were renting and that Kennedy was a laborer. His wife, listed as Kester (Hester) was a farm laborer.

Kennedy's stone at Randolph lists a birth date of 1867 and a death date of 1911. Nothing else concerning his life has been identified.

John T. Lee and John T. Lee

There are two John T. Lee stones. One marks an individual who lived from November 25, 1836 to February 25, 1881. The other is for an individual born on September 8, 1851 who died December 15, 1908.

The name is deceptively common and no one with the initial has been identified in either the census or the city directories. The 1880 census does list a John Lee who was 39 years old (suggesting a birth date of ca. 1841) who had a son, John, who was 20 years old (suggesting a birth date of ca. 1860). The elder Lee was a mulatto married to Cornelia, a 38 year old mulatto. He worked at the state house, she kept house. Both could read and write. Their son, John, worked in a printing office. They all lived on Sumter Street.

The 1880 city directory lists the elder John Lee, a janitor at the state house, as living at 247 N. Wayne Street. His son, a pressman for the *Daily Phoenix*, lived at 160 N. Richardson.

These may be the same Lees who, according to the 1895 city directory, were doing railroad work. Both were living at 2120 Sumter, but one was working at the Union Depot, the other at the Southern Railroad shops.

We have been able to find nothing else concerning their lives.

N. Eugene Lewis

The 1891 city directory lists Eugene N. Lewis as a clerk for the census department, living at 132 N. Lincoln. By 1895 N.E. Lewis was listed as a carpenter living at 1523 Lincoln.

The 1900 census also lists Lewis (here as Nichols E.) as living at 1523 Lincoln. He was 38 years old and worked as a mail carrier. He had been married four years to Lilia Lewis and they had at least one child, Nichols E. Lewis, Jr. Also in the household was Thomas E.M. Lewis.

The 1901 city directory lists his address as 1916 Henderson.

The 1910 census reveals that he was a mulatto, as was Lydia (previously listed as Lilia), listed as 10 years his junior. Eugene had been married once before, although we have

been able to find nothing out concerning this earlier wife. They now lived at 1716 Lumber Street, which was listed as mortgaged. He was still a mail carrier, while his wife listed no occupation.

By 1915 the family had moved to 1730 Pulaski and in 1920 the city directory lists their address as 1731 Wayne Street - the same address provided by the 1920 census (which they were renting). Eugene was still a mail carrier. His wife's name was now spelled Litta. The 1925 city directory reveals yet another move, this time to 1225 Harden.

In 1930 his son, N. Eugene Lewis, is listed as a barber working at 1127 Washington Street and living at 720 Calhoun Street.

Lewis' death certificate (South Carolina Death Certificate 6476) is barely legible, but it confirms his death on April 8, 1931 of "acute nephritis," possibly related to diabetes. He was buried on April 12 in Randolph by the Johnson and Bradley Funeral Home.

We cannot identify a death certificate for a Lilia, Lydia, or Litta so we do not know what became of her or where she was ultimately buried.

Ella Lowndes

The 1880 census lists a 28 year old single mulatto washerwoman by this name. She had one daughter, Bulah Walker, a 13 year old mulatto who was attending school. The 1900 census lists her birth as March 1850 and her age as 50. She was a widow with three children, all of whom were living. Working as a family cook, she could read and write and she owned her house at 909 Devine free of a mortgage. There was one child listed as living with her, Charles, who was 17 and attending school.

The 1910 census continues to list her as living at 909 Devine. By this time Charles was a teacher in the public schools. The following 1915

and 1920 city directories list Ella or Leah E. at 909 Devine although we have not been able to identify a census return for her.

The 1919 Sanborn map shows 909 Devine as a rather plain, small one story frame house with a front porch. It was immediately north of the Richland County Public Platform and Cotton Sheds between Lincoln and Gates. The block to the south was converted into parking and the two blocks to the east were demolished to make way for the University of South Carolina coliseum. The 909 Devine house was lost by the late 1950s.

She died on July 22, 1929, with her cause of death listed as "paralysis (left side)," likely indicating a stroke. Her occupation was listed as "Domestic" and her residence was still 904 Devine. She was buried in Randolph Cemetery by the firm of Champion and Pearson.

Emma McCoy

Emma McCoy's stone at Randolph lists only her death date - May 19, 1889. We have found her in the 1880 census living on Winn (today Gregg) St. She was a 65 year old mulatto widow, born about 1851. She listed her occupation as a laundress. Living with her was her 21 year old daughter, Mary, a school teacher, and a foster daughter, Mamie, an 8 year old mulatto.

The 1889-1890 city directory lists her address as 73 N. Winn. By this time she was a cook for a private family.

Nothing more is known of her life, including the name or burial location of her husband.

Mary Metze

The 1880 census lists Mary Metts, a 38 year old black living on Elmwood with her husband, James, a 62 year old black laborer. Mary listed her occupation as keeping house.

