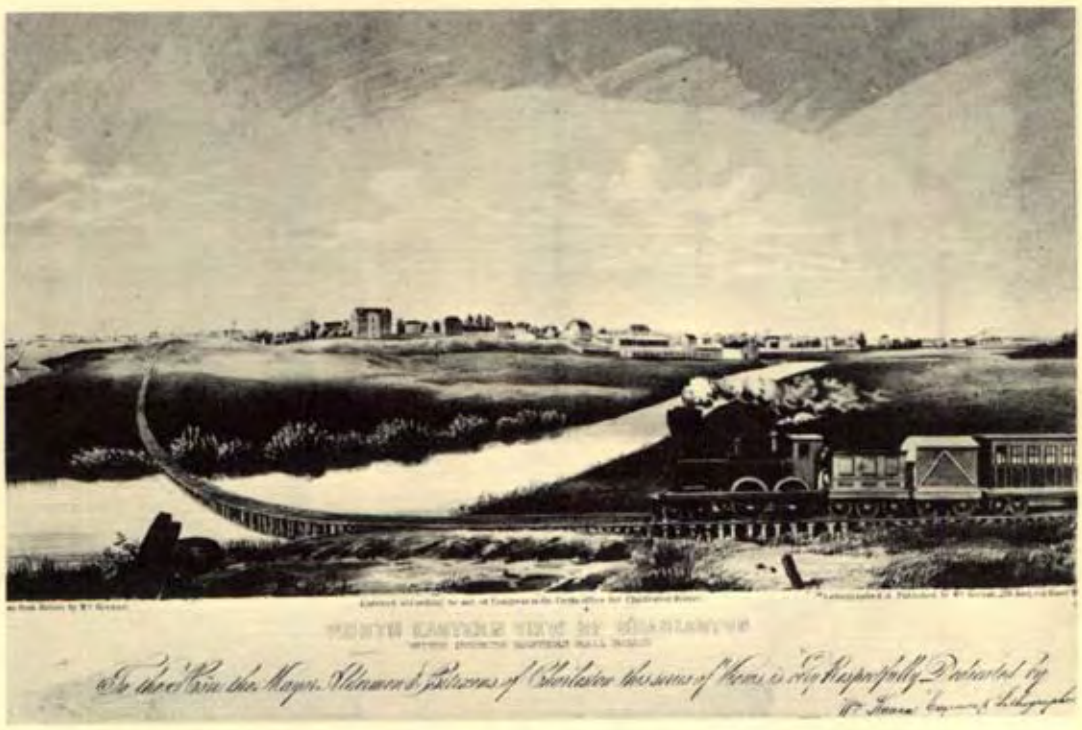
BETWEEN THE TRACKS:
CHARLESTON'S EAST SIDE
DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



The Charleston Museum
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BETWEEN THE TRACKS:

Charleston's East Side During the Nineteenth Century

by

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The Charleston Museum
and
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CHAPTER I

Researching the Charleston Neck

Introduction

Charleston's East Side is part of what was called, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the "Neck" of the peninsula. Annexed to the city in 1849, the Neck was developed first as a commercial route between the backcountry and Carolina's major port, and as a summer refuge for plantation families and their entourages of Negro servants. Railroads and new industries located here, making the Neck a center for "progressives" anxious to diversify the city's economy and reduce its dependence on northern manufacturers.

In recent years, the East Side has been the site of numerous public and private building projects, and the community has been the subject of much planning and debate. Anticipating additional development, such as the Visitor's Reception and Transportation Center across Meeting Street from The Charleston Museum, the City is sponsoring a major study of the neighborhood. With a matching Historic Preservation Grant, administered by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, the City of Charleston contracted with The Charleston Museum to conduct archival and oral history research on the East Side. "Between the Tracks" presents information the project staff gathered during the spring of 1987. In documenting the origin and early history of the community, the report is designed to guide a variety of future endeavors, including archaeological research, historic preservation, new construction, public education, and community programs.

Goals

The goals of the East Side project are: first, to gather information on the history of Charleston Neck, focusing on the African-American population; second, to examine in detail land use on the East Side, with an eye to prospective archaeological research; third, to increase public knowledge of the community's heritage by interviewing neighborhood residents and publishing, in booklet form, highlights from this report; and fourth, to supplement architectural survey information currently on file, connecting, whenever possible, previous inhabitants and activities with extant structures or archaeological sites.

These tasks could be initiated, but certainly not completed, in six months' time. Fortunately, we were able to build on an extensive data base amassed over the past six years. The archaeology program sponsored by The Charleston Museum and the City of Charleston has involved archival research and analysis, long-term planning, and controlled excavations of selected sites. Our first investigations focused on the section southeast of Beaufain Street, the commercial core of the old city and the area of earliest development. We searched documentary sources for evidence of commercial and residential activities and we excavated six sites between Broad and Hasell

streets, which were scheduled for construction as part of the city's revitalization efforts. These excavations provided a preliminary model of how people adapted to an urban environment characterized by crowded, mixed neighborhoods, persistent health and sanitation problems, and increasing employment specialization.

A natural outgrowth of this work was to investigate the city's historic suburb, Charleston Neck, and to compare it with the commercial core. Research began in late 1985, including limited excavations on three sites: The Gibbes House at 64 South Battery (Zierden et al. 1986b), the President Street block on the Medical University campus (Zierden et al. n.d.), and the Aiken-Rhett mansion on Charleston's East Side (Zierden et al. 1986a). To continue excavations in this area, and to properly interpret the data recovered, it is first necessary to build a strong foundation of historical fact by thoroughly exploring municipal documents, statistical records, family papers, business accounts, and secondary sources relevant to the development of the community. This report provides such a date base.

Subsequent excavations, guided by this document and the Archaeological Preservation Plan (Zierden and Calhoun 1984), will in turn add to the historical account. By comparing the documentary record with the archaeological record we can arrive at a more complete version of the past. In the effort to reconstruct a society's material culture and daily life, artifacts fill in gaps left by written sources. Archaeology also can help redress the inevitable bias in the historical record toward literate and propertied people. This bias became painfully obvious in the course of the present study. Real estate conveyances, probate records, and tax lists, of course, provide information only about people who had property to buy, sell, bequeath, and pay taxes on. Even comprehensive statistical sources, such as censuses, record affluent households more reliably than indigent ones. Unpropertied or transient groups, including virtually all slaves and a majority of unskilled or unemployed immigrants, rarely emerge in official documents. In this regard, poor white people fared worse than enslaved blacks, for as chattel, slaves appear in property transactions of all kinds. Recent archaeological studies have recovered significant information about the lives of people whose history has been difficult to retrieve (Deagan 1982:161; Glassie 1977:29). Plantation slaves, and in some cases urban bondsmen, have been a special focus of such research (Ascher and Fairbands 1974; Ferguson 1980; Otto 1975; Schuyler 1980; Singleton 1980, 1985; Wheaton et al. 1983).

History in the service of archaeology requires a nontraditional approach to the sources. The most relevant documents are those which reveal who lived in a community, what they consumed, and how they adapted to their environment (see Deagan 1983:13-14). Issues of particular interest to urban archaeologists include:

1. The social variability of city dwellers: demographic profiles, occupations, household composition, income ranges, social and ethnic classes.
2. The economic and material world of the city: the local economy and its role in international markets, commercial activities of city

residents, the range of available imports, local production of goods, and distribution and exchange systems.

3. The physical formation of the archaeological record: the landscape of the city before and after settlement, patterns of growth and development, location of different activities, architecture and construction methods, cultural and natural disasters, disposal and sanitation practices, and public works.

In "Between the Tracks" we have delineated trends of occupation and development on the East Side and cited case histories to illustrate these trends. Numerous references to specific sites, occupants, and activities have been incorporated here; other details, interesting in themselves but outside the scope of this report, have been recorded on architectural survey cards, on file with the City of Charleston and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

We hope that this project will spur interest in the history of the East Side among its residents. Already our community steering committee has contributed materially to our research by identifying sources and subjects of importance. Urban archaeology is one of many publicly funded social disciplines currently addressing the need for community involvement (see Phillips 1985; Weil 1985). Public interaction has contributed vitally to The Charleston Museum's archaeology program over the past several years. The East Side survey presents an excellent opportunity to deepen and widen that productive exchange of ideas.

Methods and Sources

Throughout this report, we employ place names and terminology that were in use during the period, rather than current terms. One major exception is the place name, East Side, which is a relatively recent term. Old terminology will be explained following the first usage. Our goal in reviving archaic words is historical accuracy. For example, the multitude of terms applied to African-American people in the nineteenth century includes "Negro," "person of color," "mulatto," and "black." In antebellum Charleston, free mulattos were particularly careful to distinguish themselves from darker African-Americans, especially slaves. We have tried to choose words appropriate to the context; in presenting our own interpretations we preferred the terms African-American or black.

We found a wealth of data on many, though not all, of our research subjects. Keeping in mind the project's specific and diverse goals, we had to decide which sources to explore and how to record the information.

Censuses, city directories, city ward books (street by street assessments of real estate), and city and state tax books were the major statistical sources utilized. They provided data on various classes of people and on trends of growth and development. The 1853 and the 1864 Ward Books were recorded in their entirety. The 1852 Ward Book, which contains annotations and additions for subsequent years,

was discovered late in the project, and thus was used only selectively. We searched one city directory for each five-year period, basing our choice on availability. The first directory to list residents on the Neck was 1809, the last, 1869-70. Though important tools of historical research and of the present study, city directories, unfortunately, did not include all residents. Designed as business guides, directories provide comprehensive information about merchants, craftsmen, and skilled laborers. Wealthy planters, lower class residents, unskilled laborers, newcomers, and free colored people, on the other hand, are poorly represented; slaves are not listed at all.

The 1861 City Census and the 1860 and 1870 Population Schedules of the Federal Census supplied many details about the East Side's residents. Population schedules from 1790 to 1850 did not separate residents by wards, and because of their sheer volume they were unusable for this project. The highly informative 1848 City Census covered only the city proper, but provides a base for comparison with the Neck.

Despite their enormous value, census records have many flaws. The 1848 Census is inadequate in a variety of ways (See Chapman 1980; Moltke-Hansen 1986:381n); the 1861 City Census was commissioned explicitly because municipal leaders felt that the 1860 Federal Census was inaccurate. The 1861 population count did indeed turn up 20 percent more residents than the federal schedules showed, yet even the 1861 census underrepresents blacks in the city.

Municipal, judicial, and commercial records offered an abundance of information. City Yearbooks, receipts and expenditures, newspapers, company and organizational minutes and addresses, ordinances and statutes, proceedings of city authorities, wills, inventories, and real estate conveyances provided evidence of land use, growth, development, and improvements, and of the daily affairs of East Side residents. The records increase in quantity and quality as time proceeds; consequently, we obtained a clearer picture of the East Side in the mid- to late-nineteenth century than in earlier periods.

The richest group of documents, though in many ways the least focused, are personal papers: letters, diaries, notes, and memoranda. We explored documents from a few families, members of the more prosperous classes, but acknowledge a bias in these sources.

One area in which documents are too few rather than too many is the study of urban slaves. Surviving records make it difficult to portray the lives of individual bondsmen. Federal censuses and tax records count slaves but do not list their names. A great loss for students of urban slave life are the registers of Negroes compiled by the Charleston City Treasurer when slave badges were issued, none of which have surfaced. The information they contained - names, ages, occupations, owners, and dates of all slaves legally hired out - are lost to posterity.

Some valuable sources do exist, however. The City Census of 1848 includes in its industrial tables an occupational breakdown of slaves,

free Negroes, and whites, male and female, listing the numbers employed in various pursuits. Although the people living on the Neck were not counted in this census, the tables provide a rough guide to the composition of the work force in greater Charleston.

City census takers in 1861 went street by street in every ward, naming white and free colored owners and occupants of each dwelling, and noting "slave" when the building housed slaves. Probate records, private papers, and advertisements for slave sales and runaways commonly contain thumbnail descriptions of individuals. Clues to the character, desires, intents, opinions, pleasures, and griefs of enslaved African-Americans can be found in the correspondence and recollections of their masters. Fully realized portraits exist in slave narratives, collected and published by abolitionists, the Freedmen's Bureau, and in this century by New Dealers working for the Work Projects Administration.

Slaves also appear in municipal records along with other forms of property - real estate, carriages, horses, mules, and dogs - which had to be counted at tax time. As chattel Negroes were bought, sold, or seized by the sheriff, according to the economic wheels of fortune. These transactions were documented in business and court records, and have been preserved in archives. Further, police files and sheriffs' executions report on enslaved African-Americans who ran afoul of the law.

In contrast, free blacks appear in a wealth of documents that historians have been exploring with increasing attention for the past 15 years. Especially revealing is the history of manumission, the process by which slaves were transformed into free people of color. Manumissions occured throughout the eighteenth century and were most frequent from the Revolutionary War until 1820. After that date, repressive laws made it difficult to free a slave. Only by legislative decree or through contorted legal maneuvers could white and Negro slaveowners emancipate their family members, friends, and faithful servants. Their attempts to keep open the door to freedom generated a fascinating group of documents, including manumission papers, petitions, affidavits, and deeds of trust. Legislative enactments and committee reports trace the efforts of the State to curtail the growth and liberties of the free colored population.

"Free Negro Books" for many of the years before 1861, recently made available on microfilm, enable historians to follow a large portion of the free adult African-American population through the antebellum era. These books record returns for the state "capitation" taxes required of all free Negroes between the ages of 15 and 60. Free people, and slaves passing as free, were eager to pay this tax, since it could be used as evidence of their coveted status. Records of people who paid the additional levy of a city capitation tax exist for the years 1861 through 1864. They include, besides names and addresses, each person's age, occupation, and ownership of real estate, slaves, horses and mules, carriages, and dogs.

Charleston's free people of color are also found in federal and local censuses, city directories, ward books, and lists of taxpayers,

though free Negroes are underrepresented in all but the last of these sources. Apart from public records, documents produced by free colored people themselves - rules, regulations, and minutes of benevolent societies, letters, scrapbooks, published recollections - give depth to studies of this class.

Even today, discoveries - or rather, recoveries - of certain documents are filling gaps in the sources. Minutes of the free Negro Friendly Moralist Society, for example, were acquired by the College of Charleston library in 1981, and the city Capitation Tax Book for 1861 and Ward Books for 1853 and 1864 have been donated to the South Carolina Historical Society within the past year.

More difficult to document than urban slaves were indigent and transient whites. As property, urban slaves are mentioned in a variety of records. Poor European immigrants, in contrast, are almost absent from property and tax reports. Census takers often overlooked the transient unemployed; thus, we found the lower class of Irish immigrants the most elusive of all.

CHAPTER II

Development of the East Side

Settlement of the City and Suburb

A group of patriotic and profit seeking English noblemen founded the Carolina colony in 1670. In 1680, the Lords Proprietors, eager to establish a port city in Carolina, relocated their first town from a marshy area on Albemarle Point to the more defensible and commercially suitable peninsula formed by the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper rivers (Earle and Hoffman 1977). Here the English settled the area along the Cooper River bounded by present-day Water, East Bay, Cumberland, and Meeting streets. The planned city, known as the Grand Model, encompassed the high land from Oyster Point to Beaufain Street. The town was laid out around a central square and divided by wide streets into deep, narrow lots, a plan characteristic of seventeenth-century Irish towns colonized by the British (Reps 1965). While the new Charles Towne was a renaissance city in many ways, the surrounding wall and steep roofs gave it a decidedly medieval atmosphere (Coclanis 1984).

As colonists searched for profitable staple crops, the settlement developed gradually as a port and market. An initially successful Indian trade in deer skins provided the impetus for Charles Towne's commercial growth. The decade of the 1730s witnessed the town's transformation from a small frontier community to an important mercantile center. When royal rule replaced an inefficient proprietary government in 1729, following a revolt by the settlers, Carolina entered the mainstream of the colonial economy. The development of outlying settlements, following the Township Plan of 1730, brought an influx of products from the backcountry. Meanwhile, as rice became more profitable, lowcountry plantations rapidly expanded. Thousands of Africans were imported as a labor force, and merchants grew rich dealing in staples and slaves. Merchants and planters formed the elite of Charleston society; indeed, the two groups often overlapped, for planters engaged in mercantile endeavors, and merchants invested their earnings in land, becoming planters themselves. This strong tie to the country is an important theme in the city's history (Goldfield 1982).

As the eighteenth-century advanced, Charles Towne expanded in size, economic importance, and the relative affluence of its citizens. White per capita income was among the highest in the colonies (Weir 1983). Still, the city limit remained at Beaufain Street until 1783, the year the city was incorporated and renamed Charleston. The limit then moved four blocks north to Boundary Street. Within these confines, a growing population was accommodated by subdividing lots and expanding into the center of blocks. The city was oriented on an east-west axis. Charleston's merchants and craftsmen lined the waterfront and three streets, Broad, Tradd and Elliot, which carried traffic west across the peninsula (Calhoun et al. 1982). Like other eighteenth-century cities, Charleston was a pedestrian town. Merchants needed to be near the waterfront for the sake of convenience as well as for economy of transportation. Hence, the area known as Charleston Neck, north of the city proper, was slow to develop (Figure 1).

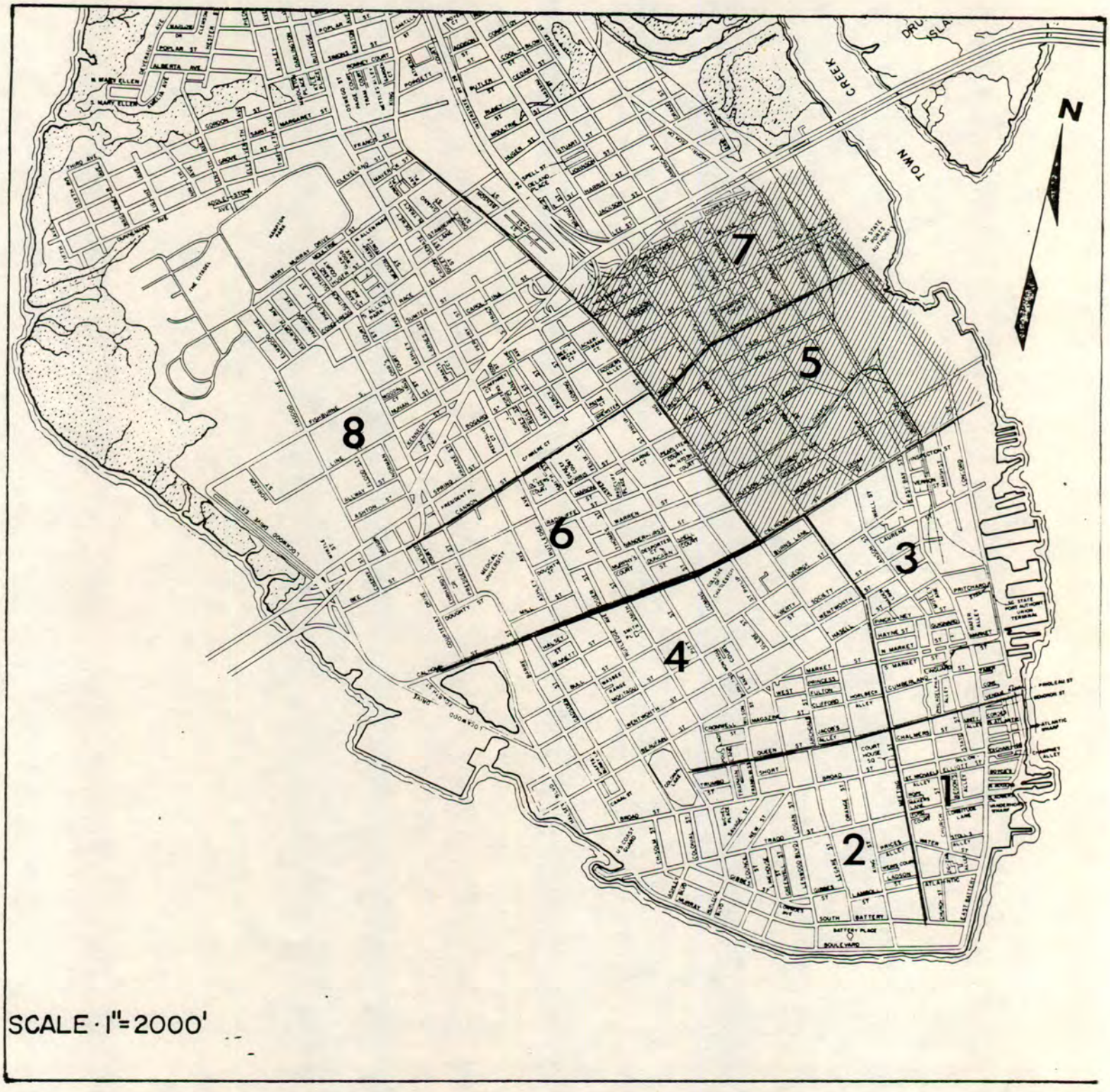


Figure 1: Map of the Charleston peninsula showing the current boundaries of the East Side and the 1850 boundaries of the eight wards.

Throughout the colonial era, the peninsula above Beaufain Street was countryside, occupied by plantations and small farms. Many large landholdings were subsequently divided among heirs. As the city spread northward, these tracts were subdivided and developed along the lines of English "villages."

Around and between planters' large houses and spacious lots, a heterogeneous population took up residence. Charleston merchants, manufacturers, attorneys, and physicians built or rented substantial homes in the suburb. White artisans, tradesmen, and mechanics lived in more modest houses, above shops, or in "workers cottages" built by their employers. German and especially Irish immigrants in increasing numbers staked a claim on the Neck, competing for jobs with black people, slave and free.

The Neck had special advantages for city dwellers of African descent, especially for free Negroes and for slaves granted the privilege to work and live on their own. Rents were lower, real estate was more available and less expensive, and new houses could be built of wood, a practice discouraged within the city limits. The suburb also offered some respite from police surveillance and control; hence the Neck appealed to runaways, slaves "passing as free," and other people eager to expand their personal liberty.

Unwilling immigrants, Africans had arrived with the first Europeans on the shores of the Carolina colony. The topography, climate, and fertility of the lowcountry was ideal for the production of valuable staples and fostered the development of plantation agriculture. Heat, humidity, and malaria discouraged white settlement, while the successful production of indigo, rice, and later, cotton, increased the demand for a labor force (Phillips 1974:8). Besides being accustomed to the subtropical climate, Africans were able to adapt their use of wild foods and natural remedies to the native flora and fauna. Moreover, they possessed skills in rice cultivation and other tasks essential to the plantation (Wood 1974; Littlefield 1981). By 1708, the majority of lowcountry residents was black. Negro bondsmen and women worked the crops in the countryside and provided labor for building and maintaining the city.

Most slaves were field hands, laborers, servants, or porters, but on plantations, and in the city, some served as coopers, blacksmiths, brickmakers, millwrights, carpenters, seamstresses, barbers, fishermen, pastry cooks, and in many other skilled occupations. Owners routinely "hired out" their Negro artisans. A few slaves won their freedom by buying it; masters "manumitted" others, especially house servants, in recognition of special services or skills, or in response to sometimes familial affection. The emerging class referred to as "free persons of color" congregated in Charleston. In some trades, Negroes displaced white artisans and laborers. All social classes lived side by side in the eighteenth-century city. After 1800, free Negroes and town servants were among the first residents to move to the newly developed boroughs of the Neck, reflecting their growing independence (Berlin 1987).

The land above Beaufain Street and the Grand Model was originally granted in parallel parcels, each extending from the Ashley to the Cooper River. The parcel between present day Calhoun and Line streets was granted first to Richard Cole, but in 1677 was regranted to Richard and Rebecca Batten. The Cole-Batten land was subdivided among various persons, and in the 1730s, Joseph Wragg acquired a large portion of it.

Smaller acreages went to Daniel Cannon, Alexander Mazyck, the Elliott family, Henry Laurens, and others (Stockton 1985). As the colonial period came to an end, landowners turned an investor's eye towards the burgeoning city. The lands between Beaufain and Boundary had already been developed as discrete communities: Middlesex, Laurens Square, Rhettsbury, Harleston Village, and Ansonborough. Wealthy merchants with large holdings on the east side of Charleston Neck followed the same pattern in designing the subdivisions of Hampstead, Wraggsborough, and Mazyckborough (Figure 2). An additional early feature was the botanic garden, which occupied nine-tenths of an acre on the corner of Meeting and Columbus streets.

First to be laid out was the Village of Hampstead. A prominent merchant and slave broker, Henry Laurens deliberately assembled some 99 acres to subdivide and sell. In 1769, he purchased from George Austin a small plantation known as "Austin field." Two months later he bought an adjoining tract from James Wood. Both tracts shared boundaries with Laurens' "Town Creek marsh" property, which he had purchased in 1763. Laurens had these properties resurveyed, divided into 140 lots, and named the "Village of Hampstead" (Rogers 1979:589). Deliberately modeled after seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English suburbs, Hampstead was laid out around a spacious central square (Stockton 1985:14; Childs 1980). English-style alleys, however, were avoided in an effort to reduce the threat of fire and disease, and to discourage the clustering of slave residences on these hidden roads. In his initial advertisement for the sale of lots, Laurens described his property in glowing terms, emphasizing its high elevation, its proximity to deep water creeks and future wharves, and easy credit terms.

