The Camden African-American Heritage Project

Camden, South Carolina

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Prepared by
Lindsay Crawford, Ashley Guinn,
McKenzie Kubly, Lindsay Maybin
Patricia Shandor, Santi Thompson,
and Louis Venters

Public History Program
University of South Carolina
Columbia, SC 29208

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We thank all who assisted us in this project but note that none of these individuals or organizations is responsible for the conclusions and historical interpretations in this report.

Executive Summary

This report is divided into six sections that present a history of African Americans in Camden, South Carolina from the perspective of historic preservation. The first three sections constitute the historical narrative, organized into three general time periods: the colonial period through the Civil War, emancipation and Reconstruction through the civil rights movement, and a short section on the recent past since about 1970. Within each of these sections, the report assesses political participation, economic life, the impact of war, education, religion, and the built environment. Section four offers a set of recommendations for how the information in this report can be used to encourage public education about black Camden and preservation of the city's African-American historic resources. The primary and secondary sources consulted in this study are listed in the bibliography in section five. The appendix in section six contains a map and database of black Camden in 1941, based on the treasure trove of information in the city directory of that year.

Origins of the Project and Methodology

It sometimes seems as if history stops about 1781 in Camden. The state tourism board promotes Camden as part of "The Olde English District," a label it coined to commemorate early English settlement of this inland region and the many battles of the American Revolution that were fought there. Even a casual visitor driving into this city of almost 7,000 residents from Interstate 20 and onto Highway 521 cannot help but discover the Revolutionary War Park, a large and picturesque historic site on the southern outskirts that recalls a patriot military defeat and the subsequent occupation of Camden in 1780-81 by British troops under Lord Cornwallis. The battle actually took place several miles away, and the house that dominates the bucolic setting is a reconstruction, but the park offers a vivid and memorable introduction to Camden and its history.

Of course, it comes as no surprise that the clock really didn't stop 225 years ago in Camden. What is surprising to many visitors, though, is the significant number of African Americans who have lived in and around Camden for most of its history. The surrounding county had a majority black population throughout the nineteenth century and during much of the twentieth century. Similarly, in the city of Camden itself, African Americans were a majority of inhabitants from the end of the Civil War through World War I. Despite this long-time demographic dominance, however, black Camden has been largely ignored over the years in most published accounts of local history. Few stories of African-American life have found their way into the history books and, as a consequence, knowledge of local African-American history is not widespread in Camden, among either black or white residents.

This report represents a preliminary effort to understand the history of black Camden. The immediate impetus for exploring the subject was a civic improvement project proposed for an historically African-American neighborhood. The project required review by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History and, as part of the review, staff members at the State Historic Preservation Office encouraged the community to contact the Public History Program at the University of South Carolina. In consultations among Clarence Mahoney of the Camden Historic Landmarks Commission, Richard Sidebottom of the State Historic Preservation Office, and Robert Weyeneth of the USC Public History Program, it was agreed that the Camden African-American Heritage Project would be the focus of Dr. Weyeneth's Historic Preservation Practicum during the Spring Semester 2006. The City of Camden generously offered to defray project expenses. Seven graduate students in the Department of History participated in the course: Lindsay Crawford, Ashley Guinn, McKenzie Kubly, Lindsay Maybin, Patricia Shandor, Santi Thompson, and Louis Venters.

Writing a history of African Americans in Camden from the colonial period to the present represented an enormous task for a small class in the short time-frame of one semester. The class began by identifying two major turning points long recognized as pivotal within the national African-American experience: (1) emancipation and Reconstruction and (2) the modern civil rights movement, sometimes called the second Reconstruction. For the period prior to

Reconstruction and for the period that extended from Reconstruction through Jim Crow segregation and civil rights, the class decided to take a topical approach, singling out for their research the subjects of political participation, economic life, the impact of war, education, religion, and the built environment. Recognizing that African-American history has not received the attention it deserved in most written sources about Camden, class members conducted a set of oral interviews between January and March 2006. Municipal officials, community leaders, and the interviewees themselves were generous in supplying the names of long-time residents who could speak from personal experience about local history. Each class member participated in multiple oral interviews, each conducted library and archival research, and each had responsibility for specific sections of the report. The entire class read and commented on all sections of the report. It was a team project in the best sense.

Early on, the class identified the Camden city directory of 1941 as a major source of historical information about black Camden. With its listings of residents, home addresses, family members, occupations, and other information, the directory offered a "snapshot" of the urban geography and economic livelihoods of inhabitants in a small southern community on the eve of World War II. Particularly promising for historians writing about the African-American experience, the 1941 directory identified African-American residents and black-owned businesses with the notation "c" for "colored." (By the time the next city directory was published, in 1961, the civil rights movement had essentially desegregated the directory: no racial notations appeared in its pages.) One of the most time-consuming tasks during the research phase – and potentially one of the most valuable contributions of this report – was the gathering of this data into an electronic database and, from there, its translation into several important formats and products. In the appendix is a hard-copy spreadsheet that organizes the historical information from the city directory into such categories as names of residents, spouses, and heads of household; their street address; the number of children at the address; occupations and employers; and whether the property is rented or owned. This data has then been plotted spatially to create a set of Geographic Information System (GIS) layers depicting locations and concentrations of businesses, churches, and residential areas, as can be seen on the maps included in the report.

The compendium of historical information in the appendix, as well as the historical narrative of the initial three sections of the report, represent only a first step in encouraging popular understanding of the African-American experience in Camden. As suggested in the list of recommendations, there are a number of steps that can be taken next to communicate Camden's African-American history to a broad general audience of residents and visitors alike through historic preservation and heritage education.

I. African Americans in Camden: The Colonial Period through the Civil War

A. Political Participation

It may at first seem counterintuitive to speak of African-American political participation in Camden before Emancipation, when the vast majority of black people in Camden and Kershaw District were the property of other human beings. How could enslaved people, denied basic human and civil rights, be political actors? Even the small numbers of free people of color, while clearly not owned by a master, lived in a precarious world between slavery and freedom that excluded them from citizenship. What, then, constitutes antebellum black politics? Evidence from across the slaveholding South indicates that enslaved Africans tended to exploit every opportunity they had to make choices, to improve their living conditions, and to build communities. Such actions had profound political significance, moderating to some degree a brutally oppressive system and endowing African Americans with communal identities and structures that they carried forward into the post-Civil War world.[1]

The Roots of Black Politics

Within the confines of an oppressive system, slaves sought a variety of means to shape their collective lives. They often went to great lengths to preserve marriages and families. When they were not able to do so, they created extensive networks of "fictive kin," people who were not physically related but who took on familial responsibility for each other. Such familial relationships were often the basis of slaves' attempts to influence their working conditions. This is most clearly evident in the development of the family-based "task system" of labor and of extensive family vegetable gardens along the South Carolina coast; almost everywhere, however, slaves with special skills sought to make money for themselves and their families through hiring out. Trade in vegetables and handicrafts, both among slaves and between slaves and whites, could also be a source of cash, enabling some slaves to accumulate personal property.

Slaves developed community institutions, often kept carefully out of the sight of their masters. Most important in this regard were religious organizations, the informal slave churches and "hush arbors" that offered spiritual nourishment, collective identity, and an arena for the emergence of leaders within the slave community. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Christianity of the slaves had messianic and millennialist overtones: they expected a divine intervention that would overturn an unjust social order, punish their oppressors, and lead them into freedom.[2] Indeed, after the Civil War churches emerged as the centers of black community life and political organization.[3]

For a small minority of particularly thrifty or lucky slaves, accumulation of wealth through trade enabled them to purchase their own freedom. By the beginning of the Civil War,

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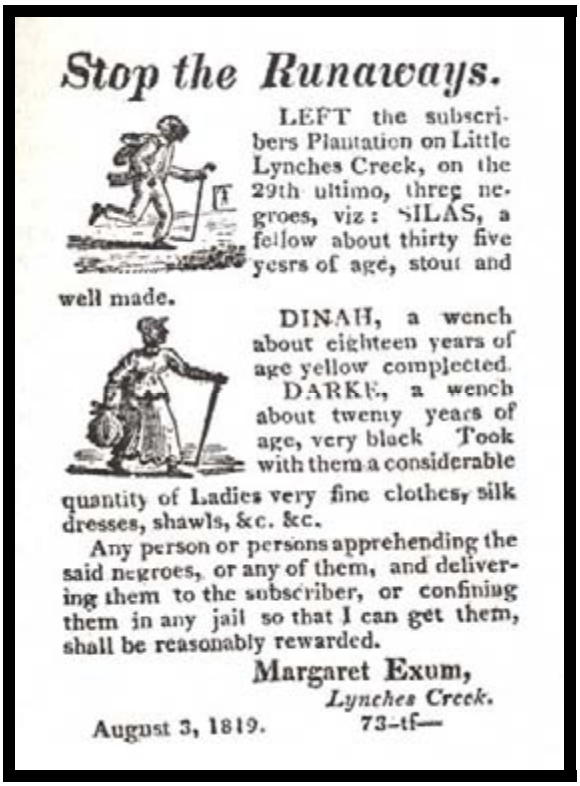
[1] For recent scholarship that broadens the concept of black political participation, see especially Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).
[2] Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet*, 47.
[3] Among the most influential works on slave life and communities are Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage, 1974); Charles Joyner, *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); and Hahn, "Of Chains and Threads," in *A Nation under Our Feet*.

there were some two hundred free people of color in Kershaw District out of a total black population of over 8,000.[4] While a few slaves were able to buy freedom, others assessed their own circumstances and chose the risk of running away. Often those who ran away were younger people without children or other strong family ties. The Camden and Charleston newspapers frequently included notices placed by owners about their runaway slaves.[5] In the eighteenth century, the main destination for slaves from coastal South Carolina was Spanish Florida, which promised freedom for slaves who escaped from the British colonies. In the Camden area, runaways were more likely to head for the colony's frontiers, where they joined outlaw bands or formed small settlements.[6] In late 1864, during the confusion of the Civil War, Lucy, a young slave of John M. DeSaussure of Camden, made her escape to Charleston where she passed herself off as a free person.[7]



Stop the Runaways.

LEFT the subscribers Plantation on Little Lynches Creek, on the 29th ultimo, three negroes, viz: SILAS, a fellow about thirty five yesrs of age, stout and well made.

DINAH, a wench about eighteen years of age yellow complected.

DARKE, a wench about twenty years of age, very black. Took with them a considerable quantity of Ladies very fine clothes, silk dresses, shawls, &c. &c.

Any person or persons apprehending the said negroes, or any of them, and delivering them to the subscriber, or confining them in any jail so that I can get them, shall be reasonably rewarded.

Margaret Exum,
Lynches Creek.

August 3, 1819. 73-tf—

Figure 1. *Camden Gazette Notice, 1819*

Notice for runaway slaves running in the *Camden Gazette*. It was typical for owners to advertise rewards for runaway slaves in local papers in hopes that it would lead to their capture.

Whether an enslaved person gained his freedom through purchase or running away, an additional option was to leave the country altogether. Before the Civil War, thousands of free people of color emigrated from America to Africa. One of them was James Churchill Vaughan,

[4] Historic Property Associates Incorporated, *Historic Resources Survey of Camden, South Carolina*, prepared for City of Camden Landmarks Commission and South Carolina Department of Archives and History (Camden, SC: privately printed, 1996), 13.
[5] See, for example, Thomas J. Kirkland and Robert M. Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part Two, Nineteenth Century* (Columbia, SC: The State Company: 1926), 191.
[6] Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 72.
[7] W. S. Frazer to J. M. DeSaussure, 3 January 1865, DeSaussure Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

born in Camden in 1828 to a mother about whom little is known and a father recently freed by his late master's will. Vaughan emigrated to Liberia as a young man, about 1848. From there he went with a party of Baptist missionaries to Nigeria, where he married a local woman, prospered in the carpentry and hardware business, and supported the mission work.[8]

Rebellion

Perhaps the most extreme form of resistance to enslavement was violence, ranging from the torching of farm buildings and the murder of individual masters to collective armed rebellion. From the early eighteenth century until the Civil War, groups of slaves and free people of color in South Carolina planned and attempted numerous collective uprisings. Most were betrayed by other slaves or discovered by whites, and the few revolts that moved past the planning stages were not strong or well organized enough to overthrow the slaveholding regime; yet masters and slaves alike knew the potential for large-scale violence.

The timing and organization of planned and attempted uprisings indicated that throughout the colonial and antebellum periods, South Carolina slaves maintained extensive networks of communication that enabled them to keep abreast of important social and political currents in white South Carolina and abroad.[9] In 1720, when South Carolina's propertied elite had just overthrown the proprietary government and the colony was threatened by attack from the Waccamaw Indians and the Spanish, a slave betrayed a plot by his fellows to destroy plantations and attack Charleston.[10] The largest slave uprising in British North America took place in South Carolina in 1739, when the white population was weakened by successive outbreaks of disease and again threatened by war with Spain. Preceded by an upsurge in runaways, the Stono Rebellion began on September 9 when a group of slaves took up arms at the Stono River south of Charleston. With shouts of "Liberty!" they marched towards the freedom of Spanish Florida, gaining supporters and killing twenty to twenty-five whites along the way. Pursued by whites on horseback, most of the approximately one hundred insurgents were killed or captured within a day, but some eluded capture for months. The next year, another revolt followed.[11] In response to the violence, the South Carolina legislature passed a new highly restrictive slave code.[12] Before and after the Revolutionary War, news of similar uprisings from New York to the West Indies fueled the fears of white South Carolinians and likely provided encouragement to other groups of slaves who were contemplating violence. In 1793, South Carolina whites were horrified when slaves in the Caribbean sugar colony of St. Domingue seized on the egalitarian rhetoric of the American and French revolutions and successfully overthrew their French masters. In 1805, whites uncovered an insurrectionary plot in Columbia.[13]

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[8] "Vaughan Family." Located in "Vaughan Family Folder," Vertical Files, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.
[9] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 73-4.
[10] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 110.
[11] The most comprehensive work on the Stono Rebellion is Mark M. Smith, ed., *Stono: Documenting and Interpreting a Southern Slave Revolt* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005).
[12] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 76-7.
[13] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 328.

In the summer of 1816, a group of slaves in Camden planned their own uprising.[14] They planned to seize weapons at the unguarded arsenal in the heart of town on the fourth of July turn them on the whites, most of whom they knew would be inebriated at Independence Day celebrations, and make their escape. Contemporary accounts from white Camden indicated that the object of the plot was to destroy the town, murder all the white male inhabitants, and violate the white women. Scipio, a slave of Colonel James Chesnut, warned his master of the plot in mid-June. The white authorities in the town conducted a quiet investigation until they had enough evidence to arrest and try those they believed responsible for the plot. On 2 July a posse of young men arrested the suspects, and the town council met to question them. Beginning on 3 July and continuing for two weeks, a special court composed of two justices of the peace and five landowners tried the cases of fourteen slaves. Six were found guilty, sentenced to death, and hanged in front of the town jail. One slave, Big Frank, was found guilty but sentenced to one year in irons in solitary confinement. Another slave, Stephen, was found guilty and sentenced to death, but, curiously, he was set free after all the others had been executed. Nine others were found not guilty and released to their owners.[15] Scipio was rewarded for his service in betraying the plot; an 1817 act of the General Assembly gave him freedom and a lifetime allowance of fifty dollars a year.[16]

Little is known of the condemned six except for their names and those of their owners, all prominent Camden citizens. Ned belonged to Sarah Martin, the elderly widow of a Revolutionary doctor. Cameron and Isaac were the property of another widow, Sarah Lang. Her son Thomas Lang, a prominent planter, owned Jack. Thomas Lang's father-in-law, Duncan McRae, owned Spottswood. March belonged to Chapman Levy, a lawyer and legislator. All but one of the conspirators were hanged on 5 July; Ned's sentence was carried out on 12 July. The *Camden Gazette* reported that "those who were most active in the conspiracy occupied a respectable stand in one of the churches, several were professors [of Christianity] and one a class leader."[17] Significantly, at least two of the convicted plotters were literate. Another contemporary account said:

> Two brothers engaged in this rebellion could read and write, and were hitherto of unexceptional characters. They were religious, and had always been regarded in the light of faithful servants. A few appeared to have been actuated solely by the lust of plunder, but most of them by wild and frantic ideas of the rights of man, and the misconceived injunctions and examples of Holy Writ.[18]

Like the slave insurrectionists in St. Domingue and elsewhere, the Camden plotters appear to

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[14] The timing of the Camden incident seems to support the contention that slaves planned insurrections when their masters were most vulnerable. In the summer of 1816, a particularly severe outbreak of malaria struck Camden, killing many white inhabitants and weakening more. A contemporary account of the Camden plot suggests that the proposed date was moved forward to early July because "there was a scarcity of provisions—that the crops not yet made would be lost in the confusion that would ensue, and that famine would accomplish what force might not be able to effect." Francis Deliesseline, quoted in L. Glen Inabinet, "'The July Fourth Incident' of 1816: An Insurrection Plotted by Slaves in Camden, South Carolina." In *South Carolina Legal History: Proceedings of the Reynolds Conference, University of South Carolina, December 2-3, 1977*, ed. Herbert A. Johnson (Columbia: USC Southern Studies Program, 1980), 212.
[15] Inabinet, "The July Fourth Incident," 215.
[16] Inabinet, "The July Fourth Incident," 220.
[17] *The Camden Gazette*, Camden, 18 July 1816, quoted Inabinet, "The July Fourth Incident," 217.
[18] Francis Deliesseline, quoted in Inabinet, "The July Fourth Incident," 218.

have imbibed the "wild and frantic ideas of the rights of man" of the American and French revolutions, as well as the liberatory teachings of the Bible. At least one of the leaders of the plot, Isaac, was a drummer for the local militia company. He had accompanied the militiamen to Charleston in 1814 when the city was under threat of British attack, and likely had at least some familiarity with weapons.[19]

The attempted insurrection of July 1816 had a profound effect on blacks and whites in Camden and throughout South Carolina. Later in 1816, whites uncovered another plot on the Ashepoo River south of Charleston. In response to the two attempted rebellions, the state legislature passed a law forbidding the importation of slaves from other states. It was soon repealed as unenforceable, but in its stead was passed a stronger patrol law designed to keep watch over the slave population.[20] In 1817, the General Assembly increased the budget for repairs and security at Camden's arsenal.[21] Whites also meted out harsher punishments on runaway slaves. In late July 1816, a Kershaw District court sentenced a runaway to be taken before the public gallows, be branded on the cheeks and the forehead, and have half of each ear cut off.[22] An 1819 notice in the *Camden Gazette* informed readers that a man and two young women had escaped from Margaret Exum's plantation at Lynches Creek near Camden, taking with them "a considerable quantity of Ladies very fine clothes, silk dresses, shawls, &c." The accompanying illustration included in the background a small image of a body hanging from the gallows.[23] The Camden attempt, along with the one on the Ashepoo, may have encouraged other slaves to rebel or run away. In July 1822, whites uncovered a massive plot in Charleston. A free person of color, Denmark Vesey, was convicted as the ringleader. He and thirty-four others were sentenced to death, with another thirty-seven found guilty and ordered sold out of state.[24] In 1828, perhaps remembering Isaac's role in the 1816 plot, Kershaw District whites petitioned the state House of Representatives to forbid slaves and free people of color from serving as musicians in the militia.[25]

Circumscribed as they were by the system of slavery, people of African descent in South Carolina made efforts at individual and collective self-determination ranging from the preservation of family ties to revolt. The community structures built during slavery were the foundation of formal political participation after the Civil War.

Associated Sites

The site of the Camden arsenal, Church Street between Rutledge and York Streets. Built by slave labor, the arsenal was the focus of the planned 1816 slave insurrection.

The site of the courthouse and city jail, currently the site of the Robert Mills courthouse (1827).

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[19] Inabinet, "The July Fourth Incident," 218.
[20] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 328.
[21] Inabinet, "The July Fourth Incident," 219.
[22] Inabinet, "The July Fourth Incident," 219.
[23] Quoted in Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, 191.
[24] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 328. For a reappraisal of the Vesey plot, see Albert J. von Frank, "Remember Denmark Vesey." In *Reviews in American History* 29.1 (2001), 40-48.
[25] Inabinet, "The July Fourth Incident," 218.

The accused 1816 insurrectionists were held in the jail and tried in the original courthouse. The death sentences were carried out at the gallows on the grounds of the jail.

B. Economic Life

Slavery in Camden

During the colonial years and continuing up to the Civil War, slavery was a vital institution not only in the South and the state of South Carolina, but also in the town of Camden. While defining the economic livelihoods of plantation owners in Camden, it also impacted the overall experience of blacks living under this system of oppression. Prior to the Revolutionary War, Camden was one of the most developed plantation areas in the colony's interior. By 1787, there were 1,025 slaves inhabiting Camden, and by 1830, this number had jumped to 8,333. This large number of slaves was necessary for large-scale cotton production, which gained popularity with farmers in the decades following the Revolutionary War. In Camden, "the wealthiest one-fifth of the white population owned an average of twenty four slaves;" however, one-half of Camden's taxpayers owned no slaves at all.[26] Throughout South Carolina, some free blacks even owned slaves, but these black slaveholders were a small minority.[27]

While evidence suggests that slaves planted cotton as early as 1797, other crops proved just as successful. Masters put their slaves to work in the fields surrounding Camden planting indigo, wheat, corn, and tobacco; however, in the early years of the nineteenth century, cotton replaced indigo as the major cash crop in the area. Slaves also tended more subsistence-based crops such as potatoes, onions, turnips, pumpkins, wheat, and even rye. Aside from tending crops on farms or plantations, slaves also tended livestock. Evidence suggests that some Camden planters owned cows, pigs, and chickens as early as 1783.[28] Some slaves, most often women, worked in their master's homes cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, serving food, and nursing the master's children.[29]

Between 1783 and the coming of the Civil War, the profits from planting corn, indigo, wheat, tobacco, and especially cotton led to the creation of a planter elite surrounding Camden. Many of these planters owned town homes in addition to their plantation homes.[30] While living in these town homes, slave owners would have brought at least some slaves along to perform domestic duties.

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[26] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 3, 6, and 9.

[27] According to the 1810 Census, Elijah Bass, was the only free person of color who owned slaves; he owned two. For a brief period of time Bonds Conway owned one slave, a female who was over the age of forty-five. By 1830 Bass was once again the only free person of color listed as owning slaves. U. S. Bureau of the Census, *The Third Federal Census: 1810, Kershaw County, South Carolina* (Camden, SC: Kershaw County Historical Society, 1972), 23; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *The Fourth Federal Census: 1820, Kershaw County, South Carolina* (Camden, SC: Kershaw County Historical Society, 1973), 32; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, *The Fifth Federal Census: 1830, Kershaw County, South Carolina* (Camden,SC: Kershaw County Historical Society, 1994). See also Asa Gordon, *Sketches of Negro Life and History in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1929), 30.

[28] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 9.

[29] Claude H. Nolen, *African American Southerners in Slavery, Civil War and Reconstruction* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2001), 75-76. and Gordon, *Sketches of Negro Life*, 5.

[30] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 9.

In addition to their regular labor, owners often hired their slaves out to whites. They went to work performing various tasks including fieldwork, construction, wood chopping, procuring turpentine, laboring on railroads, and working in factories. In town, they were hired to work as maids, porters, messengers, and cooks. Whites employed these slaves for various lengths of time. Sometimes they hired them by the day, the month, or even the year. Those employing slaves often provided food, clothing, shelter, and medical care if needed.[31] In most cases, a large portion of the money earned by these slaves went to their masters; however, sometimes slaves made money for themselves through this practice.[32] While there is no direct evidence of whites hiring slaves from Camden, the practice was common throughout the South. In Camden, several slaves worked at DeKalb Factory, a cotton mill. The factory, established in 1838, stood at the west end of the dam on Factory Pond until fire destroyed it just before the Civil War. Until around 1849, DeKalb Factory used blacks as their primary operatives except in the weaving department where white women worked. It is believed that the company often preferred black laborers. In 1850, DeKalb Factory let go all but thirty of their black workers because white workers became easier to acquire than black workers. The thirty black workers they kept belonged to the factory. Therefore, DeKalb Factory not only made it practice to hire slaves, but they also owned their own slaves.[33]

Purchasing Freedom: Free People of Color

For slaves who retained some of their wages from hired labor, purchasing freedom became more of a reality. Occasionally slaves were able to save enough money with which to purchase their freedom and sometimes the freedom of loved ones.[34] Prior to 1820, manumissions of slaves were fairly common in Kershaw County.[35] While state law prohibited the freeing of slaves after 1820, except by an act of the legislature, the population of free blacks in Kershaw District continued to grow. In 1840, there were 250 free blacks throughout the district.[36] By 1850, the census revealed 100 free blacks living in Camden alone.[37] Additionally, in 1860, approximately 130 of 197 free blacks within Kershaw District lived in Camden.[38] Based upon this information it is likely that many of the free blacks in 1840 lived in Camden as well.

Some may find the number of free blacks in Camden surprising, but it is clear that the purchasing of freedom or outright manumission occurred throughout Kershaw District, particularly in Camden. Perhaps the most well known free black in Camden was Bonds Conway

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[31] John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* (Boston, MA: McGraw Hill, 2000), 134-135.
[32] Nolen, *African American Southerners in Slavery*, 62-63.
[33] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 14; and Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part Two*, 30-33.
[34] Nolen, *African American Southerners in Slavery*, 63.
[35] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part Two*, 192.
[36] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 6.
[37] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1850 U.S. Federal Census Kershaw District Camden, South Carolina*, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.
[38] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 7,13; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, *1860 U.S. Federal Census Kershaw District Camden, South Carolina*, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

who purchased his freedom on 17 December 1793.[39] Many believe Conway was the first black man to purchase his freedom in Kershaw District, although some Kershaw District historians claim there is no firm evidence to support this.[40] Records from the Kershaw County Court House indicated that Bonds Conway not only was allowed to travel around the area freely, but also was a businessman of sorts able to "hire himself, and be free of molestation of any person or persons."[41]

Bonds Conway made the most of his master allowing him to trade and conduct business. He made money selling ginger beer and gingerbread door to door, as well as offering his carpentry skills for sale.[42] With this money and the help of Zacariah Cantey, he purchased his freedom. The purchase papers show that Zachariah Cantey "purchased the within named Negro man, Bonds, with his own money, of Mr. Edwin Conway, and do relinquish any title or claim to him."[43]

Figure 2. *The Bonds Conway House, 811 Fair Street*
Originally sitting on York Street, the Bonds Conway House now serves as the Kershaw County Historical Society's headquarters.

Bonds Conway became a landowner as early at 1803, and by 1812, he had purchased one third of a block, in what was the "heart" of Camden, bounded today by York, Market, King and Lyttleton Streets. Eventually, he owned the entire block.[44] At the time he began purchasing

[39] Elsie Taylor-Goins and Catherine Taylor-McConnell, "Naudin-Dibble Family Selected South Carolina Historic Sites" (computer printout, Columbia, SC: 1995), 4.
[40] Kristy Eppley Rupon, "Man bought freedom, left legacy in Camden," *The State*, Columbia, 23 February 2004.
[41] Taylor-Goins and Taylor-McConnell, "Naudin-Dibble Family," 4.
[42] Sheila Riddick, "Sharing a Legacy," *The Chronicle-Independent*, Camden, 26 July 1989. Located in "Afro-Americans Kershaw County, SC 1980-1989," vertical file, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC; and Eric Velasco, "Freed Slave's Legacy Lives on in Descendents," *The State*, Columbia, 23 February 2000. Located In "Conway, Bonds 1763-1843," vertical file, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.
[43]Taylor-Goins and Taylor-McConnell, "Naudin-Dibble Family," 4.
[44]Riddick, "Sharing a Legacy"; and Taylor-Goins and Taylor-McConnell, "Naudin-Dibble Family," 5.

land, free blacks comprised less than one percent of the district's population.[45] As a skilled carpenter, he built his own house, which is presently located at 811 Fair Street. Throughout his life, Bonds Conway married three times and had eleven children. Eight of these children lived to adulthood.[46] When he died in 1843, Conway had his property divided into four parcels, each containing a house, and given to four of his eight surviving children.[47] Bonds Conway and his descendants appear as significant individuals in Camden's history because they left behind more documentation than other free blacks who lived in Kershaw District.

While Conway and his descendants experienced lives considerably less restricted, they were merely an exception to the "rule" during the antebellum period. During this time many more blacks remained enslaved than lived free. By 1860, there were 7,841 slaves in Kershaw District but only 197 free blacks.[48]

Thousands of slaves within Kershaw District remained enslaved during the antebellum period. Slavery controlled their lives. While free blacks had their freedom, their economic lives were limited because of racial stigmas, but those that persevered created the foundations for a successful business community that arrived in the twentieth century.

Associated Sites

The Bonds Conway House, 811 Fair Street. A small cottage with clapboard is typical of houses built in the early nineteenth century. It is believed to have been built by Bonds Conway circa 1810-1820 and sat sideways on the lot much like the houses of Charleston. This house is a prime example of the carpentry and architectural skills of this former slave.[49]

C. The Impact of War

Slave and free black struggles for individual rights took physical, violent forms in addition to the political and economic strategies mentioned previously in sections A and B. American involvement in various wars presented enslaved Africans with the opportunity to fight for their own advancement – socially, politically, and economically – within America. Many slaves hoped that the valor, courage, and sacrifice they showed during battle would translate directly into a better life for other members of their community. In particular, slaves and free blacks participating in the Revolutionary War and the Civil War worked towards the abolition of slavery and the recognition of personal freedoms.

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[45]Velasco, "Freed Slave's Legacy."
[46]Taylor-Goins and Taylor-McConnell, "Naudin-Dibble Family," 5. This house originally sat at 411 York Street, but when the Kershaw County Historical Society purchased it in 1977 they moved it to its present location. The historical society received a matching grant from the Department of the Interior the following year to restore the house.[46]
[47]Velasco, "Freed Slave's Legacy."
[48] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 7. Figures for Camden were not widely available, therefore figures for Kershaw District were used. This pattern likely existed in Camden.
[49]Taylor-Goins and Taylor-McConnell, "Naudin-Dibble Family," 4.

Fighting for Freedom: The Revolutionary War

In the early morning hours of 16 August 1780, Levi, a soldier fighting for American independence, found himself in the most unfortunate of situations. A Frenchman of African descent, in addition to a soldier, Levi stood in the midst of one the largest battles of the Revolutionary War: the Battle of Camden. Almost as soon as the battle began, the young man witnessed his fellow white soldiers break from their ranks and retreat from British forces. Under the command of General Charles Cornwallis, British forces chased after soldiers and officers. Slaughter ensued. Nearly 900 of Levi's fellow soldiers died at Sanders Creek and another 1000 became prisoners of war. However, Levi survived – and so did his unique legacy. [50]

Unlike Levi, most slaves and free blacks in South Carolina found participating in the Revolutionary War to be far different than the white and foreign soldiers who participated in the conflict. The start of the Revolutionary War saw the widespread use of slave labor on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Because convention forced African slaves to earn their freedom either by purchasing it themselves or by receiving it through the choice of their masters, slaves mobilized around alternative methods of obtaining freedom whenever the chance presented itself. Impending war between the American colonies and Britain offered slaves this opportunity. This was especially true for slaves living in the colony of South Carolina.[51]

While African slaves willingly volunteered for military service, the white power base of the American colonies had its reservations: many white men in the south rejected the idea of allowing slaves to fight for their own political freedom. Before September 1775, most of the North accepted the influx of slave soldiers. However, South Carolina and Georgia whites made strong protests against allowing their property to participate so freely in combat.[52] Southern white colonists also objected to slave participation in battle because they feared that slaves with army training would lead open revolt against slavery, freeing slaves and ending the plantation economy of the South.[53] Consequently, southern colonies not only stopped recruiting slaves into militias well before the start of the Revolution but also prohibited free or enslaved blacks from being able to own or use weapons.[54] Expressing their worries of slave insurrection and revolution, southern representatives lobbied other members of the Continental Congress. The South created a consensus in the Congress to remove any slave and free blacks, who enlisted after 1776, from fighting in the national army.[55]

Even though the opportunities for slaves to prove themselves on the battlefield became increasingly scarce as opposition to their participation increased, they still played important, peripheral roles in the Revolutionary War. Both white colonists and British officers forced

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[50] Thomas J. Kirkland and Robert M. Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part One, Eighteenth Century* (Columbia, SC: The State Company, 1926), 146, 169 – 170, 179 – 180. Kirkland and Kennedy acknowledged that this battle was also known as "The Battle of Sanders Creek" and "The Battle of Gum Swamp" because the fighting occurred near Sanders Creek, eleven miles outside of the city limits.
[51] Gordon, *Sketches of Negro Life*, 39.
[52] M. Foster Farley, "The South Carolina Negro in the American Revolution, 1775 – 1783," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 79 (1978): 78 – 79.
[53] William E. Alt and Betty L. Alt, *Black Soldiers, White Wars* (Westport, CT: Praeger Press, 2002), 17.
[54] Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 17.
[55] Farley, "The South Carolina Negro," 78 – 79.

slaves to serve in some capacity during the war. Slaves in South Carolina found jobs assisting white soldiers on both sides of the Revolutionary War. In the army, many slaves constructed fortifications, roads, and bridges important for strategic positioning in battles and defense.[56] For example, slave carpenters and laborers from Camden built fortifications to protect the city from British conquest in 1780.[57] Other slaves in the region performed important tasks. Extinguishing fires, they also acted as emergency agencies during battles and raids. Slaves in South Carolina were skilled at finding lead from local churches and other buildings throughout the state and using the metals to supply the military with ammunition and weapons.[58] In the navy, slaves from South Carolina found themselves just as close to warfare. Slaves acted as oarsmen in naval ships and often worked in the shipyards and on the docks. In addition to laboring, slaves acted as messengers and even spies for both sides during the war. Colonists and British forces used slaves not only as laborers but also as property. As the war neared a conclusion, slaves in South Carolina and other colonies became bounty for both sides; officers, depleted of funds and resources, offered slaves to newly enlisted and re-enlisted soldiers as a signing bonus.[59]

Despite their efforts as laborers, spies, and other important workers, slaves were not able to translate their participation in the Revolutionary War to direct political, social, and economic freedom in the newly established United States. The story of Levi, a Frenchman of African descent, illuminates the abilities of slaves and foreign blacks to obtain free status for themselves after the Revolutionary War. Breaking with the convention of the time, Levi fought along side his French and American comrades. Unlike many of his fellow soldiers who died in the Battle of Camden, Levi survived and remained in the newly formed country – living in the Camden district with some of the same soldiers he fought alongside. However, his social, political, and economic status within society mirrored other slaves and free blacks, who lived in Camden at the time. Despite the courage and valor he showed in fighting, Levi became a servant in the Whittaker household.[60] Even though Levi's efforts failed to produce liberty for slaves, the battle for freedom was not over. A future generation of slaves and free blacks would have another opportunity to fight for their freedom.

Fighting for Freedom: The Civil War

Through their participation in the Civil War, slaves finally achieved the legal freedom they actively pursued. While the Revolutionary War focused on the freedom of the colonies from British control, the Civil War emphasized the status of slaves in American economic systems and society.

While slaves and free blacks held a vested interest in the Civil War, they found entering the war for either side to be difficult and delayed. Considerations for enlisting black soldiers did not occur until the war depleted the white, male population on both sides. The Confederate government ignored the slave population as a potential fighting force until the final year of the

[56] Farley, "The South Carolina Negro," 78.
[57] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part One*, 128 – 129.
[58] Gordon, *Sketches of Negro Life*, 39.
[59] Farley, "The South Carolina Negro," 82, 85.
[60] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part One*, 179 – 180.

war and, even then, the Confederates only allowed slaves onto the battlefield because it was absolutely necessary.[61] Fortunately for slaves, their service time was virtually non-existent: Robert E. Lee surrendered before the South forced the slaves to fight against their own future freedom. In contrast to Confederate policy, Union forces utilized fugitive and captured slaves in their ranks well before the end of the war. Looking for replacements from casualties and injuries, Union generals like General Hunter openly admitted slaves, who volunteered to fight for the United States and its vision of freedom for slaves.[62]

Much like the Revolutionary War, the Civil War created opportunities for slaves and free blacks in many of the peripheral jobs that did not involve direct combat with the opposition. Despite their willingness to fight, slaves and free blacks found that the white-controlled governments relegated them to the background. During the first two years of the war, slaves and free blacks served as laborers and camp attendants in both the North and South. Throughout the rest of the war, Confederate forces continually utilized slaves in supporting roles. Occasionally in moments of urgency, slaves close to fighting found themselves on the battlefield. Union forces, in addition to using slaves initially as general workers, also employed ex-slaves as cooks in the camps and sailors in the navy.[63] Camden slaves in particular shared some of these peripheral roles with Union troops. Entering Camden to raid houses for jewelry and other valuables, northern troops utilized slaves both to make meals for them and to act as guides in order for Union soldiers to find particular homes in the city. It was even rumored that with their pockets stuffed and their hands full, northern troops abandoned the spoils they could not carry and gave the items to Camden slaves as payment for their years of laboring without compensation.[64]

While the accuracy of the looting was in doubt, the efforts of slaves and free blacks in the war were not. As the war progressed, both the fighting roles and the peripheral roles of blacks presented slaves with the opportunity to fight for freedom from discrimination and economic exploitation. With the surrender of the Confederacy, slaves slowly gained new identities in American society: legislation changed the status for many blacks, from slaves to African-American citizens.

D. Education

The education of slaves in South Carolina was always a shifting and sensitive issue in the colonial and antebellum periods. A slave's education lay in the hands of his or her master. They chose whether to teach slaves skills such as reading and writing. Some schools did appear, notably one in Charleston, whose main function was to educate slaves through religious teachings.[65] Many whites, however, feared that educating slaves, religiously based or otherwise, would lead to a general sense of unhappiness with their place in the southern world. In turn, this

[61] Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 33, 47.
[62] Gordon, *Sketches of Negro Life*, 49 – 51.
[63] Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 34, 35, 46.
[64] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part Two*, 167 – 168.
[65] Janet Duitsman Cornelius, *When I Can Read My Title Clear: Literacy, Slavery and Religion in the Antebellum South* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 17.

unhappiness could bring on the potential for violence as slaves attempted to gain their freedom. White fears increased as the population of slaves swelled.

Rumors of a slave rebellion led by literate slaves in Antigua in 1736 frightened many South Carolina planters. Whites viewed slave education with suspicion and doubt because of the connection in so many minds to shirking duty and violent revolts. The Stono Rebellion of 1739 confirmed the fears percolating in many planters' minds regarding the relationship between slave education and slave revolt. Stono caused many frightened planters to pass stringent laws curtailing slave activities, including education. One of the many restrictive laws stated that a fine was to be collected from "anyone who taught a slave to read and write English."[66]

In the following century after the Stono Rebellion, the debate on educating slaves continued in the legislature and on the plantation. One effort to start a "Negro School" failed in the state assembly. The assembly felt slave education was acceptable if the slaveholders should choose to do so with their slaves privately, state-sanctioned school however, was not.[67]

During the late eighteenth century, the South Carolina legislature also passed a law making it illegal for slaves to gather behind closed doors or at night. These restrictions kept slaves from church and/or educationally oriented activities. As a reaction against Nat Turner's 1831 Revolt in Virginia South Carolina again restricted slave activities in 1834 with the passage of some of the harshest laws in the southern states prohibiting literacy among slaves.[68]

With such oppressive laws in place prohibiting the education of slaves, it is somewhat surprising that twentieth-century interviews with former slaves reported that about five percent of the total interviewees said they learned to read and write while living as slaves. They came from all over the South and from a variety of backgrounds. Reconstruction era records also indicate that a number of literate freedmen and women were found during missionary trips. Stories circulated among the missionaries and the freedpeople about the "secret schools" and religious schools in operation before Reconstruction in which slaves learned to read.[69]

Camden shares in the legacy of the public prohibition and the secret education of slaves. Quakers figured prominently in the early roots of Camden, and it was the Quakers who first spoke to the benefit of literacy among slaves. Indeed, they understood it as a first step toward freedom.[70] There are few records in Camden today to answer the question of whether masters or religious schools educated slaves regularly. Mary Boykin Chesnut was one of the few recorded cases of a slave educator in Camden. She took up the education of her slaves intermittently through her life, at times organizing Sunday school for her slaves on Mulberry Plantation.[71] However, given its early Quaker influence and the stories and evidence of literacy among slaves in spite of the law, there is a good possibility that educated slaves lived in Camden before the end of the Civil War, in secret and in silence.

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[66] Cornelius, *When I Can Read My Title Clear*, 18.
[67] Cornelius, *When I Can Read My Title Clear*, 22.
[68] Cornelius, *When I Can Read My Title Clear*, 27, 33, 37.
[69] Cornelius, *When I Can Read My Title Clear*, 7, 10.
[70] Cornelius, *When I Can Read My Title Clear*, 18.
[71] Elisabeth Muhlenfeld, *Mary Boykin Chesnut: A Biography* (Baton Rouge: Lousiana State University Press, 1981), 51, 233.

E. Religion

In *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, Eugene D. Genovese argues, "For good reason the whites of the Old South tried to shape the religious life of their slaves, and the slaves overtly, covertly, and even intuitively fought to shape it themselves."[72] This statement characterizes the nature of black religion in Camden and throughout the South in the colonial and antebellum periods.

When African slaves first arrived in the American colonies, they retained their native religions. There were small numbers of Muslims and Catholics among these new slaves; however, the predominant religions were tribal ones.[73] Whether African slaves converted to Christianity in the New World or in Africa (as was the case for many Catholic slaves), they blended their African traditions with Christian ones. The continuing influx of slaves directly from Africa meant that African beliefs remained prevalent among South Carolina slaves. Slaves combined their new Christian faith with African worship traditions such as "prayer, song, and shout (a loud exultation accompanied by 'polyrhythmic hand-clapping and foot-stomping')."[74] Slaves also continued to believe in a variety of spirits: haunts, plat-eyes, and hags.[75]

Until the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there were no serious attempts to convert slaves to Christianity although some slave owners attempted to discourage African tribal practices. Especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, slave owners feared the government would free slaves who chose to convert and be baptized.[76] Because of these growing concerns, the South Carolina Assembly passed the following law:

> Since charity and the Christian religion, which we profess oblige us to wish well to the souls of all men, and that religion may not be made a pretense to alter any man's property and right, and that no person may neglect to baptize their Negroes or slaves or suffer them to be baptized for fear that thereby they should be manumitted … such slave or slaves [who] shall receive and profess the Christian religion … shall not thereby be manumitted or set free.[77]

In this legislation, the Assembly addressed slaveholders' concerns. The Assembly guaranteed that the government would not emancipate Christian slaves by clearly legislating that baptism and profession of Christianity would not be legal grounds for emancipation. Once assured that converted slaves would not be freed, some slave owners made individual efforts to convert their slaves.[78]

The Church of England made one of the first serious attempts to convert slaves. Its Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPGFP) came to South Carolina in 1702. In part the SPGFP focused on white colonists, but it also focused on slaves. With the

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[72] Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 162.
[73] Laurie Maffly-Kipp, "American Religion, Pt. I: To the Civil War," http://www.nhc.rtp/nc.us:8080/tserve/nineteen/nkeyinfo/aareligion.htm, (accessed 13 February 2006).
[74] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 185.
[75] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 185.
[76] Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 184.
[77] Marina Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 115.
[78] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 184.