The 1900 census (which shows them as Metz) lists their address as 1301 Elmwood. Her husband is listed as Jim, but is still a laborer. She is now listed as 60 years old, suggesting an error in the earlier record, and was a washerwoman.

This information is repeated by the 1890 and 1895 city directories, although their name is spelled Meetze.

We believe this may be the Mary Metts listed as a widow in the 1910 census. At that time she was 68 years old and living in the rear of 1811 Taylor Street. She listed her occupation as laundress and was living with her daughter, Emma Harris.

Although Mary's stone indicates that she died in 1920 we have been unable to identify her in the 1910 census. We have found her death certificate (listed as Mary Metts) showing her death on April 29, 1920 (South Carolina Death Certificate 8421). It confirms that she was buried at Randolph on May 3, 1920. She died from cardiac problems and her occupation was listed as "domestic."

Henry G. Miller

Miller's stone in Randolph shows a birth date of 1858 and a death date of 1924. The first record we have found of him is the 1910 census when he is listed as a 50 year old black car cleaner for the railroad. He was living at 933 College Street and was married for the past 17 years to Lizzie Miller. She was also listed as black. She was 45 and of her seven children only two were still living. She listed her occupation as a cook for a private family. They had one child, 14 year old Amy, living at home with them. She, too, was employed as a maid for a private family. While neither Henry nor Lizzie could read or write, Amy was literate.

The 1910 city directory lists Lizzie and Green Miller as living at 923 College, with his occupation being a shoe maker. Lizzie Miller is listed in the 1915 city directory as living at 1215

Wayne Street. We could not identify them in the 1920 census.

Henry Green Miller died on January 10, 1924 according to his death certificate (South Carolina Death Certificate 1241). The cause of death was listed as "chronic myelitis." This is the swelling of the spinal cord, which disrupts the central nervous system. It can be caused by several viruses or by syphilis. His age at death was listed as 65 and his occupation was listed as shoe maker. His address was listed as 810 Lincoln. The 1919 Sanborn map shows this address to be a single story frame shotgun house in a neighborhood of relatively small and closely built homes. The house was still present in the early 1960s.

Miller was buried in Randolph on January 13 by the Johnson-Bradley firm. We have not been able to find a death certificate for Lizzie Miller, nor is there a stone for her at Randolph although it seems likely she was buried with her husband.

General J. R. Nowell

John Nowell is first found in the 1870 census as a 15 year old, the son of Rial and Susan Nowell living in Columbia's Third Ward. Rial was a 50 year old blacksmith, while Susan, 40 years old, was listed "at home." John followed his father's trade and the 1875 city directory lists him, now 20 years old, as a blacksmith with his residence on Plain (now Hampton) at the corner of Gadsden.

The 1880 census reveals that Nowell had gotten married to Ida Terms. They were living with her parents, Mause, a 50 year old store porter and his wife, Texana, a 48 mulatto who is listed as keeping house. Their residence was 24 Richland Street. John, listed as 22 years old (revealing the constant inaccuracy of age reporting) was a mechanic.

By 1895 Nowell, now a hackman, owned his home at 1700 Gadsden. He was also listed as



Figure 18. Photograph of General J. R. Nowell (Richardson 1919:440).

a captain in the Capital City Guards, one of two African American National Guard troops stationed in Columbia (Hennig 1936:307). By the 1900 census Nowell (listed under John P.) was listed as a 40 year old hackman – a listing that was repeated at least through 1920.

The 1910 census reveals that Nowell was by that time a retail merchant, owning a grocery store. He could read and write, as could his wife, Ida. It reveals that after 28 years of marriage she had given birth to eight children, only five of whom were still living. She is still listed as a mulatto and lists no occupation, clearly indicating that Nowell's trade allowed her to stay at home and not work.

Nowell is not listed in the 1920 census. The 1919 Sanborn also begins the 1700 block of Gadsden at 1702 – a large one story frame dwelling with a wrap around porch and a bay window overlooking Blanding. It was immediately adjacent to the rail lines, but the neighborhood appears solidly middle class. The title of General may be associated with his position with the Capital City Guards, disbanded in 1900 by the Democratic Governor (Moore 1993:371) or it may be an honorific title associated with his Knights of Phythias .

Nowell died on May 7, 1922 (South Carolina Death Certificate 7720). The cause of death was listed as “Brights Disease” – a broad classification of kidney diseases. He was still living at 1700 Gadsden and his occupation was listed as “lecturer” signaling a new phase of his life that is poorly recorded in the conventional history. Richardson (1919:440) briefly mentions as a caption to Nowell's photograph that he was the “Grand Lecturer of S.C. Phythians.” He was buried in Randolph Cemetery on May 11 by the Hardy & Manigault firm. While there are no other Nowell family stones in Randolph Ida's death certificate (South Carolina Death Certificate 14747) confirms that she, at least, was buried with him at Randolph Cemetery. Her occupation was listed as a “domestic.” We have not traced the resting place of their various children.