> TO BE SOLD, on Wednesday the 6th day of December next, to the highest bidder or bidders, upon the Ground, between EIGHTY and NINETY large LOTS of LAND, pleasantly situated in AUSTIN FIELD, late the property of GEORGE AUSTIN, Esq; within Three hundred yards of the Town Gates, having a very extensive Front on Cooper River, and commanding a beautiful prospect of Fort Johnson, the Bay before Charlestown, and all the adjacent Country northwardly and eastwardly; the Land is much higher than Charlestown, being from ten to twelve feet above high water mark by an exact level lately taken, and is therefore apparently out of all danger from Hurricane floods. - On the north side runs a bold creek capable of admitting vessels of ten feet draught of water in common high tides and in high spring tides there are twelve feet water on

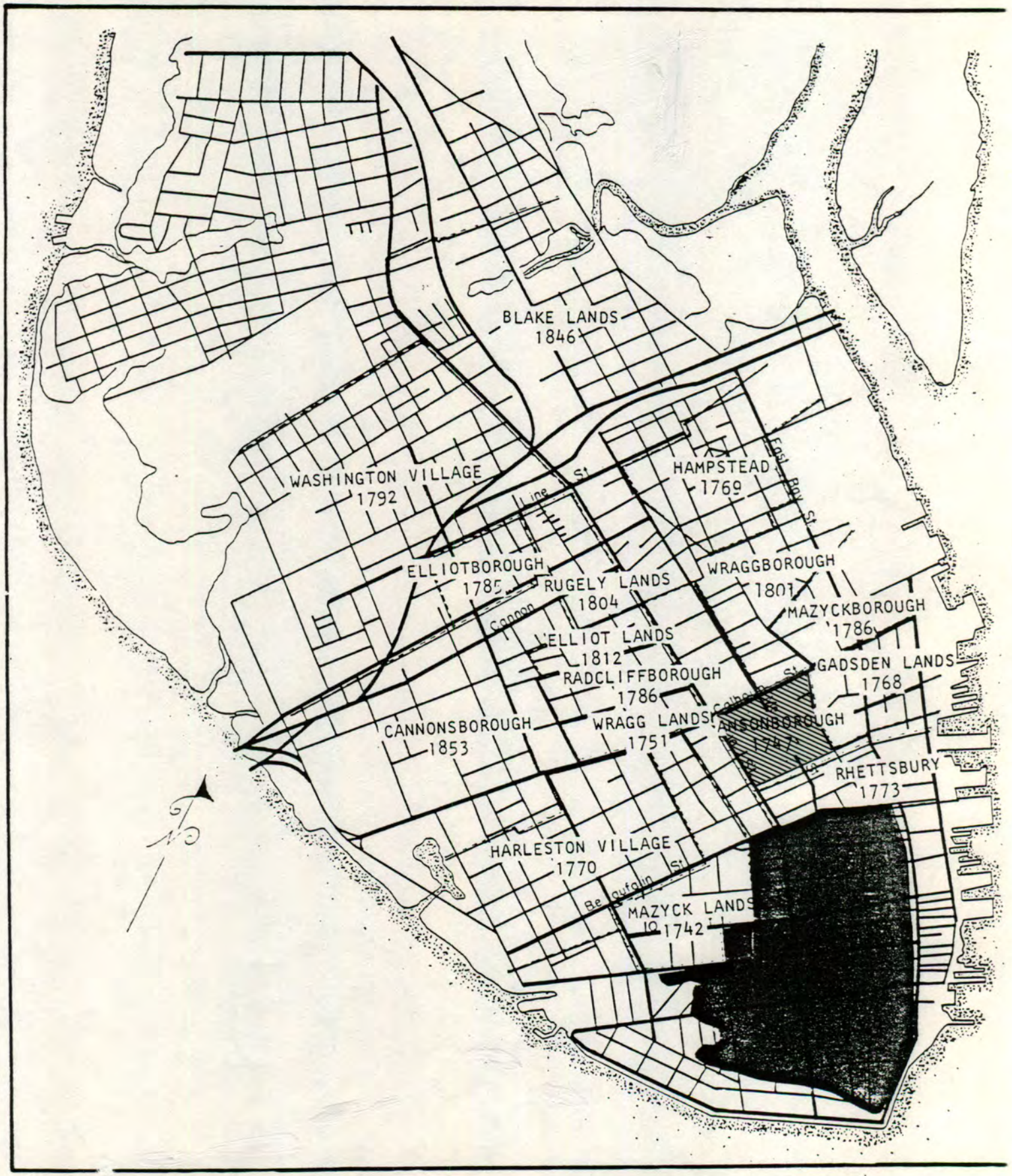


Figure 2: The Charleston peninsula, showing subdivisions above the Grand Model (shaded area).

> the bar at the entrance of the Creek which deepens all the way up to the intended landing. - The distance from the Creek to the high Land is about One hundred yards, where a substantial causeway or wharf of at least twenty feet wide will be made by the present Proprietors, within nine months after the sale, as much sooner as possible; on the south side there is also a creek capable of admitting boats of five feet draught, within twenty yards of the high land, where another ample causeway or wharf will be made by the present proprietors within six Months. - Firewood, bricks, timber, and every other article may be landed on such Causeways or wharfs as conveniently as on the wharfs in Charlestown and free from wharfage to the purchasers of the Lots for twelve months after the said wharfs are compleated.
>
> These LOTS are from Eighty to One hundred feet front, and between Two hundred and Three hundred feet in depth, which in process of time will admit of very beneficial subdivision, as most of the Lots front on two Streets. Most of the Streets are Forty feet wide and two will be Fifty feet wide. - A large Square of Four hundred and fifty feet on each side is left in the center of the town for such public uses and purposes as shall be agreed upon by the first Twenty-one purchasers of the Lots, or a Majority of them. - The purchasers may have Twelve Months Credit, with Interest from the Date, giving good Security. The Plat may be seen at HENRY LAURENS, esqr's, Mr. WILLIAM BAMPFIELD, or with ROBERT WELLS (General Gazette, November 27, 1769, quoted in Rogers et al. 1979)(Figure 3).

William Bampfield purchased half interest in the property and became Laurens' partner; Laurens, however, retained formal title and acted as sole proprietor. Although he touted the convenient location of his suburb - "within Three hundred yards of the Town Gates" - he sold only 68 of the 140 lots during the 21 months he "actively promoted the venture" (Rogers et al. 1979:590). Of these, 38 went to Bampfield. The unsold lots eventually passed to Laurens' granddaughter.

Besides Bampfield, the majority of Laurens' buyers were wealthy planters and merchants. The average lot sold for L 300. Several middle class artisans and laborers, including a peruke (wig) maker, a lumber smith, a house carpenter, a butcher, and the keeper of the gaol, purchased lots. Apparently most of the new owners were speculators themselves, buying to resell, but at least two kept their Hampstead holdings in the family. In 1770, Bernard Leitz purchased lot #137, later bequeathing the property at Columbus and King streets to his wife. Plowden Weston acquired lot #70 at the corner of Columbus and East Bay, also in 1770; it remained in the family until the 1850s (Rogers et al. 1979:240, 283).

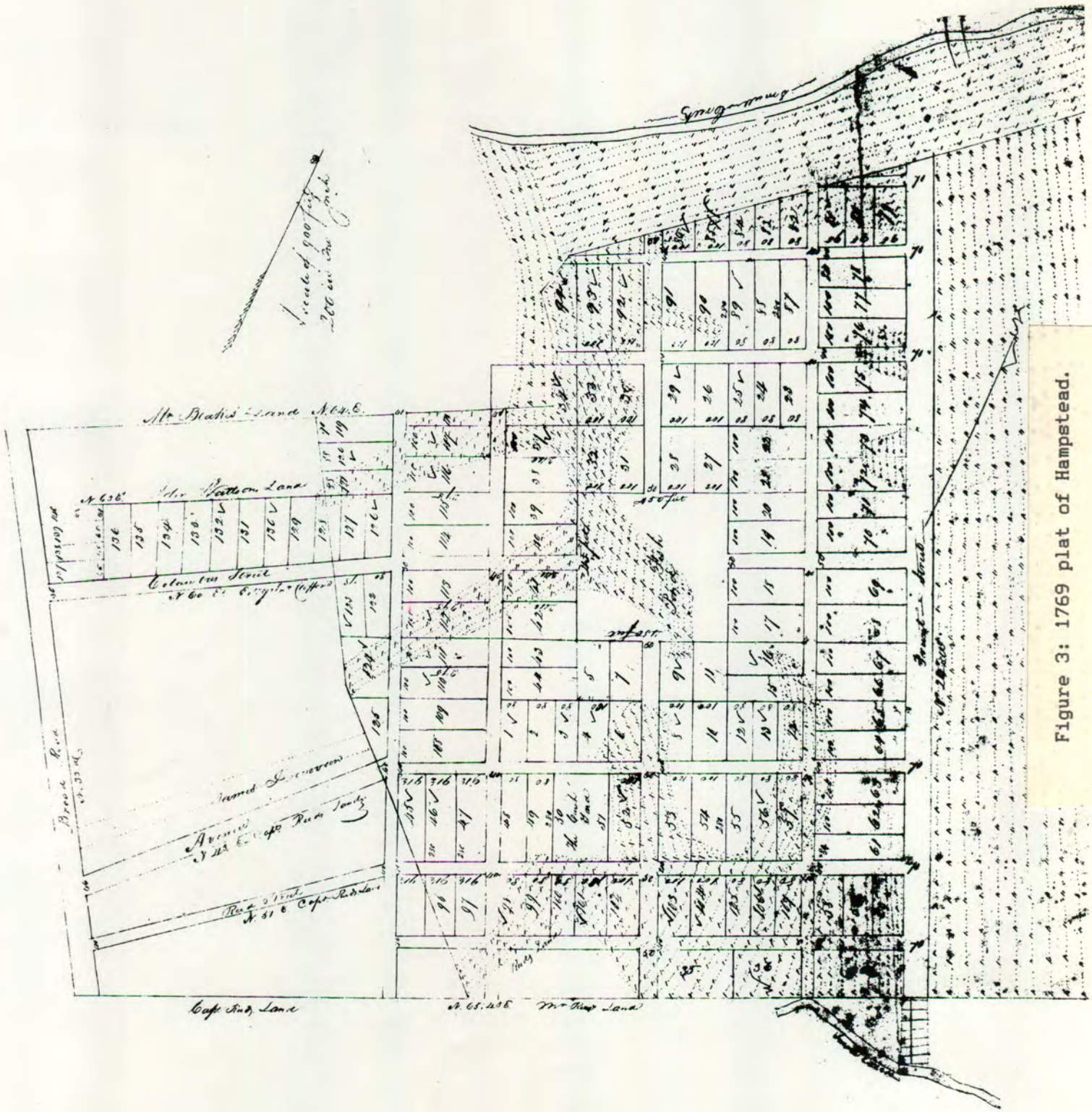


Figure 3: 1769 plat of Hampstead.

Hampstead attracted a close-knit colony of Georgetown rice planters. Plowden Weston was the first to invest, and others followed in the early decades of the nineteenth-century. Weston's son, Dr. Paul Weston, acquired his father's townhouse in 1827. Each year when the family traveled from the Pee Dee to Charleston, they brought with them "an army" of servants. "We have to take fifty individuals with us in the move," Mrs. Weston explained. "We cannot possibly separate husband and wife for six months; so Harry, the coachman, has to have his wife and children, and the same with the cook, and the butler, and the laundress, until we are actually moving an army every time we move" (Quoted in Rogers 1970:320).

Francis Weston lived first on Drake Street, then at #2 Columbus. The Ward family purchased the Faber house, on the corner of Bay and Amherst streets. John Hyrne Tucker built near Bay and Blake, where his daughter and son-in-law, Josiah Tennent, would later join him. Other Georgetown planter families included Catherine LaBruce at #6 Drake, Francis Withers on the corner of John and Meeting, the Pyatts on the southeast corner of Meeting and Charlotte, the Nowells at East Bay and Reid, and Bejamin Traper on Drake Street (Rogers 1970:320). In 1859, each of these families maintained between six and 30 slaves on their city lots; their houses ranged in value from $11,000 to $25,000.

Enterprising free persons of color, including Jehu Jones, Richard Holloway, Thomas Bonneau, Thomas Small, Rebecca and Henry Jackson, and Susan Ann and Richard Dereef, also invested in Hampstead lots. Several Draytons, members of a prominent lowcountry rice planting family, had purchased nine lots in Hampstead between 1790 and 1809, and eventually sold the majority to free colored families. Thomas Bonneau, who ran a school for Negro children on Coming Street, purchase lot #113 in 1826 (CCRMCO T-9:1). (Bonneau had acquired lot #54 five years before.) He immediately divided lot #113, selling part to Rebecca Jackson (CCRMCO S-9:384) and part to Richard Dereef. Richard's sister, Susan Ann, acquired the neighboring lot #112, 100 by 275 feet, in 1827 (CCRMCO S-9:384). Although the Dereefs subdivided this lot, they evidently did not build on it before they sold the property ten years later. Rebecca and her husband, Henry Jackson, on the other hand, did improve their portion of lot #113, for when Henry sold it in 1841, it was described as a "lot with buildings" (unpublished research, Drayton Hall, a property of the National Trust for Historic Preservation).

Mazyckborough was developed next. Alexander Mazyck, heir of the original grantee Isaac Mazyck, subdivided the property in 1786 (Zierden and Calhoun 1982). The roads laid out in this suburb were exceptionally wide, 60 to 70 feet. Most likely this was a deliberate improvement, reflecting lessons learned in the lower city. Wide, straight streets would help control fires, a persistent danger in Charleston (Pease and Pease 1978), and would permit easier passage for freight going to and from the wharves (Childs 1980:30). The thoroughfares, however, stopped at the boundaries of the borough, resulting in numerous dead ends that defeated these well laid plans (Stoney 1976:13)(Figure 4).

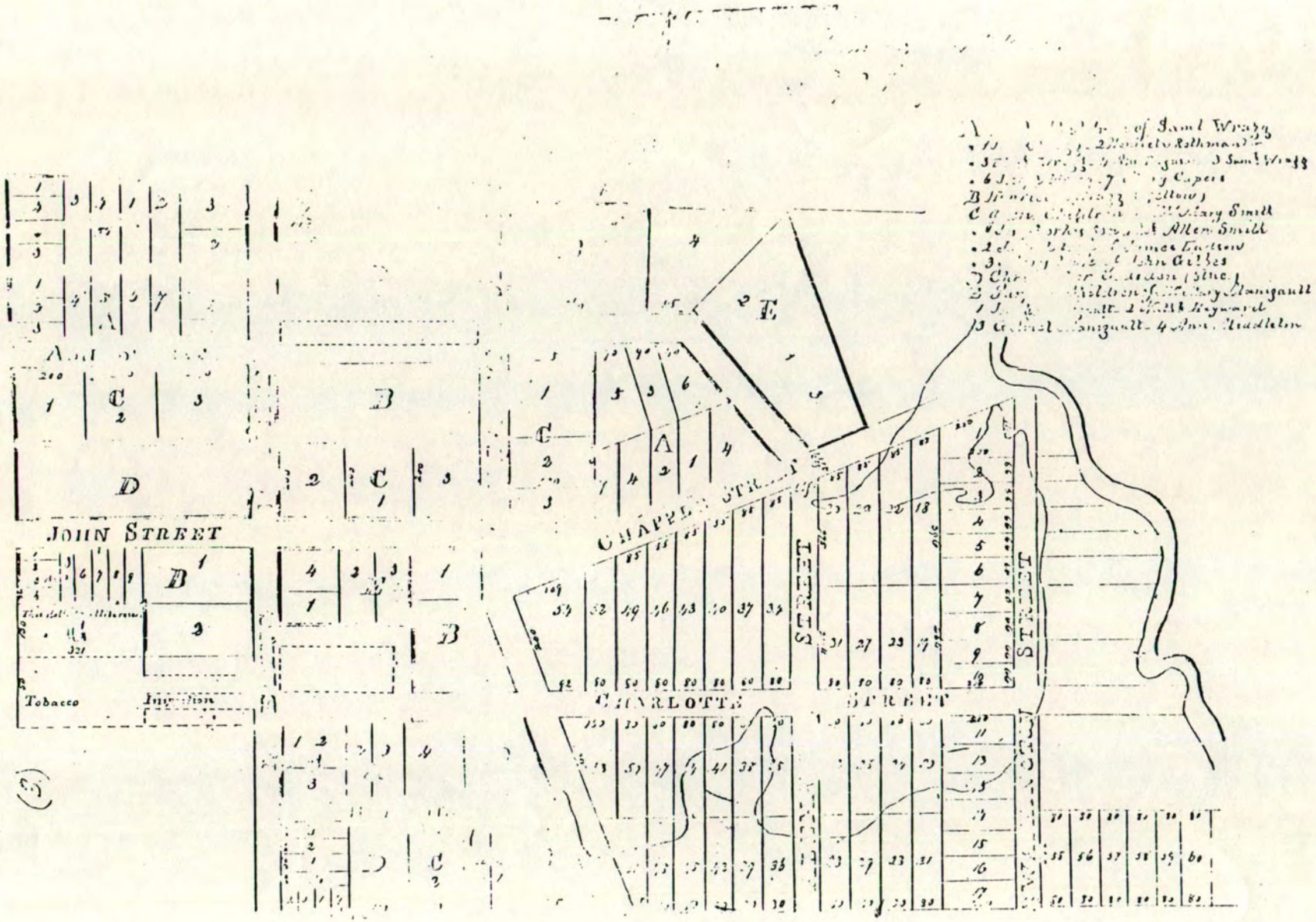


Figure 4: 1804 plat of Mazyckborough and Wraggsborough.

Wraggsborough was part of the extensive holdings originally granted to Joseph and Samuel Wragg. Following Joseph's death in 1751, his property was divided among his children (Rogers 1880:59). John Wragg, who inherited 79 acres east of the Broad Path, created the neighborhood of Wraggsborough. He set aside a park and a mall for public use, and named six streets for his children: Ann, Charlotte, Elizabeth, Henrietta, John, and Judith. John Wragg died intestate in 1796, leaving his heirs to settle his estate among themselves. To facilitate distribution, Joseph Purcell surveyed the area in 1801. John Wragg may have intended, when he created Wraggsborough, to attract well-to-do planters and merchants seeking spacious and quiet dwelling sites (Childs 1980:2), but the subdivision drawn by Purcell clearly indicates that his heirs were hoping to turn a quick profit.

Speculation was not new to Charleston; in fact, land speculation was the most common money-making venture of the planter class (Calhoun et al. 1982; Oakes 1982:12). What was unusual about Wraggsborough was its varied lot size and the dispersed nature of individuals' holdings, indicating that the suburb was planned for mixed use. Commercial locations were at a premium. In 1806, William Loughton Smith sold some of the lots he had acquired when he married Charlotte Wragg. His cousin by marriage, Joseph Manigault, reported:

> All those fronting on King Street, joining the lands now belonging to Brown(lee) were sold at the rate of L 25 per foot on King Street.... Mr. Pogson has offered his lot on Meeting Street and Hudson Street, but there was no bidders - only lots near and on King will sell to any advantage (Gilreath 1981:48).

A year later, Joseph again commented on the sale of land by another Wragg heir:

> Joseph Smith's lot, on the corner of King and Ann Streets, which is 201 feet square, was sold lately for L 3300, which I think, you will allow to be a good price for it, but the difference between the value of lands on King Street and other parts of Wraggsborough is very great (Gilreath 1981:57).

Joseph Manigault observed the obvious when he remarked on the discrepancy in value and desirability between King Street property and lots on other streets. Since the colonial period, King Street had been the major route into the city, following the ridge of highest land and dodging creeks up the center of the peninsula. Beyond the main gate of the small, walled city the street was called the Broad Path. Down this road came wagons from the interior, carrying plantation produce and returning with imported goods, cloth, and provisions. To cater to the backcountry trade, merchants built stores and wagon yards along the Broad Path. By the 1770s, some 3,000 wagons came annually to Charleston (Earle and Hoffman 1977:36). As footmen, pack-horses, and wagon traffic widened the thoroughfare, the Broad Path lost some of its twistings and turnings, but not all. "Today an automobilist who loses his way in the aberrations of the Charleston streets," wrote Samuel Gaillard Stoney in 1939, "may have no one to blame so much as a colonist who was trying to keep his boots dry on the way into the country two hundred and fifty years ago" (Stoney 1939:18).

Commercial Activity on the Neck

While the wagon trade continued, the character of King Street changed dramatically in the nineteenth centruy. By the 1850s, the improvement was striking. "King Street," Charles Fraser marvelled, "now so attractive, with its gorgeous windows and dazzling display of goods emulating a Turkish bazaar, and inviting them (the ladies) to a daily promenade, was then chiefly occupied by hucksters, peddlars, and tavern keepers" (Fraser 1854:12-13).

King Street's transition from a wagon road to a bustling retail center reflected fundamental changes in the city's commercial community. Businesses were becoming more specialized, and the retail and wholesale merchant was no longer one and the same. Wholesale dealers, factors, and commission merchants continued to cluster along the waterfront, in the older sections of the city. Retail merchants, in contrast, began to follow their customers up the peninsula. The steady increase in the importance of King Street throughout the antebellum period is shown in Table 1. From 1805 to 1810, only 4.8 percent of the merchants who advertised in the Charleston Courier were located on this thoroughfare; by 1859 over one third of all merchants who advertised listed a King Street address (Calhoun and Zierden 1984).[2] Despite this expansion, Charleston remained a pedestrian town, and the built-up area along King and Meeting streets never measured more than two miles long. As late as 1875, Arthur Mazyck described King Street as containing "about two miles of small stores, with here and there a really fine store" (Arthur Mazyck 1875, Guide to Charleston, Illustrated, quoted in Stockton 1985:22). One could live in any part of the city and still be within walking distance of shops and tradespeople (Radford 1974:177)(Figure 5).

Retail businesses and professional offices on Charleston Neck were highly concentrated on King Street; between 1803 and 1860, the only East Side businesses advertising in the Charleston Courier - that is, soliciting a city-wide clientele - were located along King. Other streets were primarily residential, though scattered stores catered to local clientele. These family-owned shops sold groceries, liquors, or household goods. Many of them occupied corners; hence their nickname, "corner stores." When the first floor of a structure was renovated as a store, the corner frontage might be cut away at a 45 degree angle to accentuate its new function. The upper floors generally served as residences. A number of these corner stores are still in business on the Neck (see Figure 10).

Table 1

Relative Percentages of the Locations of Retailers

	1805-1806	1810-1813	1815-1818	1821-1825	1829-1830	1832-1835	1836-1840	1842-1845	1845-1850	1851-1855	1859-1860
Indeterminate	15.6	17.79	22.85	17.77	21.51	17.54	20.22	11.86	18.6	8.93	11.5
King St.	4.87	8.58	16.07	21.38	24.47	23.5	24.15	26.11	30.23	36.42	36.57
Wharves	22.40	20.24	17.14	13.61	7.17	9.27	12.92	18.1	11.96	13.94	8.84
East Bay	13.27	19.01	21.78	21.94	17.71	22.51	19.1	17.5	16.27	16.15	15.92
Meeting St.	2.4	4.9	2.5	2.5	2.1	2.64	2.52	3.56	3.98	6.87	8.84
Broad St.	13.7	12.26	9.28	9.72	8.01	5.62	4.49	5.63	2.65	2.74	4.12
Church St.	5.36	4.29	1.78	2.5	2.95	3.31	2.80	.59	0.0	1.09	.29
Queen St.	5.36	3.68	1.78	1.94	2.95	2.64	1.68	0.0	1.99	.68	0.0
Tradd St.	7.31	3.06	1.07	0.0	0.0	.33	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Market St.	0.0	1.22	0.0	2.5	1.68	3.31	1.68	1.48	2.32	2.06	4.42
Vendue Range	0.0	1.22	1.42	3.3	4.2	4.3	5.05	3.56	2.99	3.09	2.65
State St.	0.0	0.0	.71	0.0	.42	1.32	0.0	1.48	0.0	0.0	0.0
Elliot St.	6.82	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hayne St.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.12	2.37	2.65	4.46	3.53
Others	3.5	3.75	3.6	2.8	6.8	3.7	4.25	7.75	5.30	3.5	3.3
Total #	205	163	280.	360	237	302	356	337	301	291	339

(Calhoun and Zierden 1984)

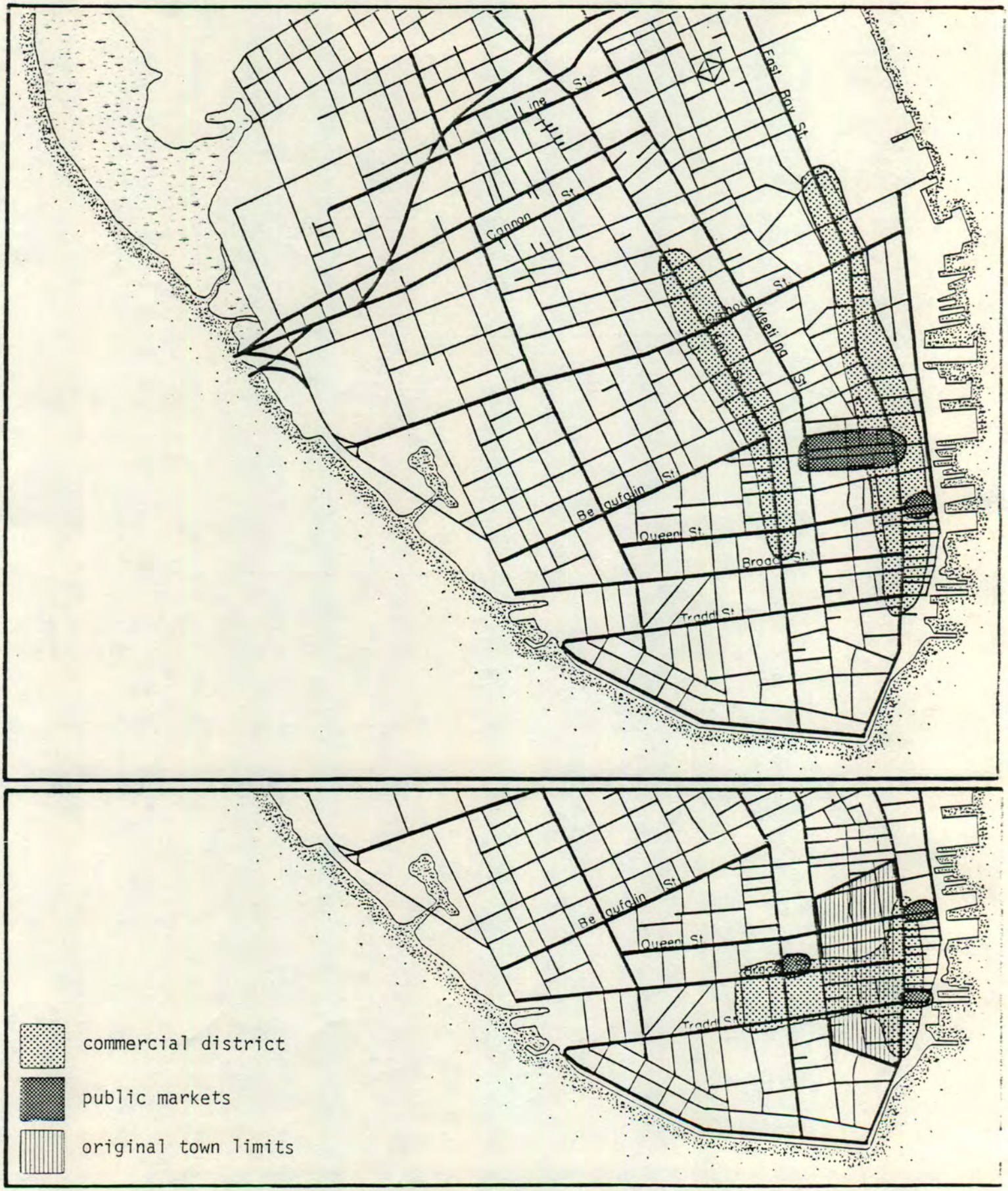


Figure 5: Location of the commercial district in the 19th century and in the colonial period.

Groceries and "grog shops," often owned and operated by German immigrants, proliferated on the Neck (Table 2). Neighborhood businesses provided a place to meet, to purchase supplies, and to barter. The relationship between shopkeeper and customer was mutually beneficial. In general, German immigrants enjoyed a more congenial relationship with the city's colored residents than did their Irish counterparts, who competed directly with blacks for jobs. Grog shops, in particular, became gathering places for slaves, runaways, and free Negroes. Often the center of illegal activities (it was illegal to sell liquor to a slave), the "Dutchman's shop" soon developed into a thorn in the side of the police force. The Neck "was infested with the lowest and vilest grog shops, poisoning and destroying our colored population" (Charleston Courier, September 20, 1845, quoted in Wade 1964:151). The conviviality and licentousness of suburban shops continued to be viewed as a major threat to the social order throughout the antebellum period.