SPGFP's help, Alexander Garden established a school for black males in Charleston, which would convert them to Christianity, teach them to read the Bible, and then send them back to their masters to convert their fellow slaves.[79] In this period, Baptists in the Pee Dee region were the only other religious group that made a concerted effort to convert slaves in South Carolina.[80]

Beginning in the 1740s, the First Great Awakening brought evangelical religion to the South.[81] Slaveholders were greatly concerned about the evangelical movement, which included the Baptist faith, Methodism, and New Light Presbyterianism, because they upset the social structure. Many slaveholders feared that evangelical religions would encourage slave insurrections. Throughout the Upper South including Virginia, many slaves first encountered Christianity in these revivals; however, the First Great Awakening had little impact on colonial South Carolina, which remained "a bulwark of conservatism."[82] Evangelical preachers had some success in colonial South Carolina, but they mostly faced the wrath of slaveholders. One convert in this period was Hugh Bryan, a Lowcountry planter. After his conversion, Bryan began to preach to slaves in St. Helena's parish using Exodus as his text. With the Stono Rebellion (1739) fresh in their minds, Lowcountry slaveholders were especially alarmed at Bryan's activities. The Commons House of Assembly confronted Bryan, who eventually claimed that Satan inspired his preaching. The reaction to Bryan helps explain why the First Great Awakening ultimately had little impact on colonial South Carolina.[83]

These religious patterns likely held true in colonial Camden as well. Colonial Camden had three religious groups: the Quakers, the Presbyterians, and the Anglicans.[84] The Quakers and the Presbyterians both had meeting houses; the Anglicans met in the Presbyterian meetinghouse with an Anglican itinerant, Charles Woodmason, serving them as early as 1768.[85] While Quakers took a strong antislavery stance, most Quaker groups did not make an effort to convert blacks to their religion. As a result, it is unlikely that any Camden slaves belonged to Camden's Quaker congregation.[86] If allowed to attend church, Christian slaves in Camden likely experienced segregated worship with either the Presbyterian or Anglican congregation.

Following the Revolution, evangelical sects, especially Methodism, swept throughout the new nation. The Second Great Awakening arrived in the upstate of South Carolina in 1802 and continued across the rest of the state.[87] For example, between 1802 and 1805, the number of

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[79] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 184.
[80] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 184.
[81] The First Great Awakening was a revival movement that swept the colonies, beginning in the 1730s and 1740s with Massachusetts preacher, Jonathan Edwards. English evangelist George Whitefield continued the movement, preaching at revivals throughout the colonies. Evangelical denominations such as the Baptist faith and Methodism began in the First Great Awakening. See "First Great Awakening," *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Great_Awakening (accessed 28 April 2006).
[82] Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 185.
[83] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 184.
[84] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 6.
[85] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 6.
[86] Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770-1810* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[87] The Second Great Awakening was a second revival movement that swept the United States in the early half of the nineteenth century. The Baptist faith and Methodism became the predominant Christian denominations in the United States during this period. See "Second Great Awakening," *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Great_Awakening (accessed 26 February 2006).

Methodists in South Carolina doubled.[88] Slaves converted to the Baptist and Methodist denominations in large numbers because these faiths appealed to them more than the Anglican/Episcopalian faith. First, itinerant preachers argued that all Christians were equal in the eyes of God. As a result, these early itinerants also strongly condemned slaveholding.[89] Second, Methodism allowed blacks to serve as lay preachers, stewards, and class leaders.[90] Finally, evangelical worship had several elements in common with traditional African worship practices. These elements included enthusiastic singing, clapping, dancing, and spirit-possession.[91] Evangelical religions, particularly Methodism, were more popular among blacks than whites. The membership figures of Camden's Baptist church and Camden's Methodist church both support this trend. This table shows that Camden's Methodist and Baptist churches both had much higher followings among blacks than whites.[92]

Table 1. *Nineteenth Century Membership Counts for Camden's Methodist and Baptist Churches*

Year	Baptist Membership	Year	Methodist Membership
1810	14 whites, 9 blacks	1812	93 whites, 518 blacks
1828	19 whites, 49 blacks	1821	117 whites, 398 blacks
1829	21 whites, 38 blacks	1822	127 whites, 490 blacks
1860	100 whites, 166 blacks	1823	100 whites, 497 blacks
		1824	97 whites, 402 blacks

The Second Great Awakening aroused slaveholders' fears of slave insurrections as much as the First Great Awakening had. Throughout the South, slaveholders criticized Methodist preachers for evangelizing to blacks. Slaveholders feared that the Methodist teachings about equality and the sin of slavery would encourage insurrections. In Camden, these concerns also surfaced, as white Camdenites feared that black conversion to Methodism would encourage slave revolts. In a 1799 letter, Camdenite William Luyten complained to Lewis Ballard about Dan Carpenter, a Methodist layman in Camden, about how Carpenter "makes preachment to the Negroes."[93]

Because of these fears, many slaveholders demanded their slaves' attendance at white-controlled churches and refused to allow them to worship independently. State law codified these practices. In 1800 and 1803, the legislature passed several acts that restricted blacks' religious rights. These laws declared that any black religious meetings held between sunset and

[88] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 292.
[89] Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind*.
[90] Wikramanayke, *A World in Shadow*, 120.
[91] John Wigger, "Taking Heaven by Storm: Enthusiasm and Early American Methodism," *Journal of the Early Republic* 14 (1994): 167-194.
[92] Figures for Methodist congregation from Joan A. Inabinet, *Lyttleton Street United Methodist Church: A History* (Camden, SC: Pine Tree Publishing, 2003), 17; figures for Baptist congregation from Joan Inabinet, *His People: A History of the Camden (First) Baptist Church of South Carolina (1810-1985)* (Camden,SC: Pine Tree Publishing Company, 1985), 47 and 50.
[93] Inabinet, *Lyttleton Street*, 25. Dan Carpenter was extremely important in the success of Methodism in Camden. He housed visiting preachers, and the Methodists may have held early worship services at his house. See Inabinet, *Lyttleton Street*, 9-10, for more information about Carpenter.

sunrise were illegal and that all daytime meetings needed to be majority white.[94] At these white-controlled churches, the ministers preached obedience to the master as the highest religious ideal, which went against slaves' understandings of Christianity as equality and freedom. In response, many slaves continued to practice their own religious beliefs in the slave quarters without their owners' knowledge. Slaves met in "hush arbors" where "they freely mixed African rhythms, singing, and beliefs with evangelical Christianity."[95] African-American spirituals and black preaching styles developed through these secret meetings. In these "hush arbors," slaves countered the gospel of their owners with their own gospel in which God condemned slavery. They applied the story of Exodus to their own lives and believed that God would liberate them from bondage as he had the children of Israel.[96]

Slaveholders apparently had legitimate reason to fear the effects of Methodism and other evangelical faiths. In 1817, Morris Brown, a free black lay preacher, led 4,367 black Methodists to withdraw from the church. They left in protest to 1815 revisions to Methodist regulations, which abolished separate black quarterly conferences and placed black collections under the control of white stewards. These withdrawing blacks formed one of the few southern congregations of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), a northern black denomination.[97] The Denmark Vesey revolt in 1822 ended this separate congregation. Many conspirators were members of the AME church; for example, Vesey was a Sunday school teacher. In the aftermath, the government closed the church and demolished the building.[98] Some of the leaders of the planned Camden insurrection of 1816 were class leaders in local congregations, but there is no evidence that they were members of either the Methodist or the Baptist church.[99]

Despite the concerns of slaveholders, many South Carolina slaves did attend and join both the Methodist and the Baptist church for the reasons stated above. This trend holds true in Camden as well. They did not join the churches because their owners were members of the congregations. Very few members of either congregation were owned by white members of those congregations. In the 1830s, records indicate that member John Reynolds owned black member Charles, who was also a licensed preacher. Of the twenty-three original covenant members of the Baptist church, nine were black. Only one, Hester, belonged to a member, who happened to be the minister, Reverend Cook. [100] In general, white members of these congregations were neither affluent nor slaveholders. In both congregations, blacks outnumbered whites. [101]

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[94] Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 113.
[95] Maffly-Kipp, "American Religion, Pt. I: To the Civil War."
[96] Albert J. Raboteau, "Black Religion," in *The Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, ed. Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 191.
[97] Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 122.
[98] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 328.
[99] Inabinet, *Lyttleton Street* and Inabinet, *His People*.
[100] The other eight original black members were Davy, Charity, Frank, Colia, Binah, Jumper, Anthony, and Sally. Inabinet, *His People*, 17.
[101] Inabinet, *His People*; and Inabinet, *Lyttleton Street*.

Figure 3. *Methodist Church, ca. 1915*

Pictured is the second sanctuary of Camden's Methodist Church. Constructed in 1828 on West DeKalb Street, it served the racially mixed Methodist congregation in the pre-Civil War years. In 1872, the white congregation sold the building to the newly created African-American congregation of Trinity Methodist Church. This structure served Trinity Methodist Church until a fire destroyed it in 1925. Permission of *S.C. Postcards, VIII, Camden*, by Howard Woody and Davie Beard.

Blacks (both slave and free) joined both the Methodist and the Baptist churches because they offered them opportunities for leadership and independent worship. Methodist congregations segregated their weekly class meetings, so black members had the opportunity to serve as class leaders. In addition, the Methodists licensed some slaves as preachers. The names of six Camden-area slaves licensed to preach in the 1830s exist in the quarterly conference records: David, Hector, William, Charles, Abram, and Quash. The Baptist church encouraged black members "to participate in their own religious self-government."[102] For instance in February 1820, the church leaders appointed Frank (and, in his absence, Monday) to "meet & Pray with & try to reconcile little disputes between the black members of our church."[103] In June 1828, the church also strongly considered licensing a slave member, Gilbert, to preach; however, the records do not indicate the result of these deliberations. Prior to the church's consideration of licensing, Gilbert had been exhorting black members for at least a year. This is shown in a letter from Patricia Scott, a free black member, who complained in April 1827 that Gilbert's exhorting took so long that her daughters were late to services.[104]

The Methodists and Baptists also offered their congregations other independent opportunities and spaces. In 1853, the Camden Baptist Church built a separate black Sunday school room onto their building.[105] According to oral tradition, there was a separate black Methodist meetinghouse dating to the 1830s.[106] This was apparently a prayer house built in 1833 for "the colored members" as a place "to hold class and prayer meetings."[107]

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[102] Inabinet, *His People*, 25.
[103] Inabinet, *His People*, 25.
[104] Inabinet, *His People*, 25.
[105] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 14.
[106] "History of Camden First United Methodist Church," http:www.camdenfirstumc.com (accessed 30 January 2006).
[107] Inabinet, *Lyttleton Street*, 65.

In the 1830s revivals swept across South Carolina again. This revival also apparently swept through Camden because Camden's Methodist church saw a rapid increase in its black membership in the early 1830s.[108] As part of this revival movement, many white South Carolinians decided it was their duty to evangelize to blacks. In the 1830s and 1840s, devout white Christians from Abbeville, Chester, and Sumter petitioned the General Assembly to alter its 1834 law that forbade teaching slaves to read. This law was problematic for missionaries to slaves because it made catechism difficult.[109] It was also during the 1830s that the Methodist Episcopal Church established "Negro missions" throughout the state. This included one along the Wateree River near Camden in 1833, which served several plantations. This included Colonel James Chesnut's Mulberry Plantation, where he built a chapel for his slaves. Both he and his wife, Mary Boykin Chesnut, occasionally attended services at the chapel.[110]

While antebellum blacks tended to prefer the Methodist and Baptist denominations, blacks also attended other Christian denominations, Presbyterian and Episcopalian in Camden's case. The Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina had a thirty percent black membership; the South Carolina Episcopal Church had approximately a fifty percent black membership.[111] Slaves joined these congregations, but it is difficult to determine if slaves attended these churches because their owners insisted that they attend or because they preferred those congregations. The records at Grace Episcopal Church indicate that black children were baptized in the antebellum period.[112] The Camden Presbyterian Church was reorganized in 1805 as Bethesda Presbyterian Church. In 1808, 36 people joined the church, including 12 "persons of color."[113] Again in 1823, there were blacks among the new member class. In 1820, Robert Mills designed the new Bethesda Presbyterian Church building with the segregation of the races in mind. Known as the church with five porches, Mills planned for crisscrossing sets of stairs up to two galleries. One set of stairs led to the choir and organ loft while the second set of stairs led to the segregated slave gallery.[114]

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[108] Inabinet, *Lyttleton Street*, 65. Between December 1830 to 1832, 257 blacks joined the Methodist church while only 51 white members joined.

[109] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 293. Most denominations created special catechisms for blacks that did not require them to be able to read. The Episcopal Church had *Catechism to be used by the Teachers in the Religious Instruction of Persons of Color*, the Methodist church had *A Short Catechism for the Use of Colored Members on Trial in the Methodist Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, the Presbyterian church had *A Plain and Easy Catechism, designed chiefly for the Benefit of Colored Persons with suitable Prayers and Hymns annexed*. From Luther P. Jackson, "Religious Instruction of Negroes," *The Journal of Negro History* 15 (1930), 86-87. An 1862 Episcopal catechism, *A Catechism, to be Taught Orally to Those Who Cannot Read; Designed Especially for the Instruction of the Slaves, in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States*, is available at http://docsouth.unc.edu/catechisms/catechsl.html.

[110] Inabinet, *Lyttleton Street*, 65.

[111] Luther P. Jackson, "Negro Religious Developments in Virginia," *Journal of Negro History* 15 (1930), 235-6.

[112] Taylor-Goins and Taylor-McConnell. *Naudin-Dibble Family*, 19.

[113] Bell E. Dubose, *Bethesda Presbyterian Church Camden, South Carolina, 1805-1955* (published for the church's sesquicentennial celebration, 1955), 8-9. The new black members were Cupid, Billy, Bordeaux and wife (free), Scipio, Nanny, Isaac, Cuba, Rinah, Daniel, Phoeby, and Glasgow.

[114] Dubose, *Bethesda Presbyterian Church*, 10-11.

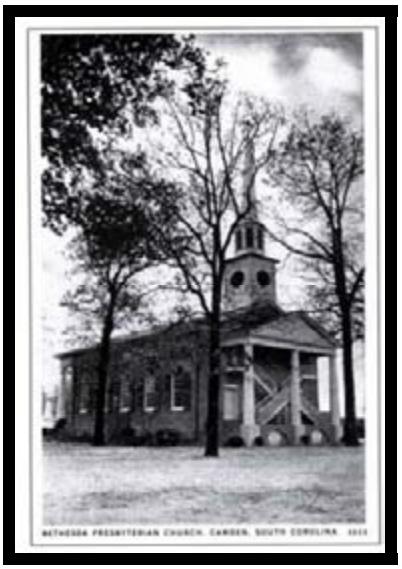

Figure 4. *Bethesda Presbyterian Church*

This photo highlights the two sets of stairs leading into the church, one of which led to the segregated slave gallery. Permission of *S.C. Postcards, VIII, Camden*, by Howard Woody and Davie Beard.

Regardless of where they worshipped, religion was central to the lives of many antebellum blacks. In weekly services and class meetings, the slaves "entered a different world where they met and talked freely, sang, danced, chanted, 'witnessed,' and found social consolation in the fostering of one another's soul."[115] In Camden, slaves and free blacks especially found these opportunities at the Methodist and Baptist churches, but they also attended the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches.

F. The Built Environment

Close Quarters

The planning of a city's public spaces, business districts, and residential areas plays a key role in the story of its development. Indeed, the development of the built environment directly affects city inhabitants. Documenting the relationship of slaves and free people of color to Camden's built environment is an exercise in historical detective work. Although limited documentary evidence remains detailing the lives of Camden's slaves, general economic trends throughout the South and local demographics suggest that blacks shaped Camden in significant ways. As in other towns in pre-industrial America, Camden's residences and workplaces were not highly differentiated from each other, with the rich and the poor living on the same streets. As a large portion of the population—nearly half of the town's inhabitants during much of the colonial and antebellum period—and a majority of the skilled and unskilled labor force, slaves and free people of color lived and worked in close proximity to Camden's white inhabitants from early on. Indeed, slaves and free people of color also constructed much of the built environment that all three groups navigated on a daily basis. Walking through the muddy streets of Camden in the decades before the Civil War, visitors would have encountered a diverse population working in a shared environment and living in close quarters.

[115] Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow*, 113.

The origins of Camden date back to 1730 when James St. Julien was employed to survey a township on the Wateree River. King George II instructed Governor Robert Johnson to lay out eleven such townships in hopes of ringing the settled tidewater areas of the colony. These townships would also serve as a defensive buffer against the Native Americans and the Spanish. By attracting more European settlers to the backcountry, the new townships counteracted an exploding slave population, which had already reached some sixty-five percent of the colony's total.[116] One of these was Fredericksburg Township, located on the Wateree River some sixty miles above Charleston in the territory of the Wateree and Catawba Indians.[117]

In the early 1750s, Irish Quakers came to Fredericksburg, settling on either side of the Wateree River; parts of these original settlements would later fall within Camden's municipal limits. In 1758, Joseph Kershaw founded a settlement named Pine Tree Hill (the site of modern Magazine Hill), opening stores, mills, and other business establishments. Ten years later, by an act of the colonial legislature, the name of Pine Tree Hill was changed to Camden.[118]

A plan of Camden from the early 1770s shows the town's square and streets, bounded by York Street to the north, Gordon Street to the west, Mulberry Street to the south, and Fair Street to the east.[119] A number of streets marked on the plan still exist today, including Campbell, York, and Broad. A plan created almost thirty years later in 1798 indicates that the center and limits of the town had moved northward.[120] The town's population continued to shift northwards during the nineteenth century.

Where did slaves and free people of color fit into the story of Camden's origins? More precisely, what was their relationship to the built environment? In one sense, Camden owes its very existence to black people, whose overwhelming presence on the coast led the colony's white leaders to promote the inland township scheme. Perhaps ironically, the success of plantation agriculture soon led to a dramatic increase in the area's black population. Slaves almost certainly accompanied Joseph Kershaw from Charleston, South Carolina to the area in 1758. Some thirty years later, a total of 1,025 slaves lived in Kershaw District. By 1810, non-whites constituted roughly half of the district's population, and by 1820 they were the majority. While slaves living on plantations around Camden counted for most of the black population, many slaves and free persons of color resided within the town as well.[121]

Camden's situation near the Wateree River, the main thoroughfare on which the area's indigo, grains, and cotton were shipped to market in Charleston, reflected its founders' reliance on slaves and free people of color, who likely performed the bulk of the work of the river port.[122]

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[116] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 52-3, 78.
[117] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 1.
[118] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part One*, 11-12. Joseph Kershaw named the town in honor of Lord Camden (Charles Pratt), a man admired for his defense of colonists in the English Parliament.
[119] Kenneth E. Lewis, "Camden: A Frontier Town in Eighteenth Century South Carolina." (M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1976), 36-37.
[120] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part One*, 15.
[121] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 6. For more on the relationship of plantation slaves to the built environment, see John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). For a treatment of slaves and free people of color in towns, see Jane Riblett Wilkie, "The Black Urban Population of the Pre-Civil War South," *Phylon* 37 (1976): 255.
[122] Interview with Glen and Joan Inabinet 17 February 2006.

Blacks also built the town itself. In cities and towns across the South, owners often hired out their slaves as unskilled laborers and as carpenters, painters, masons, bricklayers, and glaziers.[123] For example, in 1780, enslaved "Artificers & Labourers," both men and women, were "employed in Erecting the Works for the defenses of the Magazine at Camden."[124] Free people of color also worked in the construction trades. Bonds Conway, a former slave and skilled carpenter, built a number of houses in Camden.[125]

Table 2. *1800-1860 Kershaw County, South Carolina Population Figures*[126]

Year	Area Surveyed*	Slaves	Free Persons	Total Non-Whites		Whites		TOTAL POPULATION
1800	*Kershaw District*	2,530	104	2,634	35%	4,706	65%	7,340
1810	*Kershaw District*	4,832	78	4,910	49%	4,911	51%	9,821♦
1820	*Kershaw District*	6,692	112	6,804	54%	5,625	46%	12,429
1830	*Kershaw District*	8,333	196	8,529	62%	5,016	38%	13,545
1840	*Kershaw District*	8,043	250	8,293	67%	3,988	33%	12,281
1850	*Kershaw District*	9,578	214	9,792	67%	4,681	33%	14,473
1850	*Camden Town*	431	100	531	46%	602	54%	1,133
1860	*Kershaw County*	7,841	219	8,060	61%	5,026	39%	13,086
1860	*Camden Town*	442	197	639	38%	1,028	62%	1,667

* Before the 1850 federal census the city of Camden was not independently listed.

♦ According to the document from which this figure was drawn the total population of 1810 Kershaw District is 9,822; however, this was a miscalculation/type error.

While black and white Camdenites lived and worked in close quarters, it is important to note that blacks, neither slave nor free, were not buried in cemeteries alongside whites. Cedars Cemetery, located on Campbell Street near the King Street intersection, was Camden's only black burial ground. Although the property was not purchased by Camden's Town Council until1860, some of the oldest markers in the cemetery date back to the early 1800s.[127] Many prominent black Camdenites are buried there, including Andrew Dibble.

[123] Carl Schneider and Dorothy Schneider, *Slavery in America: From Colonial Times to the Civil War* (New York: Facts on File, 2000), 121. For a more detailed discussion of urban slavery see Claudia Dale Goldin, *Urban Slavery in the American South, 1820 – 1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).
[124] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part One*, 128-9.
[125] *The Naudin-Dibble Family: Camden, SC* (computer printout, Camden, SC: Naudin-Dibble Heritage Foundation, July 2003), 4
[126] Information taken from Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 6-7; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *The Second Federal Census: 1800, Kershaw County, South Carolina* (Camden, SC: Kershaw County Historical Society, 1972), 21; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Third Federal Census: 1810*, 23; U. S. Bureau of the Census, *The Fourth Federal Census: 1820*, 32; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, *The Fifth Federal Census: 1830*, ii.
[127] See Inabinet, *Lyttleton Street*, 17; and *Come Meet the Players! African-American Historical Sites in South Carolina's Olde English District* (Chester, SC: Olde English Tourism Committee, 2005).

Associated Sites

Cedars Cemetery, Campbell Street nearing the King Street intersection. For a long period of time Cedars Cemetery served as Camden's only black burial ground. Dating to the early 1800s, many prominent black Camdenites are buried there.

II. African Americans in Camden: Reconstruction to the Modern Civil Rights Movement

A. Political Participation

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the black community-building traditions that had evolved within the system of slavery became the basis for the participation of African Americans in formal politics. The Reconstruction decade represented the high tide of black political power in Kershaw County and in South Carolina. This brief period was followed, beginning around 1880, by approximately six decades of retrenchment by white South Carolinians. Black activism increased again during the New Deal era, resulting in a "second Reconstruction" lasting from the mid-1950s to about 1970.

The First Reconstruction

In Kershaw District, the arrival of federal troops under the command of General William T. Sherman in late February 1865 signaled the effective end of the war and of slavery. In June, two Ohio companies were garrisoned in the town.[128] With the demise of the old regime, blacks could "vote with their feet" to a degree never before possible. In the following weeks and months, many left their plantations to savor their new freedom of movement, while others attempted to reconnect with family members that had been separated during slavery.[129]

By early 1866, blacks and whites alike came to terms with the devastation of the area's agriculture. While African Americans in Kershaw District and throughout the South hoped that the federal government would break up the plantations and redistribute the land to them, white landowners wanted to preserve a labor system as close to slavery as possible. In January 1866, a large crowd of freedpeople and planters gathered to hear the local commander read new military orders regarding labor contracts. A description of the event in the *Camden Journal* reveals much about the conflicting expectations of local blacks and whites and indicates the rapid emergence of a new class of black leaders:

> On Saturday last we saw the largest gathering of sable gentlemen and ladies that our eyes ever rested on. The open square in front of the Court House and site of the old Market and the spacious cross streets were packed with a living mass of colored people. We observed present also many of the largest planters. The orders were read and explained to them. . . . John Chesnut and Harmon Jones, two intelligent freed-men, also made addresses and repeated the good advice they have given on several occasions. Let us hope the delusions fondly cherished by the freed-men, that the government intended to give them land or support them in idleness have been dispelled.[130]

As it became clear that the federal authorities did not contemplate radical land reform, most African Americans resettled on or near their previous plantation homes and signed their first contracts as free agricultural laborers. Significantly, however, they often built new houses away from the old slave street and out of sight of the planter's house.[131]

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[128] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*: *Part Two*, 196.
[129] For a detailed treatment of African-American experiences in the wake of the Civil War, see Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Knopf, 1979).
[130] Quoted in Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part Two*, 198.
[131] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 381.

Across the state, the aftermath of the war also saw significant movement of African Americans from the countryside into towns. Residing in town offered blacks non-agricultural employment and more opportunities to organize their own businesses and community institutions such as churches, schools, and mutual aid societies. Churches in particular became centers for political organizing, with campaign rallies held on church grounds in much the same style as revival meetings. Close proximity to other blacks also afforded more physical security in the face of white hostility and violence. Between 1870 and 1910, the black population of Camden more than tripled to approximately 1800 people. For the first time, blacks, who had long constituted a majority in Kershaw District, were also the majority in Camden. Other blacks from Kershaw District were surely among the thousands from around South Carolina who migrated to Charleston, the state's largest city, and among the thousands more who left for Arkansas, Florida, and Louisiana in search of higher wages.[132]

In the fall of 1865, under President Andrew Johnson's lenient plan for the reunification of the country, the prewar elite of South Carolina organized a new state government. The legislature ratified the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, but it also passed the "Black Codes," a series of laws that severely restricted African Americans' civil, social, and economic rights. Among the few prominent whites in the state to oppose the Black Codes was Kershaw District's James Chesnut, a former Confederate general, who predicted they would provoke a harsh reaction by the Radical Republicans in Congress. He was correct. In early 1867, over President Johnson's veto, the Radicals passed the Reconstruction Acts. The new legislation dissolved the state governments formed under Johnson's plan and provided for military rule. A state became eligible for reentry into the Union only when a majority of each state's voters approved new constitutions and its legislature approved the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteeing black male suffrage.

The political reorganization of South Carolina began in July 1867 with the establishment of the state's Republican Party. Local Republican clubs, called "Union Leagues," sprang up all over the state. Membership was overwhelmingly black, with an active minority of native whites and migrants from the North. South Carolina's demographics ensured an electorate with a sizeable black majority. When the military completed the registration process, black men comprised nearly two-thirds of the state's voters.[133] The numbers in Kershaw District reflected the same reality, with 1,765 black voters to 859 white.[134] In Kershaw and across the state, most native whites boycotted the election of delegates to the new constitutional convention. With whites refusing to participate, Kershaw District's freedmen elected as delegates Justus K. Jillson, a white Massachusetts native who had come to South Carolina with the Freedmen's Bureau; Solomon G. W. Dill, a white former resident of Charleston; and John A. Chesnut, one of the local African Americans who, at the 1866 gathering at the courthouse, had counseled his fellows to go back to work under the new labor agreements.[135]

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[132] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 379.
[133] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 386-8.
[134] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*: *Part Two*, 200.
[135] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part Two*, 200.

Figure 5. *Justus K. Jillson*

Kershaw County Senator (1868-1871) and first South Carolina Superindentent of Education (1868-1876). Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

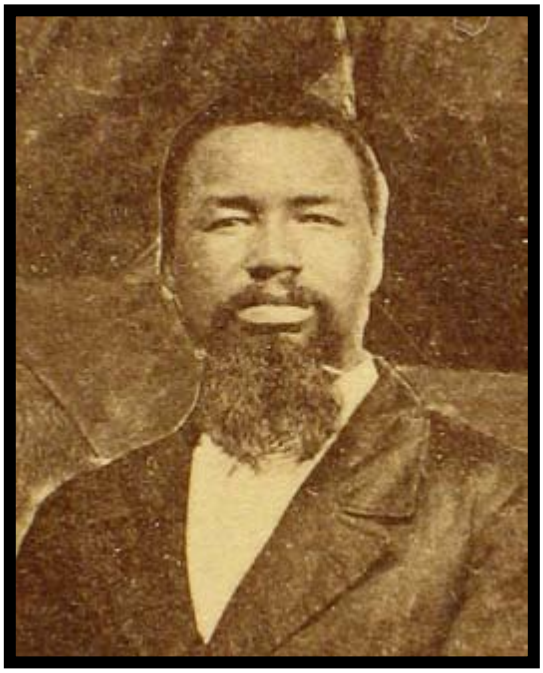

Figure 6. *John A. Chesnut*

Elected as a delegate to the South Carolina Senate in 1868. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

Convening in Charleston in January 1868, the constitutional convention produced a progressive document that guaranteed voting rights for all men, regardless of race, and provided for the state's first system of free public education. The new constitution also decentralized power from Columbia, changing the districts into counties and providing for the election of three-member county boards of commissioners with budgetary and taxing authority. The voters approved the constitution and elected new state and local governments. Republicans dominated at both levels, with black candidates most successful in the legislative elections. Robert K. Scott, a white Ohioan who had been head of the Freedman's Bureau in South Carolina, was elected governor. Francis L. Cardozo of Charleston, the new secretary of state, was South Carolina's first person of African descent to be elected to statewide office.[136]

[136] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 387.

In seventeen regular and special elections between 1868 and 1877, Kershaw County voters elected blacks to the General Assembly fourteen times.[137] The county's first legislative delegation was composed of two whites, Senator Justus Jillson and Representative S. G. W. Dill, and two blacks, Representatives John Chesnut and Jonas Nash.[138] From 1868 to 1876, Jillson also served as the state's first Superintendent of Education. In 1871 he gave up his seat in the Senate, and Kershaw County voters sent Henry Cardozo, an African American, to replace him.[139] At the local level, three black fire companies were established in Kershaw County and blacks served on the Camden police force.[140] Kershaw County's first Superintendent of Education was Frank Carter, a black teacher at Camden's Jackson School for freedmen.[141] In 1875, Kershaw County voters elected Carter to replace Cardozo in the Senate.[142]

Black and white educators and Republican politicians agreed that the best way to ensure political rights for African Americans was through sound education of the population, and the new General Assembly passed legislation to create and fully fund the new public school system.[143] While the Constitution provided for schools free and open to all "without regard to race and color," white resistance meant that in practice most schools were segregated. Evidently one school in Kershaw County and several in Richland County were for a time the only racially integrated schools in the state.[144] Legislation provided for equal access to public accommodations. In practice, some integrated public facilities, such as theaters and trolley cars, existed in Columbia and Charleston, but in smaller towns like Camden, racial segregation was the norm.[145]

The Era of White Reaction

The legislature's moves to ensure social as well as political equality for African Americans deepened the alienation of whites, while widespread corruption in all branches of government provided a convenient public excuse for their increasingly violent opposition. Shortly after the 1868 election of the first Reconstruction legislature, federal troops began their withdrawal. By October, there were only 881 soldiers left in the entire state. The year before Congress had disbanded the state militia, leaving local law enforcement in the hands of the brand-new county governments. Almost immediately violence erupted, particularly in Upstate counties with proportionately smaller black populations. Local units of the Ku Klux Klan formed to neutralize the Union Leagues. Legislators from Abbeville and Orangeburg Counties were assassinated.[146]

In the spring of 1868, the Klan organized in Kershaw County. At least one group was

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[137] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*: *Part Two*, 334-335.
[138] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*: *Part Two*, 201.
[139] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*: *Part Two*, 334.
[140] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 24.
[141] Harvey Teal, *Public Schools, 1868-1870: Education during Reconstruction in Kershaw County, South Carolina* (Columbia, SC: Harvey Teal, 2005), 12.
[142] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*: *Part Two*, 334.
[143] Anna Gardner, memoir, "Jackson School 1915-1988." Located in the Vertical Files, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC; and Edgar, *South Carolina*, 389.
[144] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 390.
[145] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 394.
[146] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 398.

formed, under the title "Fraternal Democratic Club," in the Harmony neighborhood near Elgin on the western edge of the county. On the night of June 1, they attacked the nearby home of Kershaw representative S. G. W. Dill, a center of Union League activity in the area. A volley of bullets killed Dill and Nestor Peay, a black League member on guard at the house, and injured Dill's wife. Federal troops investigated and made arrests, but could not identify the assassins.[147]

In response to the spreading violence, the General Assembly authorized the creation of a new state militia, but whites refused to join. As in other counties, Kershaw's new militia unit, the Ellis Light Infantry, was all black.[148] By the fall of 1870, violence was everywhere in South Carolina. Over the next year, federal efforts to stop the Klan were weak and ineffective. Finally in October 1871, President Ulysses S. Grant declared nine upcountry counties to be in rebellion, including Lancaster, Fairfield, and Chesterfield which surrounded Kershaw on three sides. Hundreds of Klansmen turned themselves in, but the campaign of terror continued. Paramilitary organizations, calling themselves saber, rifle, or gun clubs, proliferated around the state.[149] The white insurgency culminated around the elections of 1876, when former Confederate general Wade Hampton, the Democratic candidate for governor, led the paramilitaries in a statewide campaign of intimidation, violence, and voting fraud. For four months after the election, parallel Democratic and Republican governments competed for power. In April 1877, in return for South Carolina's disputed electoral votes, Republican President-elect Rutherford B. Hayes agreed not to acknowledge South Carolina's Republican government and to withdraw the remaining federal troops from the state.[150] The Reconstruction experiment with interracial democracy was over.

While the paternalistic Hampton remained in power, the new white-minority regime remained relatively tolerant in racial matters. Hampton appointed black officials and ensured that the segregated public schools were funded equitably. In the coastal counties of Beaufort and Georgetown, Democrats and Republicans agreed to power-sharing arrangements, but in the Upstate local whites began almost immediately to strip blacks of voting rights. Precincts were reorganized to keep blacks away from polling places, and strict registration requirements and abuses by local registrars effectively reduced the number of black voters. In 1876, some 91,000 black South Carolinians voted, but by 1888 only 14,000 did so. In 1872, ninety-six black legislators were elected; in 1890 there were only seven.

In 1890, Benjamin Ryan Tillman of Edgefield County won the governorship in a landslide. Calling himself a man of the people, Tillman rabidly opposed anything he associated with Charleston, the planter aristocracy, the University of South Carolina, and blacks. In 1895, Tillman and his supporters called for a new constitutional convention with one major objective: the disfranchisement of the black population. Over the protest of the six African-American delegates, the convention approved literacy tests and poll taxes for voter registration, provisions that would all but eliminate the black vote.[151] The last black legislator was defeated for reelection in 1896, and by the turn of the century only a few of the remaining 10,000 black

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[147] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden*: *Part Two*, 201-2.
[148] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 24.
[149] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 400-1.
[150] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 404-6.
[151] George Brown Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900*, with a new introduction by the author (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 81-5.

registered voters dared to cast a ballot.[152] The new constitution also laid the groundwork for legal segregation of the races, prohibiting interracial marriage and mandating separate school systems. Soon after followed laws to segregate railroad cars, trolleys, and textile mills.[153] By World War I virtually every aspect of life in South Carolina was segregated.

During the first half of the twentieth century, a handful of black Camdenites continued to vote, but with no hope of swaying an election.[154] Following World War I, as cotton prices plummeted and the boll weevil struck the region's staple crop, many black South Carolinians continued to "vote with their feet." Kershaw County residents were among the 50,000 black farm families who left the state for the North after the disastrous harvest of 1922. Those who remained focused on the economic and educational development of the black community. They continued to celebrate Emancipation Day (1 January), as in 1924 when a large parade of schoolchildren, tradesmen, and bands marched down Broad Street to a program in the Opera House. Social and charitable organizations such as the Uplift Club, a Camden chapter of the South Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs active in the 1920s, raised money for a variety of service projects in the black community.[155]

The Second Reconstruction: The Modern Civil Rights Movement

The social and economic dislocation of the Great Depression and World War II, combined with the relatively egalitarian policies of Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt, provided impetus for an assault on the structures of the Jim Crow order across the South. While Camden was not the scene of the dramatic demonstrations or massive white backlash often associated with the civil rights movement, local activism was significant.

In South Carolina between 1939 and 1948, membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) increased from 800 to 14,000, with a proliferation of local chapters. In 1945, local African Americans founded the Camden branch.[156] Among the leaders of the Camden NAACP was Barry Drakeford, a World War I veteran who ran a country store outside town. Other leaders of the local movement included Jewel Thomas, sister of one of the two black doctors in town, and two morticians, R. H. Haile and Eugene Brown.[157] Funeral directors in many southern towns tended to be active supporters of the civil rights movement, since their livelihood did not depend on white people. Jim Francis, the principal of the St. Mathew School outside Camden, and Reverend Sanders, a Presbyterian minister, were other local activists. Civil rights meetings were held in the local black schools and in the black branch library.[158] One former Camden resident recalled meetings of the Youth Chapter of the Camden NAACP in the tiny back room of Trinity Methodist Church. The young

[152] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 443.
[153] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 448.
[154] Joseph Thomas Moore, *Pride against Prejudice: The Biography of Larry Doby* (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1998), 10.
[155] Gordon, *Sketches of Negro Life*, 183.
[156] *Camden-Kershaw County Branch NAACP Sixty-Second Anniversary*, (printed program in possession of author, n.d.).
[157] Interview with Rev. George Watson, 1 February 2006.
[158] Interview with Carl and Mollye Robinson, 27 January 2006.

people gathered around the pot-belly stove with no lights on so as not to attract attention.[159]

Activists had reason to fear. They had their mail delivered in unmarked envelopes, but it was tampered with in the post office anyway. Several Camden residents recalled that teachers who joined the NAACP would be fired.[160] Sometimes white opposition was violent. Barry Drakeford's store was torched at least three times for his civil rights activities.[161] As the movement intensified in the 1960s, several churches in the area, among them Sanders Creek, Red Hill, Mount Moriah, Second Baptist, St. Paul, and Fort Clark, fell target to arson. One Camden resident recalled the old men spending the night in her church and shooting at Klan members when they came to torch the building. R. H. Haile and other activists had crosses burned in their yards.[162] Several residents noted Klan activity in Camden and Kershaw County; one recalled that they met frequently in Bethune and in a field just east of Camden.[163]

In 1947, George Elmore, a black resident of neighboring Richland County, went to court to challenge the exclusion of African Americans from the state's Democratic Party primary elections, the only meaningful elections in a one-party state. In July, federal Judge J. Waites Waring in Charleston ruled that the white primary was illegal, and blacks across the state rushed to register.[164] Among them were a group of young Camden women organized by R. H. Haile. One resident recalled going to the courthouse to register. The registrar yelled curses at them, but Haile said to the women, "Don't say a word." They were terrified. The man administered the literacy test, giving them a passage from the state constitution to read out loud, and they spoke so quickly that they did not even pay attention to the words.[165] The next month the women were among some 35,000 new voters around the state to cast Democratic primary ballots.[166] During the 1950s and 1960s, Camden residents went door to door registering blacks to vote.[167]

Like many smaller towns in South Carolina, Camden had its share of demonstrations in the 1960s, although not on a massive scale, as individuals and groups challenged the segregation of public accommodations. Some protests were spontaneous. One Camden resident recalled her brother going to a white-owned restaurant to order a large number of sandwiches for a funeral or some other large family gathering. He and the other black customers were not allowed to come inside, but had to place their orders through a special window. When a white employee made derogatory remarks to him, he said "You eat them" and drove off without the sandwiches and without paying.[168] Other protests were planned. During the mid-1960s, several local ministers attempted to test new federal legislation requiring equal service in public accommodations. One small group of ministers attempted to integrate local restaurants. They quickly left one establishment when the restaurant's female owner threatened them with a shotgun. U.S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach filed suit against two restaurants on behalf of the

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[159] Interview with Rev. George Waston, 1 February 2006.
[160] Interview with Dr. Daisy Alexander, 7 February 2006; and Interview with James McGirt, 27 January 2006.
[161] Interview with Rev. George Watson, 1 February 2006.
[162] Interview with Dr. Daisy Alexander, 7 February 2006.
[163] Interview with Rev. George Watson, 1 February 2006.
[164] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 519-20.
[165] Interview with Dr. Daisy Alexander, 7 February 2006.
[166] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 519-20.
[167] Interview with Leila Salmond, 14 February 2006.
[168] Interview with Dr. Daisy Alexander, 7 February 2006.

ministers for violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In February 1966, orders were filed in the U.S. District Court in Columbia requiring Tony's Restaurant and Pines Drive-In Restaurant, both on DeKalb Street, to provide "equal service to Negro patrons." The owners did not contest the orders.[169]

By 1970, the legal framework of white supremacy was all but gone. That year, the state dismantled its segregated school system, the last major element of a Jim Crow regime that had lasted more than seventy decades.

Associated Sites

Police station on DeKalb Street. Formerly the black branch library and a site of civil rights meetings.

Camden First United Methodist Church. Site of civil rights meetings.

B. Economic Life

The Economics of Freedom: Reconstruction

With the end of the Civil War, thousands of blacks throughout the state of South Carolina found themselves free but without jobs. The federal government, anticipating this dilemma, created the Freedmen's Bureau in March 1865 to assist African Americans in their new life. Many of the newly freed men believed they would receive land abandoned by former plantation owners, but the program providing African Americans with "forty acres and a mule" did not come to fruition. Most African Americans ended up working the land through contracts with white landowners.[170]

During Reconstruction, many white planters wanted to secure a cheap work force, which they clearly recognized in the newly freed African Americans who often had no choice but to work the land of white owners. Consequently, many blacks found themselves in one of four agricultural positions. They rented land as sharecroppers or tenant farmers; they received monthly wages for their labor; they worked as a foreman or manager in the fields; or they owned their own land. The majority of blacks found themselves working as tenant farmers or sharecroppers where they received roughly one quarter to one half of the cotton and corn they produced. Landowners usually provided these workers with housing, fuel, and sometimes additional food. Those men working for wages received on average nine to fifteen dollars a month.[171] These conditions prevailed throughout the South and were certainly present in Camden based upon the area's immersion in agriculture after the Civil War. In 1868, many

[169] "2 Camden Restaurants Consent To Compliance," *The State*, Columbia, 4 February 1966.
[170] Harvey S. Teal, *Return of Crops and Other Statistics of Kershaw County, South Carolina 1868* (Camden, SC: Kershaw County Historical Society, 1998), 1; and Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 259.
[171] Joel Williamson, *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction 1861-1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 126; and Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 259.

blacks remained in rural areas after gaining their freedom, and these individuals likely worked on or for one of the 556 farms in Kershaw County, which averaged fifty-four acres in size.[172]

Figure 7. *Picking the Cotton Fields*

During Reconstruction many of Camden's African Americans found themselves working as tenant farmers or sharecroppers. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

In 1871, some South Carolinians noted that women had become almost totally removed from any field labor and worked primarily in domestic areas.[173] In terms of size, the domestic class of workers was second only to that of agricultural workers. Women comprised the majority of this class. They worked as housemaids, personal maids, cooks, laundresses, nurses, and serving girls. Domestic servants typically received only five to ten dollars a month. Men, however, constituted a small portion of these domestic jobs by working as valets, coachmen, gardeners, and handymen.[174]

Those African Americans not in agriculture or domestic work found employment in the various industries that cropped up during the last decades of the nineteenth century. By 1924, there were fourteen different mills or manufacturing companies operating in Camden. These mills processed cotton, lumber, and cottonseed oil while the other industries included veneer, brick, bottling, and ice companies. Blacks filled the menial positions that most white workers did not want, but many felt these jobs were better than picking cotton.[175] In 1915, South Carolina passed a law that relegated blacks to only the most menial jobs within the textile mill

[172] Alrutheus Ambush Taylor, *The Negro in South Carolina During the Reconstruction* (New York: AMS Press, 1971), 6; and Teal, *Return of Crops*, 4.
[173] Taylor, *The Negro During Reconstruction*, 56.
[174] Williamson, *After Slavery*, 159; and Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 259.
[175] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 9; and Interview with James McGirt, 27 January 2006.

industry, such as grounds keeping and cleaning the toilets.[176]

After gaining their freedom, a large portion of the African American population returned to working the land. Others found domestic jobs in white people's homes, and still others went to work in factories. Their former lives as slaves and the lack of support they received from the Freedman's Bureau following the war severely hindered their opportunities. However, despite the limitations there were African Americans who persevered to find a livelihood in other areas.