Rosena H. Palmer

This is another of Randolph's “invisible people.” We have not been able to identify her in any of the censuses or city directories. The closest possible match is a Robert J. Palmer, identified as a tailor and selling shoes in directories from 1880 through 1895 and shown in the 1900 census. His wife was Adalaide, but Rosena may have been Robert's sister or another relative.

Her Randolph stone shows a birth of December 15, 1859 and a death of June 26, 1878 at the age of only 19 years.

**Alonzo and Sarah Reese
Benjamin Reese
Sarah Reese**

We know Alonzo Reese primarily as one of the founders of the Randolph Cemetery Association. However, the 1870 census shows Alonzo Reese to be a 45 year old mulatto barber. He was able to read and write and had real estate valued at \$2,500 with a \$500 personal estate. He was married to Sarah, a 44 year old black listing no occupation. They had nine children: James (22), Benjamin (21), Levinia (19), Precilla (17), Louise (15), Harvey (11), John (9), Hannah (6), and Samuel (2). James was also listed as a barber. Although no address is provided by this census, the 1875 city directory lists them as living at 45 S. Assembly. It also shows Reese in partnership with Captain Carroll (another Association founder); their barbershop was at 86 N. Richardson (today Main Street).

The 1880 census reveals that Alonzo and Sarah, along with 15 others in their household, were living at 45 Assembly Street - an area on the edge of town that was not covered by the Sanborn maps, even as late as 1919.

Alonzo, according to his Randolph stone, died on September 18, 1881. His two children with stones at Randolph, Benjamin and Louisa, died on May 25, 1873 and December 3, 1872 respectively.

The 1891 city directory shows Sarah as a grocer at 61 W. Medium Street (today College Street). She died on March 29, 1893.

William C. Rhodes

William C. Rhodes first appears in the 1900 census, living at 35 S. Church Street in Spartanburg. He was a 35 year old black physician, married to Lillian, listed as keeping house. In their six years of marriage she had three children.

By 1910 Dr. Rhodes was in Columbia, with the census listing his address as 1013 Washington Street. His house was owned free and the 1904 Sanborn map shows it as a large two story frame structure with a front porch and a rear garage. By the late 1950s and early 1960s the structure was still standing, although it had been converted into a rooming house. He is listed in the 1910 city directory, although incorrectly as William C. Rose. He was both a physician and druggist.

Dr. Rhodes gets a brief mention in Tindall (1952:149), who notes that in 1899 Doctors Harry and Rhodes "organized a state association in a meeting at Spartanburg." The two physicians were "reputed to 'have made money and gained the respect of the people at large'."

Little more is know concerning Dr. Rhodes, although his stone lists his death as 1912. There is no stone for Lillian, although it seems likely that she would have been buried with her husband.

Mother Richardson

The Randolph stone lists a death date of December 9, 1907. With no first name and being unable to associate the stone with a particular family, we have been unable to identify this person.

Albert Richardson

Richardson's stone lists his birth as August 20, 1867 and his death as August 24, 1898. We have been unable to identify the individual in the census records and have only one listing in the 1890 city directory. No occupation is listed, but an address of 126 N. Huger is listed.

H.B. Robertson

This is another individual about whom very little is known. The Randolph stone

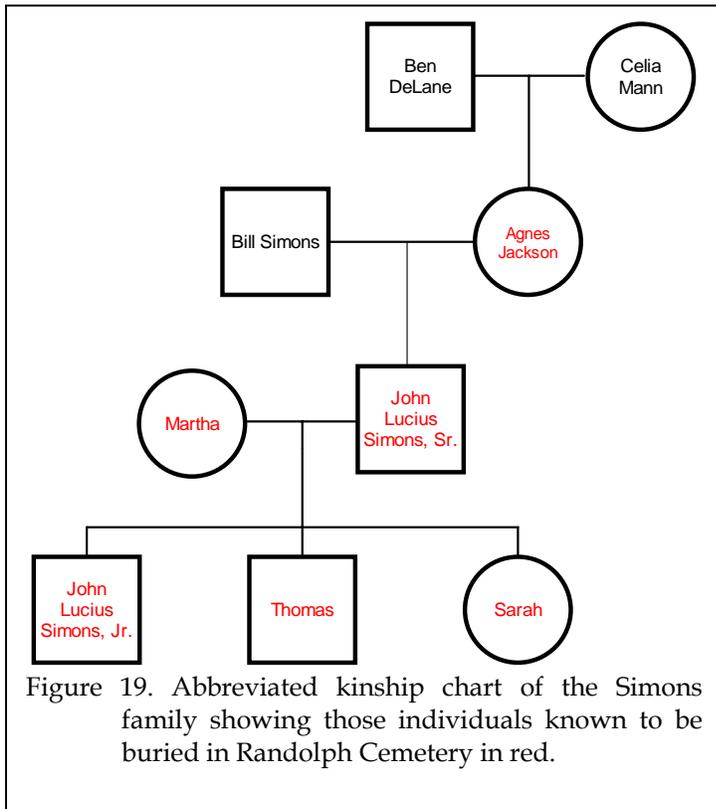


Figure 19. Abbreviated kinship chart of the Simons family showing those individuals known to be buried in Randolph Cemetery in red.