Table 2
Grocers on the East Side Listed in the City Directories

1809	
Good, Francis	Hampstead
Raine, Thomas	Hampstead
1822	
Dunn, D.	cor Charlotte and Washington
Graham, Michael	cor Boundary and Meeting
Hilson, John	Henrietta
Kiellin, Charles	Boundary
Marshall, John H.	cor Elizabeth and Charlotte
McGranagan, William	cor Elizabeth and Boundary
O'Neill, Patrick	cor Boundary and Washington
Quin, Thomas	cor Boundary and Meeting
Ribbecks, Frederick	west end Boundary
Rumpp, G. H.	cor Meeting and Woolfe
Schults, William	Henrietta
Wallace, John	cor Charlotte and Washington
Wood, William	cor Henrietta and Elizabeth
1831	
Good, Francis	cor Meeting and Woolfe
Gradick, C. C.	cor Elizabeth and John
Hilson, John	Meeting near Reid
Neye, Harmon	cor Boundary and Meeting
Selin, Peter	cor Meeting and Reid
Stockfleet, John	cor Elizabeth and Henrietta
Wittaker, William	cor Elizabeth and Henrietta
1849	
Aherns, C.	America
Borner, F.	cor Meeting and John
Koennecker, Albert	cor Elizabeth and John
Prigge, C.	Elizabeth
Sahlman	cor Meeting and Reid

Seedorf, H. C.	Elizabeth
Tiedman, J. F.	Elizabeth

1859

Allers, Carsten	Calhoun above Elizabeth
Booth, Margaret	cor America and Reid
Borger, John	cor Elizabeth and John
Brauer, W. A.	cor Amherst and Drake
Brummer, J. H.	cor America and Blake
Bullwinkle, D.	cor Amherst and America
Bullwinkle, Henry	cor Elizabeth and Charlotte
Cook, John	cor King and Mary
Deckhoff, C.	Judith above Alexander
Finken, A.	cor America and Mary
Hencken, C. F.	Chapel near Alexander
Kuck, Henry	cor Meeting and Mary
Lubs, C. F.	cor Meeting and Reid
McEvoy, Ann	Reid near America
Meyerhoff, Benjamin	cor Mary and Nassau
O'Brien, John	Chapel near Elizabeth
Otten, J. B.	cor Elizabeth and Henrietta
Simmons, C.	Charlotte above Washington
Storch, G. H.	cor Nassau and Woolfe
Tiedemann, Otto	cor Calhoun and Washington
Tiencken, Henry	Charlotte near Elizabeth
Tietjen, J. D.	cor Columbus and Nassau
Waterman, John	cor Meeting and Mary

The Neck offered relatively isolated and spacious lots to manufactories that were dangerous, malodorous, or sprawling, just as the fringes of the early colonial city had a century earlier (Calhoun et al. 1982). Tanners, butchers, tallow chandlers, and dairymen, for example, were drawn to the Neck because they were not welcome downtown: tallow chandleries because they were fire hazards, butcher shops because they were offensive, and tanneries and dairies because they required wide, open spaces. Over a 50 year period, city directories listed numbers of these businesses on the East Side (City Directory 1809, 1822, 1831, 1849, 1852, 1859).

Patrick Gassimer employed a sizeable crew in his tanyard and leather store on King and Mary in the 1820s. Daniel Cruckshanks ran a tanyard on Hanover Street in Hampstead in 1822, and in 1831 tanners worked on Amherst Street and Ann Street. The largest enterprise of this type was James Elder's on the corner of King and John streets, operating through the 1830s and 1840s.

East Side tallow and soap chandlers included one on Mary Street, "near a pond," one on Columbus and Meeting streets, one on Henrietta, and one on King Street Road. Mr. Anthony's tallow chandlery on Mary and King remained in operation through the 1830s. As late as 1849, a tallow chandler was located on the northern end of King Street.

Craftspeople whose trades demanded little space most likely worked where they lived, but other East Side enterprises needed specialized facilities. Among these were a rope walk, where rope and twine

products were manufactured, on Meeting Street at the Lines (Line Street was named for a line of fortifications built in 1812), a steam saw mill on Washington Street, a rice mill on Meeting near Ann, and a grist mill and haymarket at the east end of Boundary (City Directory 1822, 1831, 1849). As the Neck became more densely settled, most grain and stock processing businesses disappeared. By 1859, the only tanyard left on the East Side was the Cruckshanks' enterprise on Hanover near Amherst, now operated by Daniel's son, Samuel. Four poultry dealers had come to the area; all but one were far up King Street. Another new business, a soda water manufactory, had opened on the corner of Elizabeth and Ann streets. The steam saw mill located on Washington street was still in operation (City Directory 1859).

Woodyards represented the principal route to prosperity for free colored entrepreneurs. Of all of Charleston's free Negro businessmen, over 58 percent were wood factors (Curry 1981:27). Foremost among these on the East Side, the Dereef family purchased a creek-side property in Mazyckborough in 1838, ideally suited for a wood lot and wharf (CCRMC 2-10:92)(See Figure 21). Woodyards were concentrated on the new wharves constructed north of Calhoun Street. By 1849, when the Neck was annexed to the city and divided into four "upper" wards, the East Side resembled the lower, eastern wards: bounded on the west by a retail commercial district and on the east by a wholesale and shipping zone.

East and west boundaries became more defined as the East Side emerged as the location of choice for Charleston's expanding industries. The South Carolina Railroad and Northeastern Railroad were built between King and Meeting streets, and along East Bay Street, respectively. Open spaces, lower real estate values, relaxed building restrictions, access to deep water harbors, and proximity to the railways attracted large-scale manufacturing enterprises. The prohibition of steam engines within the city limits until the 1840s likewise encouraged new industries to locate on the Neck. Iron foundries, car manufacturers, and a new gas works were strategically situated between the tracks of the two railroads. In less than half a century, the eastern part of the Neck was transformed from the "country," a sparsely settled suburban haven for planters, to the center of Charleston's industrial future, home to both new industries and their workers.

Trends of Growth and Development

City directories provide clues to the sequence of construction and occupation on the Neck. Aside from the wagon yards of King Street, the homes of prominent families were among the first structures built in the suburb. The Joseph Manigault house, the William Aiken house, #2 Amherst Street, and six houses built by John Robinson, including #6, 8, and 10 Judith Street and the Aiken-Rhett mansion, all were built before 1820. In 1809, Charlotte Street housed 13 percent of East Side residents listed in the Directory, followed by Washington, John, and Alexander streets. Interestingly, no residents were listed on Meeting Street. Although figures summarized in Table 3 suggest a northward "creep" from the lower wards, this was not entirely the case. The most

northerly subdivision, the Village of Hampstead, contained 55 percent (or 27 households) of the East Side listings. During this early period, street addresses in Hampstead were not specified, but the "village" as a whole was one of the first settled places (Table 3).

By 1822, many more streets were populated and the households and businesses listed in the City Directory had jumped from 45 to 330. This tremendous increase is due primarily to the broader scope of the Directory. In 1809, only planters, merchants, and artisans were listed. By 1820, semiskilled and unskilled workers were more accurately represented, as were free people of color. Members of the latter group were sometimes identified by the initials "f.p.c." or "p.c.," sometimes listed separately. Slaves, who comprised half of the city's population in 1820, never appeared in directories.

Table 3
Number of Households by Street Listed in the City Directories

	1809		1822		1831		1849		1852	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Alexander	1	2.2	15	4.5	12	4.9	7	3.0	15	3.1
America	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.8	4	1.7	27	5.6
Amherst	0	0.0	1	0.3	4	1.6	1	0.4	2	0.4
Ann	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	3.7	4	1.7	4	0.8
Blake	0	0.0	2	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Boundary	0	0.0	20	6.0	6	2.4	0	0.0	37	7.6
Chapel	0	0.0	6	1.8	9	3.7	0	0.0	5	1.0
Charlotte	6	13.3	21	6.3	24	9.8	21	9.2	17	3.5
Cooper	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Columbus	0	0.0	4	1.2	3	1.2	3	1.3	15	3.1
Drake	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Elizabeth	0	0.0	11	3.3	9	3.7	9	3.9	9	1.8
Hanover	0	0.0	1	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Henrietta	0	0.0	16	4.8	20	8.2	1	0.4	10	2.0
Hutson	0	0.0	3	0.9	2	0.8	1	0.4	0	0.0
John	3	4.4	10	3.0	9	3.7	10	4.3	8	1.6
Judith	0	0.0	1	0.3	8	3.2	11	4.8	6	1.2
King	7	15.5	134	40.6	40	16.4	110	48.2	255	46.7
Mary	0	0.0	6	1.8	12	4.9	8	3.5	19	3.9
Meeting	0	0.0	35	10.6	32	13.1	7	3.0	43	8.9
Nassaau	0	0.0	4	1.2	8	3.2	18	7.8	16	3.3
Reid	0	0.0	4	1.2	4	1.6	6	2.6	11	2.2
South	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Washington	4	8.8	10	3.0	8	3.2	0	0.0	9	1.8
Woolfe	0	0.0	5	1.5	3	1.2	7	3.0	3	0.6
"Hampstead"	25	55.5	17	5.1	18	7.4				
"Mazyckborough"	0	0.0	3	0.9	1	0.4				
"Wraggsborough"	0	0.0	1	0.3	0	0.0				

The commercial thoroughfares, King and Meeting, accounted for 40 and 10 percent, respectively, of all addresses listed in the 1822 Directory. Following these, the most densely occupied streets were in what would become Ward 5: Charlotte, Henrietta, Alexander, Elizabeth,

Washington, and John. These streets each contained between 3 and 6 percent of the total households listed. (Alexander, Elizabeth, Henrietta, and John were heavily favored by free people of color.) In contrast, in the area later designated Ward 7, streets such as Mary, Columbus, Nassau, Reid, and Woolfe averaged 1.5 percent of the total occupancies.

These trends continued through the 1830s and 1840s. More southerly streets remained more densely occupied, with King and Meeting street addresses accounting for the majority of directory listings. Within Wraggsborough and Mazyckborough, Charlotte, Henrietta, Alexander, Elizabeth, Washington, and John were still important streets, while new people had moved to Ann, Mary, Chapel, and Judith. To the north, Nassau, Reid, and Woolfe became well populated, while Columbus, and especially America, experienced a building boom (City Directory 1809, 1822, 1831, 1849). A major force behind this construction was the displacement of people by the fire of 1838, which ravaged Ansonborough, destroying 50 or more homes "of small value" (Pease and Pease 1978:283) (See Figure 7).

The report on the 1848 City Census explained the slow increase of Charleston's population by pointing to its "populous suburb," separated from the city "only by a street," where white residents had increased by over 80 percent in nine years.[3] Lots on the Neck were larger and less costly, and the suburb was exempt from city corporation taxes and Charleston's "brick ordinance."[4] Hence, people who wanted to build inexpensively moved across Boundary Street. "Not many years ago," stated an 1870 city guide, "the Neck was a suburb, and not a part of the body corporate and people could build wooden houses thereon without leave or license of the committee on brick and wooden buildings" (South Carolina Institute 1870:43). The 1848 Census accounted for the loss of city residents to the suburb in this way: "the slaves and free colored have removed to the Neck...where the class of houses suited to their condition are numerous, and obtained at modest rents" (City Census 1848:2). While panic over the danger of wooden houses increased after the 1838 fire, legislation against such building practices was not new. Beginning in 1740, protective ordinances were enacted after every major fire, only to be ignored several months later (Pease and Pease 1978). Yet, figures which census takers complied in 1861 comparing the number of brick and wooden houses in each of the city's eight wards substantiate the trend noted in 1848: whereas over half of the houses in the lower wards were built of brick, nine out of ten in the upper wards were of wood (Table 4).

During the 1850s, growth in Ward 7 accelerated, outstripping that in Ward 5. In 1849, the proportion of residents living on non-commercial thoroughfares in Ward 5 was almost twice as high as for Ward 7 (31 percent compared to 17 percent). By the eve of the Civil War, population distribution became more even, and Ward 7's non-commercial streets actually claimed the larger proportion of inhabitants (49 percent compared to 43 percent, excluding King, Meeting, and Bay streets). Five new streets in Ward 7 were now occupied: Blake, Drake, Cooper, South, and Hanover (City Directory 1849, 1852, 1859; City Census 1861). Growth in these areas can be attributed partly to the process of land filling, which created new

real estate. The dates of occupation of certain streets can be directly related to this; portions of America, Amherst, Cooper Columbus, Reid, South, Blake, Drake, Judith, and Bay streets were laid out on newly-made land (Figure 6; see also Figures 23 through 25).

Table 4
The Construction of the City

Wards	#brick(%) houses	#wood(%) houses	Total	Houses erected since 1850
1	498 (77.3)	146 (22.6)	644	8 (1.2)
2	251 (39.9)	377 (60.0)	628	58 (9.2)
3	606 (54.0)	515 (45.9)	1,121	61 (5.4)
4	620 (45.2)	751 (54.7)	1,371	118 (8.6)
5	99 (13.1)	652 (86.8)	751	136 (18.1)
6	79 (8.0)	907 (91.9)	986	197 (19.9)
7	16 (3.6)	424 (96.3)	440	157 (35.6)
8	10 (1.3)	741 (98.6)	751	470 (62.5)
Totals	2,179	4,513	6,692	1,205 (City Census 1861)

Although development of the Neck tended to be slow and steady, the East Side experienced a "growth spurt" in the early 1850s. Comparison of the 1852 Bridgens and Allen map and the 1853 Ward Book indicates that construction was underway in the northeastern sector. In one year, for example, the number of structures on Drake Street increased from six to 18; perhaps half were built on fill. The growth trend is also evident on streets which span the East Side. West of Hampstead Mall, Columbus Street contained 12 structures in 1852, while only four had been built east of the Mall. By 1853, 21 houses, plus a number of recently subdivided lots, were assessed on the marsh end of the street.

Construction continued on the East Side during the War years. Numerous small houses were hastily built to shelter people who had been burned out of their homes in the lower wards by the fire of 1861, or who were fleeing from the shells of Union bombardments, which by 1864 reached as far north as John Street (Burton 1970:317). The existence of emergency housing becomes evident when you compare the 1861 Census with the 1864 Ward Book. The Ward Book utilized the house numbers assigned in the Census; structures listed without a number evidently were built after 1861.

For nine streets in Wards 5 and 7, comparison of the number and value of houses built before and after 1861 indicate that the majority of wartime structures cost less than $3,000, while large scale construction (over $10,000) had virtually ceased (Table 5). (In selecting streets, attempts were made to include major and minor streets and dispersed locations. An equal number were selected from each of the wards.) Property values for 1864 were tabulated in increments of $2,000. The relative percentage of new and old properties in the lowest (under $2,000) and highest (over $10,000)

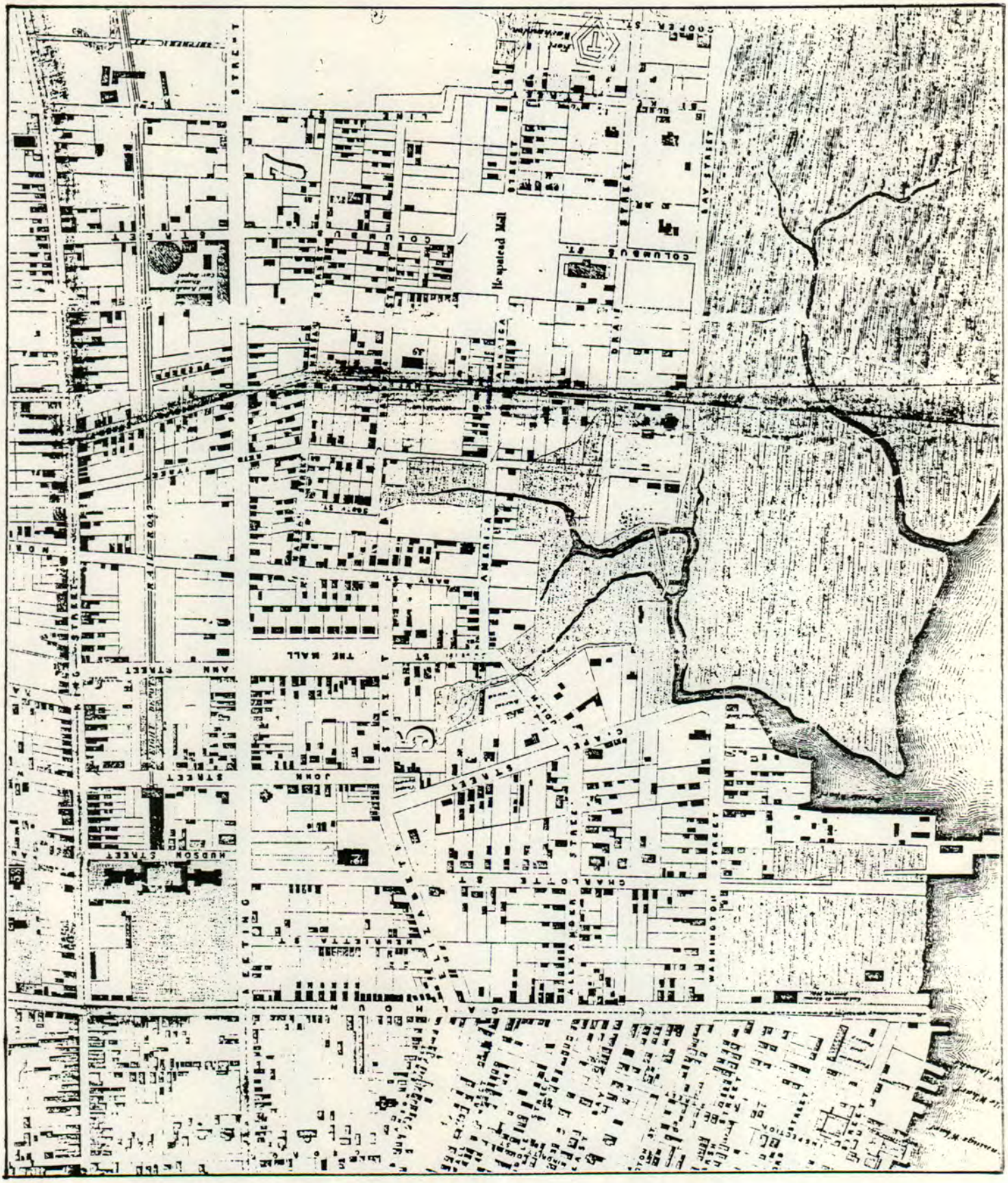


Figure 6: Portion of the 1852 Bridges and Allen map showing Wards 5 and 7.

categories are given in Table 5. An average of 40 percent of the prewar structures were valued under $2,000, compared to 57 percent of the wartime construction. On the other hand, only 1.3 percent of the new properties were valued over $10,000, while 11.2 percent of the prewar structures were so valued.

Table 5
Comparison of Construction Rates by Streets

Street	buildings built between 1861 and 1864 %	pre-1861 buildings valued > $10,000 %	post-1861 buildings valued > $10,000 %	pre-1861 buildings valued < $2,000 %	post-1861 buildings valued < $2,000 %
America	31	12	0	74	81
Charlotte	20	16	0	19	54
Drake	55	15	0	7	75
Elizabeth	19	3	12	60	50
Nassau	21	0	0	46	84
Bay	58	60	0	0	24
Reid	22	5	0	72	72
John	0	0	0	11	0
South	38	0	0	71	81
average	29	11.2	1.3	40	57

Overall, the number of buildings on the East Side rose by almost 30 percent between 1861 and 1864. Street by street, there is a wide range in these figures: no new buildings were constructed on John Street, while 55 percent (or 16 of 29) of the structures on Drake Street were built during the war years. The lower city, in contrast, experienced almost no construction. The "burnt district," a diagonal swath cut across the southern end of the peninsula by the 1861 fire, remained a disaster area during the War and for long afterwards. The area recovered "so slowly that thirty years later small dairy herds still were pastured among its chimney-stumps and cellar-holes" (Stoney 1976:47). By 1870, the "ruins" had become a tourist attraction. A visitor's guide to Charleston, published that year by the South Carolina Institute, suggested "a cold, raw, damp, misty, cloudy, gusty day, is the time of all times to see them in perfection." Such days were rare in Charleston, but if one happened to occur, a visitor should "by all means select it for a tour among the ruins" (South Carolina Institute 1870:38) (Figure 7).

The Negro population of the East Side grew by leaps and bounds after the War. Comparison of the 1860 and 1870 federal censuses reveal a tremendous in-migration during this period. In 1860, Ward 5 contained 572 households, while Ward 7 included 351. By 1870, these figures had jumped to 1,064 and 571, respectively. The increase is partly because all black households were counted for the first time. Further, former slaves who had lived within their masters compounds now searched for their own quarters. This mobility resulted in a serious housing shortage. Real estate prices fluctuated severely

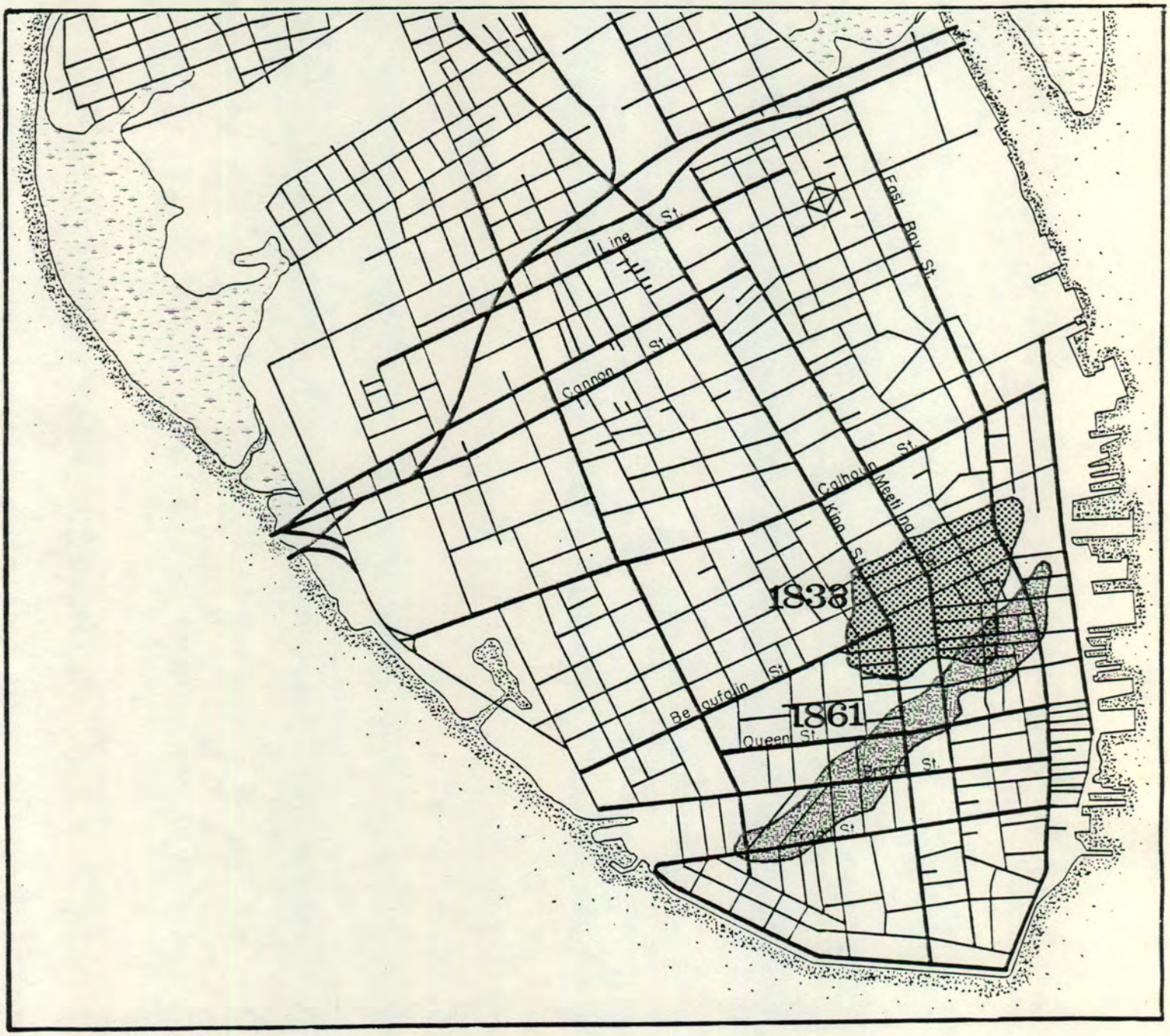


Fig. 7: Location of major fires in the nineteenth century.

between 1866 and 1873. A brisk trade in houses and vacant lots, some for use and some for speculation, marked the first three postwar years. Large amounts of money invested in property reflected confidence in recovery. A series of unsuccessful planting seasons drove real estate prices to record lows in 1871, but the market soon rebounded. In 1873, the Chamber of Commerce noted that rental property was a promising investment; rents for houses worth $3,000 to $5,000 offered 15 to 20 percent annual rates of return (Charleston Chamber of Commerce 1873:27) (Figure 8). The trend was short lived, however, and property values fell throughout the remainder of the century. The 1900 tax assessment on real estate values equalled only half of the 1870 assessment.

New construction and building density show up clearly on the 1872 Drie aerial view and on block plats drawn in 1882, when the present street pattern had been fully realized. The decade of the 1880s was characterized by a resurgence in building activity. In this phase of development most vacant East Side lots were filled in. Interspersed among existing buildings, most new structures were built on smaller lots; even the humble freedman's cottage seemed cramped between neighbors (Stockton 1985). The majority of the structures on the East Side today date from this period.

Use of Space

Where people choose to live is determined by a number of factors: social, economic, and environmental. On the east side of the Neck, settlement patterns followed the configuration of high ground and the designs of early land developers. Henry Laurens, Alexander Mazyck, and the Wragg family all laid out their subdivisions in carefully planned streets and lots.[5] While the boundaries of these suburbs were irregular, internally they were charted in an orderly fashion with areas set aside for "publick use." As in the lower city a century before, street frontage was the prized commodity. To maximize profits, blocks were divided into long, narrow lots. Though initially wider than lots in the old city, by the mid-nineteenth century the width of the average East Side lot had diminished to 40 feet. Twenty-five feet was standard for narrow lots, while the width of larger lots measured between 75 and 110 feet.

Lot depth varied, depending on the size of the block. Unless the block was slated for some special venture, such as a railroad yard, or was intersected by an alley or court, lots stretched from the street frontage to an often arbitrary line near the middle of the block. Exceptions to this rule were the lots occupied by the wealthy households of Joseph Manigault and William Aiken. Situated on small blocks, these lots extended from street to street. Basic spatial patterns of the earliest subdivisions on the Neck resembled those of the city proper. Block size on the East Side, however, differed from neighborhood to neighborhood. In Mazyckborough, blocks were relatively large, while in Hampstead most were quite small. Lot depth, therefore, ranged from 100 feet to over 200 feet. Some lots measured 125, 150, or 175 feet in depth, but the majority clustered at 100 and 200 feet.

Figure 8: The East Side in 1872 (Drie 1872).

While lot size varied considerably, the relative proportions of lots remained remarkably standard. The depth of a lot was almost always four times its width. Larger lots, typically occupied by affluent planters and merchants, sometimes broke this "rule of proportion;" in these cases the ratio of depth to width was closer to three to one. The relative lot width for domestic compounds serves as a reliable indicator of the wealth of the initial builder or occupant.