Figure 8. *Carrying Laundry*

During this period women often worked in the domestic sphere as maids, cooks, laundresses, and nurses. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

[176] Idus A. Newby, *Black Carolinians: A History of Blacks in South Carolina from 1895 to 1968* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 134-135; and Tindall, *South Carolina Negroes*, 126.

Hotels and Horses: Camden's Tourism Industry

Many blacks found employment in Camden's hotels during the "Great Hotel Era" which began in 1883 with the establishment of the Hobkirk Inn and ended shortly after World War II as tourism declined.[177] The hotel buildings, with the exception of the Hobkirk, are now all gone.[178] The contribution of the African-American labor force to the success of this local industry cannot be underestimated. There were three major tourist hotels in Camden; The Hobkirk Inn (1882), The Court Inn (1889) and The Kirkwood Hotel (1903). The hotels were large resorts; the Kirkwood Hotel, for instance, had two hundred guest rooms. The hotels were established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries during a time when people increasingly believed in the healing effects of the outdoors and fresh air.[179] They provided access to a variety of facilities including golf courses, hunting grounds, gardens, horse tracks, polo fields, and other places for outdoor leisure activities.[180] The hotels serviced mostly northern winter tourists who, trying to escape the bitter northern winters, came to Camden. Some of these tourists discovered the area, while stopping briefly on their way to and from Florida, and chose to make Camden, their permanent winter destination. In order to accommodate their guests, the hotels opened in late fall and closed in late spring.[181] Smitten with the city's old southern charm, several of the wealthy tourists who stayed in Camden bought homes and became permanent seasonal residents.

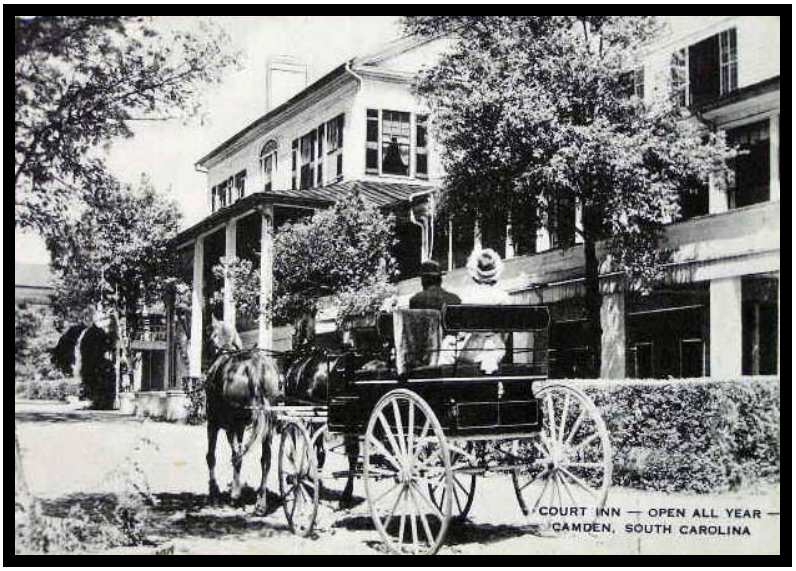

Figure 9. *The Court Inn, ca. 1900*

Many African Americans in Camden's hotels worked service jobs such as the buggy driver pictured here. Courtesy of the Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.

[177] Betty Garber, "Camden man is living reminder of great hotel era," *Camden Independent*, Camden, 26 December 1979; and John H. Daniels, *Nothing Could Be Finer* (Camden, SC: John Culler & Sons, 1996), 7.
[178] Kirkwood was razed in 1944 and the Court Inn was razed in 1964. "Kirkwood Owners Start Work Razing the Old Hotel," *Camden Chronicle*, Camden, 1 September 1944; "Camden Inn Comes Down: 'Grey Lady' Loses Ghostly Home," *The State*, Columbia, 7 May 1964; and Allison Riddick, "The Hobkirk Inn," *Legacy II*, ed. L. Glen Inabinet and Joan A. Inabinet (Camden, SC: Kershaw County Historical Society, 1983), 60.
[179] Daniels, *Nothing Could Be Finer*, 8.
[180] Karl P. Abbot, *Open for the Season: Gay, Nostalgic Reminiscences of an American Host, from Country Inn to Resort Palace* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1950), 182; Riddick, "The Hobkirk Inn," *Legacy II*, 60; and Stephen Lough, "The Kirkwood Hotel," *Legacy II*, 61.
[181] Camden Chamber of Commerce, *Beautiful Camden South Carolina: A Description of its Tourist Hotels Business Enterprises Advantages of Location Climate and Resources* (Columbia, SC: R.L. Bryan Company, n.d.), 2.

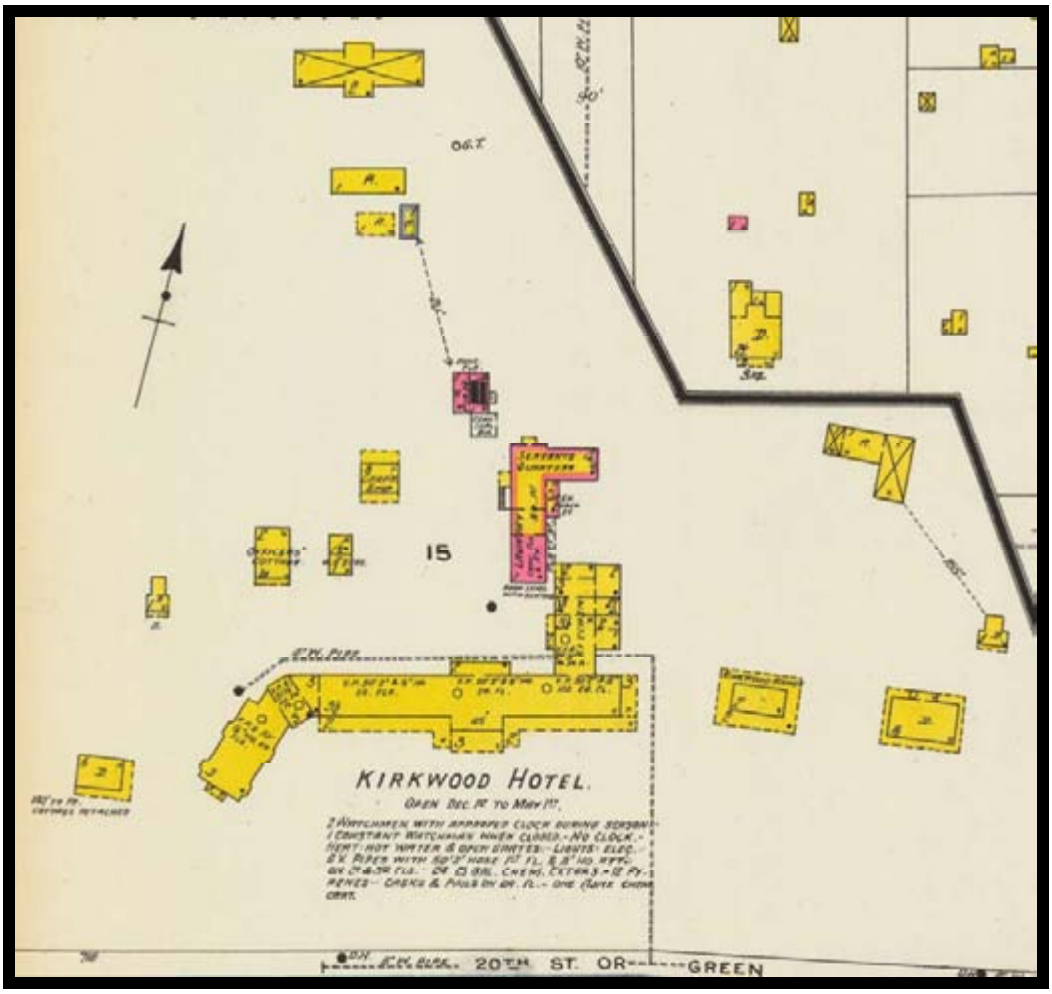

Figure 10. *Grounds of the Kirkwood Hotel, ca. 1923*

The extensive grounds of the Kirkwood Hotel featured several buildings including a separate servants quarters, a carpenter's shop, a club house, and an annex. Separate servants quarters were common for hotels during this particular time period. Courtesy of the Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

The great success of the tourism industry in Camden allowed blacks to escape their unpredictable and economically depressing jobs as sharecroppers and wage laborers.[182] Employment in the tourist industries allowed blacks access to a variety of new jobs. Many African Americans found employment in the hotels as bellboys, chambermaids, kitchen assistants, groundskeepers, buggy drivers, waiters, and other types of service workers.[183] One resident remembers, for instance, that all of the caddies on the hotels' golf courses were black.[184]

[182] Newby, *Black Carolinians*, 121-123.
[183] Abbot, *Open for the Season*, 182.
[184] Blacks, however, could not use the golf courses. Dooley Golf Course was the only black golf course in Camden. Interview with Johnny Williams, 8 February 2006.

The hotel service jobs, however, could be tinged with racism. The hotel industry often attracted tourists by alluding to the atmosphere of the old slave South which dictated that blacks would perform most if not all of the hotel's service jobs. Karl P. Abbott, owner of the Kirkwood Hotel in the 1920s, admitted that in order to attract the northern tourists he would "staff the establishment with trained Negro servants who smiled and bowed and rendered perfect service." [185] In Abbott's view blacks in Camden made good employees because many of them "had been employed as butlers, maids, and cooks in Southern homes and were especially well trained."[186]

In spite of the unfavorable conditions in the hotel industry, many hotel jobs allowed African Americans to assume roles of leadership, establish professional careers, and improve their quality of life. Some of the most prominent black employees at the Kirkwood Hotel in the 1920s and 1930s were the Gambell brothers. The Gambell brothers each held jobs dealing with a variety of tasks at the resort.[187] Edward Gambell was a caretaker and gardener at Kirkwood from 1912 to 1924. He held such an important position at the hotel that he and his family lived on the hotel grounds during summer and fall in the off seasons.[188] During the peak season, they lived on Gordon Street located just down the hill from the hotel.[189] The livelihood of the entire Gambell family depended on the hotel. Edward's wife was a dressmaker who made all of the maid's uniforms and sewed for the guests.[190] The family also sold milk for the servants' dining room. Edna Bates, Edward Gambell's daughter, recalled that her sister's summer job consisted of ridding the hotel of rodents. William Lawrence Gambell, Edward Gambell's brother, started working for the Kirkwood Hotel when he was a child as a water boy, retrieving water for the carpenters during the construction. He later became Captain Bellhop and was a trusted employee of manager, Edward Krumbholtz. He traveled with Krumbholtz his entire life, spending winter seasons in a hotel in Melbourne, Florida and summer seasons at a resort in Montauk, New York.[191]

Figure 11. *The Gambell Brothers*

Many black workers became professionals in the hotel industry. The Gambell Brothers held a variety of important jobs at the Kirkwood Hotel and were highly respected by staff and guests. Permission of *S.C. Postcards, VIII, Camden*, by Howard Woody and Davie Beard.

[185] Abbot. *Open for the Season*, 183.
[186] Abbott, *Open for the Season*, 182.
[187] Howard Woody and Davie Beard, *Postcard History Series: South Carolina Postcards Volume VIII Camden* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), 110.
[188] Sheila Riddick, "Remembering the Kirkwood Hotel," *Chronicle-Independent*, Camden, 17 December 1982.
[189] Betty Garber, "Memories of Kirkwood Hotel fond ones for Mrs. Edna Bates," Located in "Kirkwood Hotel" Vertical File, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.
[190] Margaret Pokrant, "The Kirkwood Hotel (3)" *Legacy II*, 63; and Garber, "Memories of Kirkwood Hotel..."
[191] Garber, "Memories of Kirkwood Hotel…"; and Betty Garber, "Camden man is living reminder of great hotel era," *Camden Independent*, Camden, 26 December 1979.

Figure 12. *The Smallest Caddy, Camden Golf Links*

Camden's tourism industry thrived in part because the city offered a vast majority of outdoor activities. Many African Americans worked in outdoor service jobs. Most, if not all of the caddies on Camden's golf courses were black. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

The tourism industry also created opportunities elsewhere in the country for African Americans who called Camden home. Many hotel employees migrated north during the off-season, following the managers to their northern hotels where they could experience life outside of Camden.[192] Blacks often formed connections with the northern tourists who provided contacts for high-paying, seasonal jobs in the North. Despite these opportunities, whites still treated African Americans as second class citizens. Regardless of their professional standings, blacks were not even permitted to use the same entrance as the white tourists. In the tourism industry, they often functioned as part of the attraction, perpetuating a social structure which kept them subordinate in real life.

African Americans in Camden had no formal hotels of their own. Those traveling through Camden had no choice but to stay at private homes. A network of boarding houses existed throughout Camden, accessible by word of mouth. According to some, the Price sisters who owned the Price House, often housed travelers in the seven smaller buildings located on their property.[193] The house once located across the street from the Price House at the present-day location of Davis Printing (17 South Broad Street), also functioned as a primarily black

[192] Daniels, *Nothing Could Be Finer*, 8.
[193] They also boarded girls attending Mather Academy. Interview with Vivian Metze and Ruby Minton, 3 February 2006.

boarding house where people could rent rooms.[194] Several famous black opera singers, including Marian Anderson, reportedly stayed there. The Sarsfield Hotel, established in the mid 1900s as a segregated hotel became the first hotel in Camden to integrate.[195]

The horse industry in Camden developed simultaneously with the rise of northern tourism, and like the hotel industry, provided blacks with additional employment opportunities. Eventually, hotel managers began to market the countryside as one of the main reasons to visit Camden. The Kirkwood Hotel hosted annual horse shows that always drew large audiences. Part of the festivities included bull races where black youths would race bulls in front of an audience of both whites and blacks.[196] As wealthy northerners became part-time residents of Camden, they brought with them their passion for polo and horse racing, as well as their fancy thoroughbreds. [197]

Horse owners across the country have had a long standing tradition of employing blacks in the horse industry.[198] The elite horse racing community often regarded black jockeys and horse trainers as distinguished professionals.[199] The African-American employees affiliated with steeplechasing traveled the circuit from Florida to Saratoga Springs, New York every year. Many black jockeys, known as "Bug Boys," rode in the Camden Flat Track races. [200] Most of the black riders, however, were exercise riders. Other jobs held by African Americans in the horse industry included groomers, trainers, riders, stable hands, groundskeepers, hot walkers, and gardeners.

Much of Camden's horse industry revolved around the Carolina Cup race held annually since 1930. Harry D. Kirkover and Ernest L. Woodward, two northern seasonal residents of Camden, founded the Carolina Cup, which is often described as South Carolina's "biggest cocktail party." [201] With many grounds men, groomers, trainers, and hotel staff involved in its production, the event was also important for African Americans. Blacks and whites alike enjoyed watching the races, although blacks had to watch from behind fences. In 1966, John Edward Truesdale, commonly known as "Squeaky" because of his size, became the first African-American jockey to race in the Carolina Cup. Residents remember that on that day it seemed as if every black in Camden was at the track to watch Squeaky ride.[202] In 1982, Jerome Williams became the only other African-American jockey to race in the Carolina Cup.[203]

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[194] Interview with Vivian Metze and Ruby Minton, 3 February 2006; and Interview with Gladys Woods, 23 February 2006.
[195] Interview with Gladys Woods, 23 February 2006.
[196] L. Glen Inabinet and Joan A. Inabinet, *Kershaw County Legacy: A Commemorative History* (Camden, SC: Kershaw County Historical Society, 1976), 62.
[197] Daniels, *Nothing Could Be Finer*, xii.
[198] Edward Hotaling, *The Great Black Jockeys* (Rocklin, CA: Forum, 1999), 146.
[199] Hotaling, *The Great Black Jockeys*, 151.
[200] Discussion with Hope Cooper, 23 February 2006.
[201] Ernie Trubiano, *The Carolina Cup*: *50 Years of Steeplechasing & Socializing* (Columbia, SC: R.L. Bryan Company, 1982), 15.
[202] Interview with Mary Sue Truesdale, 20 March 2006.
[203] *1982 Carolina Cup Race Program* (printed program, Camden, SC: 1982). Located in the Steeplechase Museum, Camden, SC.

Figure 13. *Camden Stable Boys at Belmont Park, Long Island, New York, ca. 1960s*

From left to right: John Edward ("Squeaky") Truesdale, unidentified boy, Leroy ("Nip") Mitchell, and Plenty ("Bo") Thomas. The horse industry offered many opportunities for African Americans in Camden. Horse workers often "traveled the circuit" with their horses, attending the races from Florida to New York. Courtesy of Mary Sue Truesdale.

While horse racing remained a popular attraction, the game of polo also exposed many blacks in Camden to opportunities in the horse industry. Polo was one of the earliest outdoor sports in Camden. The Camden Polo Club, founded in 1900, was the fourth oldest polo club in the nation. The sport's introduction required extra stable-hands, groomers, saddlers, and talented trainers. African Americans eagerly sought employment in these fields. Many African Americans got their first glimpse of the horse industry through attending the polo games. Some horse owners asked blacks on the sidelines if they wanted to tend to their ponies.[204] This practice often led to permanent employment positions. Squeaky Truesdale used to play hooky from school to watch polo games. His passion for polo landed him a job as a stable hand. Eventually Truesdale became one of the best horse trainers in the South, training such legends as the champion racehorse, Ruffian. [205]

While this era of the grand hotels is gone, the horse industry continues to play an important role in the lives of many African Americans in Camden. Camden's first racetrack, Hawthorne Track, was located downtown, bounded by Lyttleton, DeKalb, Mill and Laurens Streets. The grandstand was located where Laurens and Fair Streets intersect. [206] Many of the residents who worked with the horse industry lived around Carter Street running all of the way to Chesnut Street. Stables are still visible from many of the streets in Kirkwood, a neighborhood that grew out of the tourism industry. A great deal of the horse industry workers today come from families with a tradition of working in the horse and tourism industries.

[204] Daniels, *Nothing Could Be Finer*, 2, 4, 114.
[205] Ruffian was the three-year-old undefeated champion who met a tragic death during a race at Belmont Park in 1975. An ESPN television movie about Ruffian is currently in production. For more information see: Matt Hegarty, "Ruffian movie in works at ESPN," http://www.sports.espn.go.com/sports/horse/news/story?id=2290281 (accessed 13 January 2006).
[206] Trainers currently train thoroughbred flat horses at Wrenfield track, located at the end of Chesnut Street, west of the seaboard railway station. Trubiano, *The Carolina Cup*, 12.

Venturing into Business

While most African Americans remained in service-oriented and laboring jobs, some blacks made a name for themselves beginning in the era of Reconstruction by opening and operating their own businesses. On 28 January 1873, John Moreau Dibble (1848-1877), a great-grandson of Bonds Conway, purchased property on the east side of Camden's main thoroughfare, Broad Street, becoming one of the town's earliest black storeowners. It was at this property, south of Rutledge Street, that the Dibble family began its tradition of store proprietorship. John Moreau Dibble and his brother, Eugene Heriot Dibble (1855-1935), operated this general store until John's death. Under the operation of Eugene Heriot Dibble, the business begun by John Moreau Dibble moved across the street to 1053 Broad Street prior to 1890 and operated as "E.H. Dibble & Brothers Grocers and Crockery." The building stands today at 1053 Broad Street and is inscribed at the top with "E.H. Dibble 1887." Their businesses were so prosperous that within the first thirteen years of the twentieth century, Eugene Heriot Dibble began operating yet another grocery (or general merchandising store) at 609- 11th Avenue, now DeKalb Street.[207]

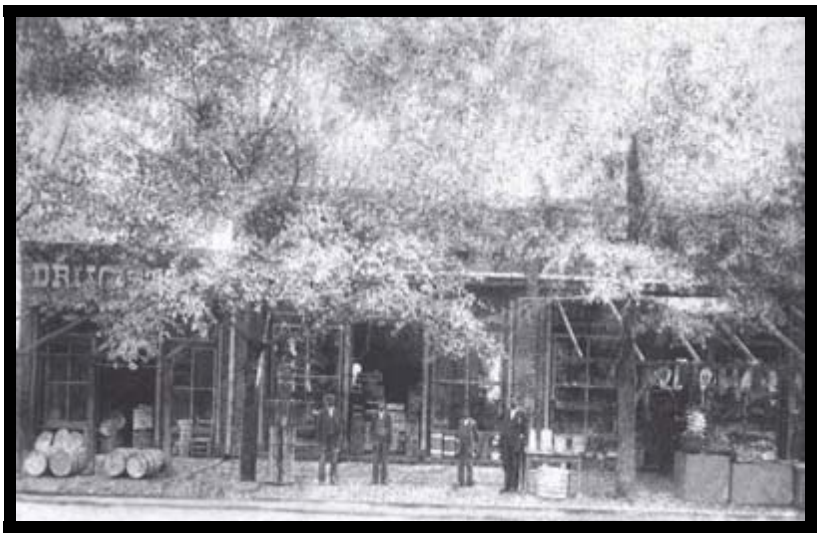

Figure 14. *Dibble Store, ca. 1892*

John Moreau Dibble opened this store on east Broad Street in 1873. Permission of *S.C. Postcards, VIII, Camden*, by Howard Woody and Davie Beard.

The Dibbles became highly successful members of Camden's African-American community. At one point the family owned property making up an entire block of Broad Street. The Dibble family's success stemmed largely from the fact that they belonged to a family whose freedom had begun long before that of other African Americans in Camden. As descendants of Bonds Conway, the Dibbles had opportunities for growth and advancement denied to many who had remained in slavery. Nevertheless, some former slaves, such as William Boykin, succeeded in opening businesses as well. In 1890, Boykin operated a grocery store in Camden.[208]

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[207] Martin Cahn, "Camden's first family of black business," *Chronicle-Independent*, Camden, 28 February 2005; and Taylor-Goins and Taylor-McConnell, "Naudin-Dibble Family," 14 -15. His mother, Bonds Conway's granddaughter Ellie Naomi Naudin Dibble (1828-1920), retained ownership of the building until her death.

[208] Harvey Teal, ed. *Kershaw County/Distrcit Business Directory, 1854-1900* (Camden, SC: Kershaw County Historical Society, 1999).

In these years following Reconstruction, blacks in Camden and throughout the South experienced increased discrimination. By the 1890s, Jim Crow laws segregated every aspect of life, especially economic life. However, these laws ironically created conditions for some black businesses to flourish. To combat discrimination and segregation, numerous blacks in Camden followed the Dibble family's example. These black entrepreneurs opened dry good stores, grocery stores, restaurants, drug stores, beauty shops, and barbershops. Several also became shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, undertakers and even cabinetmakers. Most of these businesses had appeared in the *Camden Business Directory* as early as 1886.[209] The majority of those African-American business owners became members of Camden's middle-class black community. Samuel Walter James operated the only blacksmith shop in Camden and the surrounding areas for over fifty years. His shop, the Village Blacksmith at 531 Arthur Lane, served a mixed clientele comprised mostly of farmers and those affiliated with horse industry. He served customers from Camden, Darlington, Florence, Aiken, and areas near Charlotte. He was able to also employee five or six employees in his shop.[210]

Figure 15. *Samuel W. James, Camden Blacksmith*

Samuel Walter James operated The Village Blacksmith for over fifty years. He served black and white clientele, while employing up to six people at a time. WIS image is courtesy of Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.

A small number of people did find a niche in the black professional class. One of the most notable among this group was Dr. John Pickett, Camden's first black doctor. Dr. Pickett was born in April 1879 and started his practice in Camden around 1904. Some believe he entered the field because he witnessed so many of his brothers and sisters die young. Of the eleven children born to his parents, Hardy and Ella Able Pickett of Fairfield County, only five survived to adulthood. Dr. Pickett, the oldest child, attended Allen University before moving on to the Leonard Medical School at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina. One of his earliest offices was located at 920 Broad Street. At the office, he cared for both black and white

[209] Teal, ed., *Kershaw Business Directory*.
[210] Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt, 4 February 2006.

patients, and many of Camden's white doctors recommended him to African Americans. Pickett's children recalled that in the early years of their father's practice he relied on a bicycle and then a horse and buggy to make house calls. As the years progressed and their economic status climbed, Dr. Pickett purchased a 1909 Hupmobile to use during the day, and at night he used the buggy pulled by his horses "Lady," "Lady Lightfoot" and "Flossie."[211]

Dr. Pickett was more than simply Camden's first black doctor. He also made most of his own medicines and soon began operating part of his practice at 920 Broad Street as a drug store. Originally known as People's Drug Store, Dr. Pickett later renamed it Pickett's Drug Store. His younger brother Elmer eventually came to work as the pharmacist in 1927. Dr. John Pickett's career in Camden spanned approximately fifty years. Prior to retiring from his practice, he served as a consultant in pediatrics at Meharry University in Nashville, Tennessee. He also served as the president of the Palmetto Medical Association (the South Carolina organization for black physicians) and wrote an article on the endocrine glands, which the *Journal of the American Medical Association* published. The A.M.A asked him to address its conference in Chicago, but when the organizers discovered he was African American they rescinded the invitation.[212]

Roughly thirteen years before Dr. Pickett retired, another black-owned pharmacy opened under the ownership of Theodore J. Whitaker at 191 Broad Street. Whitaker, a graduate of Jackson High School, South Carolina State College, and Howard University, opened up his shop in 1940 when two other pharmacies, Dr. Pickett's and one operated by Dr. J. Horace Thomas, were already in business. However, Whitaker's shop thrived because of a soda fountain and luncheon counter. These two services not only provided what whites refused to give blacks elsewhere, but they also provided a meeting place for young and old in the African-American community. Whitaker also provided employment behind the fountain counter for teenagers.[213]

Other members of the professional class were those involved in the funeral industry. The three black funeral homes that operated in Camden during the last half of the twentieth century included the Collins Funeral Home (DeKalb Street), Haile Funeral Home (Rutledge Street), and Brown Funeral Home (Broad Street). Collins Funeral Home, established in 1914, is the oldest in Camden. It was, and still is, operated out of one of the oldest buildings in Camden (built 1823).[214] By law, blacks and whites had to be served in separate rooms or facilities.[215] Unlike other black businesses that served only one race, these funeral homes served solely the African-American community. Therefore, the funeral business became a profitable line of work and provided their owners a significant place within the black community.

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[211] Betty Garber, "First black doctor lacked 'miracle drug'," *Camden Independent*, Camden, 19 July 1978. Located in "Pickett Family," vertical file, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.
[212]Garber, "First black doctor." Upon arriving in Camden, Dr. Pickett hung a slate outside of his office so that patients could leave him messages.
[213] "Retirement: Camden druggist served community for 39 years," *Camden Chronicle*, Camden, 6 April 1979. Located in "Afro-Americans Kershaw County, South Carolina 1970-79 ," vertical file, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC; and "Camden Landmark- Whitaker's Drug Store to close April 30," *Camden Independent*, Camden, 25 April 1979. Located in "Afro-Americans Kershaw County, South Carolina 1970-79," vertical file, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.
[214] "G.E. Collins Obituary," *The State*, Columbia, 4 March 1974. Located in "Afro-Americans Kershaw County South Carolina," vertical file, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.
[215] Gordon, *Sketches of Negro Life*, 147.

Like undertaking, the barbering business benefited from segregation; however, while the black funeral industry never served whites, the barbering business did. This fact led to the creation of black-owned barbershops that served only whites and black-owned barbershops that served only blacks. One would never see a white person cutting the hair of a black person because it was considered shameful for a white to "serve" an African American. Some of these black barber shops housed women's beauty salons like the one operated by Susie Brown in Des Kennedy's barbershop.[216] In the barbering industry there was little competition for patrons between white and black barbers.[217] While some whites operated barbershops in Camden, black barbers outnumbered white barbers in 1941. As in other cities and towns, African Americans in Camden laid a claim to this occupation and drew a certain degree of economic standing from it.

Figure 16. *A Camden Barbershop*

The barbering business provided African Americans with some degree of economic standing. WIS image is courtesy of Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.

DuPont: Changing the Shape of Camden

The arrival of the DuPont plant in 1950 improved the status of African Americans while changing the face of Camden's economy. DuPont's May plant, located in Lugoff, South Carolina, was dedicated and named for Benjamin M. May, a former Department General Manager of the DuPont Company. The plant originally manufactured Orlon, an acrylic fiber produced primarily from petroleum derivatives and used in textiles.[218] Hiring 1,300 employees, the May Plant became a top employer in Camden and brought nearly 1,000 new residents to the

[216] Interview with Gladys Wood, 14 February 2006.
[217] Gordon, *Sketches of Negro Life*, 147.
[218] E. I. DuPont De Nemours & Company, *May Plant: Camden, South Carolina* (Wilmington, DE: E. I. DuPont De Nemours & Company, n.d.). Located in South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

area in the early 1950s.[219] Its opening stands as one of the most significant economic developments in the history of Camden; and one that directly impacted African Americans.

Figure 17. *Du Pont's May Plant, ca. 1950s*

The Du Pont plant in Lugoff helped transform Camden into a modern city. It was one of the first major industries in Camden to employ a large number of African Americans in non-service oriented jobs. Courtesy of Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.

Camden's transformation became obvious within the first few years of the May Plant's existence. The once widely held belief that "DuPont is Camden" reflected the influence of the plant on the city's economic and physical growth.[220] Its employees funneled money into Camden, providing a boost to the local businesses. The city met increased housing needs by creating Camden's first apartment homes and new housing developments. The growth also stimulated improvements such as paving the streets and creating sidewalks. With the creation of the May Plant, Camden was no longer a small quaint town. It became more industrial and much busier.[221]

In its first decade, DuPont hired a large number of African Americans but due to the law prohibiting blacks and whites from working in the same room, they mostly worked menial jobs outdoors. For example, the grounds crew at DuPont was primarily black.[222] Several people remember DuPont workers acting amicably towards blacks, at least in comparison to other employers in the area.[223] The plant's arrival allowed many blacks to leave domestic service, farming, and the hotel industry in order to work for a company where pay was much higher. Higher wages allowed blacks to improve their lives and social standing by purchasing cars and homes. Some even purchased houses from whites.[224] DuPont also offered employee benefit programs to assist its workers regardless of race. These benefits included free life insurance and some medical coverage. DuPont's arrival represented an important shift in the direction of economic equality.

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[219] DuPont De Nemours & Company, *May Plant*; and "When DuPont came to town…," *Chronicle Independent*, Camden, 28 July 2003.
[220] Interview with Richard Darby, 20 February 2006.
[221] "When DuPont came to town…"
[222] *May Times* 9, no. 16 (15 May 1959); and Interview with Johnny Williams, 8 February 2006.
[223] Interview with Johnny Williams, 8 February 2006.
[224] Interview with James McGirt, 27 January 2006; and Interview with Vivian Metze and Ruby Minton, 3 February 2006.

Despite the oppression of Jim Crow laws and segregation, African Americans in Camden created opportunities for themselves in various businesses throughout town. By operating their own businesses, many African Americans became members of the emerging black middle or professional classes. Many in the horse and tourism industries discovered opportunities to establish professional careers. Still, others in the barbering and funeral industries found lucrative businesses that excelled because they lacked white competition. Through all of these ventures, African Americans in Camden hoped to bring themselves out of the shadow of slavery and discrimination.

Associated Sites

E.H. Dibble & Brothers Grocers and Crockery, 1053 Broad Street; E.H. Dibble Store, 609 DeKalb Street; Rufus Dennis Dibble Store, 1206 Campbell Street. These stores were owned and operated by various members of a significant African-American family.

Collins Funeral Home, 714 DeKalb Street. Amon R. Collins began operating this funeral home around 1914, and it was later taken over by his son George Evans Collins. The original hearse carriage first used in 1914 sits in front of the home.

Haile Funeral Parlor, 848 Broad Street. The Haile Funeral Home is another African-American funeral home, which was opened after the Collins Funeral Home. This funeral home is presently located at 919 Church Street.

Brown Funeral Home, 704 Broad Street. This funeral home opened sometime after 1941. Brown learned his skills from Richard Haile prior to opening his business.

Dr. Pickett's office, 920 Broad Street. The office of Camden's first black doctor was established here in 1904.

Theodore J. Whitaker drug store, 191 Broad Street. Whitaker opened his drug store in 1940. He made many of his own medicines and operated a soda fountain and luncheon counter. These venues served as a meeting place for many blacks.

Central Barber Shop, 1047 Broad Street; Eureka Barber Shop, 1050 Broad Street, Des Kennedy, 953 Broad Street; Columbus Knox, 929 Broad Street; Paul McGirt, 917 Broad Street; Palace Barber Shop, 535 DeKalb Street; Jason Reynolds, 905 Broad Street. These businesses were important within in the African-American community. They offered blacks an industry where they did not have to compete with whites for customers.

Southern Cotton Oil Company, 116 DeKalb Street. This company opened in 1885 and could have employed newly freed African-Americans who did not find work in the fields.

Hermitage Cotton Mill, 125 Bishopville. Opened in 1891, this mill processed cotton produced in Camden. African-Americans likely filled menial jobs here.

Chero Cola Bottling Company, 935 Broad Street. This company opened in 1910, and potentially employed blacks. Its building later housed the Southern Furnishing Company and Thomas Williams Drugs.

Wateree Mill, 114 Union Street. This mill opened in 1915. Like the other industries, blacks who worked here would have spent their days cleaning bathrooms, grounds-keeping and performing other work that white employees refused to do.

Camden Iron and Brass Works, 120 DeKalb Street. Like the Wateree Mill, this manufacturer also opened its doors in 1915. It also likely employed blacks in menial positions.

Springdale Race Course 200 Knights Hill Road. The site of the annual Carolina Cup Race. Historically employed and continues to employ many African Americans in the horse industry.

Hawthorne Track. Downtown, bounded by Lyttleton, DeKalb, Mill and Laurens Streets. A race track that employed blacks and was the site of many flat races where black jockeys rode.

Grounds of the Kirkwood Hotel (previously bounded by Green Street); the Court Inn (previously bounded by 2nd Avenue and 13th Street); and the Hobkirk Inn (previously bounded by Green Street and Lyttleton Street): These hotels hold an important place in the history of African Americans in Camden. Many African Americans were employed as bellboys, chambermaids, kitchen assistants, groundskeepers, buggy drivers, waiters, and other service workers in the hotels.

C. The Impact of War

Memorializing the efforts of African-American soldiers in Camden and in other small cities like it across the country often occurred in city cemeteries. Camden's Cedar Cemetery contained countless men who fought in foreign wars during the twentieth century. The Revolutionary and Civil Wars presented African Americans with limited opportunities to take an active role in establishing their freedom from the system of slavery, and the results of the Civil War left African Americans free but still oppressed. Three important wars of the twentieth century – World War I, World War II, and the Vietnam War – presented African Americans with more prospects to advance their status in society and experience a world free of Jim Crow segregation and exploitation.

Fighting for Equality: World War I

Like previous wars, African Americans found themselves fighting in World War I. In a nation upholding Jim Crow segregation and political oppression, African Americans looked to fighting in a war as an opportunity to prove their status as American citizens worthy of equal treatment. A majority of African Americans entered the war through the national draft. Enacted on 18 May 1917, the draft required all men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty to register with the government. While the process gathered people of all races and places, a majority of those

drafted into the war were African Americans; South Carolina's draft numbers reflected this national trend. Within South Carolina, counties in the Lowcountry drafted the smallest percentage of African Americans; counties in the northernmost portion of the state, including Kershaw County, the highest percentage. While African Americans attempted to end the racist system that continually exploited them, the draft and military service was, in many ways, just an extension of that system. [225]

Unfortunately for black South Carolinians, the military treated minority soldiers much like they treated them in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars: they endured segregated training and filled laboring positions more frequently than did whites. At the beginning of the war, the United States military did not offer African Americans any training facilities; this omission not only prevented black soldiers from receiving the basic training needed for battle but also eliminated African Americans from becoming ranking officers due to their lack of special training. Only after intense pressure from African-American organizations and media did the military open an all-black officers' camp in Iowa. On 15 October 1917, their segregated camp produced its first class of army officers, including officer Elliott H. Kelly, a resident of Camden, South Carolina.[226]

Even though fighting in the war often perpetuated Jim Crow racism and segregation, African Americans returned from Europe with new, positive experiences to inspire them for continued civil rights progress. For most African-American soldiers from rural South Carolina, opportunities for traveling had been largely confined to trips across the county or state. Through fighting in Europe, black South Carolinians interacted with African Americans from other parts of the South and the country. They also came into contact with blacks from other nations. South Carolinians were able to experience other countries like France and all of its cultural treasures without any component of Jim Crow reminding them of their second-class status.[227]

In addition to visiting foreign lands, some African-American soldiers fought in integrated military units with foreign troops. Stationed in France, the 92nd Division, made up of several black regiments from various regions of the United States, fought alongside white and black French soldiers. Because of their efforts, the 92nd Division received more medals of honor from the French government than any other American combat division or regiment. While the soldiers of the 92nd Division returned to America with praise, they soon realized that American society had not improved since their departure for war: both the society and the military remained segregated, limiting their economic and social opportunities. [228]

Roughly two decades later, dispute in Europe would yet again call upon the services of African-American soldiers – and African Americans helped not only to defeat the Axis Powers abroad but also to weaken the bonds of segregation at home.

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[225] W.J. Meggison, "Black South Carolinians in World War One: The 'Official Roster' as a Resource for Local History, Mobility, and African American History," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 96, no. 2 (1995), 161.
[226] Meggison, "Black South Carolinians," 154, 167.
[227] Meggison, "Black South Carolinians," 165; and Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 82.
[228] James L. Roark, et al., *The American Promise: A History of the United States* (Boston, MA: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 786 – 787.

Fighting for Equality: World War II

Popular African-American leader W.E.B Du Bois realized the potential World War II held for providing a better life for the nation's marginalized. Portraying the war as a dispute over increased democratic opportunities for various minority groups, Du Bois encouraged young African-American men to take up arms on behalf of their country. Nearly one million African Americans, some listening to Du Bois and some not listening, joined the war effort. In fact, some might argue that the number of African Americans who participated in World War II far surpassed the expectations of the community: the minority group composed sixteen percent of the armed forces despite the fact that they only made up ten percent of the total United States population. Their goals for fighting in the war were just as ambitious as the numbers they produced. In addition to combating the forces of fascism and Nazism, the nation's commitment to aiding the Allied Forces in World War II allowed African-American soldiers to inch closer to equality in both the military and in the greater society. [229]

The recruitment of African-American soldiers for active combat was slow in the beginning of the war. It was not until the white, young, male population began to dwindle that the military aggressively recruited young African-American males. While at first the military followed strict policies of segregation in training, housing, and combat, the depleted numbers of white soldiers forced officials not only to draw from the untapped African-American reserve of soldiers but also to utilize these soldiers in operations with other white soldiers. The harsh, distinct lines of racial segregation slowly began to blur as World War II continued.[230]

Like every other war in which African Americans participated, they found that white authority limited their roles. White supremacy at home often made initial training and early service in America difficult and humiliating for African-American soldiers. Recruiting centers, training facilities, and even blood banks remained segregated, which forced African Americans to acknowledge their secondary status. Also, menial service abroad did not help to improve the status of African Americans. Black soldiers found themselves washing the dishes of white soldiers, transporting white officers, and running errands for white soldiers. Even abroad, African Americans could not escape the servant's role.[231]

Although many African-American men struggled to improve their second-class status, they nonetheless made important strides towards achieving equal status within the military ranks during World War II. For the first time in any war, *some* African-American soldiers received official training as pilots, like the Tuskegee Airmen, served as soldiers instead of servants on war ships, and fought actively in ground combat in both Europe and Asia. In addition to men, African-American women began to join the ranks of the military with promising positions. Despite facing some of the same discrimination experienced by men, like living and training in segregated barracks, African-American female nurses often had significant exposure to white soldiers and other white nurses.[232] These changes proved to the nation and the world that African Americans were just as dedicated in winning the war and just as reliable in fighting the

[229] Roark, et al., *The American Promise*, 916 – 918, 962.
[230] Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 92 – 94.
[231] Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 91, 95; and Rorark, et al., *The American Promise*, 918.
[232] Roark, et al., *The American Promise*, 918; and Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 98.

enemy as were their fellow white soldiers. Demonstrating their active commitment to the war made African-American demands for equal opportunity more apparent and legitimate in American society.

Desegregation of the Armed Forces

Removing the racial barriers that dominated military life and service was a gradual process that spanned several decades. In the years leading up to the United States' involvement in World War II, officers in the armed forces maintained segregated barracks but promoted early glimpses of progress through utilizing a quota system to ensure that population of African-American soldiers was proportional to their population in the larger American society. As World War II progressed and as more African-American soldiers replaced dying and injured white soldiers, the existing divisions of race slowly dissolved out of necessity. In addition to the mounting white casualties, racial segregation also began to weaken because of African-American activism at home. Civil rights activists wrote letters to the president Roosevelt urging him to create more opportunities for African-American soldiers in the military. Activists published articles in prominent black magazines and newspapers that criticized the government for adopting racial policies in the armed forces. Some civil rights leaders even met with the president and his staff to discuss the need for better treatment among African Americans in the military. [233]

Despite the efforts of activists, ending segregation within the military remained controversial. Many officers debated the dedication, motivation, and competencies of African-American soldiers. For example, the United States published reports in 1945 and 1950 on the aptitude and abilities of African-American soldiers; from these reports, the Army suggested to President Harry S. Truman and other officials that the "lower mental and aptitude levels" of African-American soldiers made them ultimately undesirable on the battlefield.[234] Combating racism within the military proved to be a long challenge for African Americans and their white allies. However, with the election of President Truman in 1948, activists for desegregating the armed forces received increased support from the executive branch of the federal government.

As part of greater effort to understand race relations and the impact of racial violence on African Americans, Truman created the Committee on Civil Rights in 1946. While the committee looked at various aspects of American life, it focused considerable attention on the impact of segregation in the armed services. The committee reported that desegregation had to occur in the military for several reasons. One reason emphasized the obvious need for loyalty and dedication to one's country. The committee believed that racial discrimination only helped to alienate African-American soldiers who desired to defend their country in times of war. In addition to loyalty, the committee also stated that as the nation moves closer towards integration, the military served as a model to show how government agencies could work together to promote racial equality.[235]

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[233] Sherie Mershon and Steven Schlossman, *Foxholes and Color Lines: Desegregating the U.S. Armed Forces* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press: 1998), 27, 32 – 37.
[234] Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 99.
[235] Mershon and Schlossman, *Foxholes*, 164 – 164.