indicates a birth date of June 24, 1869 and death date of October 23, 1918. This death date reveals a death certificate for a Harold Robertson (South Carolina Death Certificate 23098). The certificate indicates he was a fireman born in 1869 and that his parents were John and Livinia Robinson. He was married, although the certificate does not list her name. We also know that he died of pneumonia and was buried on October 27 by the Hardy & Pinckney firm.

Unfortunately, no Harold Robertson can be identified in either the city directories or the census records for Columbia.

J. M. Seabrook

The Randolph stone indicates a birth of August 17, 1880 and a death of November 11, 1910. It also indicates that Seabrook was a physician. In spite of these clues, we have been unable to find a matching Seabrook in either the census or city directories. We have identified a J.G. Seabrook who was a physician in the 1903

city directory, living at 1719 Sumter Street. Nothing more has been found.

- Tom Simons**
- Martha Simons**
- Sarah Agnes Simons**
- J. L. Simons, Jr.**
- J. L. Simons, Sr.**
- Agnes Jackson Simons**

At least six members of the Simons family are buried at Randolph. Their stones reveal that Tom Simons was born September 12, 1887 and died June 11, 1923; Martha Simons (the wife of Deacon J.L. Simons) was born March 10, 1875 and died March 8, 1921. Sarah Agnes Simons was born December 30, 1892 and died October 8, 1919; J. L. Simons, Jr. was born September 8, 1885 and died March 18, 1915; J. L. Simons, Sr. was born September 8, 1885 and died March 18, 1915; and Agnes Jackson Simons was born July 10, 1831 and died October 16, 1907. Obviously there is an error in the transcription for either J.L. Jr. or J.L. Sr. (see Osburn 2002:9).

Crockett (2002) provides a brief overview of the Simons family and we won't repeat the story here. Figure 19 does, however, provide an abbreviated kinship chart for the family.

A photograph of Agnes Jackson Simons is provided by Deas-Moore (2000:24).

Death certificates are available for a number of these individuals, although all have not been pulled. For example, the certificate for Martha Simons (South Carolina Death Certificate 4006) reveal a death date of March 8, 1921 of "chronic nephritis" or kidney inflammation. Her date of birth was recorded only as 1871 and her occupation was listed as "domestic." She was buried in Randolph on March 13 by the firm of Hardy & Pinckney. At the time of her death her residence was 1924 Henderson Street.

Eugene Smith

Eugene Smith's stone at Randolph indicates he died on August 5, 1924 and was born about 1906.

He is found in the 1920 census as a 4 year old mulatto, the son of Randolph and Bettie Smith who lived at 2117 Gervais Street. Randolph was a 30 year old chauffeur. His wife, Bettie, had two other children, Herman (3) and Florence (6 months).

The death certificate for Eugene reveals that he died on August 5 of "cerebro spinal meningitis" at the Good Samaritan Hospital - the end of an 11 day battle against the disease (South Carolina Death Certificate 15328). He was buried at Randolph on August 8 by the Johnson Bradley Morris Funeral Home.

The family can't be found in the 1930 census and it is unknown if other members are also interred at Randolph.

John Smith

John Smith's stone lists his birth as January 21, 1883 and his death as January 11, 1926.

This was apparently John B. Smith, listed in the 1910 census as living on Richland Street and working as a porter at a hotel. He was identified as a mulatto, able to read and write, and as renting his home. His wife, Sallie, had one child, LeRoy. By 1920 Smith's address was listed as 2203 Richland Street. The 1919 Sanborn map shows this to be a small one story frame shotgun house on the corner of Richland and Pine streets. Across Pine was a corner store. The neighborhood consisted entirely of similarly small, shotgun style dwellings. By this time he was listed as a truck driver for a wholesale company and his wife, Sallie, was at home. Their son, LeRoy was a private chauffeur. The 1925 city directory lists John Smith as a laborer, still at the rental property at 2203 Richland.

His death certificate confirms a January 11, 1926 death date, with the cause listed as "Oedema of Lungs" resulting from "Pulmonary T.B." He was 39 at his death and his occupation was listed as "ice man." The certificate indicates that he was born in Fairfield County, possibly moving to Columbia for better job opportunities (South Carolina Death Certificate 1334). It is unknown where his wife was buried.

Elvina Tanksley

Elvina Tanksley was born around March 1883 in the Waterloo area of Laurens County according to the 1900 census. At that time she was single, 17 years old, and living with her widowed father, Abraham McDonald, and a brother and sister (her mother's name was Kate). All were farm laborers and while their father was unable to read or write, all of the children could.