A striking change in spatial patterns occurred on the East Side in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1800, lots on the Neck were significantly larger than those in the older city; by 1850, the area had been subdivided to the point that the average lot in the upper wards was smaller than in the lower wards. The range in lot size above and below Calhoun Street was more or less comparable. Blocks were larger within the residential areas of the lower city, however; hence, on the average, residential lots were larger.

Blocks of the city were frequently intersected by alleys or by narrow thoroughfares, or occasionally by courts, which dead-ended in the center of blocks. Although the designers of suburban boroughs deliberately avoided these English features, such "intrusions" developed despite them. In 1861, the city contained 14 alleys and 28 courts; interestingly, most of the alleys were located in the lower city, while the upper wards, especially those east of King Street, contained a majority of the courts. The development of courts served to shorten the lots on these blocks. The depth of lots fronting these courts never exceeded 100 feet (Figure 9).

Houses on the East Side differed from those downtown in size and materials. The 1838 prohibition of wooden houses within city limits compelled would-be householders who could not afford brick homes to build on the Neck. The upper wards, by the end of the antebellum period, contained significantly higher percentages of wooden houses than did the lower wards - 93.5 percent compared to 46 percent. Within the East Side, there is a further dichotomy. Ward 5 contained 13.1 percent brick houses; Ward 7, settled later, contained only 3.6 percent brick buildings (City Census 1861). While not totally reliable as economic indicators, these figures do support the conclusion that real estate values on the Neck and the median income of its residents were lower than those in the old city.

The most common East Side structure was the single house, a form original to Charleston, turned sideways to fit on the long, narrow lots of both the Neck and the older city. Single houses, situated to catch the "sacred Charleston wind," are one room wide and two rooms deep, with a central hall and stairway (Stoney 1939:20). The central hall/stairway is one of the features that distinguishes single houses from the general plan of row houses. (Kenneth Severens personal communication, 1987). Open porches, or piazzas, extend along one side, with a false door facing the street. A notable variation of the single house, found exclusively in the historic suburbs, is the freedman's cottage. This form, dating from the 1880s, is basically a single-story single house, with fewer architectural flourishes - a poor man's version of the Charleston single house (Figure 10).

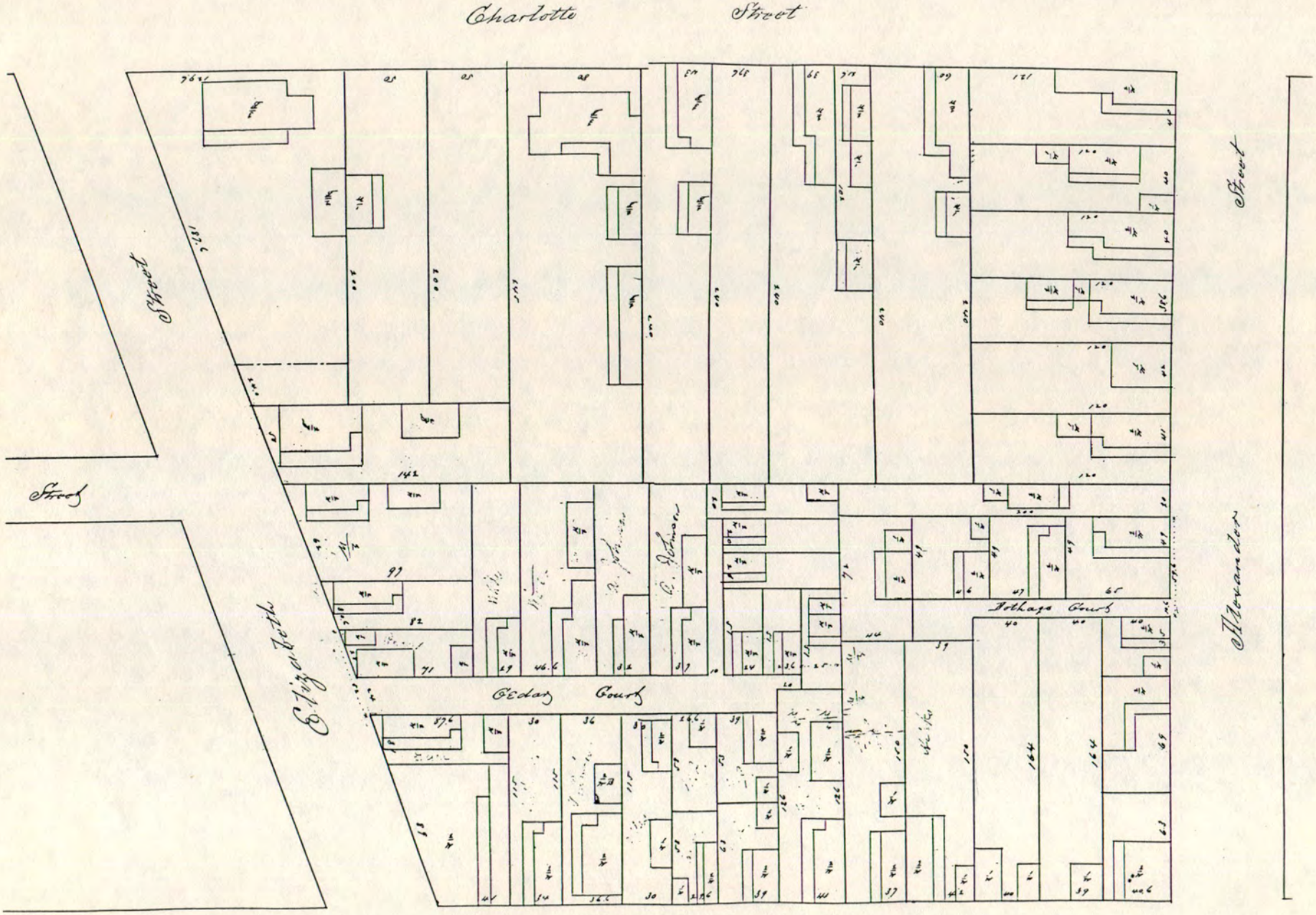


Figure 10: 1882 Block plat showing typical configuration of courts; Cedar Court and Dothage Court.

Figure 9: Examples of architectural styles on the East Side: a) wooden single houses, ca. 1835-52; b) double house at 41 Hanover, ca. 1780; c) Freedman's cottage, ca. 1880-1895; d) corner store, ca. 1845. (Photos by Will Williams and Martha Zierden)

The lower city boasts many lavish brick single houses and the Neck contains such showplaces as well. John Robinson's four single houses on Judith Street, as well as #29, #32, and #36 Charlotte are examples of eminent single houses on the East Side. Most suburban single houses, however, were more modest. Property owners who could afford to take advantage of lower land values on the Neck could center their grand houses on spacious lots. Many built double houses, with four rooms to a floor, or turned their large single houses "frontwise" to the street.

At the other end of the spectrum was a housing type associated with industrial slavery: wooden barracks for slaves. Constructed in dispersed locations on the East Side by the South Carolina Railroad and other antebellum industries, none of these dormitories has survived. Examples of dwellings provided for free workers were the gothic carpenter houses, which can still be seen on Nassau Street - small framed houses with board and batten wall treatments, gable roofs, and scalloped trim (Reeves 1984).

The urban lot with its many features has been identified as an "urban compound," the equivalent of the plantation nucleus. The urban compound is defined as a parcel of land containing a single residence and the associated outbuildings, gardens, yards, and activity areas (Castille et. al. 1982). The typical urban compound featured a number of support structures, varying in size and number according to the wealth of the owner. Besides the main house, the yard of a prominent family might contain slave quarters, privies, well, cistern, kitchen, and stables and sheds for livestock. All these may have been elaborate brick structures, as in the case of the Aiken-Rhett mansion, or they may have been less ornate, wooden buildings, like Joseph Manigault's stable and carriage house (See Figure 16).

Less affluent households contained far fewer outbuildings. Lower to middle class families commonly had no need of servants quarters or carriage houses, and might share privies, wells, and cisterns; many poorer households had no such ammenities of their own.

Domestic elements were arranged in a similar fashion in the lower city and on the Neck. Houses usually were built along the narrow dimension of the lot, fronting directly on the street. Except in the cases of especially spacious lots, there was no front yard. Behind the main house, auxiliary structures were arranged in linear fashion along one or both property lines. The privy or privies generally occupied the extreme rear corners of the property, while the well was at mid-lot. Livestock and their support facilities were confined to the rear yard, which might also feature functional or ornamental gardens. A fence or brick wall surrounded the entire compound. The back yard was the scene of daily domestic activities; if the resident was a craftsperson, a workshop and sheds might also be located here.

Except for smaller average house and lot size, urban compounds on the Neck resembled those of the lower city. In poor neighborhoods, crowding aggravated the health problems which plagued the Neck throughout the nineteenth century. Proximity to industries also affected the quality of life on the East Side. Among the suburban

gentry, these developments were not always welcome. Hampstead "is so much altered," complained one resident in 1848, "these factory boys are a great nuisance, and now they are about to put up another factory. I suppose it will be worse" (E.B. Weston to Mrs. R.F.W. Allston, June 6, 1848, quoted in Childs 1980:9).

A Case Study: The VRTC Site

Two blocks on the East Side, scheduled for development as the Visitor's Reception and Transportation Center, were studied in detail. The study area consists of the land bounded by John, Meeting, Mary, and King streets. Changes in property ownership and use illustrate significant land use trends in this community.

The VRTC site is part of the historic neighborhood of Wraggsborough. John Wragg died intestate in 1796, leaving his heirs claim to distributive shares of his estate. To facilitate distribution, John Purcell surveyed the area in 1801. The two blocks bounded by John, Meeting, Mary, and King streets were among the lands passed to Wragg's heirs.

The southern block was divided into lots D and C, 1-3. Lot D belonged to Christopher Gadsden and C to the children of Mrs. Mary Smith: #1 to Joseph Smith or his son Thomas Allery Smith, #2 to Judith Wragg, wife of James Ladson, and #3 to Mary Wragg, wife of John Gibbes. The Purcell plat showing these divisions served as a reference for several land transactions in the early years of the nineteenth century (Figures 4 and 11).

Christopher Gadsden left lot D to his wife and her heirs (Charleston County Wills 30:69). After 15 years, his wife, Ann Gadsden, willed the tract to her niece, Ann Ferguson. Under Ann Ferguson's ownership, the tract was further divided; she sold the portion along Meeting Street to James Elder in 1831 for $5,000. The property measured 200 feet along Meeting Street and 266 feet along John Street (CCRMCO D-10:35). The eastern portion of this tract was subsequently divided into four linear lots fronting Meeting Street, measuring 107 to 104 feet in depth. In 1851, Thaddeus Street and William M. Dukes, trustees for James Elder, sold the second lot, plus buildings, on Meeting and John streets to J.E. Masley for $3,134. The property measured 56 feet along Meeting Street and 107 feet in depth (CCRMCO L-12:173). The deed indicates that the first lot was still controlled by Dukes and Street.

Elder's trustees sold the lot immediately to the north to James Gadsden in 1851. The lot extended 43 feet along Meeting Street and 104 feet into the block (CCRMCO M-12:274; L-12:175). Including structures, it sold for $1,700. James Gadsden also purchased the lot and buildings abutting to the north, measuring 35 by 104 feet for $1,933.34 (CCRMCO L-12:413).

The 1853 Ward Book indicates that James Gadsden retained ownership of these two lots, which now measured 60 and 70 feet in width and were valued at $3,400 and $3,600, respectively. An engine house (probably

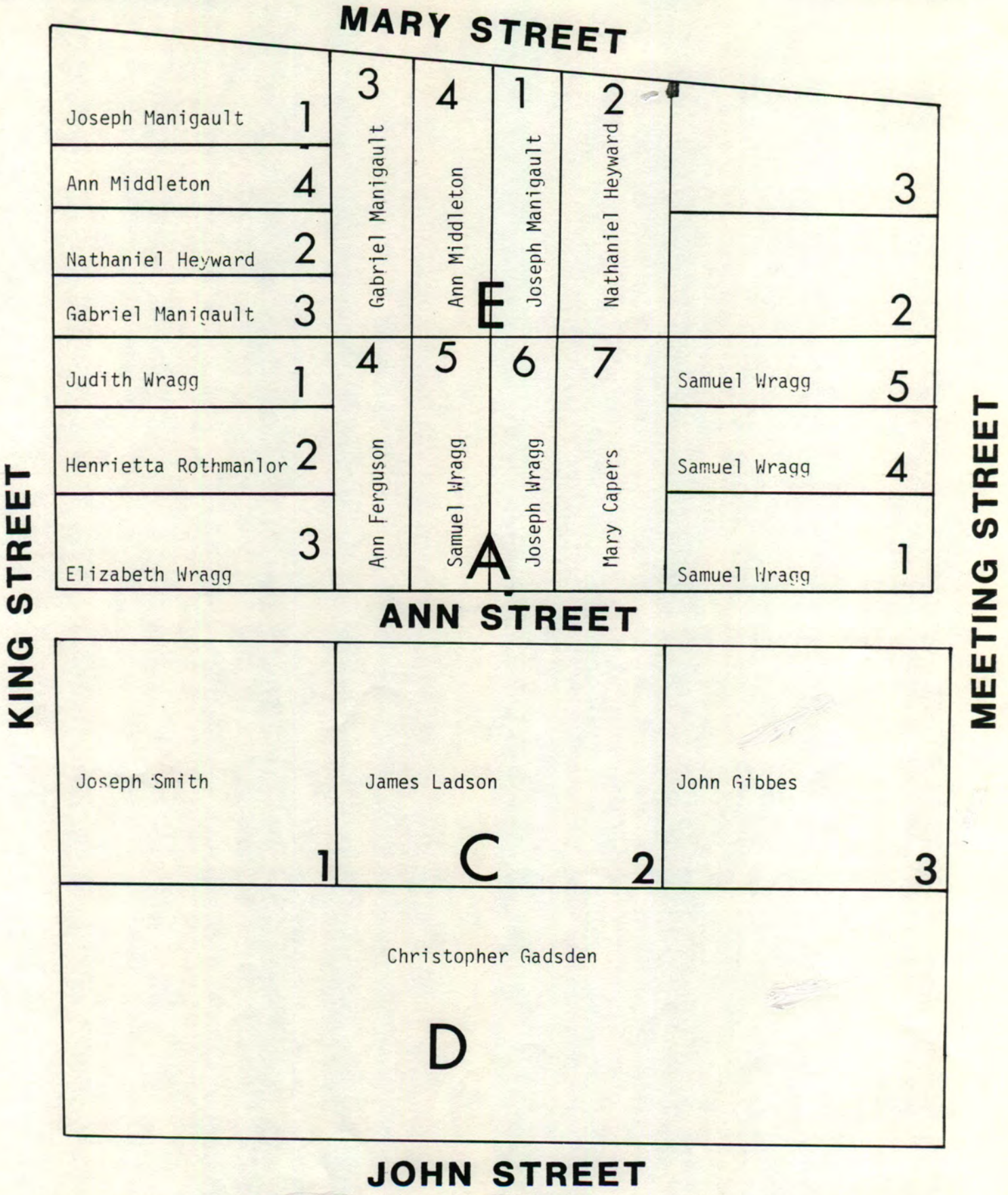


Figure 11: Original subdivisions and property owners, VRTC blocks.

for fire equipment) was located between the two. Joseph Prevost and Mrs. E.L. Brown, in trust, owned the first two lots to the south, valued at $5,000 and $3,000, respectively (Ward Book 1853:187). The City Census of 1861 lists the Eagle Engine Company and two lots in the trust estate of Honoria W. Fentenhime on these properties. Dr. Richard B. Rise and William Quigley each occupied a lot. Honoria Fentenhime, formerly Honoria Seabrook, acquired the properties from the trustees of James Gadsden's estate. (Gadsden had purchased them as the guardian of the then Miss Seabrook in 1850.) Fentenhime sold the northern lot to Susanna A. Cook and the southern lot to Jacob Bouresky in 1863.

The northern half of the Meeting Street frontage along this block was originally part of lot 3C, granted to John Gibbes and Mary Wragg Gibbes. In 1833, William Aiken, Jr. acquired the western portion of this lot, with 144 feet fronting Ann Street and 200 feet extending to the south; Aiken sold it to the South Carolina Railroad in 1849 (CCRMCO V-11:357). The heirs of Mrs. Gibbes sold their property to Gabriel Manigault in 1805, for $10,000 sterling. This property bounded 200 feet on Meeting Street and 244 feet along Ann Street. In 1841, Arthur S. Gibbes and others sold a lot plus buildings to W.J. Bennett for $5,000; this lot measured 100 feet along Ann Street and 60 feet along Meeting Street. The lot immediately to the south belonged to John McKeegan. Bennett sold his property to James B. Gray, Master in Equity, in 1852 for $5,300; the next year, before his mortgage to Bennett was satisfied, Gray sold the lot with two buildings to Albert Bischoff, a merchant, for $5,500 (CCRMCO S-12:509; A-13:231). The 1852 Bridgens and Allen map of the City of Charleston, a very detailed and precise document, shows this land divided into five linear lots fronting Meeting Street; the 1853 Ward Book lists John McKeegan as owning the southern three lots, totalling 80 feet in width and valued at $5,200. James Gray sold the northern two houses and lots, valued at $5,000, to A. Bischoff. McKeegan and Bischoff retained ownership of the five properties through 1864; in 1861 the houses were occupied by (south to north) Edwin C. Prince, a bookkeeper; Grampbell W. Getty, an inspector for the fire insurance company; Charles O. Martindale, a bookkeeper; Sarah Fraser, a free person of color; and Albert Bischoff (City Census 1861; Ward Book 1864). In 1864, the assessments of McKeegan's three wood houses totalled $5,000; Albert Bischoff's two wood houses and lots were valued at $3,900.

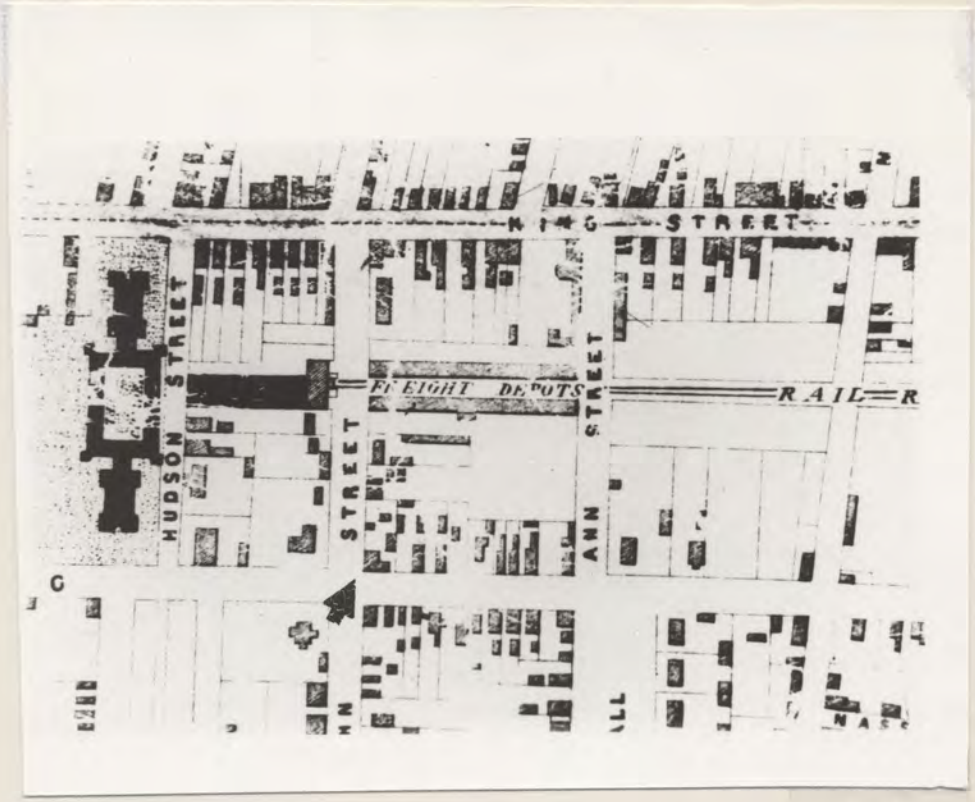
Returning to Christopher Gadsden's original lot D, the central portion of this substantial tract was eventually subdivided into long, narrow lots that fronted on John Street, with the Railroad track, 37 1/2 feet wide, running down the middle. Following Ann Ferguson's sale of the large Meeting and John street tract to James Elder in 1831, his executors, Thaddeus Street and William C. Dukes, sold the western portion of the property to James' son, William Elder, for $10,120. William Elder, along with James McClane, mortgaged the property to William Dukes and Thaddeus Street and later seized the property for nonpayment of the mortgage. In 1853, Elder and McClane then sold the buildings and land, measuring 152 1/2 feet along John Street and 200 feet in depth, to the South Carolina Railroad for $14,500 (CCRMCO T-12:545).

Bounding this property immediately to the west was a small tract which, in 1831, Ann Ferguson sold to her son, James Ferguson, a planter, for $200 (CCRMCO D-10:39). The piece measured 53 feet on John Street and was 100 feet deep. Ann Ferguson also sold a tract 58 by 200 feet on John Street to the South Carolina Railroad for $900. The sale was executed in 1834 (CCRMCO G-10:312).

In 1838, Peter Desverneys, a free person of color, acquired James Ferguson's tract. Desverneys is well known as the slave who informed his master of the impending Denmark Vesey insurrection of 1822 (Lofton 1983). For this "service" he was awarded his freedom and an annual pension of $50. He went on to acquire considerable personal wealth, including slaves. In 1849, Desverneys sold the 50 feet of his John Street frontage to F.C. and T.C. Prioleau, free persons of color, for $5,000 (CCRMCO Y-10:515). The same year the South Carolina Railroad bought the westernmost section of Desverney's property, 63 feet wide, for $2,5000 (CCRMCO V-11:337), and James Ferguson bought back the majority of the tract - two lots of land totalling 115 feet on John Street - for the sum of $13,028 (CCRMCO U-10:426-428). While Desverneys owned extensive property in Wraggsborough, he lived on Wentworth Street in Ward 3 (CCRMCO Y-10:539).

The 1852 Bridgens and Allen map shows five lots facing John Street (Figure 12), including a major tract owned by the South Carolina Railroad. The 1853 Ward Book lists lot owners east of the Railroad corridor, known then as Railroad Avenue. East to west, these were Dr. J.F. Poppenheim, a planter; W.J. Laval, Deputy Controller; General J.H. Honour, insurance company president, and John Mann, who owned two lots. The westernmost lot remained in the estate of James Elder. Three lots were assessed west of the Railroad: a lot owned by C.M. Furman, another by Honour, and a house and lot formerly used as a factory. In 1861, two properties east of the Railroad were owned by Dr. Poppenheim and Richard Arnold and occupied by Alexander M. Corrie and Joshua Roddin. The South Carolina Railroad held the next three properties, which were used as a store house, a freight depot, and for "slaves." The single lot west of the Railroad was owned by Charles T. Mitchell and occupied by Mrs. Ann Smith. These tracts remained in the same hands until at least 1864 (City Census 1861; Ward Book 1864).

The rest of Christopher Gadsden's original lot D was subdivided into linear lots facing King Street. John Ferguson sold the corner lot to Elizabeth Clarkson in 1840; ownership was transferred to T.B. Clarkson nine years later for $5,000 (CCRMCO A-12:510). The property to the north was purchased from Ferguson by the South Carolina Railroad in 1849 (CCRMCO U-11:495). Within four years the Railroad sold the property to John Edward Carew and James Albert Hopkins. They proved unable to pay the mortgage, and James Grey, Master in Equity, sold the property, known as the South Carolina Shoe Factory, to Charles Dunn and C.T. Mitchell. Mitchell purchased the southern lots, #1 and #4, on the corner of King and John (CCRMCO V-12:79). James Ferguson sold the next lot to the north to Samuel Corrie for $3,600 in 1841 (CCRMCO Y-10:70). Ferguson foreclosed on Samuel Corrie in 1844, and Jacob Kalb acquired the property. Kalb also owned the lot immediately to the north, which he had acquired from James Ferguson in 1840. This property contained a two-story brick house.



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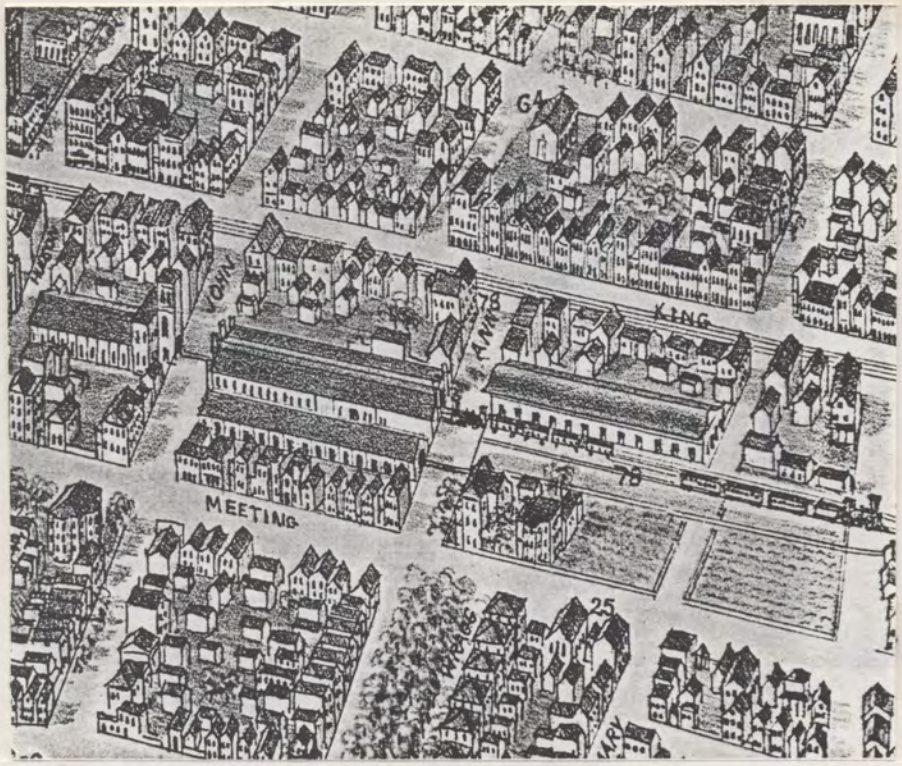


Figure 12: The VRTC blocks in 1852 and 1872.

Continuing along King Street, we return to lot 1C, originally granted to Mary Wragg Smith's son, Joseph Smith and his son, Thomas Allery Smith, in 1801. Joseph Smith was a land speculator, and transacted most of his business from London. Smith divided his property into five "suitable building lots," each 40 feet wide along King Street, to be sold at public auction (Figure 12). William Smith purchased lot #1, the southernmost, in 1809 (CCRMCO X-7:29; B-8:459); James Pernall purchased lot #2 in 1807 (CCRMCO U-7:212; Z-8:78). In 1814, Pernall sold his lot to John Stoney, a merchant, for $15,000. However, there is no record of any payment. John Robinson filed a claim in the Court of Common Pleas against James Pernall for non-payment of a debt and received the King Street property as settlement in 1820; the land was improved by this time, for the deed specifies "houses" on the property. John Robinson purchased the property in 1826 (CCRMCO T-9:238), and sold it to William Aiken, Charles Edmonston, and Lewis Petray. William Aiken, who acquired the property by 1849, sold it to James Gadsden, who in turn sold it to John L. Francis, a barber, in 1854 (CCRMCO E-12:117; U-12:303). John Wilson then purchased the northern half of the lot.