In addition to the remarks from the Committee on Civil Rights, the president also had military testimonials to further promote the need for desegregation in the armed services. Truman listened to accounts of the courage African-American soldiers showed on the battlefield – how black soldiers often performed dangerous missions that no white soldier would attempt in order to gain respect. With the encouragement of committees, activists, African-American soldiers, and other invested individuals, President Truman continued the gradual trend towards desegregating the armed forces by issuing Executive Order 9981, which officially ended segregation within the military in 1948; the law now required the military to "phase in men for military assignments without regard to race."[236]

Despite the executive order, integrating military barracks and regiments took time to accomplish. African Americans faced intense resistance from many officers and branches of the armed services. Some African-American soldiers served in integrated forces during the Korean War. In those circumstances, however, one or two African Americans fought alongside an entire regiment of white soldiers. There was not a full-scale effort to produce integrated forces until the war in Vietnam. Even with the delay, however, African Americans established a crucial first victory in the battle to topple Jim Crow segregation through their participation in the military.[237]

Fighting for Equality: Vietnam

Combating the spread of communism was just one reason African Americans accompanied their country in its battle in Vietnam. Just like in other wars during the twentieth century, joining the military during the Vietnam War era created hopes of a better life for many African Americans, particularly those from rural areas where prosperity was not as prevalent. A career in the military provided soldiers with a full time job that offered a lifetime of advancement, health and education benefits, and special training. Also, the war fueled a young individual's quest for worldly adventure. More importantly, however, it also gave African Americans another chance to claim equality in their social status – a chance they simply could not get on a farm in South Carolina or many other places in the United States. Decades after the end of official segregation in the military and in society, African Americans still found themselves mobilizing around war in order to improve their status in society. [238]

While the Vietnam War was the first fully integrated war for African Americans, they still met difficulties due to racial discrimination and class exploitation. Even though recruiting no longer relied on open forms of racism and segregation as it once did, new measures and incentives often benefited the white, middle and upper classes over the poor black and white populations. Popular methods of "dodging the draft" quickly emerged as the nation drafted more and more young Americans, and the richer, white youth benefited most from these methods. For example, white youth routinely avoided the Vietnam War by running to other nations, by receiving medical and student deferments, or by claiming conscientious objections. Often lacking the financial means to leave the country or attend college, many African Americans chose to serve their country in Vietnam. Despite the large amount of deaths and the racism that

[236] Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 94, 99.
[237] Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 102.
[238] Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 106, 114.

existed among soldiers, African Americans still fought bravely in Vietnam and some were able to improve their own lives economically and through participating in combat. [239]

D. Education

Black Education during Reconstruction

The dawn of Reconstruction saw the rise of a number of schools dedicated solely to the education of the newly freed men and women of South Carolina. One northern transplant, a Quaker teacher by the name of Anna Gardner, noted the changes in post-bellum South Carolina and the importance of education: "It is of still greater import that those who, while under the yoke of bondage, were subjected to the extremist penalties of a diabolical law when found with a book in hand, are now vigorously prosecuting the work of school superintendents, or acting as trustees of colleges."[240] Forbidden for so long from knowledge and learning, newly freed blacks embraced the educational opportunities Reconstruction gave them with fervor.

Educational changes for blacks were so successful in the Reconstruction era because of outside assistance organized to counteract the animosity and disdain felt by southern whites towards their newly freed neighbors. The first important organization to appear during Reconstruction actually went into effect over a month before the war ended. In March 1865, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands was within the War Department to assist blacks in states under Reconstruction.[241] Commonly known as the Freedman's Bureau, the organization sought to assist the impoverished areas of the South and protect the rights of those newly freed. One of the areas the Freedman's Bureau oversaw was organizational services such as aid, uplift, and education. The creation and management of schools fell within that section. The Bureau oversaw the management of the finances, facilities, and staff of schools in an attempt to assure that as many people as possible could partake. Hated by many southern whites who viewed the Bureau as run by staunch abolitionists, the Freedman's Bureau had a great deal of support from northern missionaries who came to the South in substantial numbers towards the end of the war bearing assistance for freed slaves in the form of materials, spiritual doctrine, and a strong desire to educate.[242]

By February 1866 there were four black schools operating in Camden: Lincoln, Hamilton, Jackson, and Whittmore. Five more schools appeared before the end of the year: Stevenson, Dickerson, Anderson, Adamson, and a night school. These nine schools and the three more that followed all operated under the Freedmen's Bureau with some staying open for only months while others lasted many years.[243]

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[239] Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 117 – 118.
[240] Anna Gardner, *Harvest Gleanings*, memoir (1881). Located in Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.
[241] "Freedman's Bureau of Augusta County, Virginia: Brief Overview,"
[242] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 396-397; and James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: Ballentine Books, 1988), 710.
[243] Teal, *Public Schools,1868-1870*, 11.

Figure 18. ***"****Public School for Negroes" ca. 1900s (Camden,SC)*

During Reconstruction the Freedman's Bureau was responsible for starting a number of African-American public schools in the South. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

By the late 1860s, the South struggled to accept the goals set by the federal government for its reinstatement in the union. The Freedman's Bureau organized aid to freedpeople and the impoverished of any color. It was at this time, in 1868, that the South Carolina Constitutional Convention, with participation from both black and white representatives and senators, passed a new constitution with the hopes of rebuilding of South Carolina. This constitution passed into effect one of Reconstruction's most lasting legacies: the public school system, an organized, state-wide, and publicly funded education system. Originally intended to be integrated, opposition by whites prevented such a system's implementation.[244] After the end of Reconstruction, South Carolina public schools, often citing the Supreme Court decisions in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, systematically implemented dual school systems all over the state.

[244] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 390; and Teal, *Public Schools, 1868-1870*, 11-12.

Figure 19. *He Can't Read, ca. 1900s (Camden,SC)*

The end of slavery meant greater access to education for many blacks throughout the South. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

Black Education during Jim Crow

The educational and social outreach of Reconstruction quickly died off once the federal government removed its presence. However, through the 1880s, South Carolina provided roughly equal funding for black and white schools. The ascension of Governor Benjamin Tillman and the passage of a new constitution in 1895 sounded a death toll for fair educational funding. The 1895 constitution required separate schools for black and white children and made no attempt to equally fund the dual systems.[245]

African Americans struggled through the years of Jim Crow to learn and flourish with sorely under-funded schools. Black schools in Camden were forced to make due with outdated books, inadequate equipment, and a lack of facilities.[246] Black Camdenites walked miles to the schools while busses carrying white children passed them by. Textbooks for the black public schools were old, outdated, and branded "For Colored Students Only." Science equipment at Jackson consisted of photographs of microscopes instead of the actual objects.[247] Many succeeded in the public system due to dedicated staff and hard work, but they did not always have equality in funding and space.

[245] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 420,448.
[246] Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt, 4 February 2006.
[247] Interview with Dr. Daisy Alexander, 7 February 2006.

Through the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a grade system developed in South Carolina and across the country in schools to serve students of all ages effectively. Teachers separated children by age groups into specific grades and then created lessons for each group. This development resulted in the grade system that is still in place today. As the state-wide grade system developed, single-room, multi-age schools, such as the original "Jackson School," grew and split into elementary, middle, and high schools. Camden Elementary, Middle, and High School served the white population, while Jackson Elementary, Middle, and High School served the black population. An African-American school known as both Kirkwood and Kirkland School existed slightly outside of the city boundaries, educating children from the area known as Kirkwood.[248] Saint Matthew was also outside the city limits but was included in Camden as it was the school associated with farmers and those living in more rural areas.[249]

Philanthropy became one important source of support for black schools. Julius Rosenwald, a successful northern businessman, became involved in the betterment of African-American education after meeting Booker T. Washington and learning of the deplorable conditions of many black schools in the South. Rosenwald created a fund that, among other things, gave money to aid in the construction of better schools for southern blacks.[250]

In Camden, the Julius Rosenwald Fund sponsored several schools through the years. Rosenwald funds went to assist the Jackson, Kirkwood/Kirkland, and Saint Matthew schools. Saint Matthew received Rosenwald funding in 1923, and Kirkwood received funding in 1930.[251] Jackson School began in 1866-1867 and was incorporated into the state graded school system in 1893. It received Rosenwald money in 1923 for the construction of a high school. While Jackson School had been operating since 1893 with only ninth grade, the newly funded Rosenwald School opened in 1924 as solely tenth grade. Eleventh grade was added in 1925, and the school officially became Jackson High School. The high school had its first class in 1926 with twenty female graduates. In 1936, the Works Project Administration (WPA), an active force in Camden through the 1940s, constructed a two-story brick building to replace the wooden Rosenwald School.[252] Jackson School operated as both a grammar and high school run by the same faculty and was located next to each other on the corner of DeKalb Street and Campbell Street. Principal P.B. Mdodona, a native of Africa, served both schools from 1917 until his retirement in 1951.[253] He was the first black principal in Kershaw County to run a high school that prepared its graduates for college.[254] After Mdodona retired, the high school and grammar school began to operate as separate entities. As the schools grew, the elementary school took over the entire property at the corner of Campbell and DeKalb and the high school was moved to

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[248] Dewey D. Dodds to J.C. Walton, 10 November 1970, Manuscripts Division, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
[249] Dodds to Walton, 10 November 1970; and Interview with Janie Lloyd, 17 February 2006.
[250] Edwin Embree, *Investment in People: The Story of the Julius Rosenwald Fund* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1949), 26-28.
[251] Rosenwald School Insurance Cards. Loacted in the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.
[252] "Jackson School." Located in "Public Schools – Kershaw County SC Jackson School 1915-1988," vertical file, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.
[253] "Former JHS Principal Succumbs," *The Camden Chronicle*, Camden, 16 October 1968; and Conversation with Harrison Bennett, 13 February 2006.
[254] "Former JHS Principal Succumbs."

a new building on Chesnut Ferry Road to accommodate its size.[255]

Due to the lack of state support, the public school system for blacks in Camden was never as successful as the local private school, Browning Home-Mather Academy, later known as Boylan-Haven-Mather Academy, in fostering a diverse atmosphere or providing unique opportunities for the students to experience the arts.

Mather Academy: An "Oasis in the Desert"

In 1867, a northern missionary named Sarah Babcock came to Camden to create a school for African-American children. She ran her school for a brief period in a building off Broad Street before realizing she would need larger facilities to accommodate the number of children in the area. Babcock purchased a twenty-seven acre former plantation off Campbell Street with the mansion still extant on the property. Once she made this purchase, Babcock returned to New England, married, took the surname Mather, and managed the school's future from a distance by raising funds to construct another building on the land. Fanny O. Browning gave a large amount of money to the school. The school utilized these funds to construct a female dormitory named Browning Home in her honor. The school, with its two buildings, Mather Hall and Browning Home, opened its doors for female African Americans in 1887 with few resources and a white, northern missionary staff.[256]

In 1889, the New England Southern Conference of the Women's Home Missionary Society, a Methodist Episcopal organization, purchased the school for $2,000. Milestones came quickly for the growing private school. Boys first began attending the school in 1890, and the first commencement was held in 1893 with four girls graduating.[257] Through the last decades of the nineteenth century subjects such as botany, civil government, Latin, geography, algebra, ancient history, and geometry were added to a curriculum that already included the basic skills of reading and writing, along with religious courses and devotions.[258] In 1900, the school changed its name to Mather Academy.[259]

Mather Academy was well-known for the "superior education" it provided to African Americans. It was the first school in Kershaw County to have a twelfth grade. The academy provided exceptional education by exposing black children to cultural events not normally accessible to them such as concerts, lectures, plays, and religious education. One Mather graduate, who had attended Kirkwood/Kirkland School, until the seventh grade, noted that at Mather there was a great deal of focus on and positive discussion of black history. Mather brought well-known artists to the town and encouraged the children to partake in the arts by

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[255] "Jackson School."
[256] Francis Peacock, *Browning Home and Mather Academy: A Fifty Year History* (Camden, SC: Camden Archives, 1937), 1-2. Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC; and *Browning Home Boylan-Haven Mather Academy Camden, South Carolina 1999 Grand Reunion* (Camden, SC: Boylan Haven-Mather Academy National Alumni Association, Inc., 1999), 6.
[257] *Browning Home Boylan-Haven Mather Academy Camden, South Carolina 1999 Grand Reunion*, 6-7.
[258] Peacock, *Browning Home and Mather Academy*, 9.
[259] Martin Cahn, "Boylan-Haven-Mather Academy: A Legacy of Racial Tolerance," *Chronicle-Independent*, Camden, 31 January 2005.

going to Columbia. Students even participated in conferences related to their schoolwork and extra-curricular activities.[260]

Figure 20. *Browning Home, ca. 1900s*

Mather Academy and its grounds grew out of the Browning Home. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

Figure 21. *1932 Mather Girls Basketball Team*

Mather Academy provided its students with a wide variety of activities related to academics, sports, and also the arts. Permission of *S.C. Postcards, VIII, Camden*, by Howard Woody and Davie Beard.

Mather Academy boasted both a day school and housing facilities for boarders from other parts of the state and country. The campus sprawled over a large tract of land. By the end of its career it had both boys' and girls' dormitories. The school's renown drew students from all over the country and a few from overseas. Those attending school had exposure to many different types of people and situations.[261]

Mather was "an oasis" from the segregated society outside by allowing interracial

[260] Cahn, "Boylan-Haven-Mather Academy: A Legacy of Racial Tolerance."
[261] Interview with Ruby Minton, 3 February 2006; and *Mather Academy Yearbook* (Camden, SC: Mather Academy, 1949).

interaction in a friendly and supportive way.[262] Mather's faculty was integrated and this interaction between the African-American students and the integrated faculty was very beneficial to the students.

This comprehensive education and exposure to cultural events allowed many of Mather's alumni to become leaders in their communities. South Carolina Sixth District U.S. House Representative James E. Clyburn graduated from Mather in 1957 and credits Mather with lessons on how to appreciate diversity and how to give back to your own community. Upon graduation, Clyburn had been planning to travel north because he felt "I wouldn't be able to do what I wanted here."[263] It was the school's financial secretary that convinced Clyburn to stay by telling him that by leaving nothing would get better and he should instead stay and make a difference.[264]

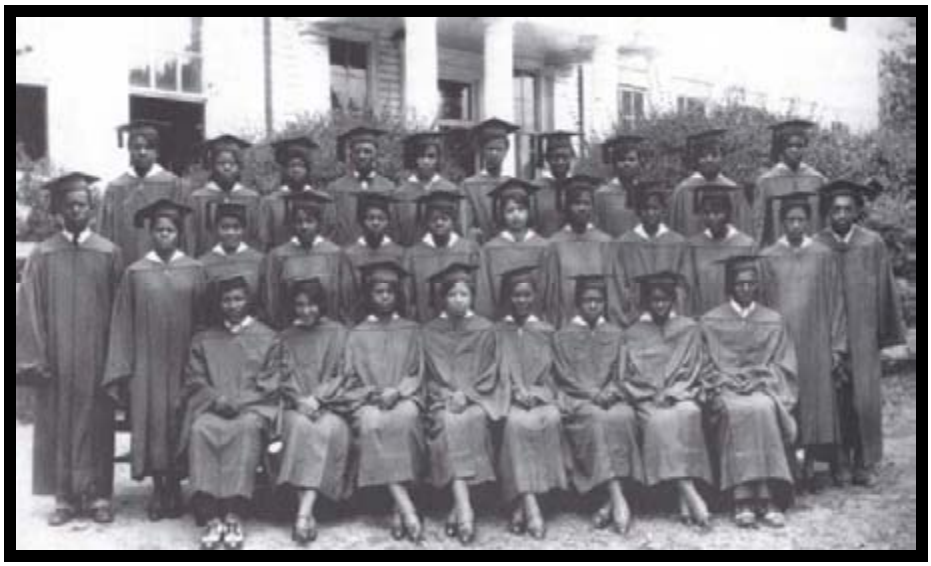

Figure 22. *Mather Academy Graduation, ca. 1930s*

Mather produced many prominent African-American graduates who contributed a great deal to South Carolina and beyond. Permission of *S.C. Postcards, VIII, Camden*, by Howard Woody and Davie Beard.

For all of its intellectual success, Mather Academy's financial fortunes were not always so positive. Financial success through the first half of the twentieth century had allowed the school to rebuild the girls' dormitory, Browning Hall, in 1928 and in 1950 to construct Bryan Hall, a boys' dormitory. Prior to the construction of the boys' dormitory, many male students had stayed in homes throughout Camden as boarders. The school prospered into the 1950s when enrollment reached its peak of roughly 300 students.[265] In 1959 Browning Home-Mather

[262] Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt, 4 February 2006; and Cahn, "Boylan-Haven-Mather Academy: A Legacy of Racial Tolerance."
[263] Cahn, "Boylan-Haven-Mather Academy: A Legacy of Racial Tolerance."
[264] Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt, 4 February 2006; and Cahn, "Boylan-Haven-Mather Academy: A Legacy of Racial Tolerance."
[265] *Browning Home Boylan-Haven Mather Academy Camden, South Carolina 1999 Grand Reunion*, 9-11; and Ed Garrison, "Mather Official: 'We'll Remain Open," *Camden Independent*, Camden, 30 April 1980.

Academy joined forces with Boylan-Haven School out of Jacksonville, Florida to become Boylan-Haven-Mather Academy. Boylan-Haven School was actually two schools, Boylan School in Jacksonville, Florida and Haven Industrial Home and School in Savannah, Georgia. Haven Industrial ran from 1882 to 1932 when due to poor attendance and termite problems it merged with Boylan School. Boylan School operated from 1886 until 1959 when due to dilapidated building conditions it was sold and the "equipment, records, and...proceeds" as well as Boylan's name and legacy were donated to Mather Academy. When Boylan-Haven-Mather Academy opened its doors in 1959, it boasted grades seven through twelve as well as a kindergarten. In 1963, the administration eliminated the seventh grade.[266]

Despite these changes and some new construction that happened in the 1960s, Boylan-Haven-Mather struggled with maintaining attendance. Integration and changes in the public school system left Mather with dwindling numbers. By 1980 enrollment had fallen to 57 students. Discussion began within the United Methodist Church, the school's owning body, in 1980 as to what course to adopt for the school. Though at the time the school's administrator remained positive about Mather's future, the school closed its door for good in 1983 after seeing off a final graduating class of fifteen.[267]

School Integration

The end of the dual school system in Kershaw County Schools during the Jim Crow era occurred in a span of several years from the end of the 1960s through the beginning of the 1970s. The philosophy of "separate but equal" schools existed legally in the United States until 1954 when the Supreme Court overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* with their ruling in the *Brown v. Board* case. The unanimous ruling, which stated that "separate but equal" was "inherently unequal," reenergized the quest for a unitary school system.[268]

At the same time that proponents of school integration were mobilizing to fight "separate but equal," Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina was campaigning for increased tax revenues in order to improve the state's schools, both black and white. Because the dual school system created blatant inequalities for the state's youth, state officials needed a new plan to stall the integration process in South Carolina by improving black schools – even in the smallest ways. Consequently, Byrnes and his colleagues created and implemented the "school equalization program." As part of this equalization movement, Byrnes and others attempted to repair and to build new schools for white and African-American students so that "separate but equal" appeared to be providing an adequate educational experience for all residents of South Carolina.[269] While this movement helped the dual school system remain intact during the remainder of the 1950s and into the 1960s, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 officially ended school

[266] "Consolidation Move Will Double Size of Mather Academy," *Camden Chronicle*, Camden, 19 January 1959; and *Browning Home Boylan-Haven Mather Academy Camden, South Carolina 1999 Grand Reunion*, 1-3, 11.
[267] Garrison, "Mather Official: 'We'll Remain Open."; and Ed Garrison, "The End of a Tradition," *Chronicle-Independent*, Camden, 27 May 1983.
[268] *Brown v. Board of Education*, 349 U.S. 294 (1955).
[269] Rebekah Dobrasko, "Upholding 'Separate but Equal:' South Carolina's School Equalization Program, 1951 – 1955" (M. A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 2005), 1 – 13. Byrnes was Governor from 1951 to 1955.

segregation and any other form of segregation in public locations.[270]

However, dual school systems still existed throughout the South even after the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Through "freedom of choice" integration plans, parents, at the school's discretion, selected what school their children attended. Working together, parents and local school districts perpetuated the dual school system: most parents placed their children into single-race schools and most local schools allowed this practice to continue. For example, local schools in Kershaw, Darlington, Greenville, and other counties in the state utilized the "freedom of choice" policy when placing children in schools. However, after nearly a decade of debate and planning, the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) informed the Kershaw County School District that its schools must terminate the dual school system by the fall semester of 1969, and, with it, the district's "freedom of choice" policy.

HEW's integration plan evolved over several years and mainly focused on the gradual integration of county schools with its own modified version of the "freedom of choice" policy as a key component to the process. HEW allowed the school district to adopt a limited form of "choice" as a means to obtain eventual, countywide school integration. Initially, even with the incentive of "choice" as part of the program, the Kershaw School District claimed that the integration process proved to be a difficult policy to implement. Citing the "present attitude of our people," Arthur Stokes, Superintendent of Education for Kershaw County Schools, admitted that the school system and its community were not prepared to meet HEW's fall deadline and, consequently, requested an extension.[271]

In this same letter, Stokes detailed the reconfiguration of area schools in Kershaw County, including the schools in Camden. He wrote that most schools would continue to integrate at their gradual pace. Breaking from "choice" policy, the superintendent wrote that elementary students living in the Pine Tree Hill Elementary zone would all attend Pine Tree, adding nearly seventy-five African American students to the formerly all white school. However, the Pine Tree Hill Elementary School was the only school to integrate based on residency. Stokes stated that the remaining students in Camden would observe the "freedom of choice" policy – allowing parents to decide whether their children would attend integrated schools.[272] Responding to Kershaw County's integration proposal, Lloyd Henderson, Education Branch Chief for the Office of Civil Rights in HEW, informed Stokes and the school district that HEW rejected the proposal; the school district had another thirty days to alter the plan and resubmit it to HEW.[273]

After altering the proposal once more in May 1969, the county schools and HEW agreed on a sufficient integration policy plan in June 1969. The implementation of the plan was to occur in two phases, which spanned the two subsequent academic school years. In the first phase, the integration process emphasized the familiar "choice" policy for parents and students.

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[270] Congress, *Civil Rights Act of 1964*, HR 7152, 88th Cong. (1964) http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/laws/majorlaw/civilr19.htm.
[271] Arthur Stokes to Lloyd Henderson, 21 February 1969, The Donald Holland Paper Collection, The South Carolina Political Collections, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
[272] Stokes to Henderson, 21 February 1969.
[273] Lloyd Henderson to Arthur Stokes, 14 April 1969, The Donald Holland Paper Collection, The South Carolina Political Collections, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

According to the plan, the school district granted students in grades ten through twelve the option of attending either Camden High School or Jackson High School. Students in grades seven through nine had the choice of attending either Camden Junior High or Jackson Junior High. All elementary students had either a choice between Camden Elementary, Jackson Elementary, or received an assigned elementary school, depending on the students' residential location.[274] In the second phase, the plan emphasized school integration based on geographic location: gone were the days of "freedom of choice." HEW and the school district required students, depending on their residency, in grades nine through twelve to attend either Camden High School (formerly Camden High and Junior High School) or Lugoff-Blaney High School. Depending again on their residency, students in grades six through eight enrolled in Camden Middle School (formerly Jackson High School and Jackson Junior High School) or the Lugoff-Blaney Middle School (formerly the Wateree School). The remaining group of students, children in grades one through five, attended one of the following three schools: Camden Elementary School, Pine Tree Hill School, or Lugoff Elementary School. Much like they did with the other students, the Kershaw School District placed these children into one of the three schools according to their residency. In addition to changing students' attendance patterns, phase two of the integration plan also altered two schools entirely. Because African-American children no longer attended Jackson Elementary School, the city utilized the building as its "special services school." Another school that was no longer in use, St. Matthew Elementary, shut down completely with the implementation of phase two.[275]

While resistance and tension plagued the planning of school integration, the actual process of school integration occurred without major protest or violence from parents, students, and school officials. As a teacher in Camden, Vivian Metze recalled that the integration of the city schools occurred in a safe and effective manner because of the faculty and administration's commitment to providing an enriching educational experience for students. Even though it took time for faculty members of the opposite race to build working and social networks with other faculty members, she commented that teachers and administrators created lasting professional relationships, which made the goal of integration easier to obtain. In addition to the budding relationships between faculty members, Metze also stated that white parents ultimately accepted African-American teachers because black faculty members provided students of all races with educational opportunities important to their future success.[276] While the dual school system dominated Camden schools for most of the twentieth century, both the cooperation of the Kershaw County School District and the commitment of the faculty and administration helped to successfully complete the process of integration.

[274] Lloyd Henderson to Arthur Stokes, 10 June 1969, The Donald Holland Paper Collection, The South Carolina Political Collections, University of South Carolina, Columbia.
[275] Henderson to Stokes, 10 June 1969.
[276] Interview with Vivian Metze, 3 February 2006.

E. Religion

The Development of Black Churches

Immediately after the Civil War, southern blacks fled white-dominated churches, of which they had been members in the antebellum period, to form their own churches. In the majority of cases, it was a choice: African Americans decided to leave these churches; whites did not force them out. In the 1860s and 1870s, religious separation meant liberation for blacks, not enforced segregation.[277] These newly formed black churches became the first postwar African-American institutions throughout the South, including Camden. Churches represented an opportunity for newly freed slaves to express their freedom and their right to choose. In black churches, African Americans could worship as they wished, develop a sense of community, help fellow African Americans in need, cultivate leadership, and be free from white supervision.[278]

Southern black Methodists made a mass exodus from the Methodist Episcopal Church (South). In South Carolina, there were 46,640 black Methodists in 1860; by 1876, there were only 421.[279] Black Methodists had several choices when creating their own congregations. Some joined the African-American Methodist denominations that developed in the antebellum North, such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ). The AME Church founded its South Carolina Conference in May 1865, planning to use South Carolina as its base for missionaries throughout the South.[280] The AMEZ Church founded its North Carolina Conference in May 1864 as its base for southern recruitment.[281] Several AMEZ churches were founded in Camden.

The other choice was the Methodist Episcopal Church (North), which sent missionaries to the South for the new freedmen in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. The South Carolina Missions Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) organized on 2 April 1866. Camden was one of seven charges of the Charleston District of this conference. Sometime in 1866, blacks withdrew their membership from Camden's Methodist church to create their own congregation. Tradition states that the black members made known their desire to separate, and the white members offered them what help they could.[282] On 7 April the South Carolina Missions Conference's bishop appointed William Cole as the new congregation's first pastor. Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church (North) held its first annual conference on 11 February 1869 with 1,320 members. In 1872 the white congregation moved to Lyttleton Street where it built a new sanctuary and allowed the Trinity congregation to use the original 1828

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[277] Katharine L. Dvorak, "After Apocalypse, Moses," in *Masters and Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740-1870*, edited by John B. Boles (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988), 173.
[278] Darlene Clark Hine, William C. Hine, and Stanley Harrold, *The African-American Odyssey: Volume II* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000), 263.
[279] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 382.
[280] William E. Montgomery, *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African-American Church in the South, 1865-1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 69.
[281] Montgomery, *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree*, 65.
[282] Inabinet, *Lyttleton Street*, 98.

structure (at 704 DeKalb Street). On 24 November 1875 Trinity purchased the DeKalb Street sanctuary from the white Lyttleton Street congregation.[283]

Figure 23. *Temperance Rally at the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, ca. 1930s*

Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, located at 704 West DeKalb Street, held a temperance rally for youth during the 1930s. Built in 1925, this second sanctuary replaced the original after it was damaged in a fire. Permission of *S.C. Postcards, VIII, Camden*, by Howard Woody and Davie Beard.

Area blacks founded several other Methodist congregations in the Camden area during the Reconstruction period. One of them, Zion Methodist, no longer exists and the building has been demolished.[284] Blacks founded several others around the outskirts of Camden. In 1868, a group of newly freed slaves met and formed St. Paul's Methodist Church. The church constructed its first building on two acres of land donated by Mr. and Mrs. P. Watts. This sanctuary stood until 1918 when fire destroyed it.[285] According to oral tradition, the Wateree Mission's plantation chapel at Mulberry developed into Wesley Chapel Methodist Episcopal Church. The Wateree Mission affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) when it created the South Carolina Mission Conference. It became part of the Camden charge that included Good Hope and Trinity. Colonel Chesnut sold 10 acres to the congregation in 1866 with the deed recorded on 20 June 1870. The congregation moved a building from Mulberry to the site, and the present building was constructed in the early 1880s.[286] The congregation of what would be St. Matthew Methodist Episcopal Church began meeting under a "grape harbor" in 1866. The congregation constructed a one-room church building in 1879 and affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1892.[287] Emmanuel Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in 1870 when 12 blacks met under a brush arbor, led by Pastor James Brown. Henry

[283] "History of Camden First United Methodist Church," http://www.camdenfirstumc.com (accessed 30 January 2006).
[284] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 32.
[285] "Historical Highlights of St. Paul's United Methodist Church." Located in *St. Paul United Methodist Church's 131st Church Anniversary Celebration* (Camden, SC: printed bulletin, 20 February 1999). Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.
[286] "Historical Sketch of Wesley Chapel United Methodist Church: Steps Along the Way." Located in *Anniversary Celebration for Wesley Chapel United Methodist Church, 1861-1986, on September 14-16, 1986* (Camden, SC: printed booklet, 1987). Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.
[287] Directory of St. Matthew United Methodist Church, (Camden: printed booklet, 1997). Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.

Carrison gave property to the new church, which built a frame building on the site.[288]

A smaller number of southern African Americans remained within the Methodist Episcopal Church (South), which eventually created a separate denomination, the Colored (now Christian) Methodist Episcopal Church (CME), for its black members at its 1866 General Conference.[289] Even into the late 1860s, there was still a "colored" woman, Maria Brown, on Lyttleton Street's membership roles.[290]

Black Baptists across the South also chose to leave their original congregations and form independent black Baptist churches. Black Baptists in South Carolina developed a statewide organization in 1876. This occurred relatively quickly in Camden. On 22 January 1866, the "colored membership" of Camden (First) Baptist Church assembled at 10 a.m. for a daylong meeting that resulted in an orderly withdrawal of the African-American membership from Camden Baptist Church.[291] A total of one hundred and four black members from Camden Baptist Church and Swift Creek Baptist Church founded what is now Mount Moriah Baptist Church.[292] Tradition states that Camden (First) Baptist Church offered financial support to establish Mount Moriah. The church called its first pastor, Monroe Boykin, who was a former slave who had been known as an "exhorter to the colored people" before the war.[293] Within a few years, Mount Moriah had a membership of 250. The congregation originally met in homes and at the white Baptist Church. In 1870 the church purchased the current lot at the corner of Broad and York Streets and met in the dilapidated, blacksmith shop on the site. In 1891, the church completed the present sanctuary.[294]

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[288] "This is Our Story," (Camden, SC: Emmanuel United Methodist Church, 27 November 1988). Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.
[289] Charles Henry Phillips, *The History of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America, Comprising its Organization, Subsequent Development and Present Status* (Jackson, TN: Publishing House CME Church, 1925). http://www.docsouth.unc.edu/church/phillips/phillips.html.
[290] Inabinet, *Lyttleton Street*.
[291] Montgomery, *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree*, 108, 113; and Inabinet, *His People*, 47.
[292] Inabinet, *His People*, 49.
[293] Dvorak, "After Apocalypse, Moses,"194.
[294] Cynthia Spigner, "County's first black church celebrates," *The Camden Chronicle*, Camden, 6 February 1980. Vertical Files, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.

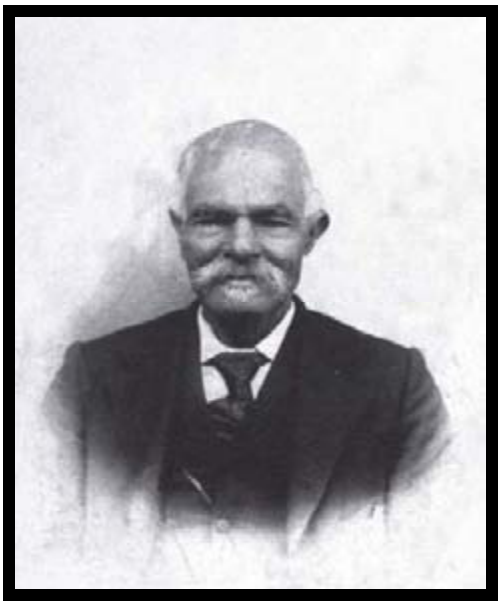

Figure 24. *Reverend Monroe Boykin (1825-1904)*

Reverend Monroe Boykin was born a slave. In the antebellum period, he was a member of Camden Baptist Church and was known as an "exhorter to the colored people." The new African-American congregation, Mount Moriah Baptist Church, named him their first pastor. He was also a missionary who established black Baptist churches throughout South Carolina. Permission of *S.C. Postcards, VIII, Camden*, by Howard Woody and Davie Beard.

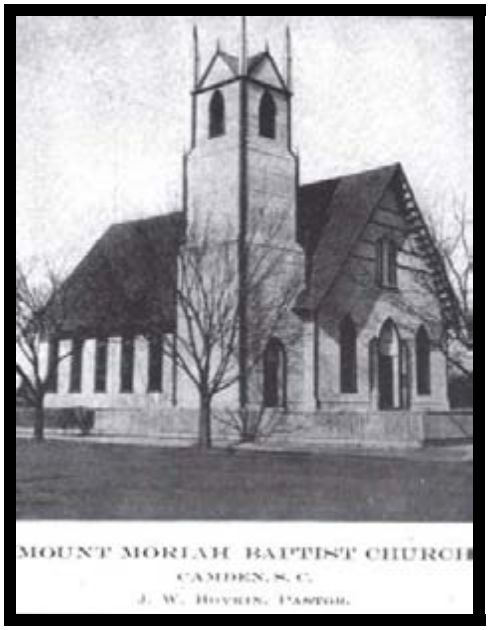

Figure 25. *Mount Moriah Baptist Church*

African Americans from Camden Baptist Church formed Mount Moriah Baptist Church in 1866. The first sanctuary was completed in 1889 at 204 Broad Street. Permission of *S.C. Postcards, VIII, Camden*, by Howard Woody and Davie Beard.

A black Presbyterian church, Camden Second United Presbyterian Church, began in the 1880s. Two students from Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte organized a black Presbyterian Sunday school at the home of Robert Boykin on Market Street between 1885 and 1886. Attendance grew over the next few years. The group added worship services in the afternoon following Sunday school in the morning. The classes outgrew the house, and the group began to meet in Robert Boykin's backyard. The group petitioned the Presbytery of Fairfield for permission to organize, and the group called its first pastor, Samuel Calvin Thompson, in 1900.[295] The congregation began construction of a sanctuary in 1897 and dedicated the building in 1904. The Second Presbyterian congregation still uses the original

[295] Betty Garber, "Church with 'goodly heritage' dedicates annex, furniture," *Camden Independent* , Camden, 21 June 1978. Vertical Files, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.

sanctuary, located at 816 Market Street.[296]

Following the Civil War, many African Americans left the Episcopal Church for predominantly black denominations such as the AME Church. In 1860 South Carolina, there were 2,973 black Episcopalians; by 1876, there were only 262.[297] The racism of many white Episcopalians and the Episcopal Church's refusal to allow blacks leadership roles were responsible for most of this exodus of blacks from the Episcopal Church.[298] Unlike Methodist and Baptist denominations, which did not necessarily want to let their black members leave, South Carolina Episcopalians officially made blacks unwelcome. Some blacks were actually forced to leave churches where they had worshipped for years. In 1876, the Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina refused to seat St. Marks, Charleston (a black congregation) in the annual conference because it did not want to encourage miscegenation and social equality. In 1875, the Reformed Episcopal Church came to South Carolina and appealed to black South Carolinians.[299] Partially in response to this racism, a black Episcopal minister, Alexander Crummell, created the Conference of Church Workers among Colored People in 1883. This annual conference (one of which was held in Charleston, South Carolina) had many benefits. It allowed black Episcopalians to link together and served as a network for the black clergy.[300] It is difficult to say exactly how these trends within the Episcopal Church impacted Camden's Grace Episcopal Church (1315 Lyttleton Street). It did remain racially mixed between the 1860s and the 1880s, which was probably not unusual for Episcopal churches in smaller urban areas like Camden. Church records indicate that the Episcopal priest baptized African-American children throughout this period. [301] It seems likely that these families also worshipped at Grace Episcopal Church.

The Black Church in the Jim Crow South

Just as blacks had purposefully withdrawn from white congregations to form their own churches after the Civil War, African Americans continued to form new congregations under Jim Crow segregation. At the same time, the church became increasingly central to African-American life, as segregation pushed blacks out of other parts of society.

At the height of Jim Crow, the black church was integral to the lives of African Americans because it was one of the few institutions that they completely controlled. In churches, blacks had the opportunity to plan, organize, and lead without white interference. As evidence for this, the number of black Baptists increased dramatically. By 1890, there were more black Baptists in the South than all the other denominations combined. Baptist congregations were more independent with less church hierarchy than other denominations, which allowed blacks more autonomy. Black women, especially, immersed themselves in church activities. Congregations helped those in need: the sick, the displaced, and the bereaved.

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[296] Historic Property Associates, *Historic Resources Survey*, 32.
[297] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 382.
[298] Gardiner H. Shattuck Jr., *Episcopalians & Race: Civil War to Civil Rights* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2003).
[299] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 382.
[300] George F. Bragg, *History of the Afro-American Group of the Episcopal Church* (Baltimore: Church Advocate Press, 1922), 161-162. Available online at http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/bragg/bragg.html.
[301] Taylor-Goins and Taylor-McConnell. "Naudin-Dibble Family," 19.

Black congregations helped thousands of African-American youth attend school and college. As it had in the antebellum period, the black church offered spiritual comfort through sermons and music. The emotional involvement and enthusiastic participation in church was a way to escape from their everyday lives. Black clergy often stressed the joys of heaven over the trials and tribulations of this world. [302] Camden's churches met these same needs for Camden's African-American community.

The early 1900s witnessed a growing number of black churches in Camden, as well as changes within existing congregations. In 1899 Doc Curry and Robert Brewer organized Sweet Home Baptist Church, which had thirteen original members, in a bush arbor behind what is now Camden Airport. The church eventually built a sanctuary, but moved in the 1940s because of airport traffic.[303] The Methodist Episcopal Church expanded into black Kirkwood in 1913. Trinity members who lived in Kirkwood wanted a church nearer their homes. Macedonia Methodist Episcopal Church was the result. Members secured land and building materials and built the church in a single day – 12 June 1913. Mount Zion Baptist Church organized in Kirkwood on 28 June 1913 on Monroe Street. Sardis Baptist Church (no longer extant) was built sometime in the 1920s and 1930s. St. Paul's Methodist Church burned in 1918; the congregation completed the new sanctuary on 4 February 1920. In 1925, a fire partially destroyed Trinity Methodist's original sanctuary. The congregation used the facilities at Browning Home-Mather Academy and at Mount Moriah Baptist Church until the new sanctuary's completion in 1928. On 28 June 1928, the congregation marched from Mather Academy to its new building. In 1933, Trinity celebrated the completion of a Sunday school building. [304]

The early 1900s also witnessed the rise of Pentecostalism in the South. The Pentecostal Holiness movement originated among whites, who were dissatisfied with the decreasing emotionalism of the older evangelical denominations. It then moved into the black population. The Church of God in Christ was the main African-American Pentecostal denomination, spreading throughout the South in the early twentieth century. In the early 1900s, the Pentecostal Holiness movement was the only significant movement that crossed racial lines. As the movement continued, racial tensions increased, and there was less white-black interaction. Camden reflected the growing racial divide in the Pentecostal Holiness movement. In the 1920s, blacks in Camden formed the Gordon Street Church of God (1707 Gordon Street), which reflected the spread of the Pentecostal Holiness movement into Camden. In 1927, an all-white Pentecostal congregation, the Bethel Pentecostal Holiness Church, began around the same time as the Gordon Street Church of God.[305]

Jim Crow segregation did not mean there was no interaction among whites and blacks in Camden's religious community. Throughout the period, whites worshipped at Trinity. Mather Academy, which was supported by the missions of the Methodist Church, had white Methodist

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[302] Hine, Hine, and Harrold, *The African-American Odyssey: Volume II*, 339-40.
[303] *One Hundredth Anniversary of Sweet Home Baptist Church, 1899-2000*, (Camden: Souvenir Journal, 12-14 May 2000). Camden Archives and museum, Camden, SC.
[304] "History of Camden First United Methodist Church," http://www.camdenfirstumc.com (accessed 30 January 2006); Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 32; and "Historical Highlights of St. Paul's United Methodist Church."
[305] Hine, Hine, and Harrold, *The African-American Odyssey: Volume II*, 341-342; Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 32; and Jenny Raybon, "Bethel Pentecostal Holiness Church," *Legacy II*, 48.

missionary teachers, who attended Trinity. One teacher, Emma Virginia Levi, played the organ at Trinity, and other teachers helped in other ways. There are several potential reasons for this decision. First, Lyttleton Street was technically part of a different denominational structure, the Methodist Episcopal Church (South). Second, Mather Academy and Trinity were close partners with students from Mather required to attend Trinity on a regular basis. Third, there is some evidence that Lyttleton Street did not welcome the white Mather teachers when they did attend.[306] Whatever the reason, it is clear that throughout this period whites and blacks worshipped together at Trinity Methodist. Occasionally, whites also worshipped at Mount Moriah Baptist Church. At Mount Moriah's anniversary service, the congregation invited members of Camden (First) Baptist to participate because of its status as the mother church. Winter tourists also attended. When they did participate, Mount Moriah reserved a section of pews for white worshippers, as occurred at the church's sixtieth anniversary celebration in 1926.[307]

The Catholic Church also offered some opportunities for African Americans to worship with whites during this period. The antebellum Catholic Church was unwelcoming to blacks and made few efforts at evangelizing blacks.[308] Unlike most other denominations, the Catholic Church showed little interest in missionary work among the freedmen. In the 1866 Plenary Council committed to missionary work among the freedmen, but the mission did not begin until 1871. This missionary activity seems to be "more show than substance" because continuing racism and discrimination led many black Catholics to leave the Church and prevented blacks from joining the Church.[309] By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the Church began presenting itself as less discriminatory than other denominations; however, the lack of a black priesthood along with continued segregation resulted in less black participation than in other churches. Camden did not have a fully functioning Catholic church until 1903 when the Catholic Church sponsored a mission church in Camden. The congregation moved into its present sanctuary on Lyttleton Street in 1914. It does not appear that the Catholic Church had a strong following among Camdenites. Guests and employees at the tourist hotels significantly increased the congregation during the winter.[310] Although it was a small congregation, blacks remember Camden's Church as "more tolerant" of blacks in services than other denominations.[311]

The Black Church in the Civil Rights Movement

In the South, civil rights and religion have gone hand-in-hand. Black religious experiences had political overtones in the antebellum period, and the oldest black spirituals had civil rights and political messages underneath the religious messages. Many of these spirituals dealt with meeting, planning, and escaping. During the twentieth century, freedom singing became a key element in the modern civil rights movement. Religion and civil rights were also linked

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[306] Peacock, *Browning Home and Mather Academy*, 3. Peacock reports that Mather's early teachers, the Tripp sisters, "would go to the church for white people knowing they would not be invited to sit down."
[307] Inabinet, *His People*, 50.
[308] Randall M. Miller, "Slaves and Southern Catholicism." In *Masters and Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740-1870*, ed. John B. Boles (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988).
[309] Montgomery, *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree*, 82-83.
[310] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part Two*, 298-9.
[311] Interview with Althea Truitt, 4 February 2006.

organizationally. For many, civil rights were a moral and spiritual issue more than a political, economic, legal, or sociological one. In the late 1950s and the 1960s, the civil rights movement used the institutional and ethical resources of Southern black churches to build the movement. Black clergy, seminary students, and women of strong religious backgrounds were especially important in the movement. Black religious leadership came mainly from ministers, such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and seminary students, such as James Lawson.[312] Religious women were also extremely important in the movement. For instance Ella Baker considered becoming a medical missionary; instead she became the executive secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the founding mother of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).[313]

These general trends seem to have been characteristic of Camden's involvement in the civil rights movement. In the 1940s and 1950s, white supremacists burned African-American churches in an effort to maintain the status quo.[314] Area churches hosted events that encouraged African Americans to fight for their freedom. Nearby Hyco Baptist Church sponsored Emancipation Day services, and Trinity Methodist welcomed Fred McCray, the activist editor of the black Columbia newspaper *The Lighthouse Informer*, to speak.[315] The youth branch of Camden's NAACP used Trinity Methodist's back hallway as a meeting space, and Camden ministers were active in challenging segregation.[316]

While the 1950s and 1960s witnessed an increase in racial tensions, some interracial religious activity continued. In 1955, the town's Christmas parade included an interracial program with both black and white choirs performing.[317] When Mount Moriah suffered an interior fire on 5 January 1956, the congregation raised the $25,000 for rebuilding through contributions from members, black churches, and white churches. Also, throughout this period, Mather's white teachers continued to worship at Trinity Methodist. The Catholic Church and the Episcopal Church both continued to accept black worshippers.[318]

Between emancipation in 1865 and the civil rights movement in the 1960s, religion remained a central element of southern black life. The church continued to offer solace, a sense of community, and opportunities for leadership. At first segregating churches was a way for newly freed slaves to show their freedom. As Jim Crow laws tightened segregation in the South, the church more and more became the place for blacks to control their own lives without white interference. During the civil rights movement, the church again stepped up to organize African Americans in their fight for equality.