At some point Elvina made her way to Columbia, only to die on February 22, 1920 at the age of 31 (South Carolina Death Certificate 3662). The certificate lists her name as Eveline Tanksler. Her occupation was listed as a domestic and she was married, although the certificate does not indicate his first name (the 1920 city directory, however, tells us that it was Joseph). Their address was 1323 Barnwell Street. The 1919 Sanborn map shows this to be a modest two story wood frame structure with a front porch and a rear one-story addition, possibly a kitchen. The certificate lists the cause of death as "Bronchopneumonia."

She was buried in Randolph Cemetery on February 29 by the Hardy & Pinckney firm.

William M. Thomas

The 1880 census lists William M. Thomas as a 50 year old black farmer in Summersville, Colleton County. Able to read and write, he was married to Sarah, a 30 year old mulatto. They had four children.

By 1900 the census reveals they had migrated to Columbia and were living at 912 Plain (today Hampton) Street, which they rented. He was listed as a pastor. Sarah had borne five children, four of which were still living. One of these, William E. Thomas, was listed as a physician. Another, Louisa, was a teacher. The 1905 city directory provides more information, revealing that Thomas was the presiding elder of the Wateree District AME Church.

By 1910 the census still lists their address as 913 Hampton. The 1919 Sanborn map shows this to be a sprawling one story frame dwelling with a small store in the front yard, almost directly across the street from the St. Luke's M.E. Church. The census indicates that he now owned the home, although it was mortgaged. His occupation was listed as a clergyman with the AME Methodist church.

Upon his death there was a notice published in *The State* newspaper (September 15, 1912, p. 7, c. 2):

Funeral Notice

To the officers and brethren,
Lebanon Lodge No. 6 F&A.M.:
You are hereby summoned to assemble in your lodge room, Assembly Street, this (Sunday) afternoon at 2 p.m., for the purpose of attending the funeral of P.M. William M. Thomas. Capital City Lodge No. 47, Lointhian Lodge No. 11, and all Masons in good and regular standing are invited to be present and take part. H.H. Mobley Worshipful Master.

Elizabeth Henretta Thompson

Her stone at Randolph indicates a birth date of December 25, 1842 and a death date of August 3, 1915. She is first found in the 1895 city directory listed as a laundress living in Science

Alley. Her husband, William, is reported to be a laborer. The 1900 census places their residence on Pickens Street. William was 59 years old, reported to have been born in November 1840. He was a carpenter and had been married to Elizabeth for 9 years. She was 51 years old, born June 1848. She could not read or write.

In 1910 their residence was on E. Gervais Street. William and Elizabeth had been married for 16 years. She had borne two children, but neither were still living. William was listed as a carpenter, Elizabeth listed no occupation.

William and Lizzie Thompson are shown in the 1915 city directory, at that time living in the Fairview area. His occupation was listed as a laborer. In spite of death certificates becoming mandatory in 1915 we have been unable to find a death certificate for Elizabeth.

Maggie Thompson

The death certificate for Maggie Thompson (South Carolina Death Certificate 7207) reveals that she died of apoplexy on April 18, 1917 - consistent with her stone. She was single and reportedly was born about 1884 in Richland County. At her death she was living at 4 Railroad Avenue and was a washerwoman. Her mother was reported as Maggie Thompson. Otherwise the document shows only that she was buried in "Randolf Cemetery" on April 20 by J.F. Lopez.

Railroad Alley ran parallel to Washington Street between Huger and Pulaski. It consisted of a row of identical shotgun houses, each on a small strip of land, according to the 1919 Sanborn maps.

The best match for this individual is a Maggie Thompson found in several census reports, although her mother is listed as Kissiah, not Maggie. We suspect this may be an error on the death certificate.

If we are correct, in 1880 Maggie was 10 years old, living with her widowed mother, Kissiah, who was 28 and unable to read or write. By 1900 Maggie was still living with her mother and two sisters, Lizzie and Sarah, at 2019 Harden Street. Her mother, identified as Kiziah, was 48 years old and had given birth to eight children, with only three still living. She was listed as a washerwoman, as was Maggie. Lizzie (23) was a servant and Sarah (19) was a cook.

In 1910 Kessiah and her family were living at 1910 Wayne Street. Maggie is now reported to be 30 years old, still single, working as a laundress, and unable to read or write. Kessiah was 59 years old, also a laundress. Sarah was still at home and she was identified as a cook for a private family.

In 1915 Maggie Thompson appears in the city directory as living at 10 Seaboard Alley, with no mention of her mother or Sarah.

Given the struggle of everyday life, the low wages achieved by washerwomen, the frequent moving from one rental house to another, it is hard to understand how this family could have afforded a plot at Randolph. Yet someone was concerned about Maggie

J. Thompson

Although this individual's stone at Randolph reveals a birth date of August 10, 1850 and a death date of December 18, 1911, we have been unable to identify them in the census or city directory. This is another of Randolph's invisible people.