A Charleston merchant, Charles Cunningham purchased lot #3 (CCRMCO W-7:27). Cunningham died intestate and the Master in Equity sold the property in 1821 to John Brownlee, as guardian (CCRMCO N-9:105). William Aiken purchased it that same year. Lot #4, purchased from Smith by Bernard Jacobs in 1809, also became William Aiken's (CCRMCO U-7:215). William Smith held lot #5 for James Mackie, a minor (CCRMCO B-8:45). In 1811, James Mackie sold the lot to Aiken, who within the year built an impressive house on the property where it still stands (CCRMCO F-8:3; Shine 1985). He eventually acquired the northern three lots as well. Aiken's wife, Henrietta Aiken, managed his property after his death in 1831.

The 1853 and 1864 Ward Books and the 1861 City Census provide more information about these lots, as well as several others which fronted King Street. During the first half of the nineteenth century, extensive subdivision of this frontage had occurred. C.L. Mitchell evidently purchased from Carew and Hopkins the three lots and buildings facing King Street, valued together at $8,000. Continuing north on King Street, the 1853 property assessor noted a house/dry goods store and lot worth $2,000, owned by Charles Dunn; three tracts owned by T.H. Kalb, valued at $8,000; one by C.G. Branford; and two small lots each worth $2,000, owned by Robert Houston and John Wilson, free persons of color. The skilled trades of the two men, Robert Houston, a tailor and John Wilson, a cabinetmaker, suggests that they were relatively affluent members of their class. The last house and lot on the block belonged to William Aiken and was assessed at $15,000. While the 1852 map indicates only seven single lots along King Street, the Ward Book of 1853 describes 11 properties.

The 1861 Census indicates further subdivision; 15 houses and lots are enumerated along King Street. From south to north, they are:

No.	Brick	Wood	Owners	Occupants
452	1		Charles T. Mitchel	William F. White
454			do	Francis Surau

456	1		Henry H. Bolger	Henry H. Bolger(Furniture Dealer)
458		1	Phillip A. McBride	Geo. W. Egleston (Lawyer)
460			do	William Brower(Painter)
462	1		Nazer F. Petit	Slaves
464	1		do	James Welsh and others
466			do	Jerry Murphy and others
468	1		do	Unoccupied
470	1		Christian Amme	Christian Amme
472	1		Tr.Est.Mrs. C.G.Branford	Charles G. Branford
474		1	Robert Houston, f.p.c.	John Wilson, f.p.c.
476		1	do	Robert Houston, f.p.c.
478		1	John Wilson, f.p.c.	John Wilson, f.p.c.
480	1		William Aiken	Dr. L.A. Frampton(Doctor)

(City Census 1861; City Directory 1859)

The 1864 Ward Book indicates that the owners remained the same through the war years, except in the case of two lots which William Henry Cooms acquired from P.A. McBride (Figure 12).

Lot 2C encompassed the north central section of the block, and was originally granted to James Ladson and his wife Judith Wragg Ladson. James Ladson sold the property, 200 feet on Ann Street, to John Parker in 1804 (CCRMCO N-7:113). The land passed from John Parker to his son, also named John. The younger Parker, in a complicated legal agreement, bequeathed the land to his daughter, Elsa, and her fiancé, Theodore Gaillard, in 1838 (CCRMCO T-10:321). Theodore Gaillard divided the property into five lots and sold the same partition of them to Francis S. Parker, along with the structures and a number of slaves. Francis Parker sold a portion of the property to the South Carolina Railroad in 1848 (CCRMCO A-12:479), while John Parker sold the remainder of his tract to the Railroad at the same time. Thoroughout the century, this central portion of the block remained the property of the Railroad.

Unlike the block to the south, the northern block of the VRTC site was initially divided into several smaller lots, bequeathed to descendants of John Wragg, but obviously intended for resale. The central portion of the block fronting on Mary Street was designated tract E, and was divided into lots #1 through 4. Gabriel Manigault inherited lot #3. At some point, Gabriel Manigault sold the lot to William Rouse, for in 1848 Rouse sold part of it to Thomas Marshall (CCRMCO A-12:1). Marshall immediately sold the property to the South Carolina Railroad (CCRMCO V-11:303).

Lot #4 was bequeathed to Ann Middleton, who sold it in 1805 to Gabriel Manigault (CCRMCO O-7:285), who evidently sold part to Samuel Maverick. In 1838, Maverick swapped the property for an adjoining lot owned by the South Carolina Railroad (CCRMCO V-10:110).

Lot #1 was bequeathed to Joseph Manigault in 1801, and Lot #2 was given to Nathaniel Heyward. In 1834, Heyward sold a 40 foot strip to the Railroad, which he later traded to Samuel Maverick (CCRMCO T-10:145). In 1849, Heyward sold the remainder of his land to the South Carolina Railroad (CCRMCO V-11:35). From this point onward, no lots or

houses were located along the south side of Mary Street between King and Meeting.

The eastern third of the block was initially divided into five lots, oriented toward Meeting Street. Gabriel Manigault owned the northernmost lots, #2 and 3. In 1818, Manigault sold lot #3 to John L. Bulow for $3,050 (CCRMCO A-9:49). By 1850, Edward Calse owned lot #2. In 1855 and 1856, these two owners sold their holdings to the South Carolina Railroad (CCRMCO I-13:551; S-13:247). The area was subsequently known as the cotton yards (Figure 13).

Samuel Wragg inherited the southern half of the eastern portion of the block, lots #1, 4, and 5, in 1801. In 1807, he sold the three lots to William Loughton Smith (CCRMCO U-7:287). Smith sold lot #1 to Joseph W. Toomer, who sold it to James Gadsden before 1853. Samuel Tupper then acquired lot #1 and sold to his son, James Tupper, in 1860 (CCRMCO K-14:99). James Tupper also acquired lot #4, purchasing it from John Carew in 1854. The two-and-a-half story house and lot cost $1,100 (CCRMCO F-13:189). Carew purchased this lot from Charlotte Smith in 1804. William Loughton Smith sold Nathaniel Heyward lot #5; in 1854 Heyward sold the lot to the Railroad. James Tupper purchased a ten foot strip of this land adjoining his property in 1858 (CCRMCO PB A:130).

The 1853 Ward Book indicates four lots fronting Meeting Street on this block, while the 1852 map shows five. The southernmost lot was owned by James Gadsden and valued at $10,000, followed by J.E. Carew's, valued at $6,000. Both lots are shown with structures on the 1852 map. Next came two spacious lots, whose ownership was unclear to the compiler of the Ward Book. Thomas Bulow owned the relatively modest house and lot at the corner of Meeting and Mary, valued at $2,800. The 1861 City Census and the 1864 Ward Book reflect a change of ownership to Samuel and James Tupper. Their collective properties in the southern portion of the block were valued at $18,000. The Railroad's cotton yard occupied the northern half. The City Census indicates that slaves were living on this property.

The central third of the block facing Ann Street was part of tract A and was divided into four parallel lots, #4 through 7. These were bequeathed to the heirs of John Wragg: Ann Ferguson, Samuel Wragg, Joseph Wragg, and Mary Capers. Lot #7 passed from Mary Capers to her heirs; it was eventually acquired by Samuel Maverick, who sold it to the South Carolina Railroad.

Joseph Wragg sold lot #6 to Samuel Wragg in 1806; in the same year, Samuel sold it to William Loughton Smith for $12,000 (CCRMCO R-7:166). In 1835, Smith's wife, Charlotte, sold a portion of the property to John Brady, a bricklayer, for $1,350 (CCRMCO C-10:401). In 1841, after Brady's death, the land passed to Edward Lebring, who then sold it to the South Carolina Railroad for $7,500 (CCRMCO V-11:313). At this point, the property was listed as a lot plus two buildings.

Ann Ferguson acquired lot #5A from Samuel Wragg. She then sold the property to William Loughton Smith. In 1829, William's widow, Charlotte, sold the eastern half of the lot through her attorney,

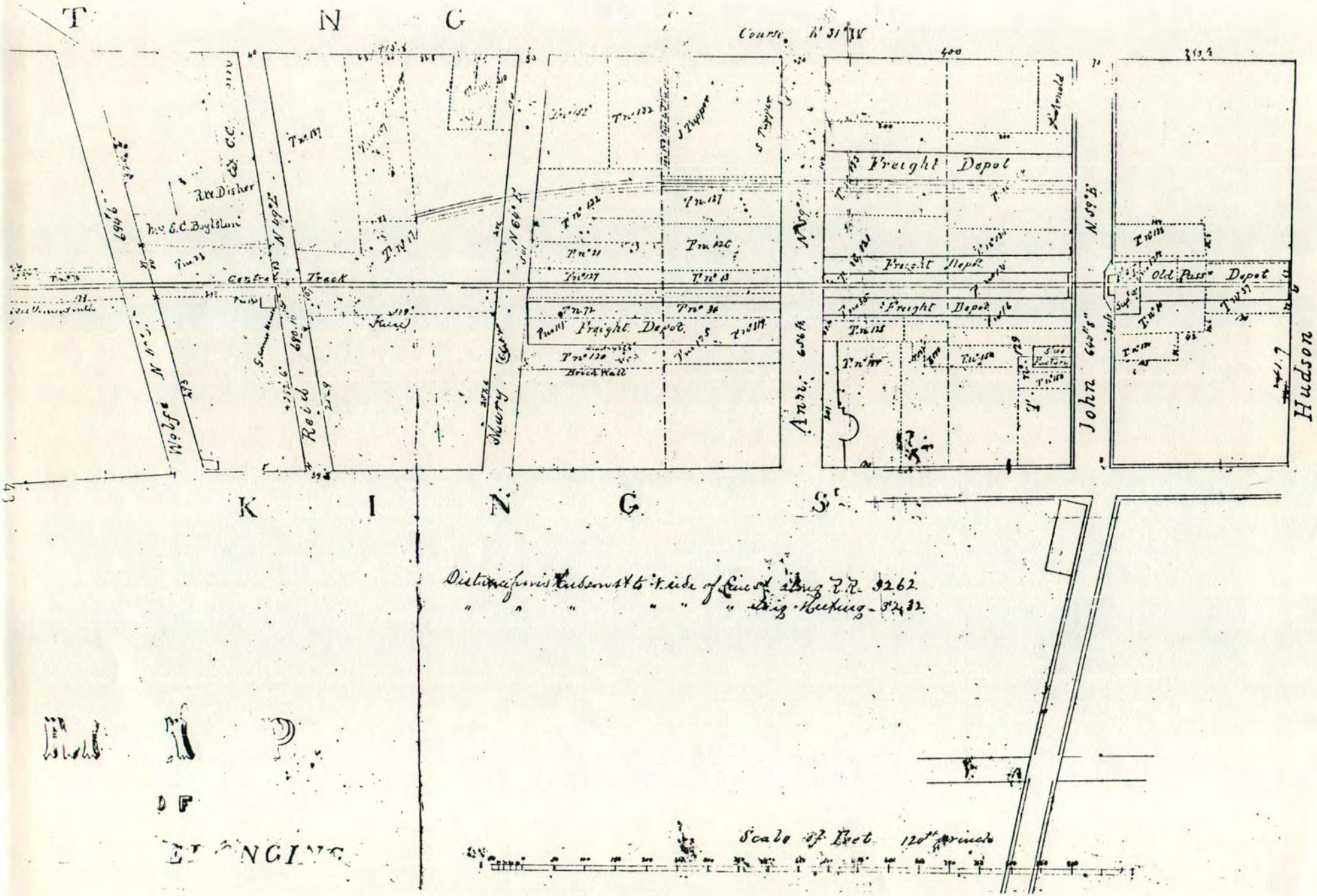


Figure 13: Mid-19th century plat of the VRTC blocks showing Tupper's property, all railroad properties, and the shoe factory.

Joshua Toomer, to Peter Ward, a free person of color, for $325 (CCRMCO G-10:315).

Lot #4A also was sold by Ann Ferguson to William Loughton Smith, who paid $2,000 in 1807 (CCRMCO W-7:485). His widow sold this property to Joseph Parsons, a free person of color, in 1830 (CCRMCO A-10:168). Parsons' heirs, George Mason and Annette Elliott, in turn, sold the property to the Railroad in 1849 for $5,000 (CCRMCO C-12:30). The 1852 map shows no lots facing Ann Street along this block, with the exception of the Railroad property. The 1861 City Census and the 1864 Ward Book confirm that the Railroad was still the sole owner along this portion of Ann Street.

Rounding the corner to King Street, Lots #1 through 3A were oriented toward King Street. Lot #1 was granted to Judith Wragg, lot #2 to Henrietta Rothmahler, and lot #3 to Elizabeth Wragg. The three heiresses quickly utilized their lots. Judith Wragg leased hers to William Simms in 1806 for $100 per year for 14 years. The property and its improvements were to be re-evaluated at the end of the lease (CCRMCO S-7:433). Henrietta Rothmahler sold her lot to William Turpen for $2,500 in 1810 (CCRMCO B-8:173). Elizabeth Wragg leased her land for 14 years to William Darby for $80 per year plus taxes (CCRMCO L-7:257). The property and its improvements were to be appraised at the end of the lease. The northern portion of the King Street frontage was divided into four lots, bequeathed respectively to Joseph Manigault, Nathaniel Heyward, Gabriel Manigault, and Ann Middleton (see Figure 8). Ann Middleton sold her lot to Gabriel Manigault in 1805. Joseph Manigault's lot on the corner of Mary and King streets passed to C.S. Manigault, who sold it to Charles Tolbe (or Tolle?) in 1837. The lot then passed to William Hormell, who in 1858 sold it to the Dallum Baker & Company, comprised of Josiah W. Dallum, James Baker, Thomas C. Tupler, and Charles Barker. (CCRMCO W-13:485); the mortgage was not satisfied until 1874. Gabriel Manigault sold lot #3 to Solomon Nathans in 1818 for $3,600 (CCRMCO W-8:423).

The 1852 map shows seven lots fronting King Street; the 1853 Ward Book lists six property owners and 11 lots. Catherine Oppenheim owned two lots fronting Ann Street and two around the corner on King, worth $10,000 combined. Her holdings were followed by those of Natalie Boinest and W.C. Dukes, each valued at $5,500; James Karler with two houses and lots worth $4,000; the estate of G. Manigault with two lots worth $4,000; and J. Talle with two lots on King and one around the corner on Mary Street valued at $4,000. In 1850, W.C. Dukes and C. Manigault were assessed for improvements to King Street (Receipts and Expenditures 1850). The 1861 census lists 14 lots, with the following owners and occupants:

No.	Brick	Wood	Owner	Occupants
482		1	Mrs. Cath. Oppenheim	Philip Lotz(Shoemaker)
484		1	do	William Wright
486			do	Henry Costine
488			Natalie Benoist	Frederick Puckhaber(Baker)
490		2	Philip A. McBride	William H. Clayton
492			do	Cornelius J.H. Brown
494			do	Harris Levin

496			do	Metz
498	1		do	Francis Keane
500	1		do	Hermann Sturcken
502	1		do	Malchus Wetherhorn
504		1	do	Unoccupied
506		2	do	Henry Tiencken
508		1	John Tolle	Frederick Rehkop(Cabinetmaker)
510		1	do	F. Weinberg

(City Census 1861; City Directory 1859)

The 1864 Ward Book lists many of the same owners. Catherine Oppenheim's two lots, now valued at $9,000, were followed by the estate of Natalie Benoist. To the north of her were lands in the estate of G. Manigault worth $6,000. One of McBride's lots, valued at $5,500, had been acquired by H. Studen, who then sold it to C.H. Blere. Blere owned three King Street lots worth $6,000, and John Tolle owned two worth $2,500.

Early development of the two square blocks designated for the Visitor's Center resembles land use trends elsewhere on the Neck, with the exception of the presence of the dominant landowner, the South Carolina Railroad. During the first half of the nineteenth century, large tracts of land, held by a few prominent families were subdivided into smaller lots. Some property, such as John Wragg's, was divided among heirs; other tracts were partitioned for speculative purposes. Landowners hoped to profit by selling lots to prospective home owners or redevelopers. Some of the Wragg descendants built homes in Wraggsborough; Joseph Manigault, for example, built his grand brick home on the southeast corner of Meeting and John streets just two years after inheriting the land. Most lots in the tract, however, were quickly sold for profit. Samuel Wragg, Ann Ferguson, and James Ladson all sold their holding in relatively short order.

The high value and importance of frontage along Meeting and King streets is reflected in the method of subdivision and the prices these lots brought, as well as in their early improvement. Even in the case of the initial subdivision of the blocks, corner lots always fronted Meeting or King streets, rather than John, Ann, or Mary streets. Lots along these major thoroughfares were increasingly subdivided and improved, with many of the new properties measuring only 40 feet in width. King Street developed early in the century with combination business/residences: shoe factories, dry goods stores, tailor shops, pharmacies, groceries, and druggists. A variety of tradespeople located on the two blocks along King Street: tailors, cabinetmakers, shoemakers, and bakers. Lots and structures along King and Meeting streets remained relatively intact, in contrast to lots in the center of the blocks which fronted Mary, Ann, and John streets. Beginning in the 1830s, these were purchased and occupied, one after another, by the South Carolina Railroad.

Title search of the VRTC blocks reveals the integrated residential pattern typical of the nineteenth-century city. The wealthy merchants and planters, William Aiken and Samuel Tupper, built imposing homes on the blocks. Next door to Aiken were two modest houses, owned and

occupied by free persons of color. Free blacks owned other properties nearby and slaves occupied others. Middle class artisans, such as John Brady, the bricklayer, and professional men, such as W.J. Laval, J.H. Honour, and Edwin Prince, also bought lots in the same block. Finally, the large amount of rental property along Meeting and King streets indicates a substantial low to middle class group of occupants, confirmed by the 1861 Census.

Many of the South Carolina Railroad structures still stand on the VRTC blocks, mute testimony to the former importance of the area as a transportation center. Brick warehouses, designed by Edward C. Jones and constructed in 1849, stretch down the center of both blocks. The Camden Depot structures, also built in 1849, highlight public architecture of the era. Extensive tracks still run throughout the East Side. With this architectural legacy intact, it is fitting that the property be given new life as the city's Visitor's Reception and Transportation Center.

The presence of the South Carolina Railroad terminal, freight depot, and later, cotton yard, made the VRTC area a hub of activity. Goods and people were constantly in transit. The neighborhood reflected the role of the East Side as a seat of Charleston's "progressives" who saw industrialization and economic diversification as the key to the future. The Railroad occupied the center of the blocks; King and Meeting street frontage was reserved for retail and residential use. Contruction of the South Carolina Railroad underscores the increasing importance of industry and municipal improvements in the antebellum period. American cities competing for regional commerce, were anxious to proclaim their governments the most efficient, their streets the cleanest, their homes the most beautiful, their industries the most modern (Goldfield 1979; Jaher 1982). In Charleston the Railroad was touted as the key to prosperity, and its development became a municipal crusade (Greb 1978). However, the location of the Railroad terminal at John Street and the passenger depot at Line Street, rather than along the lower wharves, signaled the city's ambivalence toward industrialization and contributed to its eventual decline from a major commercial center to one of secondary importance (Pease and Pease 1982; Rogers 1980:161).

CHAPTER III

African-Americans on Charleston Neck

Demography of the Work Force

African-Americans constituted a majority of Charleston's population before 1840. For the first four decades of the century, enslaved blacks accounted for almost half and free Negroes for between 5 and 8 percent of the total population. By the Civil War, less than half of all Charlestonians were Negro and slightly more than a third were slaves.

Table 6
Population Figures for Charleston

	Total	White	Free Negro	Slave
1790	16,359	8,089	586	7,684
1800	20,473	9,630	1,024	9,819
1810	24,711	11,568	1,472	11,671
1820	24,780	10,653	1,457	11,652
1830	30,289	12,828	2,107	15,354
1840*	29,261	13,030	1,558	14,673
1850	42,985	20,012	3,441	19,532
1860	40,522	23,376	3,237	13,909

(Wade 1964:326; Johnson and Roark 1984a:340)
*The considerable jump in figures between 1840 and 1850 reflects the annexation of the Neck, which enlarged the city's population by 68 percent but did not change the racial proportions appreciably.

The shift in the black-white ratio was the result of several factors. Planters choose to reduce large staffs of town servants in the face of the increasing demand for field hands. Restrictions on the in-migration of free people of color and the prohibition of private manumission in 1820 prevented the free population from growing, except by natural increase. European immigrants swelled the city's working class and helped tip the racial balance of the overall population in favor of whites. The demand for labor in the old southwest pushed up the price of slaves and encouraged Charleston slaveowners to sell. And the city's slaveowners, particularly younger sons, were moving westward, taking their slaves with them.

The out-migration of field hands and the predominance of house servants among urban slaves skewed the sex ratio so that by 1850 women outnumbered men five to four (Wade 1964:330). Sex distribution among free colored people was even more heavily weighted toward females; the federal census of 1860 counted 2,000 free Negro women and only 1,200 men (Wade 1964:24). Historian Leonard Curry claims that the primary reason for this imbalance was the high mortality rate among free Negro males, especially from the mid-teens onwards (Curry 1981:9). But

complex social processes tended toward the same result. To begin with, masters manumitted women more often than men. As house servants or mistresses women had greater opportunities to develop close relationships with their masters, a situation condusive to emancipation. (Another bond that commonly led to manumission was kinship or friendship between free persons of color and slaves.) Free men were more likely to be reenslaved, to emigrate, or to be banished from the state. Finally, census takers have perenially failed to count significant numbers of Negro men who lived and worked in a transient fashion.

"We are a slaveholding people," stated a Report on the Colored Population in 1858 (Figure 14). In the lowcountry this was statistically true. Before 1840, up to three quarters of all white and free Negro heads of households in the city of Charleston owned at least one slave. Of the 2,100 "heads of families" listed in the 1820 census, more than three quarters owned at least one Negro. In 1830, among 2,873 "heads of families," only 379 had no bondsmen, while 401 had ten or more. Eighty-seven owners had upwards of 20 slaves and 19 had over 30.

Slaves did some of the same work that white and free colored people did; they dominated certain trades and were excluded from many. In Charleston, the vast majority of bondsmen and women were employed as house servants. The City Census for 1848 underestimated the number of slaves by one third and the number of free Negroes by one quarter (Chapman 1980:30), and did not include people living outside the city limits. Nevertheless, the Industrial Census, reprinted in full in Table 7, is useful in analyzing general occupational trends. Under the catch-all category, "Unclassified residue of Population", the Census lists 87 percent of all slave women and 54 percent of all slave men as house servants. Slave laborers were the only group even half as numerous, accounting for 23 percent of the men and 9 percent of the women (Table 7).

These figures underrepresent Negroes engaged in more specialized jobs, and point to the social fact that slaves were identified first and foremost with the household to which they belonged. Even slaves hired out in particular occupations evidently were not classified by trade in the Industrial Census. The number of slave badges ordered annually by the City to license slaves employed in specific jobs was many times greater than the number of slaves listed in the Census under those job headings. For example, census takers counted 15 slave fishermen in 1848; in 1849, the closest year for which we have data, the City Treasurer ordered 100 badges for slaves he anticipated would be hired out as "fishers." Thus it appears that only slaves who worked exclusively in one occupation escaped the broad labels of house servant or laborer.

Among the building trades, according to census data, carpentry employed more Negro men than whites, and bricklaying was strictly a black man's job. All masons and stonecutters, on the other hand, were white. Slaves predominated among plasterers and wharf builders, and worked as painters as well. Free and enslaved Negro men held a clear majority as tailors, bakers, butchers, cooks, fishermen, and ship

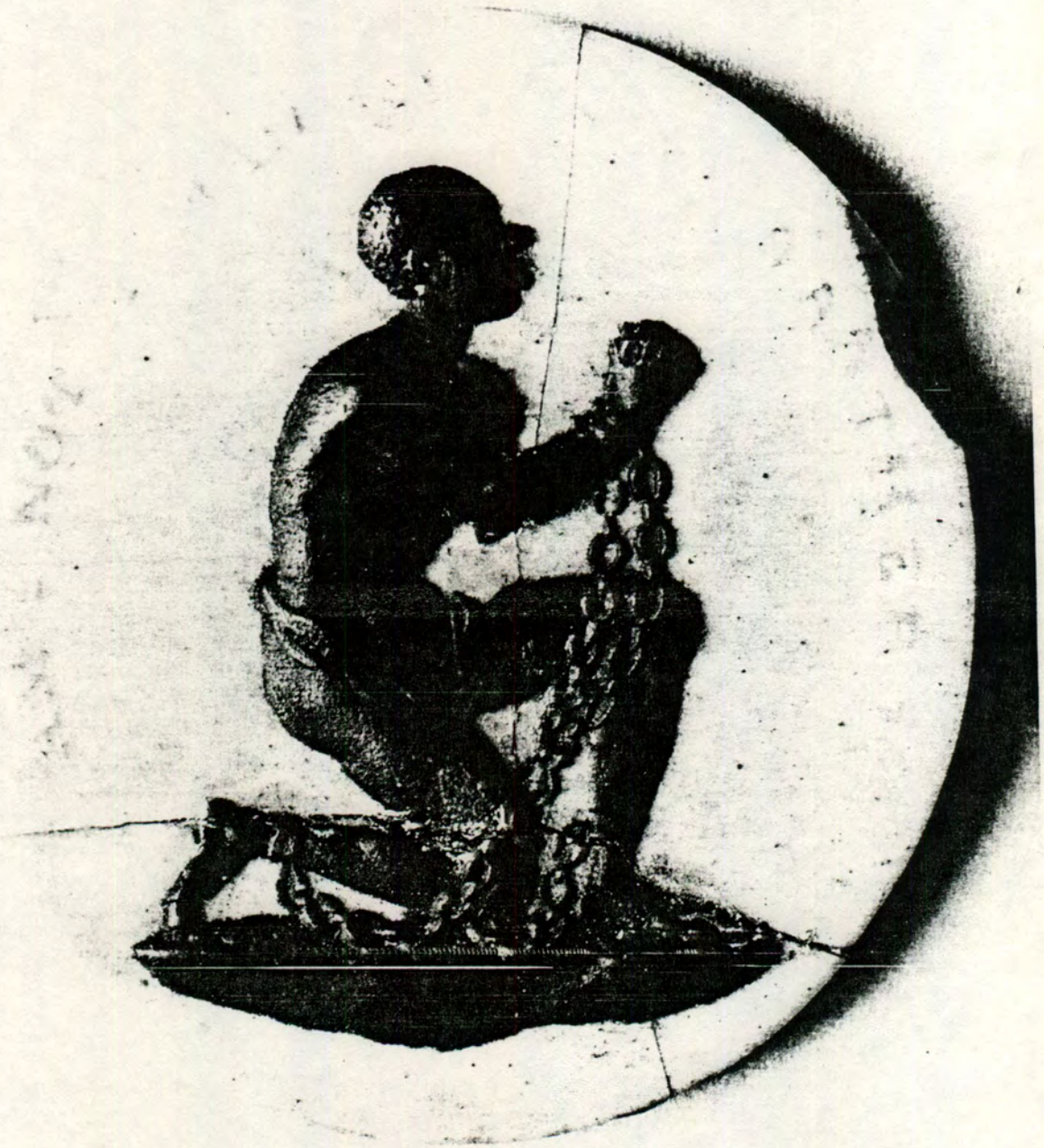


Figure 14: Intaglio made by Josiah Wedgewood, early 19th century, commemorating the abolition movement. (Photo by Grayson Matthews)

carpenters. They accounted for most of the coachmen, draymen, and porters, half of the blacksmiths, two thirds of the coopers, and all of the barbers, boatmen, and mechanics enumerated in the Census. Nearly all jobs requiring literacy, long apprenticeships, or commercial dealing with the public were monopolized by whites.