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[312] Albert J. Raboteau, "Black Religion," in *The Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, 192; and Sessions, "Civil Rights and Religion," 1282. James Lawson and his fellow students at American Baptist Theological Seminary organized the Nashville sit-ins in the 1960s.
[313] Sessions, "Civil Rights and Religion," 1282.
[314] "Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt," 4 February 2006.
[315] "Interview with Rev. George Watson," 25 January 2006.
[316] "Interview with Rev. George Watson, 25 January 2006.
[317] "1955 Christmas Parade," Vertical Files, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.
[318] "Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt," 4 February 2006.

F. The Built Environment

Forms and Forces

In the wake of the Civil War, changing economic and political currents shaped the South's demographics and, in turn, the character of its towns and cities. During the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the general decline of agriculture and growing predominance of industry contributed to an acceleration of urbanization. At the same time, whites gradually constructed a system of racial segregation that directly impacted the physical form of the growing towns.

Figure 26. *An African-American Family Outside the Cabin, ca. 1880s*

Many African Americans continued life in agricultural areas during Reconstruction living in log cabins. Permission of *S.C. Postcards, VIII, Camden*, by Howard Woody and Davie Beard.

During the Reconstruction era, African Americans enjoyed unprecedented choices in their places of residence, employment, and community life. Significant numbers of African Americans moved from the countryside into cities and towns.[319] Urban living offered blacks non-agricultural employment, more opportunities to organize their own businesses and community institutions such as churches, schools, and mutual aid societies, and a measure of collective protection from white violence. At first, residential patterns were not so different from prewar days, when free blacks, slaves, and whites had lived in close proximity to each other. As more African Americans moved into town, they tended to settle in spaces that whites found undesirable, such as flood-prone bottomlands and vacant lots on the outskirts.[320]

For African Americans in Kershaw County, a natural destination was Camden. Between 1870 and 1910, the town's black population more than tripled to approximately 1,800. For the first time, blacks constituted the majority not only in the county, but in Camden as well. During the late 1910s and the 1920s, the growing agricultural crisis shifted the balance again. Increasing numbers of blacks in Camden and Kershaw County left the state altogether, while impoverished whites from the countryside moved into town seeking factory work. By the advent of World

[319] For a detailed treatment of African-American experiences in the wake of the Civil War, see Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Knopf, 1979).
[320] John N. Ingham, "Building Businesses, Creating Communities: Residential Segregation and the Growth of African American Business in Southern Cities, 1880-1915," *Business History Review* 77 (Winter 2003): 639-40.

War II, the black majority in Kershaw County had decreased, and whites had regained the majority in Camden.[321]

Within this context of migration, the racial policies of South Carolina's government shaped the development of cities and towns. After the end of Reconstruction in 1877, the state's white leaders sought new forms of control over African Americans. They gradually developed a legal code designed to severely curtail black civil rights and to maximize the physical separation of the races in public spaces. In 1879 the General Assembly passed a law to prohibit interracial marriage, and in 1889 it eliminated the Reconstruction legislation that protected African-American political participation. In 1895 a new constitution mandated segregation in the state's public school system. It was followed by a series of laws to impose segregation in such spaces as textile mills and factories, hospitals, recreation facilities, and public transportation. By the turn of the twentieth century, Jim Crow was the law of the land.[322]

Segregation in Camden: A Snapshot in 1941

The 1941 Camden city directory is an invaluable surviving source for reconstructing what life was like for black Camdenites under Jim Crow. This precursor to the modern telephone directory is a complete annual listing of residences and businesses, by alphabetical order and by street, including the occupation of many individuals. African-American residences and businesses are clearly marked *C* for "colored." Data from the city directory, combined with information from interviews, maps, and newspapers, provide a unique snapshot of black Camden in 1941.

Racial segregation, both legal and customary, directly shaped the growth of Camden. Although residential neighborhoods were not the subject of state or local segregation laws, the availability of land and financing did confine African Americans to specific parts of town. In 1941, a number of predominately African-American neighborhoods existed in Camden, covering much of the city's southern and western sides.[323] These areas included the western edge of town along Campbell Street; across Gordon Street in the area called "the other side of the tracks;" the entire southern part of town below Rutledge Street; and Monroe Boykin Park on the northern edge of town.

[321] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 14, 17.
[322] For the development of legal racial segregation in South Carolina, see Newby, *Black Carolinians*, 36-47, and Pauli Murray, ed., *States' Laws on Race and Color* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 406-19.
[323] Historic Property Associates Inc., *Historic Resources Survey*, 24, 32.

Figure 27. *Aerial View of Broad Street, ca. 1930s*

Many African Americans relocating to Camden's city limits from the country moved into shotgun houses, constructed of wood and very close together. Pictured are some of those houses (lower portion of photograph) situated very close to Broad Street, the heart of Camden's business district. Permission of *S.C. Postcards, VIII, Camden*, by Howard Woody and Davie Beard.

Each African-American neighborhood maintained a distinct identity. In some cases, residents and their families remained on the same property or at least within the same neighborhood for generations.[324] Campbell Street included many of Camden's black professionals.[325] Monroe Boykin Park, built in 1912, was a neighborhood of modest homes on land given by the Chesnut family after Emancipation to their former slave, Monroe Boykin.[326] The largest concentration of black residences was on the south side of town below Rutledge Street. The area was prone to flooding, and whites had gradually abandoned it after a malaria epidemic of 1816. Many of the houses around York Street dated to Reconstruction, when blacks had begun filling in the spaces between the area's grand antebellum white homes.[327] No matter

[324] Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt, 4 February 2004; Interview with Leila Salmond, 14 February 2006; and Interview with Dr. Daisy Alexander, Mary Sue Trusedale, and Bettye Lewis, 7 February 2006.
[325] Interview with Charles and Gladys Wood, 14 February 2006.
[326] The 3 May 1912 issue of the *Camden Chronicle*, Camden, advertised a "Grand Auction" in which the Wynona Realty Company was selling "75 Fine Residence Lots to Colored People" on Tuesday, 7 May, at 11:00 am. During the sale a brass band was to play and a free lot was to be given away (aside from the one promised for school purposes). On the day of the auction Wynona Realty even offered transportation to Monroe Boykin from the Camden Hotel.
[327] Interview with Glen and Joan Inabinet, 17 February 2006.

their origins or social composition, African-American residential areas shared similar physical features. In 1921, the *Camden Chronicle* reported of black residents complaining that "the streets were in bad condition and improvement in many ways [was] much needed."[328] By the early 1940s, conditions were little improved; roads went unpaved and services such as plumbing and electricity were inadequate at best.[329] In fact, black neighborhoods just behind the storefronts of Broad Street still had a decidedly rural appearance.[330]

Segregation and discrimination also spurred the development of black entrepreneurship, most of which catered to black customers. In many larger towns and cities across the South, a "Negro Main Street" became the heart of black social and economic life.[331] In Camden, a robust black business district centered around the western end of Rutledge Street and the southern end of Broad Street. In 1941, the area boasted an impressive variety of stores. There were several grocery stores, including Florence Price's store on the ground floor of her home at 750 Broad Street, and Hunter Dibble's at 412 York Street.[332] Camden's black business district housed several beauty salons and barbershops, among them Lu Bell's beauty salon at 903 Broad Street and the Central Barbershop at 1047 Broad Street. Abraham Jones ran a shoe repair store, the Red Boot Shop, at 619 Rutledge Street. The black business district also contained a number of drug stores and funeral homes. Samuel W. James' blacksmith shop on Arthur Lane, an alley off Market Street, serviced both black and white clientele.[333] Other black businesses were scattered throughout the town.

In addition to shaping broad residential and commercial patterns, segregation also influenced Camden's buildings and public spaces. Either through new construction or the adaptation of existing structures, by 1941 segregation had taken on concrete form in Camden. Across the South, segregated spaces fell into four broad (and sometimes overlapping) categories: exclusive spaces, partitioned spaces, duplicative spaces, and alternative spaces.[334] Exclusive spaces were those from which either blacks or whites were prohibited, either by law or by custom. An example of an exclusive space in Camden was the white Carnegie Public Library on Broad Street (now the Camden Archives and Museum). Partitioned spaces were those in which segregation was maintained within the same facility. Examples of spaces with fixed partitions in Camden were the Seaboard Railroad Station on Gordon Street, with separate waiting rooms for blacks and whites; and Frances Hart's restaurant on Broad Street, a black-owned establishment which served mostly black patrons but included a separate seating area for whites.[335]

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[328] *Camden Chronicle*, Camden, 21 October 1921.
[329] Interview with Ruby Minton and Vivian Metze, 3 February 2006; Interview with Dr. Daisy Alexander, Mary Sue Trusedale, and Bettye Lewis, 7 February 2006; Interview with Leila Salmond, 14 February 2006; and Interview with James McGirt, 27 January 2006.
[330] Kenneth E. Lewis, "Camden: A Frontier Town in Eighteenth Century South Carolina," 51; and Woody, *South Carolina Postcards*, 42.
[331] Ingham, "Building Businesses," 640.
[332] Information found in the *1941 Camden City Directory* (unpublished data compiled by McKenzie Kubly). All subsequent references to business addresses come from this source.
[333] Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt, 4 February 2004; and *1941 Camden City Directory*.
[334] For this typology of segregated spaces, see Robert R. Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian* 27 (2005), 11-44; and "Resources Associated with Segregation in Columbia, South Carolina, 1880-1960," Multiple Property Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, 2005, 16.
[335] Interview with Johnny Williams, 8 February 2006; Interview with James McGirt, 27 January 2006.

Duplicative spaces were ones maintained by whites to provide separate facilities for blacks. Examples of duplicative spaces in Camden were the black branch library on DeKalb Street (now the police station), and Jackson School.[336] Blacks created alternative spaces in order to minimize the indignities of segregation or to provide services denied by the white population. Examples of alternative spaces in Camden include black churches and doctors' offices, as well as Mather Academy.

Figure 28. *Seaboard Railway Station, ca. 1910s*

The Seaboard Railway depot separated the races during segregation with fixed partitions. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

Figure 29. *Camden Public Library, ca. 1910s*

The Camden Public Library is an example of exclusive space, since the library was not open to African Americans during the era of segregation. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

Many white-owned businesses achieved segregation through partitioning. For instance, JC Penny and Belks, two popular department stores on Broad Street, allowed blacks to shop alongside whites but had segregated dressing rooms.[337] Other retail shops practiced a kind of behavioral partitioning. Some clothing stores would not allow blacks to try on merchandise at all. In order to try clothes on at Sam Karesh's fine clothing store on Broad Street, African-American women had to take them home.[338] The movie theater, located on the corner of Broad and DeKalb Streets (formerly the Opera House), had a balcony for black patrons.

In 1941, segregation profoundly impacted the medical services available to Camden's

[336] Interview with Carl and Mollye Robinson, 27 January 2006.
[337] Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt, 4 February 2004.
[338] Interview with Dr. Daisy Alexander, 7 February 2006; Interview with Carl and Mollye Robinson, 27 January 2006; and Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt, 4 February 2004.

black community. The Camden Hospital enforced segregation through partitioning. Unlike the larger city of Columbia, Camden did not plan for a separate black hospital.[339] Instead, Camden Hospital separated the races within the same facility, providing different entrances and waiting rooms. One resident compared the black wing of the hospital to an army barracks. He recalled once having to wait at the hospital with a black doctor for an extended period of time in order to gain access to necessary equipment. Since ambulances did not serve African Americans, black funeral directors often offered their hearses as an alternative mode of transportation in emergencies. White doctors who saw black patients partitioned their offices in a manner similar to the hospital with separate waiting rooms, and some dentists even went so far as to provide separate chairs for blacks and whites.[340]

Figure 30. *Old Camden Hospital, ca. 1910s*

During Jim Crow, Camden Hospital served both the black and white communities, implementing segregation via architectural partitioning. The hospital provided separate entrances, waiting rooms, and equipment for the races. Courtesy of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

At this point in time, segregation also affected Camden's recreation space and activities. Black Camdenites recognized that Monument Square, Hampton Park, and Rectory Park fell under the umbrella of white recreation space. Boykin Park near the Monroe Boykin neighborhood, on the other hand, remained a black recreation space.[341] It was not until twenty-years after 1941 that a newly constructed African-American park opened its gates. Pickett-Thomas Park provided a twenty-acre lake for fishing and swimming, along with a concession stand, a bathhouse, and restrooms. However, much like African-American residential areas, roads leading to and from the park lacked pavement and adequate lighting.[342] Drug stores with jukeboxes and soda fountains, such as Whitaker's, provided Camden's black youth with a place to hang out. A teen canteen on Campbell Street, provided another place for adolescents to play

[339] Weyeneth, *The Architecture of Racial Segregation*, 16.
[340] Interview with Leila Salmond, 14 February 2006; Interview with James McGirt, 27 January 2006; Interview with Perry Palmer and Elsie Taylor-Goins, 10 February 2006; and Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt, 4 February 2004.
[341] Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt, 4 February 2004. Boykin Park did not become part of the Monroe Boykin neighborhood (Kirkwood) until its annexation by Camden City Council on 26 December 1967.
[342] "Keys to County Negro Park Turned Over to Committee," *Camden Chronicle*, Camden, 4 October 1961.

games, read books, and drink soda.[343] The skating rink, located across the street from the white Camden High School, excluded blacks altogether, leaving black children to skate on the sidewalks or on Chesnut Street—one of the few paved roads in a mostly black neighborhood.[344]

Figure 31. *The Price House, ca. 1920s*

Owned by a local African-American family, the Price House doubled as a family dwelling and general store. Permission of *S.C. Postcards, VIII, Camden*, by Howard Woody and Davie Beard.

Reconstructing black Camden in 1941 testifies to the degree of intelligence and fortitude with which Camden's African-American population navigated segregation. From the end of the Civil War to the repeal of Jim Crow, African Americans built their lives around ever-changing social and physical landscapes. In forming their own residential neighborhoods, business district, and community spaces, Camden's black residents also established an important place for themselves in local history.

Associated Sites

1941 Camden Hospital Site, 1800 Fair Street. Old Camden Hospital is an excellent example of segregation via architectural partitioning. The hospital provided separate entrances and waiting spaces for their black and white patients. Many black Camdenites recall the inferior state of hospital spaces designated for African American use.

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[343] *1941 Camden City Directory*; Interview with Dr. Althea Truitt, 4 February 2004; Interview with Ruby Minton and Vivian Metze, 3 February 2006; Interview with Perry Palmer and Elsie Taylor-Goins, 10 February 2006; Interview with James McGirt, 27 January 2006; and Betty Garber, "Camden Landmark: Whitaker's Drug Store to close April 30," *The Camden Independent*, Camden, 25 April 1979.

[344] Interview with Frankie Hull, 8 February 2006; and Interview with James McGirt, 27 January 2006.

Francis Hart's Café, 923 Broad Street. Frances Hart utilized architectural partitioning to enforce segregation. Catering largely to a black clientele, this restaurant also included a curtained area where whites dined separately from black customers.

Pickett-Thomas Golf Course & N.R. Goodale State Park, 650 Park Road. Designated solely for use by African Americans in 1961, Pickett-Thomas Park was a recreation space that included such amenities as swimming and a concession stand.

Seaboard Railway Depot, Gordon Street. No longer in use, the Seaboard Railway Depot was also a segregated space

III. African Americans in Camden: The Recent Past

The buildings of Boylan-Haven-Mather Academy were not easy to tear down. Local residents recall that when wrecking crews began their work in the fall of 1993, they found the buildings to be sturdier than anyone had imagined. To Camdenites who cherished fond memories of the school, the buildings' seeming resistance to destruction belied previous statements by owners and city officials that the facilities were dangerous and beyond repair.[345] When the plaster and brick finally fell to bulldozers, a powerful symbol of black Camden was gone. The demolition of Mather was evidence of a national trend: as opportunities opened for blacks to participate more fully in white society in the wake of the civil rights movement, many of the social and economic institutions that had nurtured and sustained the black community during the era of segregation experienced a decline.

In Camden and across the South, the decades since the end of Jim Crow have meant both gains and losses for African Americans. Following passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, black South Carolinians returned to the formal political process in large numbers. Between 1958 and 1970, the number of registered black voters in the state nearly quadrupled to 220,000. In 1970, voters in Charleston and Richland Counties elected three African Americans to the General Assembly, the first to serve since the 1890s.[346] Four years later, there were thirteen African Americans in the legislature. In Camden and Kershaw County, black candidates began running for local offices during the 1970s. African Americans won seats on the county council in 1980 and 1984 and on the school board in 1988.[347] Today, one African American serves on Camden's five-member city council, and city agencies employ African Americans, although not in top positions.[348] The local branch of the NAACP remains active, and the Black Caucus, an organization of black community leaders, seeks to increase black representation in local government.[349]

After the end of segregation, blacks in Camden increasingly held jobs at one of the area's major employers, mostly in manufacturing, health care, and education.[350] During the 1990s, DuPont's May Plant, now known as INVISTA, cut jobs drastically. The plant hired its first black site manager, Cornelius M. Jamison, in 2002.[351] Camden's horse industry, while not as central to the area's economic life as it was in the 1930s, continued to employ large numbers of African Americans, albeit in the least visible roles. While African Americans shared in the area's relative prosperity, they continued to lag behind whites in education and economics. At the turn of the twenty-first century, Kershaw County blacks were as likely as whites to graduate from high school, but almost half as likely to have college degrees. Blacks' per capita income was approximately half that of whites, and black unemployment was twice as high. More than a quarter of the county's African Americans lived below the poverty line, compared with 8.6 per

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[345] Martin Cahn, "Boylan-Haven-Mather Academy: A Legacy of Racial Tolerance," *Chronicle-Independent*, Camden, 31 January 2005; and Interview with Frankie Hull, 8 February 2006.
[346] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 541-2.
[347] "Kershaw County Results for All Black Candidates," South Carolina Political Collections, University of South Carolina.
[348] "City of Camden," http://www.cityofcamden.org (accessed 7 April 2006).
[349] Interview with Rev. Otis Scott, 7 February 2006.
[350] "2005 Labor Profile For Camden, SC," http://www.kershawcountysc.org/profiles/?nid=67 (accessed 14 April 2006).
[351] *May Times* 52, no. 1 (January- September 2002) Vertical File, Camden Archives and Museum, Camden, SC.

cent of whites.[352] Paradoxically, the end of Jim Crow also saw a decline in black entrepreneurship.[353] Today, a casual visitor walking on Broad and Rutledge Streets would never know that it had been the heart of Camden's thriving black business district. Virtually the only survivors are barbershops, beauty salons, and funeral homes—services that remain largely segregated by race throughout the South.[354]

As one of the first federal agencies to overturn policies of segregation, the military has implemented quota systems and affirmative action programs to ensure more opportunities for African-American soldiers since the Vietnam War.[355] In Camden, veterans' groups remained largely segregated. Founded in 1950, the Sanders-Stoney American Legion Post gave African-American veterans and their spouses a place to meet and share common experiences, to create a social network that aided the Camden veteran population, and to remember the legacy of African-American soldiers. In 1988, the group opened its own building.[356] Another local institution that remained segregated after the demise of Jim Crow was the church. Camden's Ministerial Alliance is a multiracial, multi-denominational group of pastors, who work together to promote cooperation among local churches. The group sponsors such events as an interracial Thanksgiving service. Despite these attempts, Sunday morning remains the most segregated hour in Camden and across the country. As African Americans have gained access to more opportunities in white society in the decades since the civil rights movement, some Camdenites have seen a decline in the church's once-central role in the black community.[357]

The desegregation of the schools in Kershaw County meant better funding and facilities for Camden's black students, but the closing of previously all-black schools represented the dissolution of institutions that had been centers of the African-American community. Jackson Colored High School and Jackson Colored Grammar School, descendants of one of the Freedmen's Bureau schools from the early days of Reconstruction, were the first to feel the effects of desegregation. When the school district consolidated, the teachers and student bodies of both Jackson schools were dispersed and the buildings left empty.[358] Jackson Colored Grammar school was used for a secondary learning center until 1981, when the district tore it down to make way for the new Jackson Elementary school.[359] The private Boylin-Haven-Mather Academy fared no better after desegregation. As public schools improved and transportation became available, Mather lost its competitive edge. From its heyday of some 300 students in the 1950s, the school's population declined to 57 in 1980.[360] In 1983, the Women's Division of the United Methodist Church decided to close Mather's doors. In the early 1990s, a group of community activists joined with such organizations as the Kershaw County United Way, the Ministerial Alliance, and the Kershaw County Historical Society in an effort to

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[352] South Carolina Office of Research and Statistics, "South Carolina Community profiles," http://www.sccommunityprofiles.org/place.asp?PLACEID=40 (accessed 14 April 2006).
[353] Interview with Charles and Gladys Wood, 14 February 2006.
[354] Edgar, *South Carolina*, 569.
[355] Alt and Alt, *Black Soldiers*, 120 – 121.
[356] "New Digs for Sanders-Stoney Post," *Chronicle-Independent*, Camden, 2 March 1988. Before the construction of the post's new building, the group met at the Mount Moriah Baptist Church Education Building.
[357] Interview with Rev. Otis Scott, 7 February 2006.
[358] Martha Bruce, "Jackson Monument Dedication Set," *Chronicle-Independent*, Camden, 26 September 1988.
[359] *Chronicle-Independent*, Camden, 29 May 1981.
[360] Ed Garrison, "Mather Official: 'We'll Remain Open,'" *Camden Independent*, Camden, 30 April 1980.

rehabilitate the Mather campus. Among the possibilities they investigated were turning the property into a federal Job Corps site or a centralized county services facility. Former students blamed the city and the owner for the buildings' demolition in September 1993, but noted that the black community did not unite quickly enough to save them.[361] Today, all that remains of the educational oasis are the front gates bearing the institute's name.[362]

The loss of significant structures in recent decades has inspired black and white Camden residents to seek to protect evidence of the city's African-American heritage. In 1988, the Jackson Schools Alumni erected a large monument near the site of the original Jackson School building on the corner of Dekalb and Campbell Streets.[363] Today, efforts are underway to create a monument park on the former Mather property, including pictures of the school, a roster of graduates, and seating.[364] The park is part of an initiative of the Kershaw County Clean Community Commission (KCCCC) to beautify Campbell Street and promote it as one of the city's heritage tourism attractions. The project focuses on the one-mile stretch of Campbell Street from Meeting Street to DeKalb Street and will highlight the Mather and Jackson monuments as well as Cedars Cemetery.

[361] Michelle R. Davis, "Camden's Mather Academy Being Demolished," *The State*, Columbia, 1 October 1993; Interview with Dr. Daisy Alexander, 7 February 2006; and Interview with Frankie Hull, 8 February 2006.
[362] Cahn, "Boylan-Haven-Mather Academy."
[363] Martha Bruce, "Jackson Monument Dedication Set."
[364] Cahn, "Boylan-Haven-Mather Academy."

IV. Preserving the Legacy: Recommendations

IV. Preserving the Legacy: Recommendations

A. Heritage Tourism

- **Create a walking tour.** Identify concentrations of buildings important in the history of black Camden, such as Campbell Street and the former black business district, and develop walking tours. Create tours that utilize important landmarks to highlight the contributions of African-American residents of the city. Also consider making this a virtual tour that internet users from other areas could access.

- **Produce brochures.** Emphasize important aspects of African-American life in Camden through printed brochures. The different sections of the report offer good ideas for some of the aspects – such as economic life, education, segregation, and the built environment. These brochures could aid in tourism and may also include information from/about the walking tours.

- **Develop an African-American heritage center.** Utilize the Price House as a heritage center where the city could display exhibits and preserve resources for researchers. Another possibility is to renovate Kirkwood School for a heritage and community center.

B. Museum Exhibitions

- **Identify the topic and sub-topics for exhibits.** Using the information in this report, choose a general topic such as economics, then narrow main topic into a series of sub-topics. For example, hotels and horses would be an interesting sub-topic to focus on. Other topics could include the daily life of African Americans during slavery and during Jim Crow, the emergence and mobilization of the NAACP in Camden, the businesses that promoted dialogue between races (barber shops, blacksmith, etc.), the impact of segregation on education, the life of Larry Doby and other important African-American citizens of Camden.

- **Locate an appropriate venue.** Select a location to display the exhibits, which is easily accessible and large enough to house the entire exhibit. Camden has many possible opportunities to utilize spaces that correspond with the exhibition's particular topic. For instance, a vacant space facing Broad Street could feature an exhibit on the black business district. Other spaces, outside of the traditional "museum exhibit" location could include city hall, city schools, and the train station.

- **Create virtual exhibits.** Design internet exhibits to emphasize the key points of the traditional exhibit, attract attention to the collection and venue, and provide interested audiences with further information on broader topic of the exhibit. For an example, consult the online version of the "Pets in America" exhibit: www.petsinamerica.org.

C. Archival Collections

- **Emphasize collections focusing on African Americans.** Commit to collecting information on African Americans by making it a distinct part of the Camden City Archives' collection policy. Actively pursue African-American collections and agencies that may produce information pertinent to African-American life in Camden and the surrounding area.

- **Publish finding aids electronically.** Produce electronic finding aids of manuscript collections (much like the city's current electronic finding aids for the vertical files) that allow outside researchers to identify the materials that the archives currently possess and the materials that the archive is actively collecting.

- **Encourage public use of the 1941 City Directory data.** Utilize data from the spreadsheet and the corresponding maps compiled for this project to produce statistical information, individualized maps, and other resources for researchers. Make the electronic data available to the public through the proposed website, the proposed heritage center, and the Camden Archives.

D. Heritage Education

- **Implement school outreach programs.** Encourage the youth of Camden and surrounding areas to discover the heritage of African Americans through programs and curriculum development. For example, create tours geared towards explaining Jim Crow segregation and how African Americans formed their own ways of surviving under the system.

- **Create position for city preservation officer.** Recruit a preservation officer to coordinate city preservation projects, implement educational programs, and provide information for researchers and tourists.

- **Conduct oral history projects.** Utilize the resources of the University of South Carolina to conduct and document a formal oral history project with African Americans from the town. Make the transcriptions from these interviews available for public use. Housing them in the Camden Archives, for example, would be an excellent way to preserve the interviews and to provide materials for researchers.

- **Expand understanding of the historic black business district.** Utilize the database of the 1941 City Directory in conjunction with oral interviews to document the locations and the changes of black businesses over time.

- **Solicit outside funding.** Seek sponsorship and financial support from outside businesses and philanthropist agencies to fund special exhibits focusing on black Camden, programming celebrating "Black History Month," and other projects.

- **Schedule programs with holidays and celebrations.** Emphasize particular themes that cover various aspects of African-American life during important holidays and celebrations. For example, during a February "Black History Month," show the impact of black funeral homes on the political, economic, religious, and environmental aspects of African-American life in Camden. Also, to celebrate "Historic Preservation Month" in May, discuss the importance of historic preservation through public presentations that highlight an African-American heritage project undertaken during the preceding year.

- **Network with agencies interested in African-American history and culture.** Create professional relationships with other organizations – such as the South Carolina African-American Heritage Commission and the African-American Heritage Coordinator at the state historic preservation office – to create inter-agency programs and projects.

- **Develop website dedicated to African-American history and culture.** The site might include information such as times and schedules of walking tours, current exhibits shown at town venues, operating hours and a hyperlink to the Camden City Archives, upcoming events and programming.

E. Linkages with the University of South Carolina

- **Work with the Public History Program to develop class projects.** Draw upon the knowledge of the historic preservation students and faculty to nominate sites important to black Camden to the National Register of Historic Places. Historic Preservation (HIST 792), for example, is taught annually and requires students to nominate properties to the National Register. The Historic Preservation Practicum (HIST 712) is offered every two years and can take on larger, more wide-ranging projects. The Historical Research Methods class (HIST 816) is taught every fall; graduate students undertake a major research project of their own choosing, and suggestions for topics to research are always welcome.

- **Create internship opportunities.** Work with Public History faculty to identify graduate students in archival studies, historic preservation, and museum studies to conduct research, to assist in the development and implementation of exhibits, and to identify important properties that influenced African-American life in Camden.

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VI. Appendix

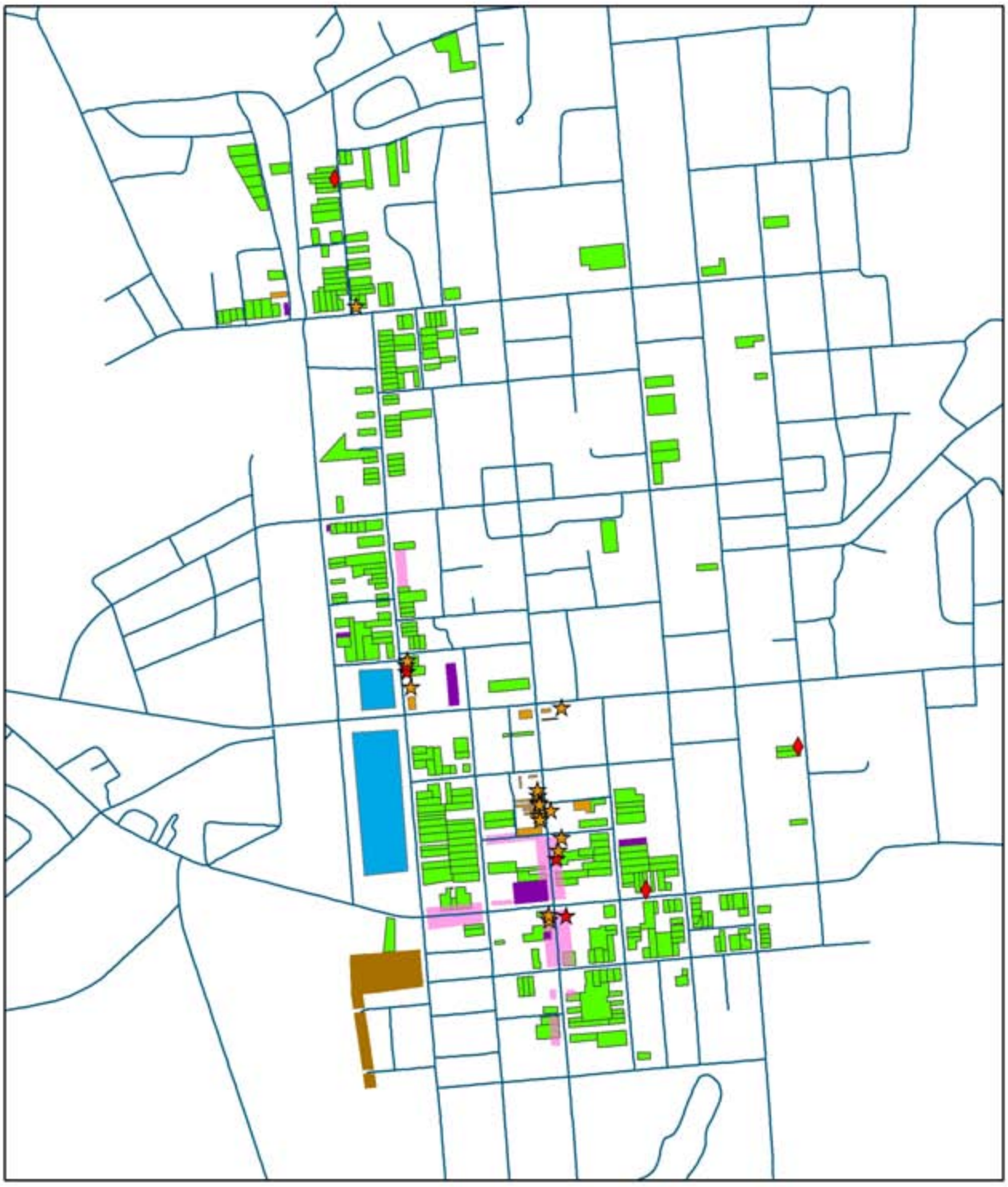
Maps

The maps in this appendix present a visual portrait of black Camden in 1941, highlighting the locations of important African-American institutions, the black business district, and several residential concentrations.

The maps are based on the data assembled for the accompanying spreadsheet (which, in turn, are drawn from the *Camden City Directory* for 1941). The information in the spreadsheet has been plotted spatially to create a set of Geographic Information System (GIS) layers showing locations and concentrations of institutions, businesses, and residences. In the absence of an historic map that depicts precise property lines in Camden in the 1930s or 1940s, we used a current tax parcel map to provide baseline locational data. We attempted to identify the locations and, in some cases, the approximate locations of residences, businesses, and institutional structures as they existed in 1941 on this modern parcel map. Occasionally, this process was not as straight-forward as we would have hoped: tax parcels can be renumbered, structures are demolished, and parcels can change in size over the years sometimes making a property appear larger than it may have been historically. Symbols on the map indicate where and how we addressed these issues and made our best approximations when that was necessary. Shaded blocks have been used in areas where many residential buildings are no longer extant, in order to give an indication of where they would have been.

The maps in this report offer a general visual perspective on where African Americans lived and worked in Camden in 1941.

1941 Snapshot of Black Camden



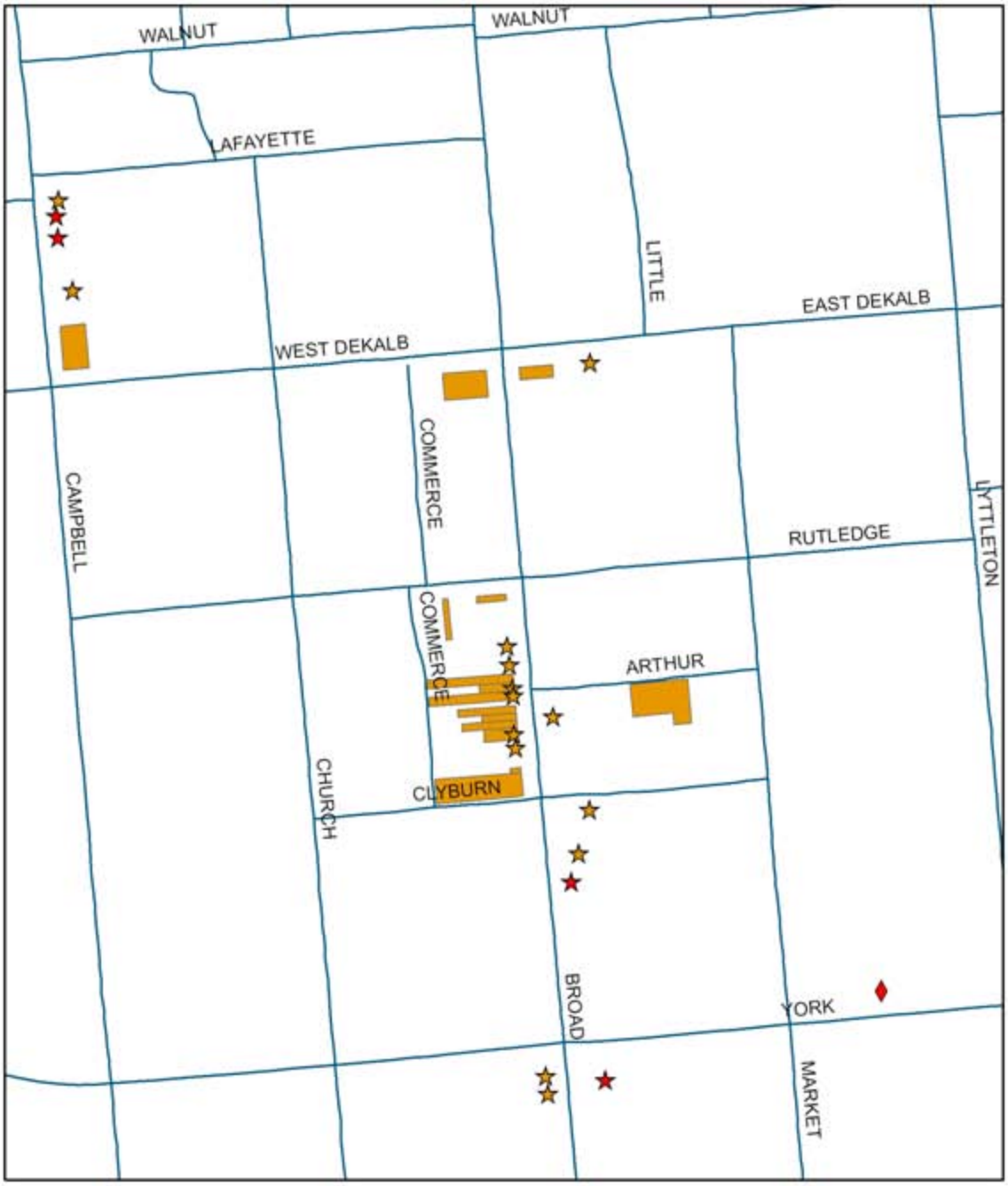
0 0.1 0.2 0.4 Miles

Legend

- Camden Res/Bus
- Approximated Res/Bus
- Approximated businesses
- Streets
- Camden Cemetery
- African_American_Churches
- Approximated Camden Schools
- Approximated Residences
- Camden Residences
- Camden_Business

N
W E
S

African American Businesses along Broad Street

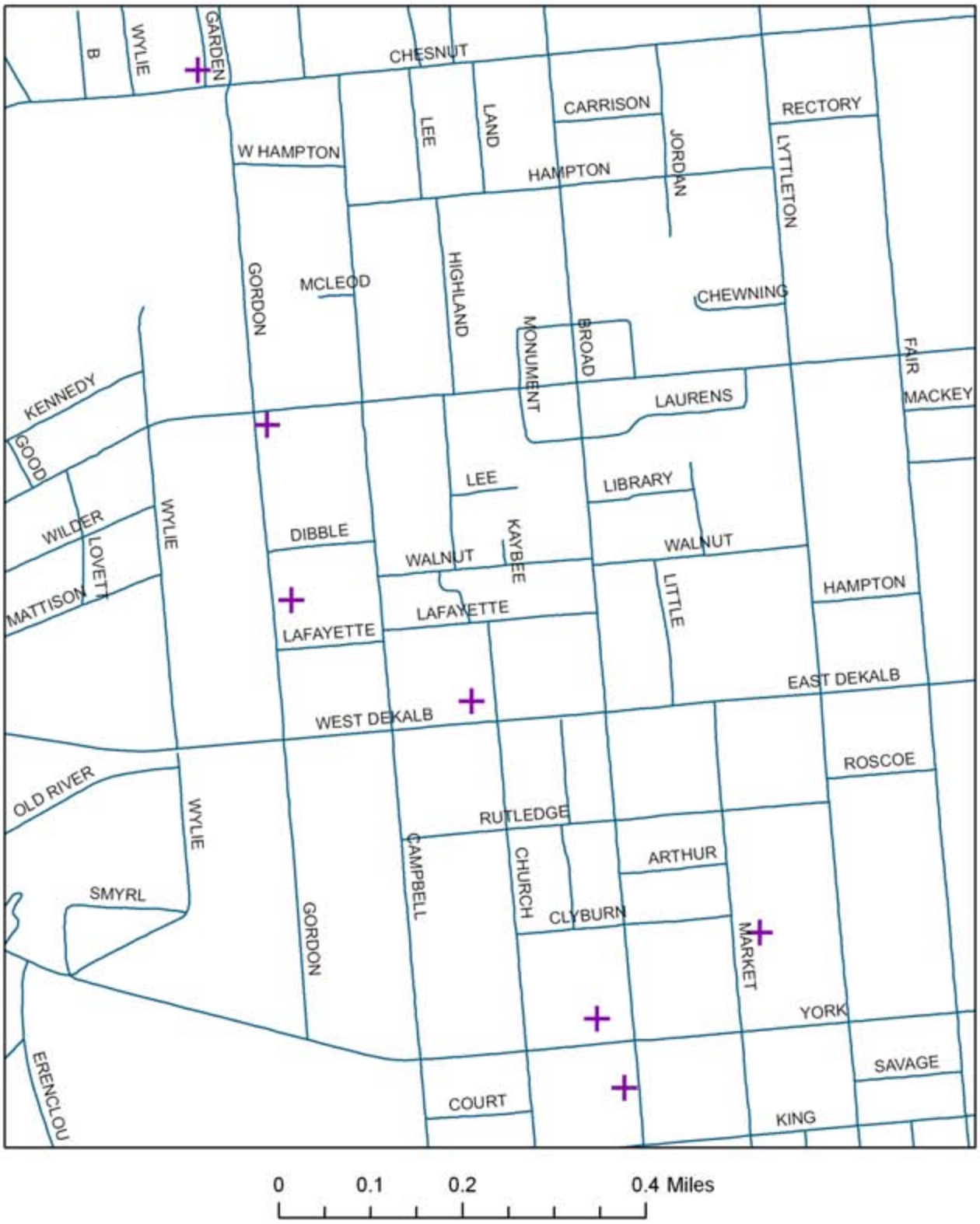


Legend

- Approximated businesses
- Streets
- Camden Res/Bus
- Camden Business
- Approximated Res/Bus

N
W E
S

Camden African-American Churches



Campbell Street Residences

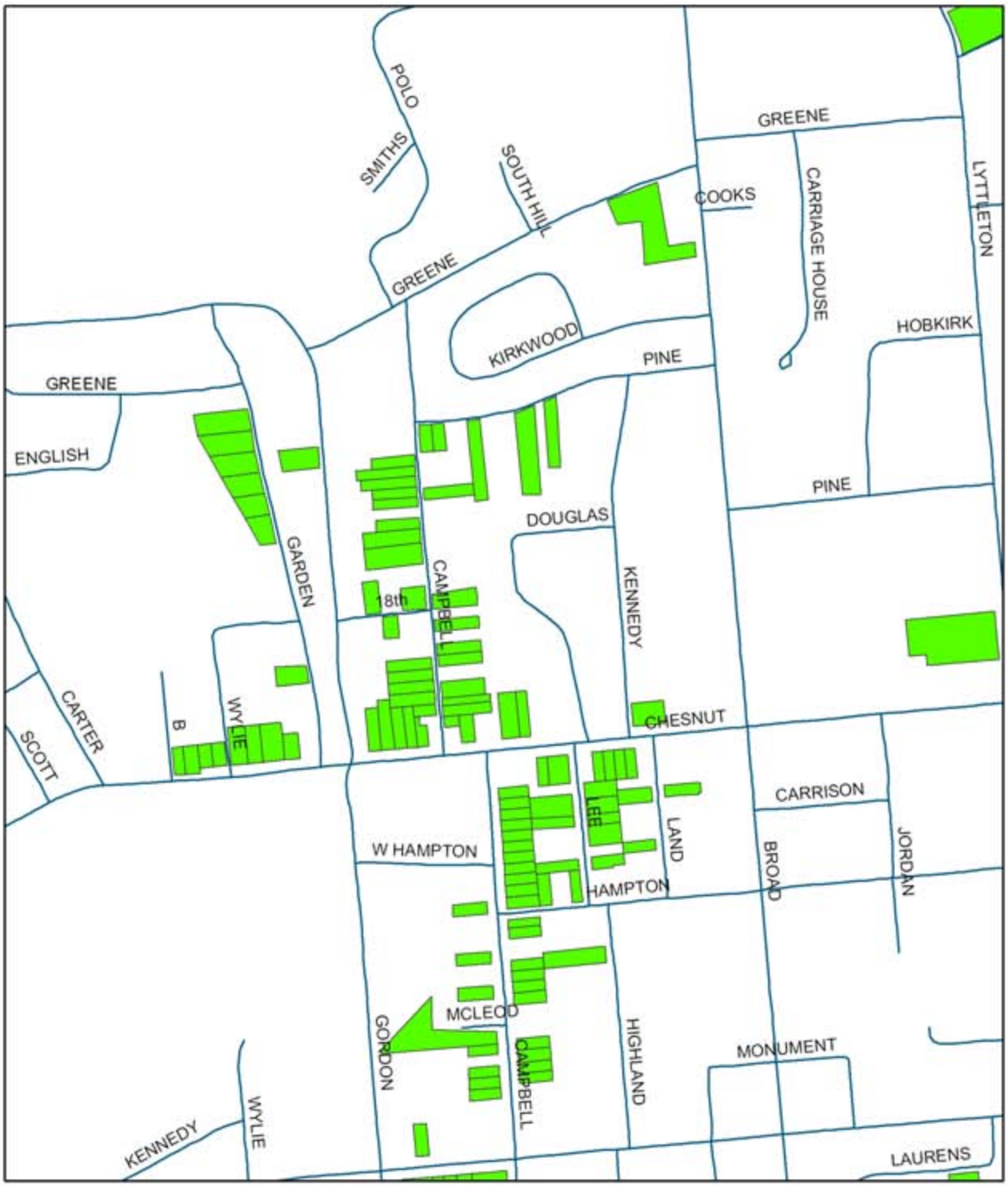
0 0.1 0.2 0.4 Miles

Legend

- Streets
- Approximated Residences
- Camden Residences

N
W E
S

Residences near Monroe-Boykin Park



0 0.05 0.1 0.2 Miles

Legend

- Streets
- Approximated Residences
- Camden Residences

N
W E
S

Residences South of Rutledge

0 0.05 0.1 0.2 Miles

Legend

- Streets
- Approximated Residences
- Camden Residences

N
W E
S

Spreadsheet

The data in this spreadsheet offer a "snapshot" of black Camden in 1941. The pages that follow present an extended listing of African-American residents, institutions, and businesses based on the information published in the residential and business sections of the *Camden City Directory* for that year. The directory also provides information on white residents, institutions, and businesses, but black Camden can be profiled because, following the custom in other southern city directories of the time, African-American residents and places were designated with the letter "c" for "colored." The year 1941 was selected because no subsequent city directory could be located (either because none was published or no public repository kept a copy) until 1961, when racial designations were no longer used. Similar spreadsheets on black Camden could be prepared by some future researcher using the information in the Camden city directories for 1914-15 and 1925-26, copies of which are located at the Camden City Archives and the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina.