Carolina Trezvant

The stone at Randolph shows a birth date of 1843 and a death date of November 3, 1903. We have been unable to find any individual with this name in the city directory or the census.

Luzea Lure Waiters

The stone for this individual provides little data, noting only a birth year of 1878 and a death year of 1904. No one with anything approaching a similar name could be found in the 1900 census or the period city directories.

Sarah A. Walker

Sarah appears at least by 1905 as the wife of James H. Walker, a waiter at the Columbia Hotel. They resided at 1804 Harden. Earlier city directories, for 1891 and 1895 list James H. Walker as a clerk at the Register Office.

The 1910 census lists James H. and Sarah as living on Harden Street, where they rented. He was 42 and working as a hotel waiter. She was 28 and was identified as a mulatto. One of her two children was still living (James H. Walker, Jr.). She was a teacher in the public schools.

They continue to be shown in the 1915, 1920, and 1925 city directories at 1804 Harden Street. The listings also reveal that they had a telephone. This house is shown on the 1919 Sanborn map being a single story frame structure on the northeast corner of Harden and Laurel, immediately across the street from the Palmetto Ice Co. It represented one of the larger houses on the block, with many of the others being small shotgun structures.

Sarah Walker died on March 24, 1926 of "Banti's Disease" - a chronic congestive enlargement of the spleen associated with hypertension. Her residence was listed as 1804 Harden Street. Her father was listed as L.L. Brown and her mother was Violet Green (Violet R. Brown Greene, discussed above). Her occupation was listed as bookkeeper. She was buried at Randolph on March 26 by the Johnson Bradley Morris Funeral Home (South Carolina Death Certificate 5279).

An obituary appeared in *The Palmetto Leader* on April 3, 1926 (p. 1, c. 1-2) along with her photograph. The elaborate headline proclaimed, "Passing of Mrs. Sarah A. Walker - After An Illness of A Month or More, She Succumbs To the "Grim Reaper" - Was An Amiable Woman - A Noble Character Has 'Crossed the River' And Is Resting 'Beneath The Shady Trees'." The article notes that she had been the "accomplished organist of Sidney Park C.M.E. Church" and for the past several years a "bookkeeper for the Victory Savings Bank."

Frank Washington

Frank Washington appears in the 1910 census as the 12 year old son of Albert and Hannah Washington, living in the Congaree area of Lexington County, just across the Congaree River from Columbia. Albert was a 49 year old laborer working at the brickyard. Hannah was 40 and listed no occupation. She had given birth to four children, three of whom were still living - Alberta (16), Willie (14), and Frank (12). They rented their house and neither Albert nor Hannah could read or write.

The 1920 census shows them on Carpenter Street. This was a short street in the New Brookland area running from Guignard Road south to Augusta Avenue. All of the houses were duplex mill-village style structures, probably erected for the brickyard workers.

Albert was still working at the brickyard, as was Frank. Hannah, now listed as Anna, was shown as a washerwomen.

Frank died on June 5, 1924, the result of a ruptured liver from an auto accident that occurred on May 20. He died at the Good Samaritan Hospital after an operation on May 21. The death certificate also indicates that he was married by this time, but that he was still living in New Brookland (South Carolina Death Certificate 11487). He was buried in Randolph Cemetery on June 8 by T.H. Pinckney.

Harriett Palmer Watson and Henry Watson

The 1880 census reveals that Henry was a 48 year old driver and Henrietta, his wife, was a 40 year old mulatto listed as keeping house at their residence on Medium (College) Street. The 1891 city directory listed Henry Watson, residing at 37 W. Medium, as the driver of the Palmetto Fire Engine. The 1900 census lists their address as 1025 Assembly. Henry Watson drove a fire engine, while Harrietta (as she was listed) kept house.

Unfortunately nothing more is know this couple. Their stones reveal that Henry died May 24, 1900, only a month after the 1900 census was taken, while Harriett died on March 16, 1903.

George Leon White

White's stone at Randolph lists a birth of July 26, 1895 and a death date just a little over four years later, on November 28, 1899. Lacking a census for 1890 we have been unable to discover anything about this child or his parents.

Sarah A. Wickers

We have been unable to identify this individual. While there were Wickers in the 1870 and 1880 census records from Charleston, we can find none for Richland County, nor can we find a Sarah.

Charles H. P. Wilder

Listed as Charles H. Wilder in the 1870 census, this 6 month old infant was the son of Charles McDuffie and Marci Wilder. Charles McDuffie Wilder is well known as a founder of Randolph, a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1868, and the Columbia postmaster for 16 years (Johnson 1936:305; Tindall 1952:23, 25, 65, 292). Charles H.P. Wilder's stone, however, suggests that he was

born about October 31, 1869 and he died on June 17, 1874 at the age of 5 years.