Census figres for slave laundresses, seamstresses, and cooks are especially misleading, since many house servants did these jobs in the normal course of the day. The variety of work attributed to women, whether white, slave, or free colored, is limited indeed. In occupations other than those already cited, slave women are listed as vendors and nurses and little else. The fact that not a single Negro woman was described as a "botanic practitioner" or midwife reveals a bias in the collection of data. If Negro women who practiced these skills do not show up in the official tabulation, other roles slave women played might also have been missed.

Table 7
Industrial Census of Charleston for 1848

	Whites		Slaves		Free Colored	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Contributing to Building						
Architects	3	-	-	-	-	-
Bricklayers	-	-	68	-	10	-
Carpenters	117	-	110	-	27	-
Joiners	3	-	-	-	-	-
Lumber dealers	7	-	-	-	-	-
Masons	60	-	-	-	-	-
Painters	15	-	9	-	4	-
Plasterers	9	-	16	-	-	-
Plumbers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Stone Cutters	7	-	-	-	-	-
Wharf builders	2	-	10	-	-	-
Contributing to Clothing						
Barbers	-	-	4	-	14	-
Bleachers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Boot and Shoe dealers	39	-	-	-	-	-
Boot and Shoe makers	80	-	6	-	17	-
Cap makers	8	-	-	-	-	-
Clothing dealers	19	-	-	-	-	-
Curriers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Dry good dealers	86	39	-	-	1	-
Dyers	4	-	-	-	-	-
Hat dealers	10	-	-	-	-	-
Hair dressers	6	-	-	-	-	-
Hair braiders	1	2	-	-	-	-
Hosiers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Laundresses	-	13	-	33	-	45
Mantua-makers	-	38	-	4	-	128
Milliners	-	44	-	-	-	7*
Seamstresses	-	87	-	20	-	68
Straw goods dealers	2	-	-	-	-	-
Tailors	68	6	36	-	42	6

	Whites		Slaves		Free Colored	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Umbrella makers	5	-	-	-	-	-
Wig makers	2	-	-	-	-	-
Worsted dealers	1	1	-	-	-	-
Contributing to Education						
Music teachers	10	5	-	-	-	-
School teachers	33	47	-	-	-	-
Modern Language teachers	4	-	-	-	-	-
Dancing teachers	2	2	-	-	-	-
Contributing to Food						
Bakers	35	1	39	-	1	-
Bar keepers	16	-	-	-	-	-
Bacon dealers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Boarding-house keepers	14	40	-	-	-	-
Bottlers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Butchers	4	-	6	-	4	-
Cigar makers	10	-	5	-	1	-
Confectioners	13	4	4	-	2	2
Cooks	-	-	3	11	16	-
Farmers	6	-	-	-	-	-
Fishermen	10	-	15	-	14	-
Fruiterers	40	9	-	1	1	1
Gardeners	5	1	3	-	-	-
Grain dealers	8	-	-	-	-	-
Grocers	205	-	-	-	-	-
Hotel-Keepers	3	1	-	-	1	1
Huxters	-	-	-	11	4	-
Ice dealers	2	-	-	-	-	-
Market-sellers	-	1	-	6	1	4
Milk venders	-	8	-	-	-	-
Pastry Cooks	-	1	-	1	-	16
Planters	101	25	-	-	-	-
Restaurant keepers	2	-	-	-	-	-
Seedsmen	3	-	-	-	-	-
Sugar refiners	6	-	-	-	-	-
Sugar boilers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Syrop makers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Tavern-keepers	36	-	-	-	1	-
Tobacconists	6	-	-	-	-	-
Contributing to Furniture						
Basket makers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Cabinet makers	26	-	8	-	-	-
Carvers and Guilders	6	-	-	-	-	-
Carpet dealers	2	-	-	-	-	-
Coal dealers	5	-	-	-	-	-
Crockery dealers	8	1	-	-	-	-
Furniture store-keepers	6	-	-	-	-	-
Gas pipe-fitters	8	-	-	-	-	-
Jewellers	17	-	-	-	-	-
Military store-keepers	2	-	-	-	-	-
Oil and Paint dealers	3	-	-	-	-	-
Organ builders	1	-	-	-	-	-
Paper hangers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Piano builders	3	-	-	-	-	-

	Whites		Slaves		Free Colored	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Silver-smiths	1	-	-	-	-	-
Tinners	23	-	3	-	1	-
Upholsterers	10	-	1	-	1	-
Watch-makers	15	-	-	-	-	-
Contributing to Health						
Bath keepers	2	-	-	-	-	-
Botanic Practitioners	2	1	-	-	-	-
Dentists	11	-	-	-	-	-
Druggists	25	-	-	-	-	-
Midwives	-	5	-	-	-	-
Monthly nurses	-	7	-	2	-	10
Physicians	89	-	-	-	-	-
Sextons [gravediggers]	4	-	1	-	4	-
Undertakers	5	-	-	-	-	-
Contributing to Justice						
City officers	35	-	-	-	-	-
Constables	6	-	-	-	-	-
Consuls	5	-	-	-	-	-
Custom-house officers	34	-	-	-	-	-
Gaugers	4	-	-	-	-	-
Judges	3	-	-	-	-	-
Lawyers	76	-	-	-	-	-
Measures of Lumber and Wood	3	-	-	-	-	-
Notaries Public	2	-	-	-	-	-
Police officers	10	-	-	-	-	-
Port Wardens	5	-	-	-	-	-
State officers	11	-	-	-	-	-
United States officers	4	-	-	-	-	-
Watchmen	90	-	-	-	-	-
Contributing to Literature and the Arts						
Artists	10	-	-	-	-	-
Book binders	10	-	3	-	-	-
Book dealers	10	-	-	-	-	-
Daguerreotypes	3	-	-	-	-	-
Editors	5	-	-	-	-	-
Engravers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Librarians	3	-	-	-	-	-
Painters	11	-	-	-	-	-
Printers	65	-	5	-	-	-
Stationers	4	-	-	-	-	-
Contributing to Locomotion						
Carriage dealers	8	-	-	-	-	-
Coachmen	2	-	15	-	4	-
Coach makers	10	-	3	-	-	-
Coach Painters	3	-	-	-	-	-
Coach trimmers	6	-	-	-	-	-
Draymen	18	-	67	-	11	-
Farriers	2	-	-	-	-	-
Harness makers	10	-	-	-	-	-
Horse shoers	4	-	-	-	-	-
Livery stable-keepers	7	-	-	-	3	-
Omnibus drivers	3	-	-	-	-	-
Railroad clerks	7	-	-	-	-	-

	Whites		Slaves		Free Colored	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Saddlers	19	-	2	-	1	-
Wheel-wrights	6	-	-	-	1	-
Contributing to Machinery						
Mill-wrights	4	-	-	-	5	-
Boiler-makers	6	-	-	-	-	-
Machinists	10	-	-	-	-	-
Contributing to Mechanics						
Bell-hangers	7	-	-	-	-	-
Black-smiths	45	-	40	-	4	-
Brass-workers	2	-	1	-	-	-
Coopers	20	-	61	-	2	-
Copper-smiths	5	-	-	-	1	-
Cutlers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Gun-smiths	6	-	-	-	-	-
Lock-smiths	3	-	-	-	-	-
Mechanics	-	-	45	-	2	-
Moulders	3	-	-	-	-	-
Pump and Block makers	3	-	-	-	-	-
Turners	2	-	-	-	-	-
Contributing to Navigation						
Boatmen	-	-	7	-	-	-
Inspector of Steamboat Boilers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Nautical store-keepers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Navy agent	1	-	-	-	-	-
Navy officers	8	-	-	-	-	-
Pilots	26	-	-	-	-	-
Riggers	5	-	-	-	-	-
Sail makers	9	-	-	-	-	-
Seamen	150	-	43	-	1	-
Ship Broker	1	-	-	-	-	-
Ship Chandlers	4	-	-	-	-	-
Ship Carpenters	48	-	51	-	6	-
Ship Joiners	4	-	-	-	-	-
Wharfingers	20	-	-	-	-	-
Contributing to Religion						
Clergymen	52	-	-	-	-	-
Unclassified residue of Population						
Accountants	98	-	-	-	-	-
Actors	7	-	-	-	-	-
Apprentices	56	5	43	8	14	7
Army officers	2	-	-	-	-	-
Auctioneers	11	-	-	-	-	-
Bank officers	50	-	-	-	-	-
Brokers	21	-	-	-	-	-
Clerks	665	3	-	-	-	-
Collectors	17	-	-	-	-	-
Commission Merchants	13	-	-	-	-	-
Cotton brokers	3	-	-	-	-	-
Engineers	43	-	-	-	-	-
Exchange brokers	3	-	-	-	-	-
Factors	49	-	-	-	-	-
Gas Company officers	2	-	-	-	-	-
Hard-ware dealers	9	-	-	-	-	-

	Whites		Slaves		Free Colored	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
House servants	18	100	1,888	3,384	9	28
House-keepers	-	13	-	-	-	4
Insurance officers	5	-	-	-	-	-
Janitors	-	-	-	-	1	-
Journeymen	4	-	-	-	-	-
Iron-mongers	3	-	-	-	-	-
Keepers of public institutions	8	2	-	-	-	-
Laborers	192	-	838	378	19	2
Lottery dealers	1	-	-	-	-	-
Merchants	208	-	-	-	-	-
Mill superintendents	14	-	-	-	-	-
Millers	-	-	-	-	1	-
Musicians	16	-	-	-	-	-
Music dealers	3	-	-	-	-	-
Pedlers	6	-	-	-	-	-
Porters	8	-	35	-	5	-
Salesmen	1	-	-	-	-	-
Showmen	5	-	-	-	-	-
Stevedores	1	-	2	-	1	-
Store-keepers	-	4	-	-	5	-
Surveyors	2	-	-	-	-	-
Traders	1	-	-	-	-	-
Variety-store-keepers	8	-	-	-	-	-
Wood Factors	16	-	-	-	3	-
Students						
College	56	-	-	-	-	-
Divinty	9	-	-	-	-	-
Law	11	-	-	-	-	-
Medicine	29	-	-	-	-	-
Military Academy	61	-	-	-	-	-
	4,109	516	3,496	3,859	266	329

(Dawson and Desaussure 1848)

*Free colored milliners were erroneously listed as male.

Slave Housing

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, black and white Charlestonians lived side by side, maintaining their social distance under conditions of close proximity. Not physical separation but rigid rules of decorum, a sense of place, and wide disparities in standards of living kept the races apart. Slave quarters usually were built behind and at right angles to the master's house or at the back of the lot, sharing a yard with the mansion. Ten or more servants might live in "quarters" on the second floor of the kitchen house. "It was considered rather uncivilized," recalled D.E. Huger Smith, "for the servants to sleep under the same roof with 'the family,' and in every yard there were out houses built to accomodate them. In the lowest story of one of these was the cook-kitchen, and the wash-kitchen, the former being nearest the house" (Smith 1950:63).

A typical retinue of town servants belonging to a wealthy Charleston family would include a cook, a pastry-cook, a coachman, a groom, two house servants or footmen, a child's nurse, maids, a washerwoman, and perhaps a butler and a seamstress.[6] According to the 1848 Census, which listed the number of dwellings as well as the total population, an average of more than ten people lived on each plot in the city proper. Of 2,666 dwellings, 2,266 were single family units. Six hundred of the single family units housed at least ten slaves in addition to the master's family. These urban compounds "were bound to be tight quarters." (Wade 1964:58).

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Neck had larger lots and more undeveloped land than the old city. While houses in the suburb may have stood farther apart, inside they were just as crowded. Dr. Anthony Toomer Porter owned a house on the Neck, west of King Street, on a lot 117 feet wide and 200 feet deep, an exceptionally spacious lot by city standards. Behind the main house was "a large building used by the servants," Porter reported. Before the War, all white people "in any position" were surrounded by "a swarm of people as old family servants, each in the other's way, causing a constant drain on our incomes, but no one thought of doing without them" (Porter 1898:217).

Within the walled compounds which wealthy planters and merchants built along Charlotte, Elizabeth, Chapel, John, and Bay streets, the arrangement of buildings accomodated large households. In 1802, Gabriel Manigault designed for his brother Joseph an imposing three-story brick mansion, situated at 350 Meeting Street. The lot housed at least 12 house servants, six men and six women, in 1837. Named in a codicil to Joseph's will bequeathing them and any "future issue" to his wife Catherine, the Manigaults' servants included Prince, Ben, Exeter, Peggy, Clara, William, Abram, Lizzy, Hannah, Anthony, Minda, and a "young Negro woman Nancy" (Record of Wills, Charleston County, 43 Book B, 1839-45:624-629).

A plat of Manigault's property dated March, 1852, reveals a layout atypical of antebellum Charleston. Downtown, the predominant spatial arrangement featured a long, narrow lot with the main house immediately on, or near, the street. If the structure was a Charleston single house, then most often the narrow end faced the street. Behind the main house, outbuildings were placed linearly along one or both walls. The Manigault plan, however, shows what a property owner might do with more space to work with. The house is in the middle of the lot, with a carriage house, stable, two privies, and a pump or well along the east wall, extending both in front of and behind the mansion. The kitchen is set perpendicular to these structures, backing on John Street (Zierden and Hacker 1986)(Figure 15).

The kitchen building, however, <u>was</u> typical in its substantial, brick construction, and in its use as servants' quarters. The Manigault kitchen house measured 40 by 20 feet with the second floor divided into separate rooms, opening onto a corridor. In the south wall, five windows faced onto the yard. These windows, plus single windows in the east and west walls, provided light and ventilation. The northern, or street, frontage was windowless.[7]

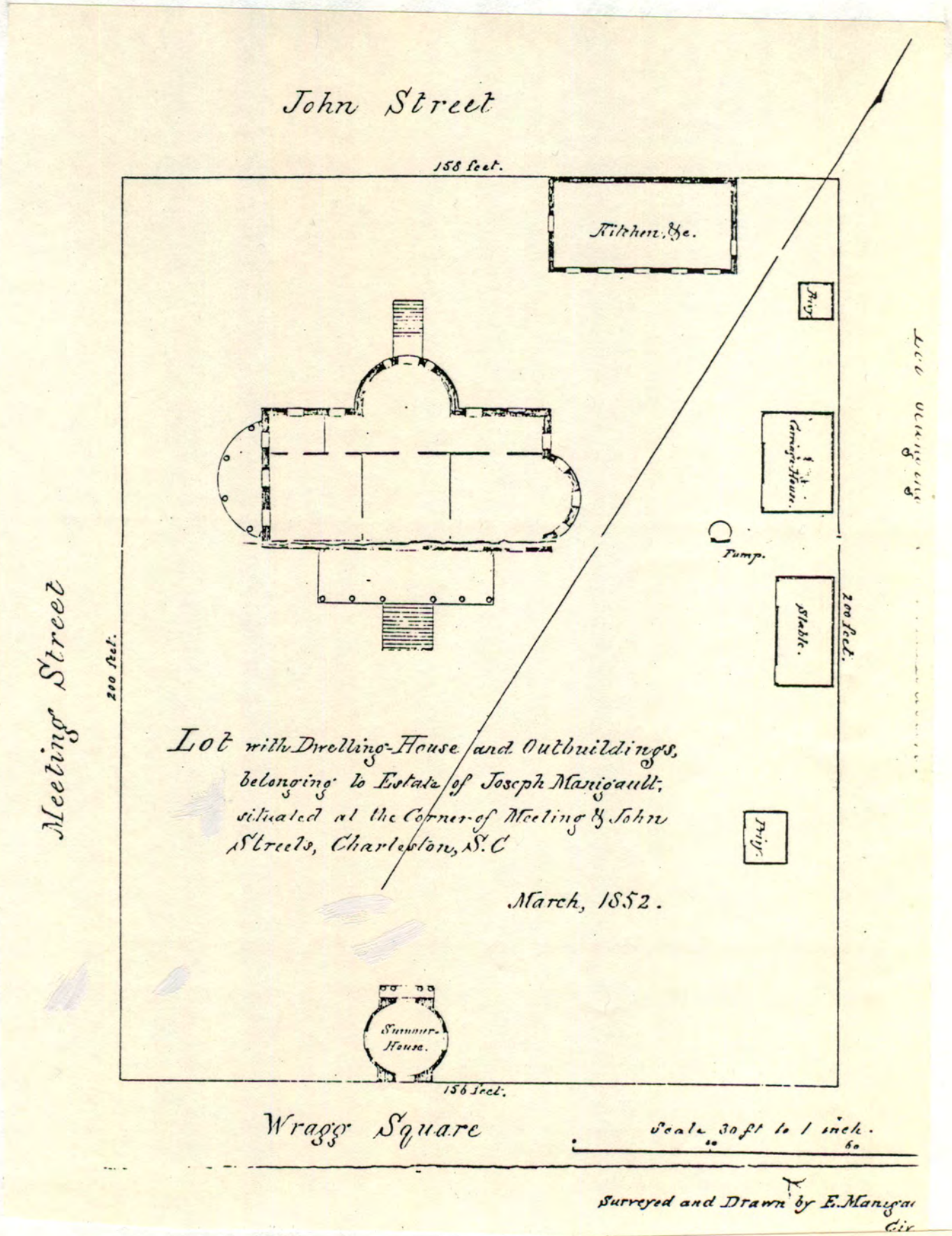


Figure 15: 1852 plat of the Joseph Manigault property.

Because slave quarters in the cities were so near the main residence, explains historian Richard C. Wade, they were generally more substantial than those found on most farms or plantations (Wade 1964:57). State-of-the-art urban slave housing still stands behind William Aiken's house on the corner of Judith and Elizabeth streets (Figure 16). Both the Manigaults and the Aikens represented the elite of Charleston society, although the Aikens were upstarts compared to the Manigaults. Constructed in 1817 by the builder John Robinson, the expansive three-story Aiken mansion departed from the traditional Charleston single house and, like the double house, faced its broad verandas toward the street. After inheriting the property from his father, William Aiken, Jr., made major renovations to the house and property.

Six rooms on the second floor of the kitchen building sheltered most of the Aikens' town servants. In 1846 these included seven adults and six children: Ann Greggs and her son, Henry Greggs; Sambo, his wife, Dorcas Richardson, and her children, Charles, Rachael, Victoria, Elizabeth, and Julia; Charles Jackson and Anthony Barnwell; and two carpenters, Will and Jacob (Aiken-Rhett papers, The Charleston Museum).

A fireplace heated each room in the quarters; a door and window opened onto the long corridor along the yard side of the structure. Corner rooms also had windows to the outside on the north and south facades. The corridor was ventilated by windows placed in careful symmetry to the row of windows in the second floor of the carriage house on the opposite side of the yard. Above the stables were two large, well-ventilated rooms, which may have served as quarters for grooms and coachmen.

Besides living in bigger quarters, house servants enjoyed better food and clothing than field hands. Despite these privileges, their movements were carefully circumscribed. No Negroes were allowed on the city streets between drum-beat at night (quarter past ten o'clock in summer and quarter past nine in the winter) and drum-beat at daybreak. Anyone found after curfew without a pass signed by his owner or a member of his owner's family was subject to arrest.

From the masters' perspective, urban bondsmen seemed much like any class of servants in their behavior. "During the day," Smith recalled, "the Negroes were only restrained from going where they pleased by a master's orders or by the needs of their daily routine of service." At night servants locked up the master's family, rather than the other way around. "There were no latch-keys or night-locks in those days, and one of the men-servants had to sit up to 'answer the bell' until every member of the family was at home and it was too late for visitors, when they locked up the house and retired to their quarters. In our house, the footmen performed this night-duty by turns." Smith's family on occasion allowed their servants "to have dancing in the evening, to which their friends came, but they always broke up at drum-beat, so as to get home before that ceased" (Smith 1950:63).

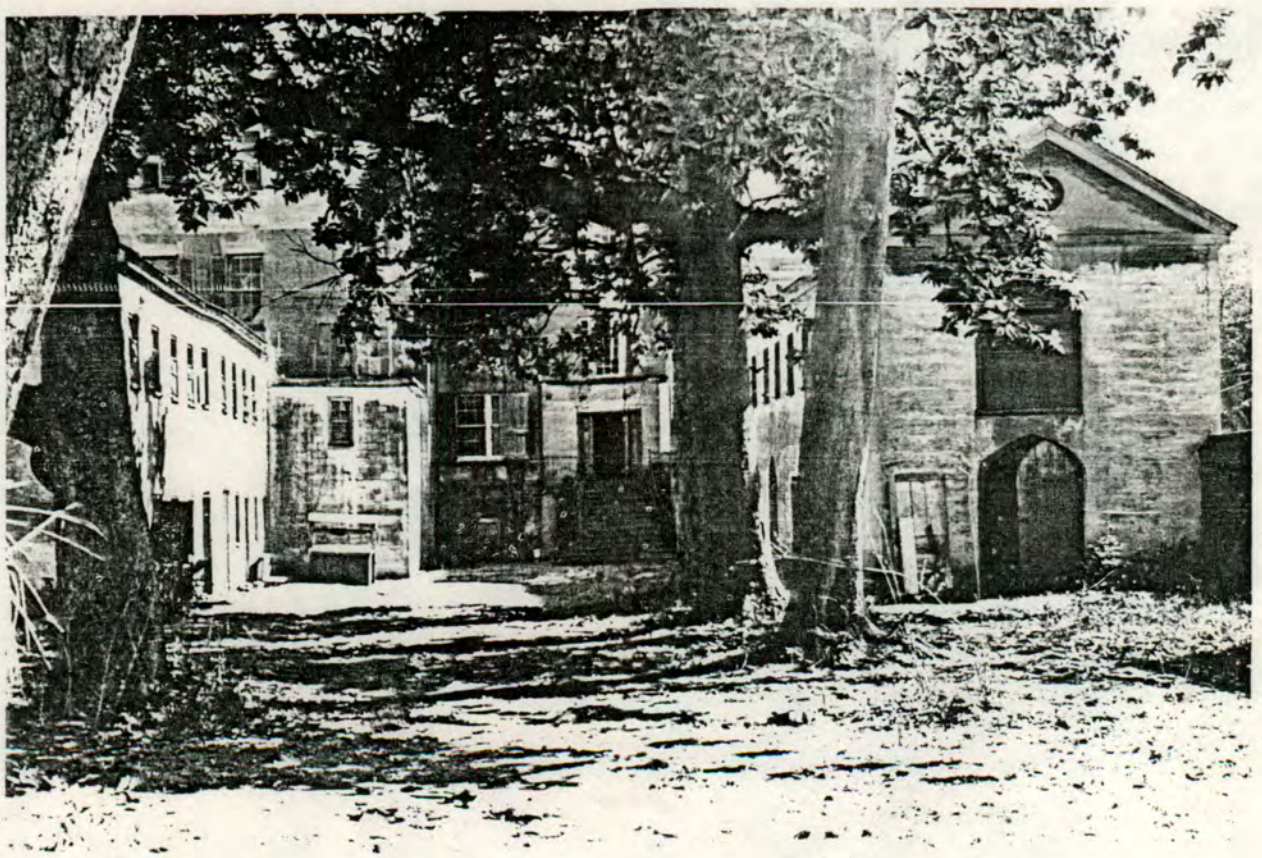


Figure 16: Views of the slavequarters at the Aiken-Rhett house.
(Photo by Martha Zierden)

This view of urban slavery is the master's, not the slave's. Because they lived so close to their masters and had greater opportunity for contact with the outside world, urban slaves were perceived by some whites as potentially mutinous, and their movements were highly restricted. Rural lowcountry slaves, in contrast, worked by the the task system, often without direct supervision by the master; they might keep small garden plots and raise hogs and chickens on their own. The work of a fieldhand was more strenuous than that of a house servant, but the routine of a domestic worker, especially in the city, was more regimented and equally subject to the whims of the owner (Lerner 1967:264-265).

Restrictions on Slaves

For Confederate memorialists like D.E.H. Smith, the great injustice was emancipation, not slavery. Smith's rosy picture of coachmen decked in livery and servants cavorting after hours in the yard is seen from the pinnacle of wealth and prestige. In reality, the law closely watched over the slaves' leisure activities. Trading with a servant was forbidden unless the person could produce a written permit from his master or overseer (Henry 1914:81). An ordinance of 1813 prohibited Negroes from swearing, smoking, or walking with a cane on the streets, unless infirm or blind, and from making any "joyful demonstration." Negroes were not permitted to hold dances without the consent of the city wardens, or to assemble at a military parade. A regulation of 1848 rendered all parks off-limits to slaves and free Negroes unless a white person accompanied them or they carried a pass stating a specific purpose (Figure 17). Another ordinance of 1850 forbade the owner of a saloon to allow a slave or free Negro to loiter or sit down in his place of business (Henry 1914:48). These laws, though rigidly enforced in times of crisis, were regularly circumvented or ignored.

Negroes who violated an ordinance could be carried off to the workhouse. Indeed, any slaveowner could send an "unruly or disobedient slave" to the workhouse for any length of time. The City charged masters 25 cents for each "correction." Workhouse punishments included whipping, putting on of irons, and after 1825, the treadmill. Masters regularly availed themselves of these options. "Corrections" at Charleston's two workhouses, for example, averaged over 150 per month in the prewar decade (Wade 1964:96). Slaveowners could also use the threat of a trip to the workhouse as an instrument of persuasion. H.M. Henry, who has writted a classic book on the subject, suggests that the institution was not exceptionally cruel, as the master of the workhouse was "limited in this respect and chastisement was at the owner's direction and avoided the cruelty incident to sudden heat of passion." Besides providing slaveowners with a "a convenient place of commitment," the workhouse furnished the city with a source of labor. All able-bodied inmates were employed in "gainful occupations," such as stone cutting, unless their masters requested "remission of labor" (Henry 1914:47).