The spreadsheet is organized by street address, with the names of streets in alphabetical order and individual properties listed numerically in ascending order. For each address, the following information is provided (if it is given in the directory): the name of the resident, institution, or business; name of spouse; whether a person was a head of household (h) or a resident (r); number of children under the age of sixteen living in the home; occupation; employer; whether the property is a residence (res), business (bus), or institution (int); and whether the resident is the homeowner (yes/no).

The spreadsheet was compiled from the raw data of the city directory, and every effort has been made to translate this information carefully and accurately into this new format. Occasionally, there are gaps in the data. Thus, some people are listed only as employees with no residence given, perhaps because they lived outside of Camden but worked in town. For some people living in the country, their address is listed simply as a rural mail delivery route. It should also be noted that none of the information has been field-checked or compared with information from other contemporaneous sources. As a consequence, misspellings of names, improper demarcation of race, minor errors in addresses, and so forth that may have appeared in the 1941 directory can be expected also to appear in the spreadsheet. In this sense, the spreadsheet is a reliable electronic version of this important historical source on black Camden.

Note: Because it is a lengthy document of interest chiefly to future researchers, the spreadsheet is included in the reference copies distributed to the Camden Archives and Museum, the Camden Historic Landmarks Commission, the Kershaw County Historical Society, the Kershaw County Public Library, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History in Columbia, and the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina.

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
104	ARTHUR LANE	DANTZLER ANNIE M		R		COOK		RES	N
515	ARTHUR LANE	HALL MATTIE		R		COOK		RES	N
515	ARTHUR LANE	GRAHAM MURDOCK		R		DRIVER	CAMDEN BOTTLING COMPANY	RES	N
515	ARTHUR LANE	GRAHAM GEORGE		R		JANITOR		RES	N
515	ARTHUR LANE	GRAHAM FRANCES		H	2			RES	N
517	ARTHUR LANE	BERRY MAMIE		R	3	COOK		RES	N
517	ARTHUR LANE	JONES MACK	MARTHA	H	1	TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
REAR 517	ARTHUR LANE	CARTER MINNIE		H					
531	ARTHUR LANE	THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH						BUS	
704	ARTHUR LANE	ADDISON ROSALIE		R				RES	N
704	ARTHUR LANE	HARPER EMMA		R		DOMESTIC	LAUNDRY WORKER	RES	N
704	ARTHUR LANE	MITCHELL ANGELINE		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
REAR 704	ARTHUR LANE	WADE ELLA		R		LABORER	WPA	RES	N
REAR 704	ARTHUR LANE	BROOME LOUISE		H		NURSE		RES	N
REAR 704	ARTHUR LANE	MITCHELL SIMON		R				RES	N
REAR 704	ARTHUR LANE	MITCHELL TYEE		R		LABORER		RES	N
	BARRINGTON STABLES	CLAYBROOK JOHN		R		WATCHMAN	BARRINGTON STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	BARRINGTON STABLES	SMITH WARD		R		LABORER	BARRINGTON STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	BARRINGTON STABLES	TALBERT WILLIAM E		R		LABORER	BARRINGTON STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	BARRINGTON STABLES	TOLES EDWARD		R		LABORER	BARRINGTON STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	BARRINGTON STABLES	WALKER W S		R		ASSISTANT TRAINER	BARRINGTON STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	BARRINGTON STABLES	YATES CHARLES		R		LABORER	BARRINGTON STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	BETHUNE, SC	BALLARD ISAAC		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
	BETHUNE, SC	FRESHLEY FLOYD		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
	BETHUNE, SC	KELLEY DAVID K		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
	BETHUNE, SC	MCCOY MACK		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
	BETHUNE, SC	MILLER, JOHN T		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
	BRAMBLEWOOD PLANTATION	BELTON GEORGE	BLANCHE	H	3	LABORER	THE CAMDEN FLORAL COMPANY	RES	N
	BRAMBLEWOOD PLANTATION	BELTON LEE		R		LABORER		RES	N
	BRAMBLEWOOD PLANTATION	LEWIS ELIZA		R		LABORER		RES	N
	BRAMBLEWOOD PLANTATION	LEWIS FRANK	HANNAH	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
	BRAMBLEWOOD PLANTATION	LEWIS WILLIAM	MARY	H	2	LABORER		RES	N
	BRAMBLEWOOD PLANTATION	MURPHY HENRY	IDA	H		LABORER		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	DUBOSE ELLA		H		COOK		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	BROWN JACK		R		DELIVERYMAN	WEST BROTHERS GROCERY	RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	DRAKEFORD FRANK	ROSA	R	3	DELIVERYMAN	CYLBURN'S STORE	RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	JOHNSON ROBERT		R		CARPENTER		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	KIRKLAND ANTHUM		H	1	LABORER		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	KIRKLAND CLEVELAND		R		STUDENT		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	LYLES EMMA		H				RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	LYLES INEZ		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	LYLES KATHERINE		R				RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	LYLES PAULINE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
504	BROAD STREET	KERSHAW ISABELL		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
504	BROAD STREET	KERSHAW PHILIP	ISABELL	H		LABORER	WATEREE MILLS	RES	Y
508	BROAD STREET	GOODWIN MAGGIE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
508	BROAD STREET	BROWN LAURA		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	Y
508	BROAD STREET	MORRIS JANE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
508	BROAD STREET	MORRIS LILLIE M		R		STUDENT		RES	N
508	BROAD STREET	MURPHY ANNIE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
508	BROAD STREET	MURRAY VINNIE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
509	BROAD STREET	BROWN EUGENE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
509	BROAD STREET	BROWN MAGGIE		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
509	BROAD STREET	WRIGHT HAMPTON		R		STUDENT		RES	N
510	BROAD STREET	BALLARD JAMES	ROSA	H		LABORER		RES	N
510	BROAD STREET	BALLARD ROSA		R		COOK		RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
510	BROAD STREET	BRADFORD WILLIAM		R		PORTER	LA FAYETTE SERVICE STATION	RES	N
511	BROAD STREET	BELTON THOMAS		R		LABORER		RES	N
511	BROAD STREET	JACOBS MAGGIE		R	4	LAUNDRESS		RES	N
511	BROAD STREET	JONES HENRIETTA		R				RES	N
511	BROAD STREET	JONES PEOLA		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
511	BROAD STREET	MILLS MARIE		R		DISH WASHER	WATEREE LUNCH	RES	N
511	BROAD STREET	MILLS RYERS		R	1	COOK	WATEREE LUNCH	RES	N
511	BROAD STREET	WORKMAN ROBERT	EDITH	H	4	POERTER	BURNS & BARRETT HARDWARE CO	RES	N
513	BROAD STREET	BALLARD MARTHA		R				RES	N
513	BROAD STREET	JENKINS BERTHA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
513	BROAD STREET	JENKINS DAISY		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
513	BROAD STREET	JENKINS JOHN	ELIZA	H	7	LABORER	WPA	RES	N
513	BROAD STREET	JENKINS RENA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
513	BROAD STREET	MULLINS PAUL	MARGARET	R	1	CARPENTER		RES	N
REAR 513	BROAD STREET	DIXON WILLIAM	LILLIE	R		LABORER		RES	N
REAR 513	BROAD STREET	MILLS SARA		R	1	DOMESTIC		RES	N
REAR 513	BROAD STREET	MILLS SARAH		H				RES	N
514	BROAD STREET	MILLS WILLIAM	HANNAH	H	5	LABORER	WATEREE MILLS	RES	N
515	BROAD STREET	WYLIE DANIEL	MAGGIE	H		CARPENTER		RES	N
517	BROAD STREET	FORD VINCENT	EDNA	R	3	LABORER		RES	N
517	BROAD STREET	COOK WALLACE	ELIZA	H	1	LABORER	SOUTHERN COTTON OIL COMPANY	RES	N
535	BROAD STREET	PALACE BARBER SHOP						BUS	
603	BROAD STREET	COOK SAMUEL	FLORENCE	H	7	LABORER	MUNICIPAL UTILITIES	RES	N
604	BROAD STREET	MURPHY LEONARD	ELLA	H		LABORER	WATEREE MILLS	RES	Y
606	BROAD STREET	GETTYS JAMES	ALMEDA	H		FARMER		RES	Y
702	BROAD STREET	BINES HEBRON	DAISY	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
702	BROAD STREET	BINES JEFFERSON		R		LABORER		RES	N
702	BROAD STREET	GRAHAM SALLIE		R		COOK		RES	N
702	BROAD STREET	JOHNSON HENRIETTA		R		COOK		RES	N
704	BROAD STREET	HOLLIDAY EMMA		R				RES	N
704	BROAD STREET	HOLLIDAY ROSA		H		COOK		RES	N
704	BROAD STREET	HOLLIDAY THOMAS		R		PORTER	WATTS GULF STATION	RES	N
704	BROAD STREET	ELLERBEE EUGENE	MARY	R		FARMER		RES	N
713	BROAD STREET	DUBOSE HATTIE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
713	BROAD STREET	DUBOSE JAMES	MAGGIE	H		GARDENER		RES	Y

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
714	BROAD STREET	ALLEN ROBERT	AMELIA	H	1	TRUCK DRIVER	CITY STREET DEPT	RES	N
715	BROAD STREET	JOHNSON ANDREW	ELIZA	H	5	LABORER		RES	N
718	BROAD STREET	JAMES JOHN	JOSEPHINE	R	1	PORTER	BYRD'S BARBER SHOP	RES	N
718	BROAD STREET	BRISBANE LEONA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
718	BROAD STREET	BRISBANE WILLIAM	CHARITY	R	1	LABORER		RES	N
718	BROAD STREET	LYKES JERRY		R		COOK	ROXY CAFÉ	RES	N
718	BROAD STREET	LYKES LUANNA		H		COOK	M & K COFFEE SHOP	RES	N
721	BROAD STREET	GRAHAM WILLIAM	REBECCA	H	3	LABORER	SOU COTTON OIL COMPANY	RES	N
721	BROAD STREET	GRAHAM JAMES		R		PORTER	CORALINA COCA-COLA BOTTLING CO	RES	N
721	BROAD STREET	GRAHAM HENRY		R				RES	N
721	BROAD STREET	GRAHAM BEATRICE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
723	BROAD STREET	AFRICAN METHODIST CHURCH						INST	
729	BROAD STREET	MILL SHEAD	IDA	H	6	LABORER	WATEREE MILLS	RES	Y
732	BROAD STREET	DRAKEFORD JOHN		R		LABORER		RES	N
732	BROAD STREET	DIXON WILLIAM		R		LABORER		RES	N
732	BROAD STREET	KENNEDY MARY		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
732	BROAD STREET	SELLERS JULIA		R				RES	N
732	BROAD STREET	WHITAKER SAMUEL		H		PORTER	LANGFORD ESSO STATION	RES	N
734	BROAD STREET	DRAKEFORD REBECCA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
734	BROAD STREET	PEARSON CORA		R	1	LAUNDRESS		RES	N
734	BROAD STREET	PERRY CHANIE		R				RES	N
734	BROAD STREET	ROBERTSON MINNIE		H				RES	N
742	BROAD STREET	GARY ELMO	IDA	H		LABORER		RES	N
743	BROAD STREET	WALLACE AMANDA		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
743	BROAD STREET	WALLACE JAMES		H		LABORER	WPA	RES	N
745	BROAD STREET	DUREEN JERRY		R				RES	N
745	BROAD STREET	DUREEN WILLIAM	JESSIE L	H		GROCER	7477 BROAD STREET	RES	Y
747	BROAD STREET	GROCER	WILLIAM DUREEN					BUS	
750	BROAD STREET	PRICE FLORENCE		H		GROCER/OWNER	750 BROAD STREET	RES/BUS	Y
752	BROAD STREET	ENGLISH LUCRETIA		R				RES	N
801	BROAD STREET	MT. MARIAH BAPTIST CHURCH						INST	
810	BROAD STREET	BUSSEY HEAD	MITTIE	H	4	LABORER		RES	N
813	BROAD STREET	ADAMS MABEL		R	1	LAUNDRESS		RES	N
813	BROAD STREET	ADAMS MINNIE		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
813	BROAD STREET	MILLER BLANCHE		R	4	DOMESTIC		RES	N
813	BROAD STREET	THOMAS MARY		R				RES	N
814	BROAD STREET	JONES JOSEPHINE		R	3	DOMESTIC		RES	N
814	BROAD STREET	LANEY WILLIAM	MAGGIE	R	1	LABORER		RES	N
814	BROAD STREET	SALMOND KATE		H				RES	N
815	BROAD STREET	HAGAN MARY		H				RES	N
816	BROAD STREET	MURPHY MAMIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
816	BROAD STREET	WRIGHT DORA		R	1	DOMESTIC		RES	N
818	BROAD STREET	BLAKENEY JAMES	MATTIE	R	7	PAINTER		RES	N
818	BROAD STREET	BOYKIN JB		R		CHAUFFER		RES	N
818	BROAD STREET	BOYKIN PEARL		R	2	DOMESTIC		RES	N
818	BROAD STREET	JOHNSON ETHEL M		R	1			RES	N
818	BROAD STREET	JOHNSON ALBERTA		R				RES	N
818	BROAD STREET	ROBINSON WILLIAM	MARTHA	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
819	BROAD STREET	HART WILLIAM	LIZZIE	R		LABORER		RES	N
819	BROAD STREET	JOHNSON CLARA		H	2	DOMESTIC		RES	N
rear 822	BROAD STREET	JONES WILLIE M		R				RES	N
rear 822	BROAD STREET	ROBINSON MARSHALL	MAGNOLIA	H	2	LABORER		RES	N
REAR 824	BROAD STREET	LYKES MILLIE		R	1	DOMESTIC		RES	N
REAR 824	BROAD STREET	RICHARDSON ELLA		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
REAR 824	BROAD STREET	THOMAS FLOREE		R	1			RES	N
826	BROAD STREET	JENKINS BENJAMIN	LAURA	H		GROCER	826 BROAD STREET	RES/BUS	Y
831	BROAD STREET	GRAHAM BENJAMIN	ELIZABETH	R		LABORER		RES	N
831	BROAD STREET	JONES LEVY	LAURA	R		LABORER		RES	N
831	BROAD STREET	WILSON MARTHA		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
831	BROAD STREET	WILSON WILLIAM		R		LABORER		RES	N
835	BROAD STREET	ALLEN HAGER		R				RES	N
835	BROAD STREET	WILLIAMS EDWARD		R		LABORER		RES	N
835	BROAD STREET	WILLIAMS MINNIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
840	BROAD STREET	MCDUFFIE ELIZABETH		R	3	DOMESTIC		RES	N
840	BROAD STREET	OLIVER ELIJAH	ISABELLE	R		LABORER		RES	N
840	BROAD STREET	OLIVER ELISHA	FRANCES	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
REAR 840	BROAD STREET	POTEAT MAGGIE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
REAR 840	BROAD STREET	LAWSON THOMAS	LENA	H		LABORER		RES	N
848	BROAD STREET	HAILE FUNERAL PARLOR	RICHARD H HAILE					BUS	N
Rear 854	BROAD STREET	JAMES NATHANIEL	JUDITH	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
Rear 854	BROAD STREET	CARTER LOUIS	LIZZIE	H				RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
Rear 854	BROAD STREET	JONES FLOREE		H	5	DOMESTIC		RES	N
Rear 854	BROAD STREET	JONES MARTHA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
Rear 854	BROAD STREET	RICHARDSON EDWARD	EMMA	R		LABORER		RES	N
860	BROAD STREET	CAMDEN SERVICE STATION	THOMAS S LEVY					BUS	
903	BROAD STREET	LU BELL'S BEAUTY SHOP	JANIE ANDERSON / BLANCHE BELTON					BUS	
905	BROAD STREET	BARBER SHOP	JAMES C REYNOLDS					BUS	
915	BROAD STREET	BELL'S HAIRDRESSING SHOP	SALLIE B WILLIAMS					BUS	
917	BROAD STREET	BARBER SHOP	PAUL B MCGUIRT					BUS	
919	BROAD STREET	BATES LUNCH ROOM	MATTIE BATES					BUS	
919	BROAD STREET	TUCKER HENRY				WAITER	BATES LUNCH ROOM	RES	N
920	BROAD STREET	PICKETT'S DRUG STORE						BUS	
921	BROAD STREET	DIXIE POOL ROOM	MARCUS MANAGAULT MGR					BUS	
923	BROAD STREET	RESTAURANT	FRANCES HART					BUS	
927	BROAD STREET	DENTIST	CHRISTOPER BREVARD					BUS	
927 1/2	BROAD STREET	GREENLEAF CAFÉ						BUS	
929	BROAD STREET	BARBER SHOP	KNOX COLUMBUS					BUS	
929 1/2	BROAD STREET	GEM CAFE						BUS	
931	BROAD STREET	GROCERY	JOHN W WILLIAMS					BUS	
933	BROAD STREET	THOMAS DRUG STORE	JESSE H THOMAS					INST	
939	BROAD STREET	CAMDEN POOL ROOM	ROBERT BROWN					BUS	
953	BROAD STREET	BARBER SHOP	DES KENNEDY					BUS	

REAR 1130	BROAD STREET	JACOBS JACOB							
Street Number	**Street Name**	**Former Resident**	**Former Resident Spouse**	**H/R**	**Children**	**Occupation**	**Employer**	**Res/Bus/Int**	**Home Owner Y/N**
1031	BROAD STREET	DAISY		H		JANITOR	CAMDEN BAPTIST CHURCH	RES	N
1040	BROAD STREET	KELLEY DOCK JR				DELIVERYMAN	CLYDE L SHEALY	RES	N
1047	BROAD STREET	CENTRAL BARBER SHOP	WILLIAM BROWNLEE					BUS	
1050	BROAD STREET	EUREKA BARBER SHOP	MACK D WOLST					INST	
1111	BROAD STREET	CARTER WESLEY				HELPER	STOGNER MOTOR CO	RES	N
1209	BROAD STREET	BOYD PRISCILLA				COOK	IVY LODGE HOTEL	RES	N
1209	BROAD STREET	BRAXTON ROSA L				WAITRESS	IVY LODGE HOTEL	RES	N
1209	BROAD STREET	BUTLER ADAM				PORTER	IVY LODGE HOTEL	RES	N
1209	BROAD STREET	JONES FLOSSIE				MAID	IVY LODGE HOTEL	RES	N
Rear 854	BROAD STREET	HAMPTON ALICE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
927 ½	BROAD STREET	GREENLEAF CAFE	SAMUEL WILLIAMS					INST	
929 ½	BROAD STREET	GEM CAFE	SUSIE J FLEMING					INST	
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	BERNARD VIRGINIA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	LYLES EMMA		H				RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	LYLES INEZ		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	LYLES KATHERINE		R				RES	N
EXTD RD 3	BROAD STREET	LYLES PAULINE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
NR CHURCH	BULL STREET	LEE CARTER	HANNA B	H	6	FARMER		RES	N
	BURCH STABLES	THORNE HARDY		R		LABORER	BURCH STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	BURCH STABLES	TILLMAN WILLIAM		R		LABORER	BURCH STABLES	RES/BUS	N
2	CALHOUN STREET	JENKINS JOHN	MINDER S	H	2			RES	N
4	CALHOUN STREET	THOMPSON FANNIE		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
4	CALHOUN STREET	THOMPSON FANNIE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
4	CALHOUN STREET	THOMPSON JESSIE		R		LABORER		RES	N
4	CALHOUN STREET	THOMPSON ISAAC		R		PORTER	DEPASS DRUG CO	RES	N
cor DEKALB	CAMPBELL STREET	CAMDEN COLORED GRAMMAR SCHOOL	PETROS MOODANA					INST	
cor DEKALB	CAMPBELL STREET	CAMDEN COLORED HIGH SCHOOL	PETROS MOODANA					INST	
cor DEKALB	CAMPBELL STREET	MATHER ACADEMY	LULA B BRYAN					INST	
211	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER JOSEPH	MINNIE H	H	2	HELPER	CENTRAL SERVICE STATION	RES	Y

808	CAMPBELL STREET	BOLDING EMMA		H				RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
810	CAMPBELL STREET	SMITH CORA		H	1	FARMER		RES	Y
810	CAMPBELL STREET	SMITH PEARL		R		STUDENT		RES	N
812	CAMPBELL STREET	CARLOS LEON		R				RES	N
812	CAMPBELL STREET	CARLOS SALLIE		R		MAID		RES	N
812	CAMPBELL STREET	WATKINS BEULAH		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
812	CAMPBELL STREET	WILLIAMS GEORGE	REBECCA	H	6	PAINTER		RES	N
812	CAMPBELL STREET	WILLIAMS MATHA		R				RES	N
814	CAMPBELL STREET	GARY JOSEPH	ETHEL J	R		PLUMBER		RES	N
814	CAMPBELL STREET	GARY GILBERT	MAMIE B	H	5	LABORER		RES	N
818	CAMPBELL STREET	MCLURE PELZER	ALICE R	H	1	CARPENTER		RES	Y
818	CAMPBELL STREET	MCLURE RALPH		R		CARPENTER		RES	N
818 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	MCLENDON WILLIAM	SALLIE H	H	2	BUTLER		RES	N
820	CAMPBELL STREET	BELTON ESTELLE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
820	CAMPBELL STREET	BELTON MALACHI	ROSA	R	4	LABORER		RES	N
820	CAMPBELL STREET	CORBETT ISAAC	PEGGY C	H	1	COOK		RES	N
822	CAMPBELL STREET	STANLEY ROBERT	AMANDA T	H	4	HELPER	ELECTRIK MAID BAKE SHOP	RES	N
822	CAMPBELL STREET	STANLEY RUTH		R				RES	N
902	CAMPBELL STREET	CARLOS JOSEPH	MAGGIE	H	4	LABORER	WPA	RES	N
902	CAMPBELL STREET	LAWSON JANIE		R	1	DOMESTIC		RES	N
904	CAMPBELL STREET	HURST FLORINE		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
906	CAMPBELL STREET	ENGLISH SCIPIO	JESSIE	H		BARBER		RES	Y
906	CAMPBELL STREET	ENGLISH MABEL		R		TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED GRAMMAR SCHOOL	RES	N
908	CAMPBELL STREET	CLARKE J C		R		LABORER		RES	N
908	CAMPBELL STREET	DUNCAN ELLA		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
910	CAMPBELL STREET	LEVY AMON	DOROTHY	R	2	LABORER		RES	N
910	CAMPBELL STREET	LEVY DOROTHY		R		TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED GRAMMAR SCHOOL	RES	N
910	CAMPBELL STREET	WOLST MACK D	LOUISE	H	1	OWNER	EUREKA BARBER SHOP	RES	Y
912	CAMPBELL STREET	FRAZIER E I		R		LABORER		RES	N
912	CAMPBELL STREET	THOMPSON ANGIE		R		TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED GRAMMAR SCHOOL	RES	N
912	CAMPBELL STREET	THOMPSON C S		H		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
914	CAMPBELL STREET	KIRK H J	MAMIE N	H		REVEREND		RES	N
916	CAMPBELL STREET	PICKETT JOHN P	BESSIE	H		PHYSICIAN/OWNER	PICKETT'S DRUG STORE @ 920 BROAD STREET	RES	Y
1004	CAMPBELL STREET	HAMPTON AUGUSTINE	CARRIE	H	4	LABORER		RES	N

1004	CAMPBELL STREET	HAMPTON WADE		R				RES	N

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1006	CAMPBELL STREET	KIRKLAND G CLEVELAND		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1006	CAMPBELL STREET	KIRKLAND GROVER	ESTELLE W	H	3	FARMER		RES	Y
1008	CAMPBELL STREET	CHAMPION CHARLES		R		BELLMAN		RES	N
1008	CAMPBELL STREET	CHAMPION MAMIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	Y
1008	CAMPBELL STREET	STEWART AMELIA		R				RES	N
1008	CAMPBELL STREET	WRIGHT SAMUEL	WINIFRED	R	2	CARPENTER		RES	N
1014	CAMPBELL STREET	COLLINS AMON R		H		UNDERTAKER/OWNER	AMON R COLLINS FUNERAL HOME	RES	Y
1014	CAMPBELL STREET	COLLINS AMON R JR		R		ASSISTANT EMBALMER	AMON R COLLINS FUNERAL HOME	RES	N
1014	CAMPBELL STREET	COLLINS ANNIE		R		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
1014	CAMPBELL STREET	COLLINS GEORGE E		R		EMBALMER	AMON R COLLINS FUNERAL HOME	RES	N
1014	CAMPBELL STREET	COLLINS MACK		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1014	CAMPBELL STREET	PERINCHIEF CHARLES	ESTHER C	R	1	WAITER		RES	N
1104	CAMPBELL STREET	MCCLESTER HERBERT	CHARLOTTE	H	3	OWNER	CORNER SERVICE STATION	RES	N
1104	CAMPBELL STREET	MCLAIN LULA		R		CHIROPODIST	1014 CAMPBELL STREET	RES/BUS	N
1108	CAMPBELL STREET	COLLINS AMON R FUNERAL HOME	AMON R COLLINS					BUS	
1112	CAMPBELL STREET	WITHERS ESSIE		H				RES	Y
1112	CAMPBELL STREET	MALLETT EUNICE		R		TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED HIGH SCHOOL	RES	N
1114	CAMPBELL STREET	COLLINS LOUISE		H				RES	Y
1116	CAMPBELL STREET	COLLINS DAVID N	EARTHA	H	2	TAXI SERVICE	1116 CAMPBELL STREET	RES/BUS	Y
1116	CAMPBELL STREET	COLLINS ELIZABETH		R		STUDENT		RES/BUS	N
1116	CAMPBELL STREET	MCLAIN ELIZABETH		R				RES	N
1118	CAMPBELL STREET	GROCER	RD DIBBLE					BUS	
1200	CAMPBELL STREET	MOODANA PETROS B	MARY	H		PRINCIPAL	CAMDEN COLORED HIGH SCHOOL AND CAMDEN COLORED GRAMMAR SCHOOL	RES	Y
1201	CAMPBELL STREET	KENNEDY DES(MOND?)	NORA W	H	2	BARBER/OWNER	953 BROAD STREET	RES	Y
1201	CAMPBELL STREET	KENNEDY JUANITA		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1203	CAMPBELL STREET	HARRELL JOHN	LUCY J	H	2	CHAUFFER		RES	Y
1203	CAMPBELL STREET	MOODANA ESCAMEAD		R		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
1206	CAMPBELL STREET	WOODS JAMES	MINNIE H	H		LABORER		RES	N
1207	CAMPBELL STREET	GARY ELIZABETH		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N

1208	CAMPBELL STREET	BELTON FRANCES		R		COOK		RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
1208	CAMPBELL STREET	BELTON LEVY	JANIE	H	2	CARPENTER		RES	Y
1209	CAMPBELL STREET	BOYD HARRY	PRISCILLA	H	1	CARPENTER		RES	N
1210	CAMPBELL STREET	KELLY JAMES	MARY	H	5	LABORER	WPA	RES	N
1210	CAMPBELL STREET	KELLY LEROY		R				RES	N
1212	CAMPBELL STREET	HODGES ADDISON	ELEVATA	H	1	LABORER		RES	Y
1212	CAMPBELL STREET	LYONS AMELIA		R				RES	N
1213	CAMPBELL STREET	HOWARD KATIE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1213	CAMPBELL STREET	JAMES VOLIE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1213	CAMPBELL STREET	MURPHY KATIE		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
1213	CAMPBELL STREET	WHITE GEORGE E		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1214	CAMPBELL STREET	FAULK ESTELLE W		H		DOMESTIC		RES	Y
1215	CAMPBELL STREET	MOSES HENRY	RUTH B	H	3	BARBER		RES	Y
1216	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER EMMA		R				RES	N
1216	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER LOTTIE		R				RES	N
1216	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER MARIAH		H	2			RES	Y
1216	CAMPBELL STREET	DIXON FLOYD	FRANCIS	R	3	REPAIRER	LOMANSKY SHOE SHOP	RES	N
1218	CAMPBELL STREET	SUMPTER RICHARD	MAGGIE	H	3	CARPENTER		RES	N
1220	CAMPBELL STREET	JONES BENJAMIN	ESTELLE	R	2	LABORER		RES	N
1220	CAMPBELL STREET	KELLEY HERBERT	JOHNNIE M	H		LABORER	GUY PLANING MILL & LABOR CO	RES	N
1220	CAMPBELL STREET	KELLEY JAMES		R				RES	N
1301	CAMPBELL STREET	BURROUGHS WILLIAM	FLORRIE R	H	2	LAUNDRY WORKER		RES	Y
1301	CAMPBELL STREET	BORROUGHS WILLIAM JR		R		JANITOR		RES	N
1303	CAMPBELL STREET	KNIGHT JERVEY	MATTIE BATES	H	7	HELPER	ELECTRIK MAID BAKE SHOP	RES	Y
1304	CAMPBELL STREET	ROBINSON JAMES		R				RES	N
REAR 1304	CAMPBELL STREET	PARKER ANNABELL		R	1	LAUNDRY		RES	N
REAR 1304	CAMPBELL STREET	WATSON WILLIAM	VIRGINIA	R		LABORER		RES	N
1305	CAMPBELL STREET	REYNOLDS JAMES A		H				RES	Y
1306	CAMPBELL STREET	DAVIS ELLA		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1306	CAMPBELL STREET	SHANNON LEOLA		R				RES	N
1307	CAMPBELL STREET	JONES BENJAMIN	EVA	H	4	CARPENTER		RES	Y
1307 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	LYES SALLIE		H				RES	N
1307 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	LYLES GEORGE		R		LABORER		RES	N
1308	CAMPBELL STREET	EDWARDS SUSIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
REAR 1308	CAMPBELL STREET	MCCULLOUGH JAMES	MAGGIE	H		LABORER		RES	N
1309	CAMPBELL STREET	POWELL JESSIE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
1309	CAMPBELL STREET	POWELL KATE C		H		TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED GRAMMAR SCHOOL	RES	Y
1310	CAMPBELL STREET	CARLOS RICHARD	MILDRED	H	2		WPA	RES	N
1310	CAMPBELL STREET	SHANNON NELLIE		R	1			RES	N
1311	CAMPBELL STREET	JONES CAMMIE	JOSINE J	H	5	PLUMBER		RES	N
1311	CAMPBELL STREET	JONES GRACE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
1311	CAMPBELL STREET	JONES JESSE		R		TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
1311	CAMPBELL STREET	JONES YORK		R		TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
1311	CAMPBELL STREET	ROBINSON ROSABELL		R	3			RES	N
1312	CAMPBELL STREET	HUGGINS WILLIAM	MARY	H	2	LABORER	WPA	RES	N
1314	CAMPBELL STREET	STOVER CYNTHIA		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1314	CAMPBELL STREET	STOVER JOSEPH W	MABEL	H	2	CARRIER	US POST OFFICE	RES	Y
1315	CAMPBELL STREET	HAILE RICHARD H	NANNIE C	H	1	OWNER	HAILE FUNERAL HOME	RES	Y
1316	CAMPBELL STREET	JONES ABRAHAM M	ADA B	H		OWNER	RED BOOT SHOP	RES	Y
1319	CAMPBELL STREET	MARSHALL JAMES D	EDNA	H	1	SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
1405	CAMPBELL STREET	HARRIOT HEZEKIAH	ELLA	H		LABORER		RES	N
1405	CAMPBELL STREET	WEATHERS JERRY		R		LABORER		RES	N
1405 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	DAVIS FLORA C		H		COOK		RES	Y
1405 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	DUBOSE JAMES		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1407	CAMPBELL STREET	WILLIAMS ROBERT	ISABELL A	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
1409	CAMPBELL STREET	MCCULLEN MABEL		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1409	CAMPBELL STREET	MCULOUGH MOZELLE		R		TEACHER	MATHER ACADEMY	RES	Y
1409	CAMPBELL STREET	MOORE LAURA		R				RES	N
1409	CAMPBELL STREET	PRATT MOZELL		R		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
1410	CAMPBELL STREET	ARTHUR ROBERT		R		LABORER		RES	N
1410	CAMPBELL STREET	ARTHUR SERENA		H		COOK		RES	N
1411	CAMPBELL STREET	ALLEN GERTRUDE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1411	CAMPBELL STREET	MCELVENE MARY J		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1412	CAMPBELL STREET	FLETCHER BOOKER T	MINNIE H	H		COOK		RES	N
1414	CAMPBELL STREET	AUSTIN MARY		R	2			RES	N
1414 1/2	CAMPBELL STREET	GROCERY	DAVID MURRAY					BUS	
1415	CAMPBELL STREET	ELM JANE		H		MAID		RES	N
1415	CAMPBELL STREET	MOORE CORNELIUS		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1415	CAMPBELL STREET	WYLIE PRESLEY		R				RES	N
1416	CAMPBELL STREET	FERGUSON JOSIEBELL		R	3	COOK		RES	N
1416	CAMPBELL STREET	MCCULLOUGH WESLEY	REBECCA	H	1	REVEREND		RES	Y
1417	CAMPBELL STREET	LLYOD LEVINE		H				RES	Y

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
1418	CAMPBELL STREET	BALLARD ISABELLE		H	1	LAUNDRESS		RES	N
1418	CAMPBELL STREET	INGRAM IRENE		R				RES	N
1420	CAMPBELL STREET	SCHROPSHIRE ROPT J	DAISY	H		GARDENER		RES	Y
1420	CAMPBELL STREET	SCHROPSHIRE SALLIE		R		BEAUTY OPERATOR		RES	N
1420	CAMPBELL STREET	SMITH RICHARD	VIRGINIA	R		STABLE HELPER		RES	N
1503	CAMPBELL STREET	COOK JAMES	MAMIE	H	2 2?	CARPENTER		RES	N
1504	CAMPBELL STREET	SIMMONS ELEANOR		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1504	CAMPBELL STREET	SIMMONS THOMAS	ELIZABETH	H	3			RES	N
1506	CAMPBELL STREET	ANDERSON MARY		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
1506	CAMPBELL STREET	GROOM VICTOR		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
1508	CAMPBELL STREET	LAWHORN MYLES	CAROLYN	H	6	LABORER		RES	N
1509	CAMPBELL STREET	TILLMAN RICHARD		R		TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
1509	CAMPBELL STREET	TILLMAN WILLIAM	LILLIE J	H	4	TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
1510	CAMPBELL STREET	PATTERSON NANCY		H				RES	Y
1516	CAMPBELL STREET	PORTER PAULINE M		H	1	COOK		RES	N
1518	CAMPBELL STREET	STOVER HANNIBAL H	RACHEL	H		CHAUFFER		RES	Y
1519	CAMPBELL STREET	ALFORD SHRESBURY	FRANKIE A	H		INSURANCE AGENT		RES	N
1521	CAMPBELL STREET	BOYKIN SPENCER	MARIE S	H	5	CARPENTER		RES	Y
1602	CAMPBELL STREET	BELTON BENJAMIN	ANNIE	H		BUTLER		RES	N
1604	CAMPBELL STREET	PERRY HANNAH		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	Y
1606	CAMPBELL STREET	GAMBLE JAMES	AMELIA	H		CHAUFFER		RES	Y
1606	CAMPBELL STREET	GAMBLE JAMES JR		R				RES	N
1606	CAMPBELL STREET	CHAMPION ELIZABETH		R				RES	N
1606	CAMPBELL STREET	CHAMPION WINIFRED		R				RES	N
1608	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER HATTIE M		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1608	CAMPBELL STREET	MILLER AMELIA		R				RES	N
1610	CAMPBELL STREET	HAYES ELIZABETH		R				RES	N
1610	CAMPBELL STREET	HAYES JAMES		R		PLUMBER		RES	N
1610	CAMPBELL STREET	LONG EDWARD	KATHERINE	H	1	PLUMBER		RES	N
1612	CAMPBELL STREET	HAYES AUGUSTUS	ISABELL	H		PLUMBER		RES	Y
1614	CAMPBELL STREET	JONES HATTIE		R				RES	N
1614	CAMPBELL STREET	ROBINSON LOULIE		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	Y
1614	CAMPBELL STREET	ROBINSON MARY		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1616	CAMPBELL STREET	STARNES JAMES	LELA	H	4	BUTLER		RES	N
1616	CAMPBELL STREET	STARNES LEWIS		R				RES	N
1616	CAMPBELL STREET	STARNES LOUISE		R				RES	N
1616 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	COOK PETER	CARRIE	H		TRUCK DRIVER	CITY STREET DEPT	RES	Y
1618	CAMPBELL STREET	NELSON JOHN	CHARLOTTE	H				RES	Y