Peter Williams

This individual first appears as a 24 year old laborer in the 1870 census of Waccamaw, Georgetown District. His parents were David and Patsy Williams, both from North Carolina. By at least 1875 Peter was in Columbia, living at corner of E. Richland and Bull streets. The 1880 census shows Peter, now listed as 30 years old, in Columbia living at 86 Richland Street and working as a brick mason. He was married to Lizzie, 25, who was keeping house. Neither could read nor write. They had three children, Frank (11), Preston (9), and Emelia (6).

The 1890 city directory places Peter living in the rear of 86 E. Richland and lists his occupation as a bricklayer. His wife is listed as Lizzie.

While not found in the 1900 census, the 1910 census places the family, now consisting only of Peter, Lizzie, and their single daughter Amelia, renting at Henderson Street. The 1915 city directory confirms this address change, indicating their residence was at 1909 Henderson Street.

In 1920 Peter is listed as a contractor and brick mason, while Lizzie is a washerwoman. Their address continued to be 1909 Henderson. Similar information is provided by the 1920 and 1925 city directories.

Peter Williams died on December 29, 1925 of paralysis, perhaps meaning a stroke. While no age was indicated on the death certificate he would have been about 79 years old by this time. His occupation was still listed as a brick mason, although his address was 1326 McDuffie Avenue (South Carolina Death Certificate 21666). He was buried on December 31 at Randolph by the Johnson Bradly Morris firm.

The 1919 Sanborn map shows McDuffie as a sparsely built avenue running north-south between Gervais and the Camden Road. The houses are all modest single story wood frame dwellings. Around the area were a mix of similar structures and much smaller shotgun houses. The area was entirely destroyed by the construction of Gonzales Gardens.

CONCLUSIONS

Synthesis

The Cemetery

Our review of Randolph's history has left many unanswered questions. The deeds for the purchases are poorly recorded, leaving considerable question concerning how the property was assembled - and even its actual boundaries. There are no plats that might assist in untangling these concerns. The one available map and a portion of a plat seem to suggest considerable design efforts, but the relationship of those efforts to what we see today is uncertain. There is, however, some reasonable indications of a formal, gridded arrangement. We have some evidence of this arrangement still present on the ground, although considerable portions have been lost.

We have questions concerning the easements into the cemetery on the part of both the railroad to the west and the highway to the south. There are questions concerning work done by the city that may have damaged graves and markers.

Although during the nineteenth and well into the early twentieth century the Association provided deeds to the plots it sold, we have been able to identify only two still in existence. Many others need to be found if there is to be any hope of recreating the original system to designate plots - or better define how the cemetery was developed. These two deeds do, however, provide the Association's rules - and these are a valuable contribution, allowing us to better understand how the Association's founders anticipated that the cemetery would be operated. These rules should provide a clear

historical context for current caregivers, if they wish to operate in consistency with the desires of the original plot holders.

We manage to better document the legal case concerning control of Randolph, although absent the court testimony and evidentiary records - none of which can be located today - many issues concerning this original case remain unresolved.

Further confusing the cemetery's legal standing is that the organization which sued for control in 1983-1984 was apparently not incorporated as a non-profit under South Carolina laws until 1999. At that time Articles of Incorporation were filed with the South Carolina Secretary of State by its two directors - Emma R. Kyer and Dr. Reed P. Johnson. The articles specify that the corporation will have no members and that upon dissolution its assets will be vested in "another public benefit entity having similar purposes."

In addition, records of both organizations have been lost, discarded, destroyed, or are unavailable. Perhaps the most tragic loss is of the cemetery plot map - referred to not only in legend, but also by identified plot titles.

When the use of the cemetery is examined by decade an unusual use pattern is observed. As anticipated use (evidence by burials) gradually increases from its founding to a peak in the 1920s with a burial every two or three days. Thereafter use declines dramatically and levels out for four decades with an average of about one burial a week. Then suddenly the

numbers increase, to the point that in the 1980s there was a burial averaging every 1.5 days.

This increased use may be the result of several things, but the most reasonable is that plots – even absent corporate records or maps – were again being sold by some party. We calculate that nearly \$75,000 may have been made during this period through the sale of cemetery plots (assuming a fair market value of \$500 per plot). This was also the period when anecdotal accounts report an increase in the number of human remains being encountered on the surface, resulting from old burials being intruded by more recent interments.

Columbia's African American History

Our review of Columbia's history is brief and we seek to only illustrate some of the avenues thus far unexplored. These include the role of free persons of color in Columbia's late antebellum history. There has, for example, been no examination of Columbia's earliest African American neighborhoods.

Our research reveals that during the late antebellum blacks over the age of 20 were more than twice as likely to be unable to read or write than mulattos. However, only a third of the men (black and mulatto) were illiterate, compared to two-thirds of the women. The average real estate held by mulattos was nearly \$1,900, compared to \$1,200 for blacks. And mulattos had over twice the personal estate value as blacks. We also find that mixed black and mulatto unions are far less common than marriage within one's color lines.