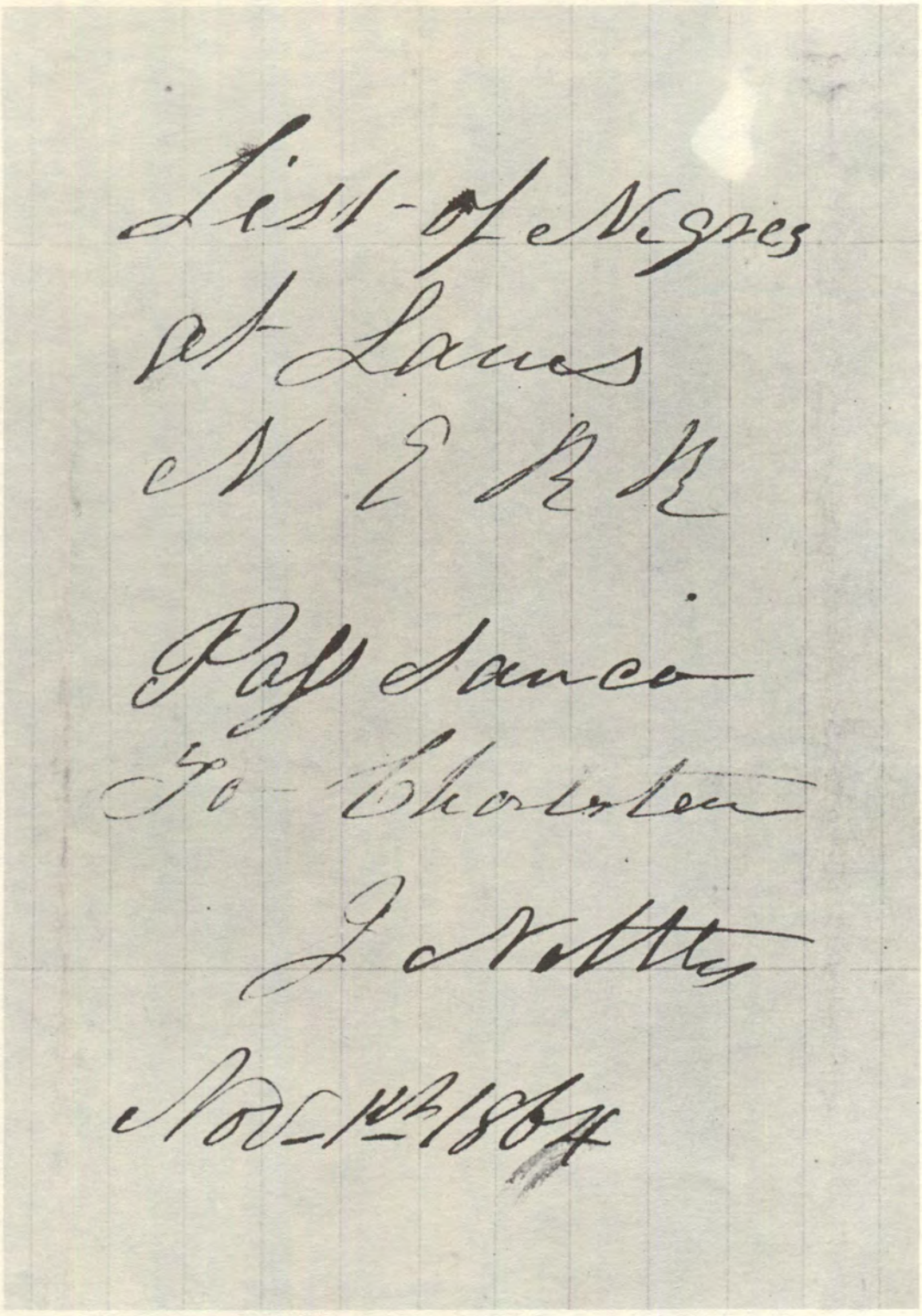


Figure 17: Slave pass for "Sanco," 1864, found on the cover of William Aiken's list of slaves. (Photo by Grayson Matthews)

Police control of African-Americans was a chronic issue in Charleston. The greater autonomy of city life, the slack rein held over slaves who hired their own time, and the presence of a large concentration of free Negroes gave African-Americans room to maneuver and elude control. Especially before its annexation in 1849, the Neck had a particular advantage for people of color, slave and free. Law enforcement was less rigorous there than in the city. During the colonial period, the Neck was Charleston's frontier, a border between town and country, a zone of lawlessness. The Charleston grand jury complained in 1744, for example, that blacks from the city were carrying "Rum and other Goods, to trade with Negroes in the Country," under the pretense of picking myrtle berries (South Carolina Gazette, Nov. 5, 1744, quoted in Henry 1914:50).

With its sizable free colored population, the Neck provided a refuge from the surveillance and enforcement posses known as patrols, because bondsmen had a chance to pass themselves as free persons. A special act of the General Assembly in 1823 tried to defeat this subterfuge by tightening controls on free people and treating all Negroes with the same stick. Any free person of color could be whipped by the patrol if caught away from his home or his employer's premises, unless he produced his "free papers," certified by the clerk of court, or convinced the patrol "by other satisfactory proof." The act went further and declared that free Negroes out after curfew without a ticket from their guardians "would be liable to the same punishment meted out to a slave" (Henry 1914:51). Even the highly respectable free colored benevolent societies were careful to adjourn their meetings before the "city limitation."

The proximity of the Neck tended to undermine police control within city limits. In 1836, municipal authorities reported that "efforts to control the Negroes in the city are futile, since they easily cross the boundary into 'the Neck' where 'the police is not and cannot be effective'" (Henry 1914:51). Indeed, it was the desire to provide for "a more efficient police," and to settle the "conflict of jurisdiction" which prompted the City to annex the Neck, according to the preamble of the act of incorporation, passed on December 19, 1849 (Charleston Police Force 1909:11). Before annexation, citizens took turns patrolling the suburb at night, "while constables performed this duty in the day time, and were under the control of the commissioners of cross-roads." The police force of the upper wards remained a separate organization for two years after incorporation - the initials "P.U.W." on the caps of officers and privates signified "police upper wards" - so the question of jurisdiction was not entirely resolved. Policemen did not know whether they had the right to pursue a fugitive across Boundary Street, "that line, which seems like a city of refuge of old, meaning freedom from pursuit and capture" (Charleston Police Force 1909: 12).

Throughout the antebellum period, the upper wards were infamous for harboring runaways and Negroes passing as free. Slaveowners routinely advertised for runaways in Charleston's newspapers, and sometimes specified where they believed delinquents might be found. The Neck was a likely haven. "RANAWAY from the Subscriber," announced A.B. Wilson in the Charleston Daily Courier on September 7, 1860, "his

boy HENRY alias HENRY GREEN. He is about 18 years of age, 5 feet 6 inches high, color mustee, with a countenance somewhat grum, and is supposed to be working on the wharves, driving a dray or hack, or employed by some one in the Upper Wards. He has no ticket or badge from me, and as he can read and write, it is possible that he may pass himself off as being free."

The Denmark Vesey Affair

The most notorious instance of the Neck as a staging ground for subversion was the Denmark Vesey conspiracy, discovered in 1822. Reportly, Denmark Vesey masterminded a slave revolt to overthrow white authority and establish black control over the city. Born either in Africa or the West Indies, Vesey was brought to Charleston in the service of a sea captain. Purchasing his freedom with winnings from a lottery, he worked for more than 20 years as a carpenter in the city. According to testimony at the trials of Vesey and his lieutenants, members of a small church he attended in Hampstead concocted the rebellion (Killens 1970:xvii).

The African Church, as it was called, originated in a schism between black and white Methodists. Conflict had been brewing since 1815, when white church leaders revoked certain privileges which Charleston's Negro Methodists had enjoyed, including holding a quarterly conference of their own, managing their collections, and controlling church trials of African-American members. Morris Brown and other Negro leaders communicated with officials of the young African Methodist Episcopal Church, which had been launched in several northern cities. Brown and Harry Bull visited Philadelphia and were ordained for pastorates in their native city.

A dispute over custody of a Negro burial ground on Pitt Street advanced the secessionist movement. When the Methodists built a hearse house on the cemetery, most of the colored class leaders resigned and more than three quarters of the Negro Methodists withdrew from the white churches.[8] Within a year the African congregation had erected a "neat church building" on the corner of Hanover and Reid Streets in the northeast section of Charleston Neck (Mood 1856:132).

City officials moved quickly against such displays of independence. In 1817, an incident resulted in the arrest of 469 members of a Negro congregation on charges of disorderly conduct. In June, 1818, city police arrested 140 worshippers belonging to the Hampstead church, on the charge of assembling for mental instruction without white people present. Despite repression, the African Church continued to function until 1822, when it was razed in retaliation for its alleged role in the Vesey affair (Lofton 1964:92-94).

Several members of the Church were implicated in the conspiracy. Besides Vesey, four of his principal associates, Gullah Jack, Monday Gell, Ned Bennett, and Peter Poyas, were said to belong to the Hampstead congregation, Bennett and Poyas as class leaders. In the testimony of numerous witnesses, the refrain "he belongs to the African Church," was repeated so frequently that it began to sound

like prima facie evidence of a defendant's guilt. William Paul and Bacchus Hamett, on cross-examination, declared that the plan had been hatched in 1818, when the African Church opened its doors in Hampstead (Wikramanayake 1973:142). Though Morris Brown was tarred with this brush, his involvement in the conspiracy was denied in the Account of the Late Intended Insurrection published by city authorities.[9]

According to this report, the African secession "formed a hot-bed in which the germ might well be expected to spring into life and vigour. Among the conspirators a majority of them belonged to the African Church" (Hamilton 1822:25). Slaves from the country and some from the Neck were to meet at Bulkley's farm the night of the uprising. Another band, under Ned Bennett's leadership, was to seize control of the federal arsenal on the Neck. A third company, under Rolla Bennett, would gather at Bennett's Mills in Cannonsborough. Gullah Jack would meet his men at Boundary Street and King, then seize some 500 muskets and bayonets stored at Duquercron's, as well as weapons belonging to the militia company called the "Neck-Rangers." These were kept in an unguarded wooden building on King Street Road, where Bacchus Hammett slept on the night of the revolt (Lofton 1964:140-141). As a corridor into the city and a relatively unguarded area, the Neck was a logical place for rebels to assemble and arm.

Several witnesses testified that between six and nine thousand slaves had been recruited to the cause, some from as far away as Santee River plantations. Most of those accused, however, were from Charleston and its environs. Conspirators named in the Official Report of the Trials included "Negroes hired or working out, such as Carters, Drayman, Sawyers, Porters, Laborers, Stevedores, Mechanics, (and) those employed in lumber yards" and in rice mills along the edge of the peninsula (Killens 1970:3). In contrast to these recruits, who tended to be manual laborers, the leaders of the conspiracy were mainly skilled artisans and preachers: Vesey was a carpenter; Peter Poyas, a "first-rate" ship carpenter; Mingo Harth, a "mechanic"; Tom Russell, a blacksmith; and Monday Gell, identified as an Ebo harnessmaker who hired out his own labor and kept a workshop on Meeting Street. Gullah Jack had been "a conjurer and a physician" in his native Angola, a witness testified, and had "practiced these arts in this country for fifteen years, without it being generally known among the whites" (Hamilton 1822:23).

The owners of the defendants, and the magistrates, expressed surprise and disbelief that Negroes of such "character and condition" would rebel. Except for Gullah Jack, all the leaders had been known for exemplary behavior. They had won "not only the unlimited confidence of their owners, but they had been indulged in every comfort, and allowed every privilege compatible with their situation in the community." Even Gullah Jack "by no means sustained a bad character." What could have motivated Vesey, a free man; Rolla, "the confidential servant of his master"; Ned, "also a confidential servant"; Peter, "a slave of great value"? The magistrates were especially incredulous at the complicity of Monday, who had "enjoyed all the substantial comforts of a free man," and had "even kept his master's arms and sometimes his money" (Kennedy and Parker, quoted in Killens 1970:29).

A clue to why these men joined the plot - in fact, the only clue the magistrates could find - came from a witness who had heard Vesey say that he had several children who were slaves, and "wished to see them free." The insurgents had hoped to take Charleston by setting the city on fire and killing all the white people and any blacks who did not join the rebellion. After that the plan was less clear. "There were goods in the stores, money in the banks, and ships in the harbor." The army of vengeance might sail to St. Dominique, "which had promised, Vesey said, to receive the rebels" (Lofton 1964:141-142).

One immediate consequence of the aborted uprising was the sentencing of 35 of the 131 accused to death. The first group of six, Vesey among them, was hung on July 2. Thirty-seven others were "transported" out of the state. Four white men tried for the misdemeanor of "inciting slaves to insurrection," were imprisoned and fined. Three were immigrants: a Scottish sailor, a Spanish seamen, and a German peddler. The American-born Andrew Rhodes, once a shopkeeper, was said to have told the conspirators that "though he had a white face, he was a negro in heart" (Starobin 1970:4).

The heroes of the Vesey affair, according to lawmakers and their frightened constituents, were three African-Americans who had informed on the conspirators. A house servant of Col. J.C. Prioleau, named Peter Desverneys, who rang the first alarm, and George Wilson, who had spied on the rebels, were manumitted for "heroic deeds" and awarded annual pensions of $50. Desverneys would later become a landowner on the Neck and a slaveholder. William Penceel, a free mulatto and slaveowner, had urged Desverneys to tell his master what he knew. For his services, he was exempted from the capitation tax imposed on free Negroes, and given $1,000 to boot. Within a month he had spent part of the money, $700, to buy a slave named Sukey and her two children, Harriet and Thorn (Koger 1985:42, 178-180).

Persecution of free persons of color intensified as a result of the Vesey affair. Vesey's status, and the mobility and freedom of action it had given him, were used as an excuse to attack the privileges which free Negroes enjoyed. Actually, the campaign against them had been brewing for years. Legislators whose social ideas were formed in the period of reaction against the libertarian ideals of the American Revolution sought to eliminate ambiguity when it came to the status of the Negro by restoring the social formula that had prevailed in provincial days. Negro meant slave. "Free Negro" was a contradiction in terms, and free Negroes as a class constituted an ongoing disturbance of the peace. While lawmakers passed the "Seamen's Act" and other restrictive legislation, a group of influential Charlestonians, including Joseph Manigault, formed the South Carolina Association, whose stated purpose was to lobby for rigid enforcement of the Negro laws. In a letter to the legislature, the group affirmed its intention "to prevent ANY FREE COLORED PERSON FROM ANY PART OF THE WORLD ever entering again into the limits of the State of South Carolina, by LAND OR BY WATER" (January 1977:194-197).

The city government, meanwhile, took steps to bolster its peace-keeping force. An arsenal and guardhouse replaced some tobacco inspection buildings on the green north of Boundary Street. First

federal troops, then state troops, garrisoned the fortress. In March, 1843, 21 years after the Vesey affair, the state guard was replaced by 20 students who comprised the first Corps of Cadets of the South Carolina Military Academy, known as the Citadel.

African-American Religion

Religion was a powerful force in the lives of Charleston's Negro population. Despite their initial reluctance, lowcountry planters eventually embraced the efforts of Christian missionaries to minister among their slaves. White preachers dispensed a selective Christianity, emphasizing obedience now and salvation later (Joyner 1986:267). Many African-Americans accepted the Christian god, but incorporated aspects of their African heritage into the acts of worship. One example of this process was the exuberant and expressive behavior of "shouts:" singing, chanting, handclapping, foot-stamping and dancing. African-Americans reinterpreted and incorporated the phenomenon of "spirit possession," practiced particularly among the Bantu, Yoruba, and Fanti-Ashanti peoples, into the Christian religion (Joyner 1986:269).

Other elements of African cosmology proved less compatible with Christianity. African sorcery and voodoo, rather than disappear, continued to be practiced clandestinely. The snake god, high in the African pantheon of the Ewe, the Fon, the Bantu, the Dahomey, the Whydah, and the Yoruba, remained important among African-Americans as the controller of the future. Slaves took their physical and personal problems to local conjurers rather than to their masters. Highly respected within the community, the conjurer inherited her or his status or received it at birth by being born with a "caul," which imparted second sight. Though the sorcerers did not command universal adherence as did their African counterparts, they did exert considerable influence over the lives of other slaves. For example, Gullah Jack, a leader of the Demmark Vesey conspiracy, was believed to possess occult powers, rendering him immune from the white man's bullets. A third aspect of African cosmology which survived the middle passage was the belief in hags, haunts, and plat-eyes, all spirits of the dead returning to visit members of this world (Joyner 1986:274-276).

African-Americans embraced Afro-Christianity in varying degrees. Some abandoned their African religion entirely; others maintained their traditional religions, including Islam. Even today, many of the beliefs and practices which originated in African religions are present in black communities across the lowcountry.

Throughout the antebellum period, religion and church affiliation played an important role in the lives of black Charlestonians. Most Negroes joined white congregations and worshipped in the galleries or rear pews of white churches. On the east side of the Neck, these churches included the Second Presbyterian Church (1809), 342 Meeting Street; St. Matthews Lutheran Church (1840), 405 King Street; Citadel Square Baptist Church (1856), 328 Meeting Street; St. Luke's Episcopal Church (1857), which moved in 1859 from the corner of Chapel and

Elizabeth streets to a new structure on the corner of Charlotte and Elizabeth.

White ministers grappled with two recurring questions in regard to their Negro membership. Should blacks be allowed to establish separate churches and should slaves be given religious instruction, which might inspire in them unsettling ideas about justice and freedom? In general, clergymen chose the path of safety, granting that Negroes should receive the catechism but insisting that they stay within the white church. African Methodism nevertheless secured a foothold in Charleston, despite severe repression following the Vesey affair. And towards the end of the antebellum period, overcrowding prompted both white Episcopalians and Presbyterians to construct separate churches for their Negro members (Lilly and Legerton 1966:130-131). Immediately after the Civil War, African-Americans of most denominations formed separate congregations and built their own churches.

The "Hiring Out" System

Masters and other white people regarded town servants living "in the yard" of the big house as a privileged lot. Yet given the chance to "live out," a slave generally took it. The price paid for living on one's own was often less comfortable quarters: a room above a stable, a corner of an unused shed, or a shanty converted for sleeping. "The living-out contract was a convenience for masters and whites," states one historian, "not a better housing program for slaves" (Wade 1964:115). Within the range of bad to worse, however, the most spacious accommodations for independent slaves, sometimes an entire house, were found on the Neck.

The "denseness of population and the closely contiguous settlements" of black people on the Neck had become controversial by the mid-1840s (Charleston Courier, September 22, 1845, quoted in Wade 1964:70). A grand jury in 1856 appealed to the state legislature to stop allowing whites to build shacks for Negroes. "Rows of buildings," the presentment claimed, were constructed "expressly for and rented to slaves and persons of color." These tenements sheltered "as many as fifty to one hundred negroes or persons of color...shut out from the public street by a gate, all the buildings have but one common yard, and not a single white person on the premise." (Wade 1964:70).

Living arrangements like these bore a closer resemblance to industrial work situations than to the traditional layout of slave quarters. Barracks and tenements were attempts to accommodate a hybrid system of labor, the hiring out system, which was transforming the nature of urban slavery.

The practice of "hiring out" slaves dated from the early 1700s. As slaves acquired skills, and some blacks and mulattoes acquired freedom, the number of Negro tradespeople increased. On plantations, masters found it profitable to hire out skilled slaves for long periods of time, and even more lucrative to hire them by "job work" at odd times. Though the arrangement removed the slave from the direct

supervision of his or her master, it worked so long as the Negro proved faithful and industrious.

In the cities and small towns, slave hire "came to be really the established economic order of things" (Henry 1914:97). Hiring out broadened the possibilities for using slave labor. Combining the fluidity of the wage system with the restraints of bondage, slave hire developed two variations: long term and short term. Contracts for hiring bondsmen specified the price employers would pay (most or all of which went to the owner), the length of service, and the nature of work required. Some assurance that the worker would be properly treated generally was included. The usual term of hire was 12 months, with a short holiday for Christmas. The cost to the employer varied according to current prices for slaves, prevailing wage levels, and the degree of skill involved in the job (Wade 1964:38). The usual "wage" was about ten percent of what the slave himself would bring at market (Rosengarten 1986).

An urban slaveowner who housed slaves on his premises might develop business relations with the public "not unlike the liveryman who hired out his horse and wagon. The advantage to the master was that the slave needed less constant care than the horse" (Henry 1914:97). Lenders of slaves did not constitute a distinct class. Rather, slave hire could be practiced by anyone who owned a Negro.

To be sure, the system involved certain difficulties. Not only was a hireling removed from the master's supervision, but his or her employment undercut the market for free labor. The problems were exacerbated when slaveowners took the next logical step and allowed their Negroes to "work out" and hire their <u>own</u> time. For this new dimension of independence slaves paid fixed sums to their masters by the week or month, and were permitted to make the hiring arrangements and keep the rest of their earnings for themselves (Smith 1950:63-64).

Laws prohibiting the practice were enacted as early as 1712. Owners who allowed bondsmen to hire their own time were subject to small fines. By an act of 1822, passed in the wake of the Denmark Vesey trials, a slave permitted to hire his or her time was liable to seizure, confiscation, and sale. An act of 1849 reduced the penalty to a $50 fine with half that amount going to the informer. Yet these laws were routinely disregarded, and little or no efforts were made to enforce them (Henry 1914:99). To ensure a flexible labor supply, some device like slave hire was essential. In quiet times, citizens winked at the law. Discoveries of Negro conspiracies, like the Vesey affair, provoked calls for greater police repression, "but relaxation of control was not long in following each spasm of police reform" (Phillips 1974:14).

More effective than outright prohibition were attempts to regulate slave hire by requiring owners to buy badges for the people they wanted to hire out. The system of issuing slave badges, unique to southern cities, permitted short-term employment, avoided cumbersome contracts, and served to distinguish slaves from runaways, free blacks, and loiterers. The badge system reflected a shift of responsibility for slave control from masters to municipal

governments. In Carolina, efforts to regulate slave hire began just ten years after the 1712 enactment which had outlawed the practice. A written ticket, called "a certificate, note or memorandum," was required between owner and employer. Through the 1740s, in the aftermath of a slave uprising on the Stono River, slaveholders warned of abuses of the ticket law, and white artisans petitioned to have the system of slave hire abolished altogether. Renewed efforts to regulate bondsmen were initiated in 1751 and again in 1764, but these laws too were frequently ignored and inadequately enforced. After its incorporation in 1783, the City of Charleston passed a new ordinance to license fishermen and produce vendors. For the first time, free Negroes were also required to purchase badges, at five shillings apiece (Singleton 1984:42-46).

By 1790, the system of badges for slave hire was found to be "burdensome and unequal" and was abandoned, only to be revived in 1800. "Free papers" or "certificates" replaced badges for free people of color. The ordinance set a new fee schedule for slave badges: those for handicraftsmen or tradesmen cost $3; for carters, draymen, porters or day laborers, $2; for fishermen, fisherwomen, house servants, and washermen, $1; and for fruit vendors, $6. Non-residents of the city were prohibited from hiring their slaves in Charleston, and Charlestonians were permitted to hire out no more than six slaves (Singleton 1984:47-50).

Revision of the law in 1806 required the City Treasurer to keep a register of the names of slaves for whom badges were issued, their ages, and trades. Each badge was to be stamped with "the number as well as the specific trade or employment to be performed by any slave working out of hire." The ordinance also set labor rates, work hours, and assigned locations where porters and other day laborers would wait to be hired (Singleton 1984:50) (Figure 18).

Apparently none of the Treasurer's registers has survived, but badges themselves have proven more durable. "A most ridiculous trade is to-day carried on in the curiosity shops," D.E.H. Smith remarked in 1913, "which sell the very ordinary bits of brass as 'slave-badges' at high prices....Doubtless many have been dispersed over the North as curiosities of slavery" (Smith 1950:64). True, metal badges were also required for chimney sweeps, owners of bread carts, and dogs. But in a field where few artifacts remain to illuminate the past, extant slave tags provide tangible information about the lives of urban African-Americans. Made of copper, most badges were diamond shaped, pressed in a mold or sometimes hand pounded, stamped with inscriptions, and pierced with a hole. Badges for free Negroes were oval. Pressed from a copper alloy resembling brass, they bore the emblem of a liberty cap, believed to be the cap given to free slaves in Rome (Singleton 1984:53,58-61).

Charleston silversmiths were commissioned to fabricate slave badges. Several tags dating from 1817, 1824, and 1825 bear John Joseph Lafar's stamped insignia (Burton 1938:103; Singleton 1984:58). In 1835, the City Council awarded a young silversmith named William Madison Rouse, who had recently completed his apprenticeship and set himself up in business, a contract for making badges. Rouse had a shop

Figure 18: Examples of slave tags in the collections of the Charleston Museum (a-f) and the American Numismatic Society (g). (Photos by Grayson Matthews and Theresa Singleton)

on the corner of Vanderhorst and King streets, on the west side of the Neck (Burton 1938:160-161). By 1864, he owned two properties on America Street, valued at $1,000 and $2,000, respectively. The lot with the higher assessment had been developed as rental property by 1861 (City Census 1861; Ward Book 1864).

Municipal accounts for 1849 and 1850 list the badges the City purchased from Rouse for resale to owners who wanted to hire out their slaves. The quantity Rouse made for each category of worker provides a rough guide to the distribution of occupations of slaves hired out. In 1849, servants and porters together accounted for almost 85 percent of the total; badges for servants numbered 2,400; porters, 1,400; mechanics, 400; fruiterers, 180; and "fishers," 100. At 2 1/2 cents each, these 4,480 badges cost the City $112.[10] By October, the City Treasurer evidently had run out of porters' badges, for the purchase of "30 extra Porters" is noted among the expenditures for that month. Rouse also made 20 tin badges for "Sweeps," at 13 cents apiece, 15 tin "Dray Licenses," at six cents each, and 250 brass badges for dogs, at 12 cents. The City bought the bulk of its slave badges in January, and sold most of them that month. In February, 1850, following brisk sales in vehicular licenses, another metalworker, D.H. Deveau, was paid $7.55 for 151 "extra dray and cart Badges" (Receipts and Expenditures, 1849-1850:95,102,107,157).

Badges permitted slaves to work by the day or hour, without a contract. For the City Treasurer, they provided a source of revenue, amounting to nearly $14,000 in 1849 and $26,000 in 1859 (Singleton 1984:53; Wade 1964:41). The real purpose of the licensing system, however, was not revenue, but control of the labor supply and the laborers. A slave caught working without a badge was subject to 20 stripes on his or her bare back at the public market, or the owner could be fined $20. The person who employed the slave was assessed twice the price of a badge plus costs (Wade 1964:41). Counterfeiting a badge was punishable by a fine of $50, transferring a badge from one worker to another by a fine of $20 (Singleton 1984:52). These sanctions reveal the manifold difficulties of policing the badge laws. Enforcement was expensive, and forgeries were hard to detect. Except during periodic crackdowns, badge violations led to few arrests. A total of 448 people were picked up during the four year period from 1858 to 1861; omitting the months when concerted round-ups were underway, the monthly figures averaged nine (Singleton 1984:54) (Table 8).

Charleston's badge laws were gradually relaxed. In 1830, the City exempted mechanics from obtaining badges for the slaves they employed. Another concession, in 1843, allowed planters who lived outside Charleston to hire out their slaves within the city, though badges for out-of-town Negroes cost twice what city residents paid. The ordinance may have been designed "to add a small pool of slaves to a decreasing labor force." It certainly indicates the willingness of city officials to comply with the desires of planters at the expense of white "mechanics," and to yield to economic facts of life. The "final jolt" to the badge system came in 1848, when slaves were licensed, for the first time, to work for other slaves. The practice must have been common before it was legal, because it was mentioned frequently in

mechanics' complaints (Singleton 1984:51). One thing it signified was how far from slavery a self-hired Negro might come.