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
1620	CAMPBELL STREET	BELTON ROBERT	MARY	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
1622	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER THOMAS	ELIZABETH	H	2	ORDERLY	CAMDEN HOSPITAL	RES	N
1622	CAMPBELL STREET	HENRY ALISE		R				RES	N
1702	CAMPBELL STREET	ROBINSON JOSEPH	MAMIE	H				RES	N
1702 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	DUREN PAULINE		H				RES	N
1705	CAMPBELL STREET	BURROUGHS BOOKER T	LOUISE T	H	1	SIGN POSTER		RES	N
1706	CAMPBELL STREET	BOYD EASTER		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1706	CAMPBELL STREET	KELLEY DINAH		H	1			RES	N
1707	CAMPBELL STREET	KIRKLAND JAMES	INEZ	H		LABORER		RES	Y
1708	CAMPBELL STREET	JOHNSON MAMIE		H		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
1708	CAMPBELL STREET	WINNINGHAM ETHEL		R		TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED GRAMMAR SCHOOL	RES	N
1709	CAMPBELL STREET	BRACY HATTIE		H	1	COOK		RES	N
1709	CAMPBELL STREET	BRYANT GEORGIA M		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1709	CAMPBELL STREET	MUTCHRISON PINK		R		COOK		RES	N
1709	CAMPBELL STREET	WILLIAMS LENA		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
1710	CAMPBELL STREET	CARTER HERMAN	JANE	H	2	BUTLER		RES	Y
1711	CAMPBELL STREET	HEARD SALLIE		R		COOK		RES	N
1711	CAMPBELL STREET	LEVY GEORGE	LOUISE	R	1			RES	N
1712	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER ARTHUR	CORA	H	4	CARPENTER		RES	N
1712	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER JAMES		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1712	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER LEWIS		R				RES	N
1713	CAMPBELL STREET	JAMES EDWARD		H				RES	Y
1713	CAMPBELL STREET	JAMES R D		R				RES	N
1718	CAMPBELL STREET	DAVIS LOUISE		R		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
1718	CAMPBELL STREET	JAMES RUSSELL		R				RES	N
1718	CAMPBELL STREET	JAMES TILLMAN	MARY	H		CARPENTER		RES	N
1718 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	JAMES SAMUEL W	RUTH	H	4	BLACKSMITH/OWNER	THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH	RES	Y
1720	CAMPBELL STREET	BROWN ALEXANDER	ROSA	H	2	LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
1720	CAMPBELL STREET	BROWN MARSHALL		R		LABORER		RES	N
1720	CAMPBELL STREET	DAYS ROSA		R				RES	N
1724	CAMPBELL STREET	GAMBLE WILLIAM	CHRISTINE	H		LABORER		RES	Y
1727	CAMPBELL STREET	HAILE CARRIE		H	5	DOMESTIC		RES	N
1728	CAMPBELL STREET	HARRIS JOHN	CHARLOTTE	H		CARPENTER		RES	N
1728	CAMPBELL STREET	JONES THOMAS	FLOSSIE	R	1	BUTLER		RES	N
1801	CAMPBELL STREET	CAMPBELL DANIEL	MARGARET H	H	5	LABORER		RES	N
1801	CAMPBELL STREET	JONES HORACE		R		LABORER		RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
1803	CAMPBELL STREET	MCCASKILL JOHN	LOTTIE	H		LUMBER		RES	N
1803	CAMPBELL STREET	MILES JOSEPH	ROSALIE	R	4	LABORER		RES	N
1805	CAMPBELL STREET	BENSON TILLMAN	MENDE A	H	6	LABORER	WPA	RES	N
1807	CAMPBELL STREET	CARLOS MAGGIE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1807	CAMPBELL STREET	CARLOS ROBERT	IVY K	H	1	JANITOR		RES	N
1807	CAMPBELL STREET	CARLOS ROBERT JR		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1807	CAMPBELL STREET	CARLOS SERMONTEE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1809	CAMPBELL STREET	JOHNSON ANNIE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
1809	CAMPBELL STREET	WOODS HELEN		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1809	CAMPBELL STREET	WOODS LAURA		R		MAID		RES	N
1809	CAMPBELL STREET	WOODS RACHEL		H		MAID	COURT INN	RES	N
1810	CAMPBELL STREET	SALMOND JOHN	REBECCA	H		LABORER		RES	N
1810	CAMPBELL STREET	TIMBERS BELTON		R		PORTER		RES	N
1810	CAMPBELL STREET	TIMBERS MAGGIE		R				RES	N
1810	CAMPBELL STREET	TIMBERS THEODORE	LUCILLE	R	5			RES	N
1811	CAMPBELL STREET	TUCKER AGNES		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1811	CAMPBELL STREET	TUCKER JOHN	SARAH B	H		WOOD/OWNER	1811 CAMPBELL STREET	RES/BUS	Y
1811	CAMPBELL STREET	TUCKER JOHN JR		R		LABORER		RES	N
1811 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	MOSELEY WILLIAM	ELLA P	H		FARMER		RES	Y
1813	CAMPBELL STREET	SALMOND GEORGE		H				RES	N
1815	CAMPBELL STREET	MURPHY ESTELLE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1815	CAMPBELL STREET	MURPHY HENRY	CHARLOTTE	H		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
1815	CAMPBELL STREET	RICKS D B		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1815	CAMPBELL STREET	RICKS GENEVIER		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1815	CAMPBELL STREET	ROBERSON WILLIAM		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
1815	CAMPBELL STREET	ROBINSON WILLIAM		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
1903	CAMPBELL STREET	MCCASKILL EMMA		H		DOMESTIC		RES	Y
1903	CAMPBELL STREET	MCKAIN EUGENE	BETSY R	R	1	LABORER	WPA	RES	N
908 1/2	CAMPBELL STREET	HAILE LEROY		R		COOK		RES	N
908 1/2	CAMPBELL STREET	HAILE JIMMIE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
908 1/2	CAMPBELL STREET	HAILE HATTIE		H	1	LAUNDRESS	CITY LAUNDRY	RES	N
1206 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER JAMES L	CAROLYN	H		CARPENTER		RES	Y
1206 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER JAMES L JR.		R		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
1206 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER JOHN		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1206 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER MARY		R				RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
1211 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	ANDERSON ROWILLA		R		MAID		RES	N
1307 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	FOWLER MARY		R	2			RES	N
1405 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	BLOUNT GEORGIANNA		R				RES	N
1713 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	HOGENS ANGIELS		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1713 ½	CAMPBELL STREET	HOGENS EDWARD	EUNICE D	H	6	TRUCK DRIVER		RES	Y
Rear 1304	CAMPBELL STREET	ALEXANDER DOCIA		R	1	LAUNDRESS		RES	N
Rear 1304	CAMPBELL STREET	BELTON LEVY JR	CLOETTA	H	1	CLEANER	PALMETTO DRY CLEANERS INC	RES	N
Rear 1304	CAMPBELL STREET	BELTON NANCY		R		STUDENT		RES	N
Rear 1304	CAMPBELL STREET	HOWARD LAWRENCE	LOUDAL	H		CHAUFFER		RES	N
Rear 1304	CAMPBELL STREET	HAILE WILLIAM		R		LABORER		RES	N
Rear 1304	CAMPBELL STREET	HAILE NORA		R				RES	N
Rear 1304	CAMPBELL STREET	HAILE BENJAMIN		R		LABORER		RES	N
	CAMPBELL STREET	MOSBEY W J		R		BARBER	DES KENNEDY'S BARBER SHOP	RES	N
	CARTERSVILLE, SC	WILLIAMS JOHN W		R		HELPER	CAROLINA MOTOR CO	RES	N
	CASSALT, SC	DRAKEFORD WILLIAM		R		GREASE MAN	LANGSTON MOTOR CO	RES	N
	CASSATT, SC	CLARK THOMAS C		R		LABORER	STATE HWY DEPT	RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	KERSHAW JAMES	JEANETT	H	2	PWA		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	LEE ANNIE		R	1			RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	LLOYD ERNEST	VERLIE	H	2	CARPENTER		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	MAJOR LAWRENCE	ROSA L	H	3	BELLMAN	CAMDEN HOTEL	RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	REYNOLDS JOSEPHINE		H	1	COOK		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	WHITE CLINTON	FRANCES	H	3	JANITOR	FIRST NATIONAL BANK	RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	WHITE MARY		R				RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	WOODS ROBERT	GERTRUDE	H	2	LABORER		RES	N
614	CHESNUT STREET	CANTEY GRACE L				MAID		RES	N
617	CHESNUT STREET	GASKINS LOUIS S	ALETHIA K	H	1	CARPENTER		RES	Y
619	CHESNUT STREET	KIRKLAND GROVER C	LULA B	H		BUTLER		RES	Y
621	CHESNUT STREET	BRISBANE ELLEN B		H				RES	Y
621	CHESNUT STREET	BRISBANE PHILIP M		R		CHAUFFER		RES	N
623	CHESNUT STREET	MCGUIRT PAUL B	JOSEPHINE G	H	3	BARBER	917 BROAD STREET	RES	Y
713	CHESNUT STREET	DURAN CORA L		R		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
713	CHESNUT STREET	DURAN ROBERT O	SYLVESTER B	H		BUTLER		RES	Y
713	CHESNUT STREET	DURAN MAMIE		R				RES	N
714	CHESNUT STREET	REID BOOKER T	WILLIE N	H	6	BUTLER		RES	N
715	CHESNUT STREET	SUTTON PEARL		H				RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
716	CHESNUT STREET	BLOUNT ROBERT		R		DELIVERYMAN	CITY DRUG COMPANY	RES	N
716	CHESNUT STREET	BLOUNT WHITMORE	ROSA	H		JOCKEY		RES	N
806	CHESNUT STREET	FRISON JOSEPH	ELIZA	H		COOK		RES	Y
808	CHESNUT STREET	BELTON GROCERY	CHARLEST B BELTON					INST	
812	CHESNUT STREET	BELTON CHARLES B	CHERRY P	H		GROCER	BELTON GROCERY	RES	Y
812	CHESNUT STREET	JONES HOWARD		R		LABORER		RES	N
812	CHESNUT STREET	PEOPLES SAMUEL	IDA	R		LABORER		RES	N
812 ½	CHESNUT STREET	STOVER ALBERT A	JANIE	H		BARBER	EUREKA BARBER SHOP	RES	Y
812 ½	CHESNUT STREET	STOVER MARY		R				RES	N
814	CHESNUT STREET	CRENSHAW JOHN M	EVA C	H	2	BRICKLAYER		RES	N
816	CHESNUT STREET	GAMBLE EDWARD F	LUCRETIA B	H		BUTLER		RES	Y
818	CHESNUT STREET	ALLEN BESSIE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
818	CHESNUT STREET	ENGLISH JOSEPH E		H			US POST OFFICE	RES	N
820	CHESNUT STREET	GAMBLE LOTTIE		H				RES	Y
820	CHESNUT STREET	GAMBLE EDNA		R				RES	N
904	CHESNUT STREET	BREVARD ROBERT	LETHIA	R		LABORER		RES	N
904	CHESNUT STREET	MICKLE WILLIAM	CARRIE	R	1	CARPENTER		RES	N
904	CHESNUT STREET	MILLER LIZZIE		H				RES	N
904	CHESNUT STREET	MILLER MOZELL		R		STUDENT		RES	N
906	CHESNUT STREET	ANDERSON EUGENE		R		LABORER		RES	N
906	CHESNUT STREET	ANDERSON JOHN	BERTHA	H	6	LABORER		RES	N
906	CHESNUT STREET	ANDERSON MAURICE		R		LABORER		RES	N
910	CHESNUT STREET	FOSTER JUDITY		H				RES	Y
910	CHESNUT STREET	FOSTER SMYRL	MARY	R		CARPENTER		RES	N
912	CHESNUT STREET	BAILEY WILLIAM E		H				RES	N
912	CHESNUT STREET	MITCHELL HERBERT	CATHERINE	R	2	BRICKLAYER		RES	N
914	CHESNUT STREET	BAILEY ELIZABETH		R		STUDENT		RES	N
914	CHESNUT STREET	BAILEY ROSA		H		DOMESTIC		RES	Y
916	CHESNUT STREET	BELTON SMYRL	CELIA	H		REVEREND	THE CHURCH OF GOD	RES	N
916	CHESNUT STREET	BELTON WILLIAM		R		BARBER	PALACE BARBER SHOP	RES	N
918	CHESNUT STREET	CARLOS GEORGE	LAURA	H		LABORER		RES	N
918	CHESNUT STREET	STEWART NELLIE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
920	CHESNUT STREET	BENNETT JOHN	ELIZABETH R	H	5	BUTLER		RES	Y
1005	CHESNUT STREET	DUREN VERNELL		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1615	CHESNUT STREET	WRIGHT JAMES		R		BARBER	PALACE BARBER SHOP	RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	BOWEN EUGENE		R		LABORER		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	BOWEN JOSEPH	SALLIE	H	2	LABORER		RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	DAYS HAMILTON	KATHERINE	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	DEAS ALICE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	DEAS MATTIE		R				RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	DEAS YORK		R				RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	JACKSON LOREE			2	COOK		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	BARNES EDWARD	JANIE	R	2	LABORER		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	BASKIN HATTIE		R				RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	BOWEN EUGENE		R		LABORER		RES	N
	CHESNUT STREET	CHAVIS MOSES		R		COOK	MRS. WOOTEN'S TEA ROOM	RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	FLEMING FANNIE		R	4			RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	FOWLER CARL		R		LABORER		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	FOWLER ROSA A		H	1	LAUNDRESS		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	JACKSON ALEXANDER		R	3			RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	JACKSON ANNIE		R	1	COOK		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	KERSHAW JAMES	JEANETT	H	2		PWA	RES	N
EXTD RD 3	CHESNUT STREET	MAJOR LAWRENCE	ROSA L	H	3	BELLMAN	CAMDEN HOTEL	RES	N
	CHRISTINA STABLES	AUSTIN THOMAS		R		GROOM	CHRISTINA STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	CHRISTINA STABLES	ROBISON JOHN		R		GROOM	CHRISTINA STABLES	RES/BUS	N
708	CHURCH STREET	JORDAN JAMES	JEANNETTE	H		LABORER		RES	N
710	CHURCH STREET	WILLIAMS SINA		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
713	CHURCH STREET	HOWARD RENA		R				RES	N
713	CHURCH STREET	HOWARD ROSA		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
715	CHURCH STREET	ROGERS SUSIE		H	2	LAUNDRESS		RES	N
723	CHURCH STREET	BELTON CHARLES	LULA	R		LABORER		RES	N
723	CHURCH STREET	DAYS SALLIE		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	Y
807	CHURCH STREET	GROOM LILLIE		R		LAUNDRY WORKER	CITY LAUNDRY	RES	N
807	CHURCH STREET	KELLY WALTER		H		LABORER	WPA	RES	N
809	CHURCH STREET	MISSOURI CARTER	ELIZA	H	2	LABORER		RES	Y
809	CHURCH STREET	SUTTON PICKETT	ROSA	R	2	LABORER	MUNICIPAL UTILITIES	RES	N
809 1/2	CHURCH STREET	SANDERS EARLINE		R	1			RES	N
809 1/2	CHURCH STREET	WINGHAM MARY		R	3			RES	N
811	CHURCH STREET	CLINTON ESTEL		R		LAUNDRY WORKER	CITY LAUNDRY	RES	N
811	CHURCH STREET	TRUESDALE JAMES	MALISSA	H	1	CARPENTER		RES	N
811	CHURCH STREET	WILLIAMS FURMAN	ELLEN	R		LABORER		RES	N
812	CHURCH STREET	MYERS ELISE		R		TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED GRAMMAR SCHOOL	RES	N
812	CHURCH STREET	MYERS JOHN	ELISE	H		CARPENTER		RES	Y
813	CHURCH STREET	CARLOS INELL		R				RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
813	CHURCH STREET	LEE DANIEL	LILLIE	H	5	LABORER	WPA	RES	N
813	CHURCH STREET	THOMPSON ISAAC	LEVINIE	R		LABORER	WPA	RES	N
813 1/2	CHURCH STREET	BROWN DIANA		R		LABORER		RES	N
813 1/2	CHURCH STREET	BROWN JAMES		R		CLERK	CAMDEN POOL ROOM	RES	N
813 1/2	CHURCH STREET	LAWSON WILLIAM	ETHEL	H	5	LABORER		RES	Y
815	CHURCH STREET	BELTON DANIEL	BERTHA	H	2	LABORER		RES	N
817	CHURCH STREET	BATES LOUISE		R		SCHOOLTEACHER		RES	N
817	CHURCH STREET	BATES MATTIE		R			BATES LUNCH ROOM	RES	N
817	CHURCH STREET	BATES RT		R		HELPER	BATES LUNCH ROOM	RES	N
817	CHURCH STREET	JOHNSON MATTIE		H		COOK		RES	Y
817	CHURCH STREET	PERRY JOHN S		R		SHOE REPAIRER	H C CARTER	RES	N
901	CHURCH STREET	THORN ELIZABETH		H				RES	N
901	CHURCH STREET	THORN ISAAC		R				RES	N
903	CHURCH STREET	ENGLISH JANE		H		COOK		RES	Y
903	CHURCH STREET	ENGLISH ELOISE		R		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
905	CHURCH STREET	WHITAKER RUTH		R		TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED HIGH SCHOOL	RES	N
905	CHURCH STREET	WHITAKER THEODORA		H				RES	Y
906	CHURCH STREET	ENGLISH ISAAC	JESSIE M	H	2	LABORER		RES	N
906	CHURCH STREET	JOHNSON DAISY		R		COOK		RES	N
907	CHURCH STREET	BINDER FRANK	DORA	R	1	COOK		RES	N
907	CHURCH STREET	BRISBANE FRANK	PAULINE	H	6			RES	N
907	CHURCH STREET	WORKMAN WILLIAM		R		LABORER		RES	N
908	CHURCH STREET	MURPHY JAMES	FLORA B	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
908	CHURCH STREET	MURPHY VERTA B		R				RES	N
910	CHURCH STREET	THOMPSON ALFRED	SALLIE	H	4	LABORER	SOUTHERN COTTON OIL COMPANY	RES	N
913	CHURCH STREET	BANKS SHIRLEY	ADA	R		JOCKEY		RES	N
913	CHURCH STREET	MCGIRT PHYLLIS		H		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	Y
915	CHURCH STREET	BINER BESSIE		H	2	MAID		RES	N
915	CHURCH STREET	BINER ERNEST		R		STUDENT		RES	N
917	CHURCH STREET	DAYS REBECCA		R				RES	N
917	CHURCH STREET	KIRKLEY PRESTON		R		LABORER		RES	N
917	CHURCH STREET	REED WILLIAM	MARY	H		LABORER	POWE VENEER CO	RES	N
917	CHURCH STREET	TUCKER VINIE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
982	CHURCH STREET	ANDERSON ROBERT	LEAH	H	2			RES	Y
1001	CHURCH STREET	BUTLER FRANK	JENNIE	R		LABORER		RES	N
1001	CHURCH STREET	MCLAUGHLIN LOUISE		H				RES	Y

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1005	CHURCH STREET	DUREN HERBERT		R		HELPER	LOMANSKY SHOE SHOP	RES	N
1005	CHURCH STREET	MCLAUGHLIN MARY		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	Y
1007	CHURCH STREET	CHARLES JOHN	ROSA	H				RES	N
1009	CHURCH STREET	CARTER BENJAMIN		R		CHAUFFER		RES	N
1009	CHURCH STREET	MORANT EDWARD		R		LABORER		RES	N
1009	CHURCH STREET	SPAULDING BENJAMIN	LAURA	H				RES	Y
809 1/2	CHURCH STREET	HUDSON CURTIS	DOROTHY	H		COOK	ROXY CAFÉ	RES	N
620	CLYBURN LANE	DUNCAN ALMA		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
620	CLYBURN LANE	DUNCAN ISAAC	ALMA	H	1			RES	N
622	CLYBURN LANE	DAVIS BELLE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
622	CLYBURN LANE	ENGLISH NANCY		R		STUDENT		RES	N
622	CLYBURN LANE	ENGLISH DAVID	PHOEBE	H	2	LABORER	CAMDEN ICE COMPANY	RES	N
624	CLYBURN LANE	MICKENS MARY		R		COOK		RES	N
624	CLYBURN LANE	WILSON EMMA		H				RES	N
625	CLYBURN LANE	ENGLISH PRESTON	VIOLA	H	3	TAILOR	PALMETTO DRY CLEANERS INC	RES	N
637	CLYBURN LANE	BOLDEN GROVER		H	4	PORTER	HINSON'S ESSO STATION	RES	N
637	CLYBURN LANE	BOLDEN WILLENE		R				RES	N
643	CLYBURN LANE	RANDALL JAMES	SADIE	H		BARBER		RES	Y
643	CLYBURN LANE	REYNOLDS JAMES C		R		BARBER	905 BROAD STREET	RES	N
644	CLYBURN LANE	DIXSON LOUISE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
644	CLYBURN LANE	BLANDING LOTTIE		H				RES	Y
644	CLYBURN LANE	BROWN JOHN	BETRICE	R		ORDERLY	CAMDEN HOSPITAL	RES	N
649	CLYBURN LANE	DAVIS DANIEL	LENA	H				RES	N
649	CLYBURN LANE	WILSON BENJAMIN	ANNIE	R		LABORER		RES	N
650	CLYBURN LANE	BRACEY HEYWARD JR		R		BARBER	DES KENNEDY'S BARBER SHOP	RES	N
650	CLYBURN LANE	BRACEY LEONARD		R		STUDENT		RES	N
650	CLYBURN LANE	COOPER RUTH		R		COOK		RES	N
716	DEKALB STREET	CORNER SERVICE STATION	HERBERT MCCLESTER					BUS	
710	DEKALB STREET	BAUM JANNIE C		R				RES	N
708	DEKALB STREET	BELTON JAMES	THELMA	R	1	LABORER		RES	N
93	DEKALB STREET	DIGGS ZADA		H	5	DOMESTIC		RES	N
708	DEKALB STREET	DOW ELLA		H				RES	N
709	DEKALB STREET	FREEMAN ROBERT T REV	MARY	H				RES	N
91	DEKALB STREET	JONES FRANK	ALICE	H	1			RES	N
705	DEKALB STREET	JOHNES WILLIAM		R		STUDENT		RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
710	DEKALB STREET	LEVY MARTHA		H				RES	Y
710	DEKALB STREET	LEVY THOMAS S		H		OWNER	CAMDEN SERVICE STATION	RES	N
635	DEKALB STREET	MCLAIN ELLIE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
635	DEKALB STREET	MCLAIN IDA		H				RES	Y
711	DEKALB STREET	MCLESTER THOMAS M	ELEASE	H		TAXI DRIVER		RES	Y
601	DEKALB STREET	MOORE LEE	NORA	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
711	DEKALB STREET	NELSON ARTHENIA		R		STUDENT		RES	N
711	DEKALB STREET	NELSON LORINE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
91	DEKALB STREET	OUTEN ROBERT	RUBY	R		DRIVER	THOMAS & HOWARD CO	RES	N
535	DEKALB STREET	PALACE BARBER SHOP	WALTER S. WRIGHT					BUS	N
915	DEKALB STREET	PRESTON ESTELLE		R				RES	N
915	DEKALB STREET	PRESTON WILLIAM	MITTIE	R		LABORER		RES	Y
705	DEKALB STREET	THOMAS JAMES E	SADIE	H	1			RES	Y
707	DEKALB STREET	THOMAS JESSE H	HATTIE	H		PHYSICIAN/OWNER	THOMAS DRUG STORE	RES	Y
704	DEKALB STREET	TRINITY METHODIST CHURCH						INST	
715	DEKALB STREET	WILLIAMS JOHN W	MINNIE	H		GROCER	931 BROAD STREET	RES	Y
95	DEKALB STREET	WILSON BERNIE	JULIA	H	1	LABORER	CITY STREET DEPT	RES	N
95	DEKALB STREET	WILSON MAGGIE		R				RES	N
95	DEKALB STREET	WILSON MARTHA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
915	DEKALB STREET	WOODS BOYKIN	LAURA	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
705	DEKALB STREET	WRIGHT THOMAS		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1211	DIBBLE STREET	ANDERSON RUFUS	AMELIA	H	2	LABORER	WPA	RES	N
1211 ½	DIBBLE STREET	BISHOP WILLIAM	MALVENA	R		LABORER		RES	N
1211 ½	DIBBLE STREET	JOHNSON VERDELL		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1211 ½	DIBBLE STREET	MCDANIEL LEWIS	MARTHA	R		STUDENT		RES	N
1211 ½	DIBBLE STREET	MURPHY LOUISE		R				RES	N
1211 ½	DIBBLE STREET	MURPHY SALLIE		R		COOK		RES	N
1211 ½	DIBBLE STREET	PEARSON ALEX	KATIE	R		LABORER		RES	N
1216	DIBBLE STREET	RANEY JOHN	EMMA	H				RES	N
809	EIGHTEENTH STREET	BASKIN WILLIAM	LIZZIE	R	1	LABORER		RES	N
809	EIGHTEENTH STREET	KIRKLAND JACOB	MATTIE	R		LABORER		RES	N
812	EIGHTEENTH STREET	WILLIAMS CATHERINE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
812	EIGHTEENTH STREET	WILLIAMS DAVID		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1715	EIGHTEENTH STREET	BALLARD ROSA		R		COOK		RES	N
1715	EIGHTEENTH STREET	BALLARD WILLIAM	ALICE	H	1	TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
1721	EIGHTEENTH STREET	GOODMAN LULA		H	1			RES	N

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1721	EIGHTEENTH STREET	GOODMAN JOSEPHINE		R				RES	N
1721	EIGHTEENTH STREET	MCDONALD MAGGIE		R	2			RES	N
1809	EIGHTEENTH STREET	MILES MARIE		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
1810	EIGHTEENTH STREET	BASKIN PETER		R		FARMER		RES	N
1810	EIGHTEENTH STREET	DAYS NANCY			3	DOMESTIC		RES	N
1810	EIGHTEENTH STREET	MOORE ELIZA		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
1816	EIGHTEENTH STREET	STEWART RANSOM	PEARL	H		REVEREND		RES	Y
1721	EIGHTEENTH STREET	MCDONALD MAGGIE		R	2			RES	N
700	FAIR STREET	KIRKLAND ROSETTA		R				RES	N
700	FAIR STREET	MURPHY BERTHA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
700	FAIR STREET	MURPHY FLORA		H				RES	N
700	FAIR STREET	RICHARDS ALBERT		R		DELIVERYMAN	CLYDE L SHEALY	RES	N
701	FAIR STREET	MOORE CHINA	HAWTHORNE	H		PORTER	THOMAS & HOWARD CO	RES	N
701	FAIR STREET	MOORE FRANKIE		R	3			RES	N
702	FAIR STREET	BREWING WILLIAM	ISABELLE	H	2	LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	Y
703	FAIR STREET	WILLIAMS EARL		R		LABORER		RES	N
703	FAIR STREET	WILLIAMS MATTIE		H		EMPLOYEE	WPA	RES	N
704	FAIR STREET	FLETCHER THOMAS		R		COOK	HOTEL CAMDEN	RES	N
704	FAIR STREET	FLETCHER LOUELLA		H		DOMESTIC		RES	Y
704	FAIR STREET	FLETCHER JOSEPH	ELIZABETH	R	1	LABORER		RES	N
REAR 704	FAIR STREET	SCOTT JOSEPH	NARCISSUS	H		LABORER	HERMITAGE MILLS	RES	N
706	FAIR STREET	CARTER HILPER		H	2	DOMESTIC		RES	N
707	FAIR STREET	BRADLEY GERALDINE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
707	FAIR STREET	BRADLEY SARAH		H	1	LAUNDRESS		RES	N
707	FAIR STREET	WADDY CAROLINE		R	1	LAUNDRESS		RES	N
708	FAIR STREET	BRADLEY JOSEPHINE		H	1	COOK		RES	N
708	FAIR STREET	STOKES MAGGIE		R		COOK		RES	N
710	FAIR STREET	MICKLE CONNIE M		R	3			RES	N
710	FAIR STREET	MICKLE JAMES		R		PORTER		RES	N
710	FAIR STREET	MICKLE RACHEL		H				RES	N
711	FAIR STREET	DAYS VENUS		R	1	DOMESTIC		RES	N
711	FAIR STREET	WILLIAMS MAHALA		H	1	DOMESTIC		RES	N
714	FAIR STREET	KELLEY EDWARD	GENEVIA	H	3	DRIVER	THOMAS & HOWARD CO	RES	N
716	FAIR STREET	COOPER EDWARD	ROSA	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
716	FAIR STREET	COOPER HENRY		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1213	FAIR STREET	DRAKEFORD MARY				DOMESTIC		RES	N
1702	FAIR STREET	POINSETT				MAID		RES	N

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710 ½	FAIR STREET	GOODWINE SHIRLEY	ROSALIE	H		LABORER		RES	N
710 ½	FAIR STREET	GOODWINE CASSIE		R		MAID		RES	N
1212	GARDEN STREET	MCMANUS LYNCH	KATHERINE	R		LABORER		RES	N
1701	GARDEN STREET	THE CHURCH OF GOD	REV SMYRL BELTON					INST	
1703	GARDEN STREET	SMITH CHARLES		H		PORTER	SAL RAILWAY	RES	N
1703	GARDEN STREET	SMITH ESTHER		R				RES	N
1707	GARDEN STREET	RED FRONT GROCERY STORE	RICHARD D BELTON					BUS	
1712	GARDEN STREET	DRINKHART DOROTHY		R	2	DOMESTIC		RES	N
1712	GARDEN STREET	KENNEDY CARRIE		R	2	DOMESTIC		RES	N
1712	GARDEN STREET	MCLEMORE KATIE		H				RES	Y
1713	GARDEN STREET	BELTON RICHARD D	KATIE A	H			RED FRONT GROCERY	RES	Y
1716	GARDEN STREET	LAWSON DAMON	JANE	H	2	GARDENER		RES	Y
1716	GARDEN STREET	LAWSON EMMA J		R				RES	N
1803	GARDEN STREET	MOSELEY EDWARD	NELLIE S	H	1	HELPER	THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH	RES	N
1804	GARDEN STREET	BROWN HENRY	IDA A	H		LABORER	WPA	RES	N
1804	GARDEN STREET	STONEY KATE		R				RES	N
1805	GARDEN STREET	FRASIER JOSEPH	REBECCA P	H		CARPENTER		RES	Y
1805	GARDEN STREET	FRASIER HETTIE		R				RES	N
1807	GARDEN STREET	WADDY BERLIN		R		PRESSER	PALMETTO DRY CLEANERS INC	RES	N
1807	GARDEN STREET	WADDY MARY		H		DOMESTIC		RES	Y
1809	GARDEN STREET	BUTLER JESSE D	MIGNON H	H	1	BELLMAN	HOTEL CAMDEN	RES	N
1808	GARDEN STREET	LAWSON ROBERT R	BESSIE	R	2	LABORER		RES	N
1808	GARDEN STREET	TAYLOR RACHEL		H		COOK		RES	N
1810	GARDEN STREET	DEAS CHARLES B	LOTTIE	H	2	WAITER	KIRKWOOD HOTEL	RES	Y
1810	GARDEN STREET	DEAS CHARLES B JR		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1810	GARDEN STREET	DEAS LIZZIE M		R		COOK		RES	N
1811	GARDEN STREET	MURPHY DANIEL R	LAURA S	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
1812	GARDEN STREET	DIXON ABRAHAM	MARY G	H	1	TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
1813	GARDEN STREET	WARREN FRANK W	GAZEL T	H	3	GARDENER		RES	N
1814	GARDEN STREET	BELTON JOSEPH JR	BESSIE C	H		GARDENER		RES	Y
1814	GARDEN STREET	CARLOS HENRY JR		R		LABORER		RES	N
1815	GARDEN STREET	BURGESS THOMAS L	LOUISE	R		TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
1815	GARDEN STREET	TUCKER DENNIS	KATHERINE	H	3			RES	N
1816	GARDEN STREET	BROWN LEILA E		H	2	COOK		RES	N
1816	GARDEN STREET	PERRY ANNIE E		R		STUDENT		RES	N

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1816	GARDEN STREET	PERRY LILLIE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1817	GARDEN STREET	BRADFORD EMMA L		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1817	GARDEN STREET	LLOYD FAIRBELL		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1817	GARDEN STREET	LLOYD HETTIE R		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1817	GARDEN STREET	LLOYD JOSEPH D		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1817	GARDEN STREET	LLOYD SAMUEL J		R		WAITER		RES	N
1817	GARDEN STREET	LLOYD WILLIAM E	ALMEDA	H	2	CARPENTER		RES	N
1817	GARDEN STREET	RICHARDSON SAMUEL B		R		LABORER		RES	N
1818	GARDEN STREET	SAMUEL MARY L		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1818	GARDEN STREET	SAMUEL MATHEW Z	MARY	R	1	DRIVER	W F NETTLES & SON	RES	N
1818	GARDEN STREET	TIMBERS JAMES X	BERTHA	H	5			RES	Y
1819	GARDEN STREET	ANDERSON SUSIE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1821	GARDEN STREET	BRACEY WILLIAM C	JOSEPHINE D	H	2			RES	N
1821	GARDEN STREET	CHAMPION EUGENE D		R		GARDENER		RES	N
1821	GARDEN STREET	RAINEY JOSEPH J		R		PORTER	BELK'S DEPARTMENT STORE	RES	N
1822	GARDEN STREET	MOSELEY ALLEN H	ELIZABETH	H		LABORER		RES	Y
1824	GARDEN STREET	COOT LAWRENCE	MARIE S	H	3	PLASTERER		RES	Y
1824	GARDEN STREET	COOT LESLIE O		R		HELPER		RES	N
1901	GARDEN STREET	BREVARD S ALLIE C		R	4	DOMESTIC		RES	N
1901	GARDEN STREET	CARLOS REBECCA		H				RES	Y
1903	GARDEN STREET	JACKSON CLIFTON	MARIA	H		LABORER	WPA	RES	N
1905	GARDEN STREET	WRIGHT SARAH D		H	1	DOMESTIC		RES	Y
1909	GARDEN STREET	DOBY ALF		H		BUTLER		RES	Y
1901 1/2	GARDEN STREET	ANDERSON WADDELL	BLANCHE	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
	GARDEN STREET	WILLIAMS EDMOND		R		CAR WASHER	CENTRAL SERVICE STATION	RES	N
1204	GORDON STREET	PEEPLES MARY J		H	1			RES	Y
1206	GORDON STREET	CARLOS CLARENCE		R		SHOE SHINER	CENTRAL BARBER SHOP	RES	N
1206	GORDON STREET	CARLOS JOHN W		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1206	GORDON STREET	SMART CLARENCE		R		HELPER	CENTRAL BARBER SHOP	RES	N
1206	GORDON STREET	SMART MARY		H				RES	Y
1208	GORDON STREET	SARDIS BAPTIST CHURCH						INST	
1208 ½	GORDON STREET	BROWN FANNIE		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
1208 ½	GORDON STREET	DEAS JAMES		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1208 ½	GORDON STREET	STEWART GROVER		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1212	GORDON STREET	WEATHERS SARAH		H		COOK		RES	N
1214	GORDON STREET	AUSTIN SUNNIA		R				RES	N
1214	GORDON STREET	DRAKEFORD SARAH		R				RES	N
1214	GORDON STREET	LIGGINS ANNA		R				RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
1214	GORDON STREET	MCMORRIS GILLIAM	LOUISE	H	2	LABORER		RES	N
1218	GORDON STREET	BRACEY HILLIARD	JANIE	H	4	LABORER		RES	N
1220	GORDON STREET	CHRISTIAN ORIDA		H	2	COOK		RES	N
1220	GORDON STREET	JOHNSON CATHERINE		R	1			RES	N
1302	GORDON STREET	RICHARDSON EDWARD	MARY E	H	5			RES	N
1304	GORDON STREET	DRAKEFORD MARGARET		R		COOK		RES	N
1304	GORDON STREET	LUCAS ROSA L		R		MAID		RES	N
1304	GORDON STREET	MCCOY NANCY		H	1			RES	N
1310	GORDON STREET	JONES DAVID	CARRIE	R		HELPER	AMON R COLLINS FUNERAL HOME	RES	N
1310	GORDON STREET	JONES JAMES	VINEY	H	1	JANITOR		RES	N
1312	GORDON STREET	MURPHY LUCEDIA		H		COOK		RES	N
1312	GORDON STREET	MURPHY SARAH		R		COOK		RES	N
1821	GORDON STREET	RAINEY GEORGE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
605	GREENE STREET	ROBINSON DANIEL				CHAUFFER		RES	N
605	GREENE STREET	TRIGG IANNA				COOK		RES	N
210	HAILE STREET	SIMONS NORA B				DOMESTIC		RES	N
1302	HAILE STREET	BALLARD MOSES	JANIE	H		LABORER		RES	N
1302	HAILE STREET	ROBERTSON LUCILLE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
702	HAMPTON STREET	BROWN TEL	EDNA	H		LABORER		RES	N
710	HAMPTON STREET	ARTHUR JACOB		R		DELIVERYMAN	GLADDEN'S GROCERY	RES	N
710	HAMPTON STREET	CUNNINGHAM JAMES H	MARY	H		LABORER		RES	N
712	HAMPTON STREET	GRIPPER IDA		R		STUDENT		RES	N
712	HAMPTON STREET	MICKLE NAOMI		R		STUDENT		RES	N
712	HAMPTON STREET	MURPHY JOSEPHINE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1511	HIGHLAND AVENUE	ROBERTSON MAZIE		R		MAID	1511 HIGHLAND AVE	RES	N
219	JAMES	ENGLISH MAGGIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
221	JAMES	PORTER LIZZIE		H				RES	N
223	JAMES	WHITAKER EMILY		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
225	JAMES	MARTIN THOMAS	HATTIE	H		LABORER		RES	N
500	JAMES	CARLOS SAMUEL	MARY	H	4	LABORER		RES	N
END	KING STREET	CAMDEN COLORED CEMETERY						INST	
302	KING STREET	SUTTON EDWARD		R		LABORER		RES	N
302	KING STREET	SUTTON DILCIA		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
302	KING STREET	SUTTON FLORA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
302	KING STREET	SUTTON IRENE		R		COOK		RES	N
304	KING STREET	MILTON CHARLOTTE		H		GARDENER		RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
306	KING STREET	PEAY DOUGLAS	JOSEPHINE	H		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
308	KING STREET	GREEN HOMER	DOROTHY	H		TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
310	KING STREET	ANDERSON SERENA		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
310	KING STREET	ANDERSON WILLIAM	JANIE	R	1	BUTLER		RES	N
404	KING STREET	GASKIN EZEKIEL	ALMEDA	H		LABORER		RES	N
404	KING STREET	FLETCHER DAVID	MILLIE	R	3	LABORER	MUNICIPAL UTILITIES	RES	N
404 1/2	KING STREET	SHEORN MAMIE		R		SEAMSTRESS		RES	N
410	KING STREET	DUBOSE DANIEL	CARRIE P	H	4	LABORER		RES	N
412	KING STREET	PICKETT FRANCES		H		COOK		RES	Y
412	KING STREET	PICKETT GEORGE		R		LABORER		RES	N
414	KING STREET	JOHNSON CHARLOTTE		H	1			RES	N
414	KING STREET	JOHNSON FRANCES		R	1	COOK		RES	N
414	KING STREET	STINSON GEORGE	ANNIE	R	3	LABORER		RES	N
501	KING STREET	DUBOSE DAVID	CERENA	H		LABORER		RES	Y
501	KING STREET	DUBOSE GIBBS		R		LABORER		RES	N
502	KING STREET	RICHARDSON BERTHA		H		COOK		RES	N
503	KING STREET	DUBOSE RICHARD	JESSIE B	H	1	MECHANIC		RES	N
503	KING STREET	DUBOSE ROSA A		R				RES	N
504	KING STREET	FLOYD SOL		R		PORTER	CITY FILLING STATION	RES	N
504	KING STREET	LATE CYRUS		R		TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
504	KING STREET	STUART MINNIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
505	KING STREET	CAMERON ELVIN		R		PORTER	LANGFORD ESSO STATION	RES	N
505	KING STREET	CAMPBELL ELVIN		R		SERVICE STATION HELPER		RES	N
505	KING STREET	BOYD COUNT		R		MECHANIC		RES	N
505	KING STREET	BOYD ROOSEVELT		R		PORTER	CITY FILLING STATION	RES	N
505	KING STREET	MOORE EMMA		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
505	KING STREET	REID ANNETTE		R	3	MAID		RES	N
506	KING STREET	LONG ARTHUR		H	1	LABORER		RES	Y
506	KING STREET	LONG CATHERINE		R		COOK	MRS. WOOTEN'S TEA ROOM	RES	N
506	KING STREET	LONG RENA		R		MAID		RES	N
507	KING STREET	FLETCHER MILLIE		H	3	COOK		RES	N
507	KING STREET	STUCKEY THOMAS	LOUISE	R		LABORER		RES	N
507	KING STREET	WEST LELA		R	2	LAUNDRESS		RES	N
508	KING STREET	MARTIN JOHN	June	R	2	SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
508	KING STREET	WRIGHT JESSIE		H		SEAMSTRESS		RES	Y
509	KING STREET	FLETCHER JAMES	GRACE H	H	2	LABORER		RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
510	KING STREET	WRIGHT REUBEN	MARY	H	2	LABORER		RES	N
603	KING STREET	HAILE MAMIE		R	1	MAID		RES	N
603	KING STREET	HAILE EMMA		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	Y
603	KING STREET	HAILE BESSIE		R		MAID		RES	N
604	KING STREET	BOWEN NEWGENE		H		LABORER		RES	Y
604	KING STREET	CHOICE SOLOMON		R		WAITER	GREENLEAF CAFE	RES	N
605	KING STREET	DUNNING LOUIS	MATTIE C	R	3	TRUCK DRIVER		RES	Y
605	KING STREET	WILLIAMS ARTHUR	NANCY	H	2	LABORER		RES	Y
606	KING STREET	WHEELER HAROLD	LILLIAN H	H		LABORER		RES	Y
607	KING STREET	BOLDEN JOHN		R		LABORER		RES	N
607	KING STREET	BOLDEN MARTHA		R		MAID		RES	N
607	KING STREET	WILLIAMS ENGLISH	LIZZIE	H	3	LABORER	CITY STREET DEPT	RES	N
607	KING STREET	WILLIAMS MAMIE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
609	KING STREET	WALKER CHARLOTTE		H	1	MAID		RES	N
701	KING STREET	BROWN WILLIAM		R		CARPENTER		RES	N
	KIRKWOOD	TUCKER JAMES E		R		LABORER	COTTON CLARKE COAL CO	RES	N
	KIRKWOOD	TUCKER SCIPIO E		R		LABORER	COTTON CLARKE COAL CO	RES	N
	KIRKWOOD LANE	BELTON LAWRENCE		R		LABORER		RES	N
712	LAFAYETTE AVENUE	MCLESTER T EDGAR	ESTHER	H	1	TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED HIGH SCHOOL	RES	N
714	LAFAYETTE AVENUE	BROWNLEE WILLIAM	ELIZA	H	2	OWNER	CENTRAL BARBER SHOP	RES	N
716	LAFAYETTE AVENUE	DIBBLE RUFUS D	BESSIE	H	1	GROCER	1118 CAMPBELL STREET	RES	Y
800	LAFAYETTE AVENUE	BROWN CARRIE		R				RES	N
800	LAFAYETTE AVENUE	BROWN RACEL		H		SCHOOLTEACHER		RES	N
800	LAFAYETTE AVENUE	COOK JAMES H		R		BARBER	CENTRAL BARBER SHOP	RES	N
804	LAFAYETTE AVENUE	BREVARD CHRISTOPHER C	GERTRUDE	H	1	DENTIST	SELF @ 927 BROAD STREET	RES	N
804	LAFAYETTE AVENUE	ROBINSON BLANCHE		R				RES	N
808	LAFAYETTE AVENUE	DIBBLE JAMES		R				RES	N
808	LAFAYETTE AVENUE	DIBBLE SALLIE		H	3			RES	N
810	LAFAYETTE AVENUE	REID JAMES J	LOUISE	H		TAILOR		RES	N
812	LAFAYETTE AVENUE	SANDERS CHARLES	POLA	H	1	REVEREND/LABORER	SAL RAILWAY	RES	N
1716	LAKEVIEW AVENUE	COLLINS LULA			2	DOMESTIC		RES	N
1607	LAND STREET	MANAGAULT JAMES		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1607	LAND STREET	MANAGAULT MARCUS	REBECCA	H		MANAGER	DIXIE POOL ROOM	RES	N
1613	LAND STREET	ARTHUR MARY		R				RES	
1613	LAND STREET	HORTON ANDREW		H				RES	N
1614	LAND STREET	HALL CHARLOTTE		H		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
1614	LAND STREET	GAINES FRANCES		R				RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
1615	LAND STREET	WRIGHT WALTER S	WILLENE	H	5	OWNER	PALACE BARBER SHOP	RES	Y
413	LAURENS COURT	PARKS HENRY O				BUTLER		RES	N
413	LAURENS COURT	PARKS THELMA				MAID		RES	N
508	LAURENS COURT	ARTHUR ALICE				DOMESTIC		RES	N
316	LAURENS STREET	SALMOND LEVI				DOMESTIC		RES	N
805	LAURENS STREET	AARON OTIS	MARY	H	2	JANITOR		RES	N
807	LAURENS STREET	JACKSON ELIZABETH		R				RES	N
807	LAURENS STREET	JACKSON EDWARD	ADDIE	H	2	LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPT	RES	N
809	LAURENS STREET	JAMES CARABELLE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
809	LAURENS STREET	PEAY ANDREW A	ELEAS	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
810	LAURENS STREET	THOMAS LEROY	EVAN M	H	5	LABORER	THE CAMDEN FLORAL COMPANY	RES	N
811	LAURENS STREET	WILSON GEORGE	LOU F	H	3	LABORER	WPA	RES	N
813	LAURENS STREET	AARON ABRAM		H		GARDENER		RES	N
813	LAURENS STREET	AARON ABRAM JR		R		BUTLER		RES	N
813	LAURENS STREET	AARON ROSA L		R				RES	N
816	LAURENS STREET	AME ZION CHURCH						INST	
1603	LEE STREET	COOK JOSEPH	MAMIE	H	2			RES	N
1603	LEE STREET	COOK LEE		R		LABORER		RES	N
1603	LEE STREET	COOK MICKLE		R		LABORER		RES	N
1604	LEE STREET	HAILE ROBERT H	BESSIE	H	1	SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
1608	LEE STREET	BROWN MARIE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1608	LEE STREET	THOMPSON ISAAC		R		CHAUFFER		RES	N
1608	LEE STREET	THOMPSON ROSS	SALLIE	H		LABORER	HERMITAGE MILLS	RES	N
1610	LEE STREET	BASKIN BERTHA		R		SEAMSTRESS		RES	N
1610	LEE STREET	LEVI GEORGE		R		LABORER		RES	N
1610	LEE STREET	WILLIAMS JOHN D	SOPHIA	H		CARPENTER		RES	N
1611	LEE STREET	CUNNINGHAM LULA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1611	LEE STREET	CUNNINGHAM VIOLA		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1611	LEE STREET	JONES GILBERT	AMIE	R		MECHANIC		RES	N
1611	LEE STREET	WATKINS MAGGIE		R		DOMESTIC			
1613	LEE STREET	BALLARD SAMUEL O		R		DELIVERYMAN		RES	N
1613	LEE STREET	ROBERTSON BONNIE M		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1613	LEE STREET	ROBERTSON MARTHA J		R		STUDENT		RES	N
1613	LEE STREET	ROBERTSON SARAH		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
1614	LEE STREET	REYNOLDS STUDY	SIRRINE	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
1605	LELE	KIRKLAND MATTIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
	LIBERTY HILL, SC	DIXON WEE		R		LABORER	STATE HWY DEPT	RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
609	LYTTLETON STREET	RICHARDS RANDOLPH	SARAH B	H	8	FIREMAN	COURT INN	RES	N
609	LYTTLETON STREET	WILLIAMS JOHN		R		FARMER		RES	N
611	LYTTLETON STREET	SUTTON MAUDE		H				RES	N
613	LYTTLETON STREET	WILSON JOHN	LILLIE	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
705	LYTTLETON STREET	GREENE MAMIE		R	3	DOMESTIC		RES	N
705	LYTTLETON STREET	BOYKIN THELMA		H		JANITOR	CITY HALL	RES	N
707	LYTTLETON STREET	ELLERBEE LOTTIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
707	LYTTLETON STREET	ELLERBEE CHARLES		R		HELPER	ELECTRIK MAID BAKE SHOP	RES	N
709	LYTTLETON STREET	ROBINSON HATTIE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
709	LYTTLETON STREET	WORKMAN MARY		R				RES	N
709	LYTTLETON STREET	WORKMAN ROBERT	LAVINA	H	3	LABORER	CITY STREET DEPT	RES	N
710	LYTTLETON STREET	JACKSON WILLIE		R				RES	N
710	LYTTLETON STREET	JONES MARY		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
711	LYTTLETON STREET	FOWLER FLORENCE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
711	LYTTLETON STREET	MURPHY ARTRELL		R		HELPER	ELECTRIK MAID BAKE SHOP	RES	N
711	LYTTLETON STREET	MURPHY OTTO	LIZA	R	1	LABORER		RES	N
712	LYTTLETON STREET	MCCORMICK ADELINE		H				RES	N
712	LYTTLETON STREET	MCCORMICK MINA		R		STUDENT		RES	N
714	LYTTLETON STREET	FOWLER BERTHA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
714	LYTTLETON STREET	MURPHY ANNIE		H				RES	N
714	LYTTLETON STREET	MURPHY EDNA		R				RES	N
716	LYTTLETON STREET	FARRELL MARY		R		STUDENT		RES	N
716	LYTTLETON STREET	MCCORMICK ALONZO	MATTIE	H	1	CARPENTER		RES	N
716	LYTTLETON STREET	MCCORMICK CLARENCE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
805	LYTTLETON STREET	BUTLER LEONARD	LOTTIE	H	4	CLEANER	PALMETTO DRY CLEANERS INC	RES	N
805	LYTTLETON STREET	BUTLER EDITH				DOMESTIC		RES	N
807	LYTTLETON STREET	COOK JAMES JR	May	H	5	LABORER		RES	N
809	LYTTLETON STREET	COOK ALICE		R		MAID		RES	N
809	LYTTLETON STREET	COOK JAMES E		R		STUDENT		RES	N
809	LYTTLETON STREET	COOK KATHERINE		R		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
809	LYTTLETON STREET	COOK LEROY		R		CARPENTER		RES	N
1212	LYTTLETON STREET	DRAKEFORD JESSIE				DOMESTIC		RES	N
1214	LYTTLETON STREET	WOLFE SARA		H		OWNER (?)	MAGNOLIA KINDERGARTEN	RES	N
1408	LYTTLETON STREET	DAVIS JEBEDIAH				MAID		RES	N
1410	LYTTLETON STREET	GIBBS ANNIE				DOMESTIC		RES	N
1506	LYTTLETON STREET	DAMSO CORA				DOMESTIC		RES	N
1510	LYTTLETON STREET	HUDSON LILLIE M				DOMESTIC		RES	N