We briefly examined the 1910 census, tapping its information to better understand employment, home ownership, and education of Columbia's black population. We also looked at the different roles of Columbia's black and mulatto populations, attempting to discern societal differences that other researchers have found in similar communities – most notably in nearby Orangeburg.

We see, for example, some neighborhoods where blacks or mulattos were dominant. For example, the area bounded by Hampton, Gervais, Sumter, and Harden was almost entirely black. In contrast, the area bounded by the Congaree, Laurel, Gadsden, and Hampton was 71% mulatto.

In general mulattos were more literate than blacks and, again in general, men were more likely to be able to read and write than were women – the same trend that was observed in the 1860 population of free persons of color. We suggest that these findings may be explained by biases both within white and African American society and by income available for education. Likewise, the disparity between males and females almost certainly has a cultural explanation, with males favored over females.

Home ownership is a means of estimating wealth. With this in mind it is probably not surprising that less than 19% of Columbia's African American population owned, rather than rented, their home. The wealthiest enclave in Columbia was the area northeast of Benedict. The difference between black and mulatto was slight – blacks had a home ownership rate of 4%, mulattos 6%. Columbia did not present a particularly favorable economic climate for either group.

The same situation becomes clear when we examine occupations. A quarter of those employed (mostly men) worked as "laborers." Another 20% worked as "servants" or "cooks" for white families. Nearly another quarter (all women) worked as laundresses or washerwomen. Thus, nearly 70% of all African Americans in Columbia worked in menial occupations with low pay and long hours (although we acknowledge that laundresses had the ability to work from home). Columbia's African American professional community, consisting of doctors, dentists, ministers, and teachers, was small, accounting for just under 5% of the total.



Figure 20. African American funeral in Columbia. Although the location is uncertain, the setting would have been consistent with activities at Randolph during the 1930s. Minnie Walker Johnson Collection. Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

This work provides some exceptional opportunities for more detailed historical research, but it also reveals that Columbia has aggressively sought to destroy traditional African American neighborhoods and that relatively few historic sites remain. While conducted under the guise of “urban renewal” the efforts seem to have targeted traditional areas, regardless of condition.

The Story of Those Buried At Randolph

We have tried to tell the stories of a small number of those buried at Randolph. In spite of our efforts, we still know them only in terms of their jobs, their skin color, where they lived, how they died. Very few left behind photographs; we don’t know their voices, their laughs. We don’t know their aspirations, hopes,

or dreams. We can’t truly understand the pain – or pleasure – of their lives. We don’t know their acts of heroism or villainy.

Nevertheless, we have given them at least a muted voice – much more than they had before. They have become more than just names on a ledger. In some small degree they have become human beings. Their lives, at least in some measure, have been remembered.

They have also revealed to us the incredible mix of individuals whose final resting place is Randolph. While it would be easy to view the cemetery – as many have – as the burial

grounds of legislators, that would ignore the brick workers, the domestics, the washerwomen, the laborers who are also buried side by side at Randolph. The cemetery has not only these representatives of the working class, but also many solidly middle class Columbia blacks – barbers, tradesmen, teachers, ministers, seamstresses, and home makers. Among them are Columbia’s upper crust of African American society – the physicians, college presidents, business owners. We see both blacks and mulattos intermingled in the cemetery.

While additional research may reveal class distinctions in burial plots, the cemetery itself appears to have been open to – and used by – a broad range of Columbia’s black community prior to the Second World War. We may not fully understand pricing and how

decisions were made concerning burial here, at Lower Cemetery, Douglas Cemetery or one of the newer cemeteries (such as Palmetto), but we do have a clearer vision of the diversity of Randolph.

Although mulattos, in 1910, comprised about 35% of Columbia's population, they account for 49% of the burials at Randolph. Likewise, while African American home ownership in Columbia were barely 5%, nearly 39% of the adults buried at Randolph owned their home.

These two results alone are suggestive of Randolph catering to the wealthy - to the top 10% in the words of DuBois. In spite of this, fully 52% of those buried at Randolph were hucksters, seamstresses, drivers, laborers, porters, cooks, maids, and domestics. In our sample we have only one physician, one teacher, one college professor, and two ministers.

This suggests that many of the less well off African Americans in Columbia sought to be buried at Randolph. For those with limited incomes it may be that beneficial societies assisted - suggesting another unexamined role of Randolph in Columbia's African American society.

In our sample there was not a single politician or legislator, yet there was considerable diversity and, more importantly, an exceptional story of human striving. It was the common folks that comprise the largest proportion of those buried in Randolph and contribute to the richest tapestry of African American life in Columbia.

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A SMALL SAMPLE OF BURIALS AT RANDOLPH CEMETERY

Cemetery Preservation Plans

Historical Research

**Identification of Grave Locations
and Mapping**

Condition Assessments

Treatment of Stone and Ironwork



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