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1705	LYTTLETON STREET	BENNETT LESSIE				DOMESTIC		RES	N
1705	LYTTLETON STREET	RANSOM MABEL				DOMESTIC		RES	N
2026	LYTTLETON STREET	ROSS MARIE				DOMESTIC		RES	N
502	MARKET STREET	GREEN SIDNEY		H		LABORER	WPA	RES	N
505	MARKET STREET	HARRISON JOSEPH	WILLA	H	2	BARBER	EUREKA BARBER SHOP	RES	N
509	MARKET STREET	COOK CHARLES	LILLIE	H		JANITOR	THE COMMERCIAL BANK OF CAMDEN	RES	N
511	MARKET STREET	TUCKER GEORGE	AMELIA	H	2	LABORER		RES	N
513	MARKET STREET	BRACEY MATTIE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
513	MARKET STREET	BRACEY JOHN	OCTAVIA	H	5			RES	N
513	MARKET STREET	BRACEY ROLAND	HESTER	R		LABORER		RES	N
515	MARKET STREET	WILLIAMS ISAAC	ROSA	H	1	LABORER	WPA	RES	N
515	MARKET STREET	WILLIAMS MINNIE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
519	MARKET STREET	BROWN DUNCAN	ODELIA	H		LABORER		RES	N
519	MARKET STREET	LEE GEORGE	RUTH	R		LABORER		RES	N
519	MARKET STREET	WILSON LAWRENCE	ROSA	R		TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
603	MARKET STREET	WIDEMAN RAY	BEULAH	H		LABORER	WPA	RES	N
605	MARKET STREET	ENGLISH JAMES	HESTER						
702	MARKET STREET	CARTER ED	ETHEL	R		LABORER		RES	N
702	MARKET STREET	CLYBURN MABEL		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
702	MARKET STREET	COOK CLEVELAND	ANNIE	R	1	DELIVERYMAN		RES	N
702	MARKET STREET	THOMAS WILLIAM	ELIZABETH	R		LABORER		RES	N
707	MARKET STREET	CLEVELAND CARRIE		R				RES	N
707	MARKET STREET	JONES ELIZABETH		H				RES	N
710	MARKET STREET	HAILE ELLEN		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
710	MARKET STREET	MISSOURI CHARLES	CORA	R	1	PORTER	DEKALB SERVICE STATION	RES	N
711	MARKET STREET	BALLARD ALVA		R		COOK	COURT INN	RES	N
711	MARKET STREET	BALLARD CLEVELAND		R		COOK	COURT INN	RES	N
711	MARKET STREET	BALLARD CLYBURN		R				RES	N
711	MARKET STREET	BALLARD WILLIAM	ALFAIR	H		REVEREND		RES	N
711	MARKET STREET	HUGHES ELLA M		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
712	MARKET STREET	JONES MARY		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
713	MARKET STREET	ROGERS DOCIA		H				RES	N
715	MARKET STREET	TUCKER BENJAMIN	MINNIE	R	1	LABORER		RES	N
715	MARKET STREET	TUCKER MINNIE		H	5			RES	N
802	MARKET STREET	GASKIN ELISE		H		COOK		RES	N
802	MARKET STREET	NELSON ROSA		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
802	MARKET STREET	TUCKER CHERROSE		R				RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
803	MARKET STREET	SHACKER GAYNER		R		MECHANIC		RES	N
803	MARKET STREET	WILSON BELL		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
806	MARKET STREET	TAYLOR NED	ROSA	H		PORTER	CLYBURN'S ESSO STATION	RES	N
806	MARKET STREET	TAYLOR SAMUEL		R		LABORER		RES	N
807	MARKET STREET	HARPER MELVIN	DORA	R		LABORER		RES	N
807	MARKET STREET	LAWSON ELLEN		H		COOK		RES	N
808	MARKET STREET	BINER JAMES	JOSEPHINE	H		LABORER		RES	N
809	MARKET STREET	HARRIS WILLIAM		H		CARPENTER		RES	N
809	MARKET STREET	WYLIE ELLEN		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
810	MARKET STREET	SUTTON BESSIE		H				RES	Y
811	MARKET STREET	AUSTIN MARY		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
812	MARKET STREET	SUTTON JOHN		H		PAINTER		RES	N
813	MARKET STREET	BOYKIN AMELIA		H				RES	Y
814	MARKET STREET	HOUSTON WILLIAM E	ABBIE	H	2	PASTOR	SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH	RES	N
815	MARKET STREET	HART FRANCES		H		OWNER	RESTAURANT 923 BROAD	RES	Y
815	MARKET STREET	DEAS ROSA		R		WAITRESS	FRANCES HART	RES	N
816	MARKET STREET	SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH	REV WILLIAM E HOUSTON					INST	
817	MARKET STREET	COOK EDWARD		R		STUDENT		RES	N
817	MARKET STREET	COOK JAMES	ETHEL	H	6	LABORER	CITY STREET DEPT	RES	N
817	MARKET STREET	COOK JOHN		R		LABORER	CITY STREET DEPT	RES	N
819	MARKET STREET	PAYTON GEORGE	SALLIE	H		LABORER		RES	N
819	MARKET STREET	PAYTON SALLIE		R		TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED GRAMMAR SCHOOL	RES	N
822	MARKET STREET	BEAMAN MARSHALL	PATSY	R		LABORER		RES	N
822	MARKET STREET	WHITE ELIZABETH		R				RES	N
822	MARKET STREET	WHITE LOUIS JR		R		HELPER		RES	N
822	MARKET STREET	WHITE THOMAS ELOISE		R		LABORER		RES	N
822	MARKET STREET	WILLIAMS JULIUS	ANNIE	R		LABORER		RES	N
rear 822	MARKET STREET	WILLIAMS RENDA		H	1	LAUNDRESS		RES	N
rear 822	MARKET STREET	WILLIAMS ROSA		H		COOK		RES	N
901	MARKET STREET	MANIGAULT SENA		R		STUDENT		RES	N
901	MARKET STREET	STEWART BARBARA		R		STUDENT		RES	N
901	MARKET STREET	SUTTON WILLIAM	ELLEN	H				RES	Y
904	MARKET STREET	DUBOSE GEORGE		H		LABORER	CITY STREET DEPT	RES	N
906	MARKET STREET	BROWN ROBERT	SADIE	R		TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
906	MARKET STREET	ROGERS MARY		H				RES	N

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906	MARKET STREET	WILLIAMS EUGENE		R		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
906	MARKET STREET	WILSON STACK		R		LABORER		RES	N
907	MARKET STREET	COPELAND ROSA		R		STUDENT		RES	N
907	MARKET STREET	RANSOM ADDIE		H		TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED GRAMMAR SCHOOL	RES	Y
907	MARKET STREET	RANSOM KENELLIS		R		STUDENT		RES	N
908	MARKET STREET	FENNELL RICHARD	CASSIE	R	1	LABORER		RES	N
908	MARKET STREET	FENNELL CATHERINE		R		WAITRESS	GREENLEAF CAFE	RES	N
908	MARKET STREET	BROWN JOHN	JULIA	R	1			RES	N
908	MARKET STREET	WILLIAMS ALBERTA		R		STUDENT		RES	N
908	MARKET STREET	WILLIAMS EMALINE		R		WAITRESS	GREENLEAF CAFE	RES	N
908	MARKET STREET	WILLIAMS IRENE		R		WAITRESS	GREENLEAF CAFE	RES	N
908	MARKET STREET	WILLIAMS SAMUEL	IRENE (GREENLEAF CAFE)	H	2	LABORER	MUNICIPAL UTLITIES	RES	N
910	MARKET STREET	HARRIET BINA		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
910	MARKET STREET	KNOX BESSIE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
910 ½	MARKET STREET	MCLAUGHLIN JOSEPHINE		H	1	SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
910 ½	MARKET STREET	MCLAUGHLIN NORA		R		STUDENT		RES	N
912	MARKET STREET	STANLEY PETER	REBECCA	H	1	LABORER	WPA	RES	N
912	MARKET STREET	TAYLOR JOSEPH		R		TRUCK DRIVER	CITY STREET DEPT	RES	N
912	MARKET STREET	WYLIE LEROY	ROSA	H	3	DELIVERYMAN	CAMDEN FOOD SHOP	RES	N
rear 822	MARKET STREET	ARMSTRONG MARY		R				RES	N
rear 822	MARKET STREET	BINES SADIE		R				RES	N
	MARKET STREET	BOLDEN WILLIAM		R		LABORER	MUNICIPAL UTLITIES	RES	N
	MARKET STREET	THOMPSON JEFF		R		HELPER	CAROLINA MOTOR CO	RES	N
	MARKET STREET	TRUESDALE THOMAS		R		PORTER	USHER N MYERS	RES	N
	MATHER ACADEMY	COLLIER WOODROW V		R		TEACHER	MATHER ACADEMY	RES/INST	N
	MATHER ACADEMY	DUREN ETTA E		R		TEACHER	MATHER ACADEMY	RES/INST	N
	MATHER ACADEMY	EVANS MATHIE O		R		TEACHER	MATHER ACADEMY	RES/INST	N
	MATHER ACADEMY	HARPER JOHN R	MARY F	R		TEACHER	MATHER ACADEMY	RES/INST	N
	MATHER ACADEMY	HARPER MARY F		R		TEACHER	MATHER ACADEMY	RES/INST	N
	MATHER ACADEMY	MARCH EDWARD L		R		TEACHER	MATHER ACADEMY	RES/INST	N
	MATHER ACADEMY	PORTER MAXINE		R		TEACHER	MATHER ACADEMY	RES/INST	N
	MATHER ACADEMY	SMILEY SIVILLA		R		TEACHER	MATHER ACADEMY	RES/INST	N
	MATHER ACADEMY	WALKER ELIZABETH		R		TEACHER	MATHER ACADEMY	RES/INST	N
	MATHER ACADEMY	WATSON HARRISON B		R		TEACHER	MATHER ACADEMY	RES/INST	N
	MATHER ACADEMY	WEEDEN GEORGIA		R		TEACHER	MATHER ACADEMY	RES/INST	N

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	MATHER COLLEGE	HOWARD JULIA		R		TEACHER	MATHER COLLEGE	RES/INST	N
821	MILL STREET	OUTLAW ANNIE S	WIDOW OF RJ	H		NURSE	WPA	RES	Y
1001	MILL STREET	BRACEY WILLIAM A	LUCRETIA B	H	1	LABORER		RES	Y
1003	MILL STREET	REID J J JR		R		CARRIER	US POST OFFICE	RES	N
1003	MILL STREET	SUTTON CHARLES R		H		FURNITURE REPAIRER/OWNER	1003 MILL STREET	RES/BUS	Y
1509	MILL STREET	HARRELL JOHN	ELISE J	H		CARPENTER		RES	Y
1601	MILL STREET	DUNLAP ROBERT	BESSIE C	H		FARMER		RES	N
1710	MILL STREET	YOUNG LOU		H		CHIEF OPERATOR	SBT&T CO	RES	N
	nr UNION	HALLEY MARY				DOMESTIC	BREVARD PL		
703	PINE STREET	BREVARD JULIUS	ALICE K	H				RES	N
705	PINE STREET	CHAVERS JOSEPH	JULIA S	H		LABORER	WPA	RES	Y
705	PINE STREET	CHAVERS RUBY		R		STUDENT		RES	N
715	PINE STREET	RANDOLPH ETHEL		R	4			RES	N
715	PINE STREET	WILLIAMS JAMES	MARY C	H	1	CARETAKER		RES	Y
721	PINE STREET	MICKLE RHETTA		R		STUDENT		RES	N
721	PINE STREET	MICKLE TILLMAN	SALLIE J	H	2	TRUCK DRIVER		RES	Y
723	PINE STREET	DUREN ALBERT	ADA B	H				RES	Y
	RD	DAVIS ADAM		R		LABORER	CAMDEN ICE COMPANY	RES	N
	RD	HARRIS MYRTLE		R		HELPER	CAMDEN GARAGE	RES	N
	RD	HENDERSON BUSTER H		R		LABORER	STATE HWY DEPT	RES	N
	RD 1	LENIX LEON				BELLMAN	COURT INN	RES	N
	RD 1	COLEMAN WILLIAM J		R		HELPER	HORTON'S SERVICE STATION	RES	N
	RD 2	CURRY CHARLES		R		HELPER	CAMDEN IRON & BRASS WORKS	RES	N
	RD 2	WILSON JAMES		R		LABORER	THE CAMDEN FLORAL COMPANY	RES	N
	RD 2	WILSON PHILIP		R		LABORER	THE CAMDEN FLORAL COMPANY	RES	N
	RD 2	GARY ALVESTA		R		LABORER	STATE HWY DEPT	RES	N
	RD 3	CANTEY EUNICE		R		OWNER	LU BELL'S BEAUTY SHOP	RES	N
	RD 3	CARLOS CARRIE		R		MAID	COURT INN	RES	N
	RD 3	BOYD JOHN		R		PORTER	DEKALB SERVICE STATION	RES	N
	RD 3	BOYKIN ALEX		R		WAITER	COURT INN	RES	N
	RD 3	BOYKIN WILLIAM E		R		WAITER	COURT INN	RES	N
	RD 3	BREVARD EDWARD		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
	RD 3	BREVARD ROBERT		R		ORDERLY	CAMDEN HOSPITAL	RES	N

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	RD 3	BROWN EDWARD		R		ORDERLY	CAMDEN HOSPITAL	RES	N
	RD 3	BROWN WILLIAM		R		PORTER	CAMDEN FURNACE COMPANY INC	RES	N
	RD 3	BROXTON WILLIAM	LILLIAN J	R		BOTTLER	CAMDEN BOTTLING COMPANY	RES	N
	RD 3	CARTER H C		R		SHOE REPAIRER	927 BROAD STREET	RES	N
	RD 3	COLLINS MATTIE		R		COOK	MRS. WOOTEN'S TEA ROOM	RES	N
	RD 3	COLLINS THOMAS		R		LABORER	THE CAMDEN FLORAL COMPANY	RES	N
	RD 3	COOK ISAAC H		R		PORTER	BARRINGER HARDWARE COMPANY	RES	N
	RD 3	CROSWELL EDWARD		R		JANITOR	CAMDEN HIGH SCHOOL	RES	N
	RD 3	DRAKEFORD JOHN L		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
	RD 3	DRAKEFORD JOSEPH		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
	RD 3	JACKSON LETTIE		R		CLEANER	PALMETTO DRY CLEANERS INC	RES	N
	RD 3	JOHNSON JOHN L		R		PORTER	NORRIS ESSO STATION	RES	N
	RD 3	JOHNSON WILLIE M		R		MAID	CAMDEN BEAUTY SHOPPE	RES	N
	RD 3	JONES DAISY		R		COOK	CAMDEN HOSPITAL	RES	N
	RD 3	LEE EDWARD		R		ATTENDENT	STOKES SERVICE STATION	RES	N
	RD 3	MICKLE ANDREW		R		TAILOR	CENTRAL BARBER SHOP	RES	N
	RD 3	MICKLE JOHN		R		DELIVERYMAN	CAMDEN FOOD SHOP	RES	N
	RD 3	MICKLE WILLIS		R		PORTER	SOUTHERN RAILWAY	RES	N
	RD 3	MOORE HENRY		R		DELIVERYMAN	CHRISTMAS & CHRISTMAS	RES	N
	RD 3	PEAY HARMON		R		MECHANIC	LANGSTON MOTOR CO	RES	N
	RD 3	REED HERBERT		R		APPRENTICE	HAILE FUNERAL PARLOR	RES	N
	RD 3	SALMOND JOHN T		R		LABORER	MUNICIPAL UTLITIES	RES	N
	RD 3	SMITH JOHN M		R		BELLMAN	COURT INN	RES	N
	RD 3	STARKS THELMA		R		WAITRESS	BATES LUNCH ROOM	RES	N
	RD 3	STEVENS JAMES		R		DRIVER	CAMDEN HARDWARE & SUPPLY	RES	N
	RD 3	SUTTON JESSE JR		R		PRESSER	PALMETTO DRY CLEANERS INC	RES	N
	RD 3	WATKINS BEULAH		R		MAID	CAMDEN HOSPITAL	RES	N
	RD 3	WATKINS BOOKER T		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N

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	RD 3	WHITAKER ELVIN		R		LABORER	THE CAMDEN FLORAL COMPANY	RES	N
	RD 3	WHITE KIRK		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
	RD 3	WOODS ROBERT		R		PORTER	EUREKA BARBER SHOP	RES	N
EXTD	RD 3	BARRINGTON STABLES						BUS	
EXTD	RD 3	BURCH STABLES						BUS	
EXTD	RD 3	CHRISTINA STABLES						BUS	
EXTD	RD 3	SCOTT STABLES						BUS	
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	BALLARD JOHN		R				RES	N
	RD 3	BELTON ADOLPHUS D		R		PORTER	NORRIS ESSO STATION	RES	N
	RD 3	BELTON BLANCHE		R			LU BELL'S BEAUTY SHOP	RES	N
	RD 3	BELTON RENA		R		COOK	MRS. WOOTEN'S TEA ROOM	RES	N
	RD 3	BLYTHER WILLIAM L	RECIE	R		HELPER	T DEWEY HUGGINS	RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	BOYD JOHN H	ISABEL	H	4	PORTER	EICHEL'S DEPT STORE	RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	COSSOM MAHAZIE		H	1			RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	COUNCIL ALBERTA		R				RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	COUNCIL ELIZABETH		R				RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	COUNCIL WILLIAM	LILLIE	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	CRAIG EMMA		H	3			RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	CRAIG JACK	JUANITA	R		LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	CRAIG JOHN	REBECCA	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	CRAIG NICHOLAS	ETHEL	H	4	GREASE MAN	CENTRAL SERVICE STATION	RES	N
	RD 3	FERGUSON ZACK REV				BARBER	PAUL B MCGIRT	RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	FREDRICK ELIZABETH		R		SCHOOL TEACHER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	FREDRICK JAMES		R		LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	FREDRICK LUTHER		R		LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	FREDRICK MARY A		H				RES	Y
	RD 3	GARDNER LILLY M		R		MAID	CAMDEN HOSPITAL	RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	GASKIN EDITH		H				RES	Y
	RD 3	GRIFFIN NETTIE		R		COOK	CAMDEN HOSPITAL	RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	HAILE BELTON		R		LABORER		RES	N
	RD 3	HAILE RICHARD H JR		R		EMBALMER	HAILE FUNERAL PARLOR	RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	HAILE WINNIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	Y
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	HALLEY LAWRENCE		R		LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	HUDSON BESSIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
	RD 3	HUTSON MELTON B		R		DRIVER	BARRINGER HARDWARE COMPANY	RES	N

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ZEMP HILL	RD 3	JENINGS HENRY	LESIE	H	2	LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	JOHNSON JOHN	JETTIE	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	MCCOY WALTER		R				RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	MCDOWETT LEE	ROSA	H				RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	MURPHY DANIEL	MATTIE	R	1	LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	PATE JAMES		R		GARDENER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	PATE MAGGIE		H	6	DOMESTIC		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	PETERSON WILLIAM	AMELIA	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	PETTIFORD JAMES	CONNIE	H	3	DRIVER	WHITAKER & CO	RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	REED HUBERT	ELLEN	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	RICHARDSON JAMES	FANNIE	H		FARMER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	RICHARDSON LEE	FANNIE	H		FARMER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	ROBERTSON JACK	ODESSA	H		LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	SMITH JAMES		R		LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	SMITH WALTER		R				RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	WHITE JOSEPH	ROSENA	R		LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	WILLIAMS IDA		R				RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	WILLIAMS JOHN	SALLIE	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	WOODS BERTHA		H		COOK		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	WOODS JAMES	LIZZIE	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	WOODS JERRY	PRISCILLA	H	2	LABORER		RES	N
ZEMP HILL	RD 3	YARBOROUGH ALICE		H	1	COOK		RES	N
	RIDGEWAY, SC	KNOX COLUMBUS		R		BARBER/OWNER	929 BROAD STREET	RES	N
1089	RIPPONDON STREET	COUNCIL JOSEPH	ESSIE	H	4	LABORER		RES	N
502	RUTLEDGE STREET	HELTON ETHEL		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
502	RUTLEDGE STREET	WHITLEY DOCIA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
619	RUTLEDGE STREET	RED BOOT SHOP	ABRAHAM M JONES			REPAIRS		BUS	
652	RUTLEDGE STREET	PICKETT ELMER R	MARGARET	H	1	PHARMACIST		RES	Y
652	RUTLEDGE STREET	PICKETT MARGARET		R		TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED GRAMMAR SCHOOL	RES	N
706	RUTLEDGE STREET	FLEMING SUSIE J		H		OWNER	GEM CAFE	RES	N
706	RUTLEDGE STREET	FLEMING BERT		R				RES	N
706	RUTLEDGE STREET	FLEMING BENJAMIN		R		WAITER	GEM CAFE	RES	N
706	RUTLEDGE STREET	FLEMING ALBURTUS		R		SERVICE MAN	ECONOMY AUTO SUPPLY	RES	N
706	RUTLEDGE STREET	BOYKIN WILHELMINA		R		WAITRESS	GEM CAFE	RES	N
708	RUTLEDGE STREET	ELLISON ELIZABETH		R				RES	N
708	RUTLEDGE STREET	ELLISON MARIE		H	4	DOMESTIC		RES	N

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709	RUTLEDGE STREET	MOZAN WILLIE		H	1	TEACHER	JACKSON HIGH SCHOOL	RES	N
710	RUTLEDGE STREET	KIRKLAND EUGENE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
710	RUTLEDGE STREET	KIRKLAND CORNELL		R		PORTER	EUREKA BARBER SHOP	RES	N
710	RUTLEDGE STREET	KIRKLAND SALLIE		H	3			RES	Y
712	RUTLEDGE STREET	DUNCAN MALACHI	DELLA	H	1	LABORER	HERMITAGE MILLS	RES	Y
712	RUTLEDGE STREET	KELLY WILLIAM		R		LABORER	STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	RES	N
712	RUTLEDGE STREET	MITCHELL ROBERT	FRANCES	R				RES	N
712	RUTLEDGE STREET	MITCHELL WILLIAM		R				RES	N
713	RUTLEDGE STREET	JONES ERNEST	MOZELLE	H	2	LABORER	CITY STREET DEPT	RES	N
310	SAVAGE AVENUE	FLETCHER GEORGE	ELLA	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
312	SAVAGE AVENUE	REYNOLDS LOU?		H	2	NURSE	WPA	RES	N
312	SAVAGE AVENUE	YATES CLAY P		R		LABORER		RES	N
314	SAVAGE AVENUE	CARTER FRANK	CORNELIUS	R	2	LABORER		RES	N
314	SAVAGE AVENUE	MCCORMICK GROVER	PANSY	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
	SCOTT STABLES	BECKENRIDGE JOHN		R		GROOM	SCOTT STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	SCOTT STABLES	CHICHESTER JOHN		R		GROOM	SCOTT STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	SCOTT STABLES	HEWITT JOHN		R		GROOM	SCOTT STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	SCOTT STABLES	HILL BOOKER		R		GROOM	SCOTT STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	SCOTT STABLES	JONES WILLIAM		R		GROOM	SCOTT STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	SCOTT STABLES	LEE ROBERT		R		GROOM	SCOTT STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	SCOTT STABLES	MURRAY LESTER		R		LABORER	SCOTT STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	SCOTT STABLES	PIATT JOHN		R		WATCHMAN	SCOTT STABLES	RES/BUS	N
	SCOTT STABLES	SMITH RUSSELL		R		LABORER		RES	N
	SCOTT STABLES	WINGFIELD JOSEPH		R		GROOM	SCOTT STABLES	RES/BUS	N
nr MILL	UNION	CARTER LOTTIE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
100	WATERWORKS	STRATFORD ALVETA		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
102	WATERWORKS	SMITH MICHAEL	MARY	H		LABORER		RES	N
104	WATERWORKS	GARDNER MAMIE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
104	WATERWORKS	LEE MAGGIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
106	WATERWORKS	GARDNER LIZZIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
108	WATERWORKS	WILLIAMS JAMES	ANNIE	H		LABORER		RES	N
110	WATERWORKS	WILLIAMS LIZZIE		H	4	DOMESTIC		RES	N
BEY CITY LIMITS	WEST DEKALB STREET	BLAIR BURNEY	OLLIE	H	4	LABORER		RES	N
NR CITY LIMIT	WEST DEKALB STREET	JACKSON JENNIE		R		STUDENT		RES	N

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NR CITY LIMIT	WEST DEKALB STREET	JACKSON NED	ELIZABETH	H	5	LABORER		RES	N
NR CITY LIMIT	WEST DEKALB STREET	KIRKLAND HARRIS		R		LABORER		RES	N
NR CITY LIMIT	WEST DEKALB STREET	KIRKLAND MALINDA		R				RES	N
NR CITY LIMIT	WEST DEKALB STREET	KIRKLAND SAMUEL	AMELIA	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
NR CITY LIMIT	WEST DEKALB STREET	KIRKLAND SAMUEL JR		R		LABORER		RES	N
NR CITY LIMIT	WEST DEKALB STREET	KNOX ALEXANDER		R		LABORER		RES	N
NR CITY LIMIT	WEST DEKALB STREET	MURPHY RACHEL		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
NR CITY LIMIT	WEST DEKALB STREET	MURPHY THOMAS	ROSA	H		TRUCK DRIVER	CITY	RES	Y
BEY CITY LIMITS	WEST DEKALB STREET	STEPHENSON JAMES	TRESSIE	H		TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
BEY CITY LIMITS	WEST DEKALB STREET	THOMAS FRANK	EMMA	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
BEY CITY LIMITS	WEST DEKALB STREET	THOMAS HATTIE		R		MAID		RES	N
NR CITY LIMIT	WEST DEKALB STREET	THOMAS JAMES		R		LABORER		RES	N
BEY CITY LIMITS	WEST DEKALB STREET	THOMAS THEODORE		R		LABORER		RES	N
BEY CITY LIMITS	WEST DEKALB STREET	WHITE CURTIS		H	1	LABORER		RES	N
NR CITY LIMIT	WEST DEKALB STREET	WYLIE HERLENE		R		STUDENT		RES	N
BEY CITY LIMITS	WEST DEKALB STREET	WYLIE MANNING		R		LABORER		RES	N
NR CITY LIMIT	WEST DEKALB STREET	WYLIE SAMUEL	FLORENCE	H	2	LABORER		RES	Y
	WESTVILLE, SC	DRAKEFORD BLEASE		R		LABORER	STATE HWY DEPT	RES	N
	WESTVILLE, SC	DRAKEFORD EUGENE		R		LABORER	STATE HWY DEPT	RES	N
	WESTVILLE, SC	DRAKEFORD VANIE		R		LABORER	STATE HWY DEPT	RES	N
	WESTVILLE, SC	HARRISON JH		R		LABORER	STATE HWY DEPT	RES	N

EXTD RD 3	YORK STREET	MARTIN REBECCA		R		MAID		RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
EXTD RD 3	YORK STREET	MARTIN THELMA		R		MAID		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	YORK STREET	REED JOSEPH	ROSAETTA	H				RES	Y
EXTD RD 3	YORK STREET	TILLMAN FLETCHER	ETHEL	H	4	LABORER		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	YORK STREET	TILLMAN SIMON		R		STUDENT		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	YORK STREET	WATKINS ETTA		R		MAID		RES	N
205	YORK STREET	MAYER EMILY		H				RES	N
301	YORK STREET	SANDERS FRANK	EMMA	H	5	LABORER		RES	N
301	YORK STREET	THOMPSON BUTLER		R		LABORER		RES	N
303	YORK STREET	CARTER BERKELEY		R		LABORER		RES	N
303	YORK STREET	CARTER MAMIE		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
303	YORK STREET	CARTER VERGIL JR		R		STUDENT		RES	N
303	YORK STREET	CARTER VIRGIL	JOSEPHINE	H	7	REVEREND		RES	N
305	YORK STREET	WILLIAMS GEORGE	ANNIE M	H	2	LABORER	CITY STREET DEPT	RES	N
305	YORK STREET	WILLIAMS SALLIE B		R		OWNER	BELL'S HAIRDRESSING SHOP	RES	N
307	YORK STREET	WILLIAMS LOU		H		COOK		RES	N
401	YORK STREET	WALKER EDWARD		R		HELPER	THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH	RES	N
401	YORK STREET	WALKER JAMES	MARTHA M	H		LABORER		RES	N
401	YORK STREET	JOHNSON ELOISE		R		MAID	CAMDEN HOSPITAL	RES	N
403	YORK STREET	JOY ALICE		H		MAID		RES	N
404	YORK STREET	DUNCAN JAMES	VIOLA	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
405	YORK STREET	MCCRAY JAMES	MARIE K	H		LABORER		RES	N
406	YORK STREET	HOLLIMAN ROBERT	SERENA	R	8	LABORER	CITY STREET DEPT	RES	N
409	YORK STREET	LONG ELIZABETH		R		STUDENT		RES	N
409	YORK STREET	LONG JANIE		H		MAID		RES	N
409	YORK STREET	ROSS ALLEN	DAISY R	H	1	BRICKLAYER		RES	N
409	YORK STREET	SUTTON WILLIAM	KATHERINE R	R		LABORER		RES	N
410	YORK STREET	ROBERTSON FANNIE		R				RES	N
410	YORK STREET	ROSS ALLEN K	GERTRUDE	H	1	HELPER	THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH	RES	N
412	YORK STREET	HERIOT LILLIAN		R				RES	N
412	YORK STREET	HUNTER DIBBLE E	CARRIE A	H	1	GROCER	SELF AT RESIDENCE	RES/BUS	N
412	YORK STREET	PETTIFORD ROBERT	MARIA	H	2	LABORER		RES	N
414	YORK STREET	SCOTT MELVIN	MAGGIE	R		LABORER	WPA	RES	N
414	YORK STREET	SHIELDS MAGGIE		H	1	NURSE	WPA	RES	N
416	YORK STREET	HARRIS GEORGE		R		LABORER		RES	N
416	YORK STREET	HARRIS LIZZIE		H		DOMESTIC		RES	N
507	YORK STREET	HOLMES RUTH		H	1	NURSE	WPA	RES	N
507	YORK STREET	JOHNSON CHARLES	LOUELLA G	H		PAINTER		RES	N

507	YORK STREET	MITCHELL EMMA J		R	3	LAUNDRESS		RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
509	YORK STREET	ROSS JOHN A	LOUISE D	R		LABORER		RES	N
512	YORK STREET	FRAZIER MATTIE		R		COOK		RES	N
512	YORK STREET	PEARSON JERRY		H				RES	N
522	YORK STREET	AUSTIN SARAH		R				RES	N
522	YORK STREET	JONES LOUIS	VIOLA	R		LABORER	WPA	RES	N
522	YORK STREET	OLIVER CHARITY		R	1			RES	N
522	YORK STREET	OLIVER HATTIE		H	1	DOMESTIC		RES	N
522	YORK STREET	THOMAS SAMUEL	FLORA	R	1	BUTLER		RES	N
646	YORK STREET	PATTERSON RAFE	ELLEN	H	1	CARPENTER		RES	N
648	YORK STREET	PRICE WILLIAM	JANIE	H		LABORER		RES	N
650	YORK STREET	CARTER JACOB	ELLEN	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
650	YORK STREET	CARTER MARY		R		COOK		RES	N
650	YORK STREET	CARTER WILHELMINA		R		COOK		RES	N
652	YORK STREET	WORKMAN ELMORE	MARY	H	3	LABORER		RES	N
702	YORK STREET	DOUGLAS CHARLES	ELLA	R		GROCER	700 YORK STREET	RES	N
702	YORK STREET	BROWN WILLIE M		R		COOK		RES	N
702	YORK STREET	CARTER ELIZA		R		COOK		RES	N
702	YORK STREET	LEWIS LEROY	MARY	H	5	LABORER		RES	N
702	YORK STREET	WILLIAMS SUSAN		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
702	YORK STREET	WOODS MARIE		R		COOK		RES	N
704	YORK STREET	HALL ALBERT		R		LABORER		RES	N
704	YORK STREET	HALL ALETHIA		H	5	NURSE	WPA	RES	N
704	YORK STREET	JONES SELENA		R	2	DOMESTIC		RES	N
706	YORK STREET	BROWN ROBERT	HESTER	1		OWNER	CAMDEN POOL ROOM	RES	N
708	YORK STREET	BRADLEY MARGARET		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
708	YORK STREET	TUCKER JOHN	NETTIE	H		TRUCK DRIVER		RES	N
710	YORK STREET	BRISBORN AMANDA		R		COOK		RES	N
710	YORK STREET	BRISBORN LEONA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
710	YORK STREET	BRISBORN WILLIAM		R		DELIVERYMAN	HOME STORES	RES	N
710	YORK STREET	PEAY IRENE		H	2	DOMESTIC		RES	N
714	YORK STREET	JOHNSON ALEASE		R		MAID	CAMDEN HOSPITAL	RES	N
714	YORK STREET	JOHNSON ELLA		H		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
714	YORK STREET	MARTIN LOTTIE		R	2	COOK		RES	N
751	YORK STREET	RANEY HENRY	GRACE	H		ORDERLY		RES	N
751	YORK STREET	RANEY MARY		R		STUDENT		RES	N
751	YORK STREET	WASHINGTON REBECCA		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
751	YORK STREET	WHITAKER JAMES		R		LABORER		RES	N

753 (617)	YORK STREET	ROBINSON SUE		H	1	LAUNDRESS		RES	N

Street Number	Street Name	Former Resident	Former Resident Spouse	H/R	Children	Occupation	Employer	Res/Bus/Int	Home Owner Y/N
753 (617)	YORK STREET	TAYLOR FRANK		R		LABORER		RES	N
753 (617)	YORK STREET	WILLIAMS SUSIE		R				RES	N
755	YORK STREET	BOYKIN WILLIAM		R	2	LABORER		RES	N
755	YORK STREET	DENKINS MANNING	KATIE	H	1			RES	N
755	YORK STREET	MCCALL EASTER		R		LAUNDRESS	CITY LAUNDRY	RES	N
757	YORK STREET	DENKINS THURMOND	ANNIE	R	1	CARPENTER		RES	N
757	YORK STREET	JOHNSON JAMES H	ROXANNA	H	5	BARBER	CENTRAL BARBER SHOP	RES	N
757	YORK STREET	JONES DELLA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	N
759	YORK STREET	HAILE HENRY	IDA	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
759	YORK STREET	CARTER MATTIE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
761	YORK STREET	JACKSON ALICE		R		MAID		RES	N
761	YORK STREET	KEYS SUMMER	SALLIE	H	4	GARDENER		RES	N
765	YORK STREET	ROACH SAMPSON	ADLENA	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
767	YORK STREET	BELTON ALEX	MATTIE	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
769	YORK STREET	THOMPSON JESSIE M		R	2	COOK		RES	N
769	YORK STREET	THOMPSON LEDDIE		H	2	LAUNDRESS		RES	N
769	YORK STREET	THOMPSON MAGGIE		R	1	MAID		RES	N
REAR 771	YORK STREET	BROWN SAUL	DELLA	H	4	LABORER		RES	N
773	YORK STREET	JACOBS ETTA		R		COOK		RES	N
773	YORK STREET	JACOBS WALTER	MARTHA	H	6	JANITOR		RES	N
REAR 773	YORK STREET	WHITAKER ANNIE		R		LAUNDRESS		RES	N
REAR 773	YORK STREET	MCMASTER WILLIAM		H	2	LABORER		RES	N
775	YORK STREET	HUNTER JAINIE		R				RES	N
775	YORK STREET	MABIN JAMES	DELLA	H	1	LABORER		RES	N
REAR 775	YORK STREET	COLLINS ROSA		R		MAID		RES	N
REAR 775	YORK STREET	ROACH KATIE		H		MAID	CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT	RES	N
REAR 775	YORK STREET	WILLIAMS DAISY		R		MAID		RES	N
777	YORK STREET	WILSON JOHN	RUTHER M	H	7	LABORER		RES	N
REAR 777	YORK STREET	DAMON GEORGE	MAMIE	H	2	LABORER		RES	N
REAR 777	YORK STREET	SAMUEL EMMA		R		DOMESTIC		RES	Y
809	YORK STREET	MCGUIRT LESLIE		R		TAXI DRIVER		RES	N
809	YORK STREET	MCGUIRT WASHINGTON	MINNIE	H		REVEREND		RES	Y
809	YORK STREET	MCGUIRT WILLIAM C		R		BARBER	PAUL B MCGIRT	RES	N
EXTD RD 3	YORK STREET	BLANDING BENJAMIN	MATTIE	H	1	FARMER		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	YORK STREET	BLANDING HELEN		R		STUDENT		RES	N
505 (513)	YORK STREET	GASKIN WILLIAM	LULA B	H	4	LABORER		RES	N
EXTD RD 3	YORK STREET	GETTYS BENJAMIN		H		LABORER		RES	Y

EXTD RD 3	YORK STREET	HAILE DELLA		H	1	LAUNDRESS		RES	Y
Street Number	**Street Name**	**Former Resident**	**Former Resident Spouse**	**H/R**	**Children**	**Occupation**	**Employer**	**Res/Bus/Int**	**Home Owner Y/N**
753 (617)	YORK STREET	MARTIN REBECCA		R		COOK		RES	N
705	YORK STREET	MCCOLLUM CARDOZIA		R		STUDENT		RES	N
	ZEMP HILL	BENSON ROBERT		R		JANITOR	CITY LAUNDRY	RES	N
		SCOFIELD GEORGE				LABORER	THE CAMDEN FLORAL COMPANY		
		BELTON ELEASE				TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED HIGH SCHOOL		
		JOHNSON THERESA				MAID	THE CEDARS		
		MICKLE SERENA				MAID	THE HEDGE		
		SANDERS CLARENCE				COOK	ROXY CAFÉ		
		NICHOLSON JAMES				LABORER	CITY STREET DEPT		
		ROGERS WILLIAM				LABORER	CITY STREET DEPT		
		STOVER MATTIE				TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED GRAMMAR SCHOOL		
		WHITE AMELIA				COOK	MRS. WOOTEN'S TEA ROOM		
		WHITE FRANK				ORDERLY	CAMDEN HOSPITAL		
		WILLIAMS MARY				TEACHER	CAMDEN COLORED HIGH SCHOOL		
		WRIGHT RICHARD R	LOUISE			BUTLER	THE HEDGE		