Table 8
Monthly Arrests of Slaves Caught Hiring Out Without a Badge, 1858-1861

	1858		1859		1860		1861	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
January	ND	-	ND	-	0	-	0	-
February	44	40.40	2	2.73	0	-	0	-
March	21	19.20	16	21.91	0	-	0	-
April	4	3.70	15	20.55	27	10.80	3	18.75
May	23	21.00	7	9.60	45	18.00	3	18.75
June	3	2.80	6	8.22	32	12.80	3	18.75
July	4	3.70	0	-	40	16.00	3	18.75
August	3	2.80	3	4.11	93	37.20	4	25.00
September	2	1.80	0	-	2	.80	ND	-
October	1	.90	0	-	6	2.40	ND	-
November	3	2.80	14	19.18	4	1.60	ND	-
December	1	.90	10	13.70	1	.40	ND	-
TOTAL	109	100.00	73	100.00	250	100.00	16	100.00

Total Arrests for four years = 448 (Singleton 1984:54)

Municipal improvements and public works depended heavily on slaves hired out. Gangs of Negroes graded, paved, and cleaned the streets, built bridges and fortifications, collected garbage, dug canals and sewers, and laid railroad track. Some of these laborers were working off punishments, but most were hirelings. Charleston's municipal scavenger, for example, as early as 1806, took on three hands. In the fire fighting brigade, bondsmen worked 16 engines (Wade 1964:44-47). The going rate the City paid to hire a Negro in 1850 was $12 per month (Receipts and Expenditures, 1849-1850:19).

Slaves whose owners collected their wages had a great incentive to secure the privilege of hiring their own time. There were advantages for the owner, too. A master who wanted to manumit a Negro but was prevented from doing so by law could "bring about virtually the same result" by granting the person control of his or her own time and labor. In some cases, "self-hire" was a reward for faithfulness or recognition of a worker's unusual ability. In others, it was simply a practical way to employ one's laborers and make some money. In time, H.M. Henry suggested, hiring out "would have proven to be the point of departure from the old slavery system to a new economic organization of labor" (Henry 1914:97). More recently, Richard Wade, who cannot be accused of being an apologist for the "peculiar institution," described the hiring system as one of the forces tending to undermine urban slavery (Wade 1964:54, passim).

No matter where one stood on the issue of servitude, the self-hire system was seen as subversive to the control of one person by another which lay at the heart of slavery. Pro-slavery zealots reacted to the class of semi-free people with outrage and ridicule. "Our

colored gentry," quipped a contemporary observer, "not only maintains parsons and builds churches, but hires carriages to attend them" (E.A. Pollard, Black Diamonds Gathered in the Darkey Homes of the South, NY, 1859:37, quoted in Henry 1914:100). To abolitionists, the example of slaves hiring themselves out was proof of their capacity for freedom. In Slavery Unmasked, published in 1856, Philo Tower cited the amazing industriousness of a Charleston couple, Jungo and Betty, who paid $670 to their master and still were able to "feed, clothe, and house themselves" (Quoted in Wade 1964:53).

The staunchest opponents of Negro self-hire were white artisans and mechanics who felt they could not compete with the wages slaves were paid.[11] But white workers did not have the political clout to get their will enacted into law (Phillips 1974:13). Again and again, presentments to the Grand Jury protesting the practice of hiring out slaves were tabled, and statutes limiting self-hire were ignored.

In the years before the Vesey conspiracy, organizations of white mechanics had petitioned the legislature three times for redress of their grievances. With public opinion hotly aroused by the Vesey affair, the South Carolina Gazette, in the fall of 1822, published a series of articles supporting the workers' position: "There should be no black mechanics or artisans, at least in the cities," the author argued, fearful that partial liberty would raise a slave's expectations. Unsupervised, Negroes "acquire vicious habits" and present "an evil example to other slaves," he warned (Quoted in Henry 1914:101).

In 1858, a legislative committee reviewed the mechanics' complaints, as well as recent presentments to the Charleston grand jury and various bills proposed to remedy the situation. No law resulted from the committee's recommendations, but its Report on the Colored Population defined the problem in terms no one could fail to understand: "The evil complained of is, the slaves are allowed to go at large, exercise all the privileges of free persons, make contracts, do work, and every way live and conduct themselves as if they were not slaves."

The legislators could not devise an acceptable solution, they claimed, because laws could not overturn custom. "We are a slaveholding people...accustomed to black labor and it would create a revolution to drive it away....Until you can change the direction of the public prejudice, prepossession and habit you can never enforce a law that conflicts with them" (Quoted in Henry 1914:101-102).

Free People of Color: Residential Patterns

Low rents, inexpensive lots, and the privilege of building wooden houses were strong inducements for free Negroes to live on the Neck. Free people of color could buy and sell real estate, choose trades, run businesses or even plantations, form fraternal organizations, own slaves, and hire workers, slave or free. Within limits set by white society, they could educate their children and practice their religion.

Free Negroes played a major role in the development of Charleston Neck. In demographic terms, the suburb was home to a disproportionate share of the city's free black population. By 1860, almost two thirds of this group lived in the four upper wards; the 2,078 free people of color counted by federal census takers in Wards 5, 6, 7, and 8, represented some 64 percent of all free Negroes in the city (Johnson and Roark 1984a:382nf). According to the City Census of 1861, free people of color constituted 14.95 percent of the population of Ward 5, and 7.35 percent of Ward 7. Proportionately, free Negroes were twice as likely to live in Ward 5 as in any of the lower wards, and twice as likely to live in Ward 5 as in Ward 7 (Table 9). The discrepancy between the upper East Side wards is related to the time when the areas were developed. Ward 5, contiguous to the city, was settled in the early decades of the century, when the prospects for free Negroes looked brightest. Ward 7 grew most rapidly in the 1850s. Its new industries attracted white mechanics and Irish immigrants, who were openly hostile to free persons of color.

Table 9
Relative Percentage of Population Groups by Ward, 1861

Ward	Whites		Slaves		Free Colored		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
1	2681	61.2	1578	36.0	121	2.7	4380
2	3102	48.4	3137	49.0	161	2.5	6400
3	4522	63.5	2221	31.2	370	5.2	7113
4	5926	53.3	4365	39.2	815	7.3	11106
5	2739	48.0	2111	37.0	853	14.9	5703
6	3476	52.5	2381	35.9	760	11.4	6617
7	1924	70.3	609	22.2	201	7.3	2734
8	2555	59.6	1253	28.7	504	11.5	4356

(Ford 1861)

In every ward, both whites and slaves outnumbered free Negroes. Residential patterns on the Neck, as in the city, formed a "mosaic" of white, mulatto, black, and a few Native American people (Johnson and Roark 1984a:226). Though still the exception, racial segregation increased incrementally in the last decades of the antebellum period, as people deliberately chose their own kind as neighbors (Curry 1981:60).

This trend is evident on the Neck. People of one or another group tended to cluster on certain streets. Courts, a housing arrangement common in the upper wards, were likely to be segregated, as were alleys in the lower wards. In 1861, whites consituted 55.7 percent of Charleston's population, slaves, 36.4 percent and free people of color, 7.8 percent. Compared to these figures, free Negroes were overrepresented on 19 out of 38 streets north of Calhoun and east of King. In absolute numbers, most free people of color lived on Nassau (119), Henrietta (85), America (77), and Line (77) streets. In terms of percentages, free Negroes congregated on Thompsons Court (74.3 percent), Hagermans Court (68.4 percent), South Street (37.3 percent), Henrietta (37.1 percent), and Nassau (33 percent). Numerous free colored residents also lived on Cedar Court, Elizabeth, Chapel, America, Mary, and Reid streets (Table 10).

Table 10

Relative Proportion of Population by Streets, Wards 5 and 7 *

Street	White #	White %	Slave #	Slave %	Free Colored #	Free Colored %	Total	Number dwellings occupied by slaves**
Aiken	19	50.0	14	36.8	5	13.1	38	1/6
Alexander	153	42.0	174	47.8	37	10.1	364	7/37
America	274	55.3	144	29.0	77	15.5	495	5/86
Amherst	184	74.1	42	16.9	22	8.8	248	0/34
Ann	91	59.8	50	32.8	11	7.2	152	0/20
Blake	40	66.6	20	33.3	0	0.0	60	1/10
Chapel	94	32.9	141	49.4	50	17.5	285	7/29
Charlotte	185	43.8	203	48.1	34	8.0	422	2/42
Columbus	302	77.4	70	17.9	18	4.6	390	4/41
Cooper	14	87.0	2	12.5	0	0.0	16	1/5
Drake	72	48.0	76	50.6	2	1.3	150	0/13
Elizabeth	69	25.4	132	48.7	70	25.8	271	4/32
Hampstead Mall	55	72.3	21	27.6	0	0.0	76	0/11
Hanover	200	84.0	27	11.3	11	4.0	238	1/41
Henrietta	70	30.5	74	32.3	85	37.1	229	6/34
Hudson	35	48.6	37	51.3	0	0.0	72	0/4
John	77	29.9	153	59.5	27	10.5	257	4/25
Judith	65	41.6	72	46.1	19	12.1	156	2/13
Line	244	61.1	78	19.5	77	19.2	399	0/16
Mary	144	44.7	129	40.0	49	15.2	322	7/41
Nassau	168	46.6	73	20.2	119	33.0	360	4/59
Reid	186	62.8	68	22.9	42	14.1	296	3/49
South	58	47.1	19	15.4	46	37.3	123	2/21
Washington	190	46.4	174	42.5	45	11.0	409	1/13
Woolfe	173	82.7	28	13.3	8	3.8	209	3/35
Shepherd	50	76.9	14	21.5	1	1.5	65	1/15
Cedar Court	24	42.0	16	28.0	17	29.8	57	1/4
Hackers Alley	38	97.4	0	0.0	1	2.6	39	0/9
Hagermans Ct.	4	21.0	2	20.5	13	68.4	19	1/3
Hampstead Mall	55	72.3	21	27.6	0	0.0	76	0/12
Hunters Court	22	91.6	2	8.3	0	0.0	72	0/4
Johnsons Ct.	19	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	19	0/7
McKeegans Ct.	14	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	14	
Orange Court	19	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	19	0/6
Phillips Court	18	72.0	7	28.0	0	0.0	25	0/0
Thompsons Ct.	0	0.0	10	25.6	29	74.3	39	1/10
Williams Row	39	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	39	0/8
Wragg Place	42	43.3	55	56.7	0	0.0	97	0/7
Wragg Square	31	53.4	26	44.8	1	1.7	58	

(Ford 1861)

*King, Calhoun, and Meeting are not included because they extend beyond the boundaries of Ward 5 and 7.

**The last column compares the number of dwellings occupied by slaves with the total number of houses on the street.

These concentrations are especially noteworthy when compared to Coming Street, in Ward 6, which historians Johnson and Roark call "the heart of the free colored community in the city" (1984b:96n.25).

Coming Street had the largest number of free Negro residents of any street in the city. Its 273 free African-Americans comprised 18 percent of the residents and occupied 23 percent of the dwellings. Although no street in Ward 5 or 7 housed even half as many free Negroes as Coming did, several streets had larger percentages of free colored people (Figure 19a and 19b).

Perhaps equally striking is the absence of free persons of color in other neighborhoods. None was counted on Wragg Place, Hampstead Mall, or on Hunters, Johnsons, McKeegans, Orange, or Phillips Courts. No free Negroes occupied houses on Blake, Cooper, or Hudson streets; only one lived on Shepherd Street, Wragg Square, and Hackers Alley.

Free people of color gravitated towards some places and avoided others more deliberately than did whites or slaves. According to social historian Ira Berlin, the "index of dissimilarity" between whites and free Negroes, which registers residential distance, was more than twice that between whites and slaves (Berlin 1974). The reasons for this were partly circumstantial. The majority of slaves were domestic servants, who had no choice but to live in close proximity to their masters; on the other hand, few free Negroes could afford to live "in the expensive neighborhoods of rice planters, commission merchants, lawyers, and bankers" (Johnsons and Roark 1984a:226). Considering the self-consciousness of free colored families - especially the elite, who repeatedly referred to themselves as "our people," - and their eagerness to differentiate themselves from slaves, their tendency to congregate was probably intentional.

White people dominated certain neighborhoods on the east side of the Neck. They accounted for 100 percent of all residents on Johnsons, McKeegans, and Orange courts, over 90 percent of Hackers Alley and Hunters Court, more than 80 percent of Cooper, Hanover, and Woolfe streets, and over 70 percent of Columbus, Shepherd, and Amherst streets, as well as Hampstead Mall and Phillips Court. Again, courts seemed especially likely to accommodate homogenous groups of people.

Slaves were more widely dispersed over the area. They constituted a majority of the population only on John Street (59.5 percent), where the South Carolina Railroad's barracks were located, on Wragg Place (56.7 percent), and Hudson Street (51.3 percent). Low concentrations of slaves on other streets may coincide with neighborhoods settled by working class whites, the least likely of all groups to own bondsmen.

Erosion of Liberty

Charleston was the "unofficial capital" of South Carolina's free persons of color; in 1860, nearly one third of all free Negroes in the state lived there (Johnson and Roark 1984a:1970). Legally defined as denizens rather than citizens (Wikramanayake 1973:50-52) and numerous enough to constitute a separate class, free people of color occupied a "middle ground" between whites and slaves. In their social institutions and aspirations they identified with the white ruling class, but because of their color and their liability to persecution, they could never feel entirely secure.

Figure 19a: Approximate locations of free persons of color, based on the 1859 City Directory.

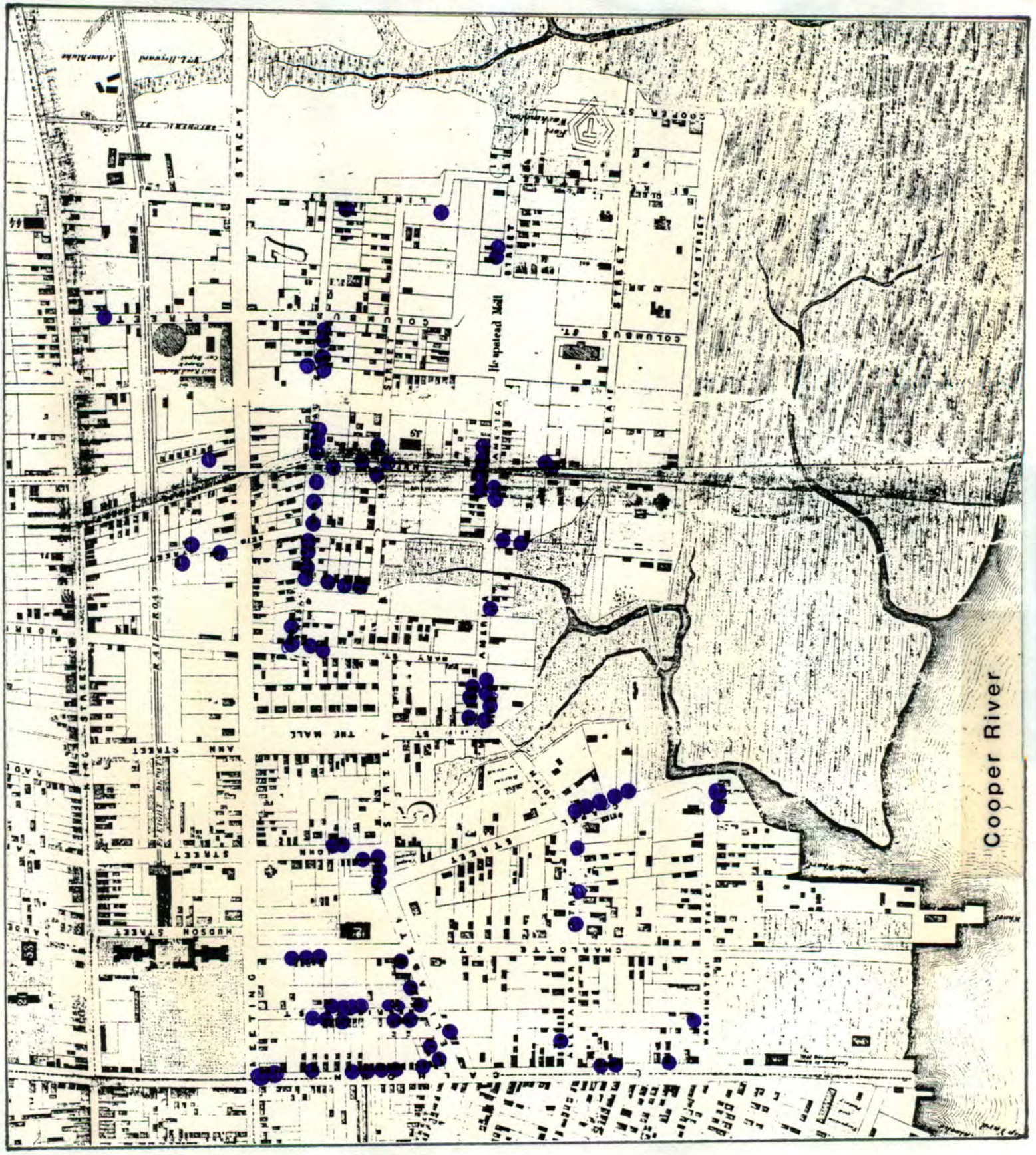


Figure 19b: Approximate locations of free persons of color on the East Side, based on the 1961 City Census.

Prior to 1820, South Carolina's free Negro codes were mild compared to restrictions imposed by other states. Consequently, free colored people from across the South flocked to Charleston. Immigration reached such proportions that, at the end of the period, Governor John Geddes called for "the strongest measures to prevent it" (Wikramanayake 1973:19). In 1820, an inauspicious year for South Carolina's free colored people, the State passed an omnibus law prohibiting manumission except by legislative decree, forbidding immigration on pain of enslavement, and limiting the movement of free Negroes across state lines (Henry 1914:170-172; Wikramanayake 1973:19). Two years later, in the wake of the Vesey trials, the legislature established the basic legal structure for governing free Negroes. Free people of color who left the state were subject to enslavement if they returned. Every free Negro man was required to find a white guardian, "a respectable freeholder of the district," who would attest to his "good character and correct habits." The clerk of court recorded the guardianship; the penalty for non-compliance was enslavement. A white informant who identified a free Negro without a guardian was rewarded with half the proceeds of the sale of the man into slavery (Henry 1914:178-179; Johnson and Roark 1984a:43).

Travelers to Charleston after 1822 regularly commented on the highly restrictive laws which applied to slaves and free Negroes (Clark 1973:102n). The effect of the laws, however, depended on the rigor of their enforcement, which in turn depended on public sentiment and court decisions. Means to circumvent the law could be found. Owners who wished to emancipate their slaves could provide for their emigration from the state. Slaves could be granted de facto freedom by the device of trusteeship, whereby a trustee purchased the slaves, held them in nominal servitude, and administered their property in their interests (Wikramanayake 1973:39).

Until 1841, court decisions, at variance with legislative policy, generally upheld the legality of these maneuvers. Provoked to action by hostile judicial decisions, the legislature in 1841 closed all loopholes to emancipation. Entitled "An Act to Prevent the Emancipation of Slaves," the new measure banned the use of trusts to evade the laws against manumission and prohibited the practice of removing slaves from the state in order to free them (Wikramanayake 1973:43). Still, many people supported a less stringent policy. Justice John Bolton O'Neall, for example, in 1845, publicly opposed the enactment. "A law, evaded as it is, and against which public sentiment, within and without the state, is so much arrayed, ought not to stand." In its place, O'Neall called for "a wise and prudent system of emancipation, like that of 1800," which had required simply that to be eligible for freedom, Negroes had to be able to support themselves (Henry 1914:174).

Without doubt, the laws against manumission resulted in anguish for slaves and for free colored families whose relatives remained in bondage. It also caused crises for slaveholders who, from conscience or affection, wanted to manumit their bondsmen. When he came of age and inherited slaves, Waccamaw rice planter A. Toomer Porter pondered, "What could I do but keep them? I could not free them, if I had wished to, and I was not such a philanthropist as to be willing to make

myself a pauper by emancipating; the law forbade that." Laws also barred Negroes from many western and northern states, but even if Porter could have removed his people to some free state, he asked, "how would they have been supported?" (Porter 1898:71).

In the 1850s and '60s, explicit and secret trusts continued to be made. Richard E. Dereef, a prominent free man of color living on the east side of the Neck, "bought" the slave Cato W. Joyner for the sum of $5, under the express condition that he consider Cato a free man (Koger 1985:68). Efforts to secure the freedom of slaves grew more devious. George Just, a German-born wharf builder, drafted an affidavit in June, 1853, concerning the birth of his mulatto slave, Charles.[12] There is reason to believe that Charles was George's natural son. Allowed to live as a free man of color, Charles married a free woman named Mary Ann, and stayed with her and their children in a house they owned on the north side of Calhoun Street (Ward Book 1853). He apparently accumulated substantial savings by hiring out his labor after hours. In time he built up a small estate, registering his property in his wife's name. In 1844, he became a founder and prominent member of the Unity and Friendship Society, a mutual insurance club for free Negroes. Already living like a free man, Charles many have bought his freedom around 1853 (Manning 1983:6-7).

His benefactor nevertheless feared that Charles' freedom was not secure. Less than one year before he died, George Just filed an affidavit in the office of the State Secretary asserting that Charles was the "issue of a white woman and a coloured or black man." Since a child's status was determined by the mother's, Charles, as the son of a white woman, "is and always was free" (Manning 1983:8).

Free Negro Occupations and Slaveownership

Most of Charleston's free colored people were artisans and tradespeople. On the Neck, however, at least in the early decades of its development, free Negro residents had not yet established themselves in skilled occupations. "Here a large number were laborers - carters, bricklayers, and washers - and were less independent economically" (Wikramanayake 1973:104). This conclusion, based on the Charleston Directory of 1819, is supported by statistics on free colored slaveholding, a reliable index of prosperity. In 1820, when 72.1 percent of Negro households in the city owned at least one slave, only slightly more than half of the Neck's free colored households reported slave property. By the end of the antebellum period, many free persons of color living north of Calhoun Street had established themselves in skilled occupations and a few families had achieved true affluence, though curiously, the incidence of slaveholding had actually declined (Koger 1985:19-20).[13]

Table 11, derived from the 1861 city Tax Book of Free Persons of Color, lists the occupations of free colored women between 14 and 50 years old and free men between 16 and 60, contrasting Wards 5 and 7 with the city as a whole. The largest number worked in the garment trades. Mantua makers, seamstresses, dressmakers, tailors, tailoresses, milliners, bootmakers, sewers, and ironers, taken

together, comprise more than a third (33.8 percent) of all workers. These tradespeople made clothes for city residents, slave as well as free. Free colored tailors, for example, made "suits of 'livery'" for the men-servants of prominent Charleston families. "Every family of importance," recollected D.E.H. Smith, "had its own liveries with differences in colours, well-known and easily distinguished" (Smith 1950:60).

Table 11
Occupations of Free Negro Women and Men in Wards 5 and 7, 1861

Occupation	East Side	City Total		East Side	City Total
Mantua Maker	84	262	Sailor	0	3
Seamstress	43	182	Driver	1	3
Washer	48	133	Sexton	1	3
Carpenter	28	87	Huckster	0	3
Labourer	11	56	Stevedore	0	3
Tailor	14	44	Milliner	1	3
Porter	12	41	Waiter	1	2
Dress Maker	7	36	Stewardess	0	2
Drayman	15	31	Machinist	0	2
Nurse	7	30	Ship Carpenter	2	2
Butcher	10	25	Boat Man	1	2
Bricklayer	7	24	Ship Joiner	1	1
Barber	7	24	Maltrose Maker	0	1
Servant (House)	5	24	Saw Sharpener	0	1
Fisherman	10	23	Oyster Woman	0	1
Sewer	12	20	Laundress	0	1
Cook	9	20	Segar Maker	1	1
Blacksmith	8	17	Deck Hand	0	1
Pastry Cook	8	14	Ironer	1	1
Mill Wright	6	13	Printer	0	1
Market Woman/Man	7	12	Locksmith	0	1
Tailoress	6	11	Cabinet Maker	0	1
Painter	2	9	Boiler Maker	0	1
Carter	4	8	Trade	0	1
Wheelwright	6	8	Hairdresser	1	1
Bootmaker	3	7	Maid	0	1
Housekeeper	5	7	Watering Maid	0	1
Shoe Maker	0	5	Lady's Maid	0	1
Factor	0	5			
Farmer	4	5	Apprentice	0	5
Cooper	3	4			
Tinner	2	4			
Harness Maker	3	4			
Mechanic	1	4			
Upholsterer	1	3			
Domestic	0	3			
Stable Keeper	1	3			

(Tax Book of Free Persons of Color 1861)

Plantation masters, too, ordered clothing for their hands (Koger 1985:148). Once the War bagan, the services of free Negro garment

workers continued to be sought after, presumably to outfit the new regiments of soldiers. Between 1860 and 1862, the number of Charleston's free colored dressmakers, mantua makers, and tailoresses increased by 112, the number of seamstresses by 34 (Johnson and Roark 1984a:344); ironically, the War resulted in economic advantages for these skilled urban blacks.

In general, people in the garment business earned a less-than-average income. In the city, however, most fared better than those in the country, because stylish and expensive clothes were in greater demand (Main 1965:80). Mantua makers and milliners provided elite white women with the latest European fashions to wear to balls, horse races, and plays arranged for their pleasure. Proprietors of dry goods stores imported the finest linens, satins, Chinese taffetas, English Persians, chintzes and calicoes of many colors and designs; these merchants employed mantua makers to transform the materials into gowns, petticoats, and cloaks, and milliners to make headgear and neckwear (Spruill 1972:90,117,284).

Seamstresses fabricated the simpler garments and household linens. Most seamstresses worked in their employers' houses and sewed by the day; others took in sewing at home (Spruill 1972:75).

In Charleston, free women of color dominated the sewing industry; over half of the seamstresses and mantua makers in the lower wards in 1848 and on the East Side in 1860 were free Negro women. Free colored women were especially prominent in the most highly skilled sewing profession, mantua making; in 1860, in Wards 5 and 7, they comprised three-fourths of all mantua makers, whereas the number of white and free Negro seamstresses were equal. Native American women also worked as seamstresses, representing 7 percent of the trade. Milliners, on the other hand, were predominantly white women. According to the 1848 City Census, white women comprised 86 percent of this needlecraft; in 1860, they accounted for 91 percent of all milliners on the East Side.

Apart from people listed in the sewing trades in the 1861 Tax Book, washers was the next largest category for free Negro women in Wards 5 and 7, including 48 individuals. Thirty-one men were listed in the transportation trades, as porters, carters, or draymen. These occupations, sometimes classified as unskilled, offered the greatest promise of economic advancement (Curry 1981:26). As a group, draymen demonstrated their political power by halting the advance of the railroad tracks into the city from the 1830s to the 1850s.

Free Negro men served as boatsmen and fishermen, roles monopolized by slaves until masters, fearful of defections, curtailed these slave occupations (Berlin 1974:218-219). "The fishermen," D.E.H. Smith recalled, "were most of them f.p.c. (free persons of colour) and were believed (I think truly so) to have in them a large infusion of Indian blood. They had followed this occupation from generation to generation, running out in their open boats until out of sight of land" (Smith 1950:64).

The fishermen's catch was sold by peddlers who hawked fish in residential areas of Charleston and by market women who sold fish and sometimes produce in the market. Many market women were the wives of fishermen, displaying signs such as "Joe Cole and Wife - Fish," advertising their wife and husband team (Gordon 1971:139).

The Mosquito Fleet carried on the tradition of black fishermen. After the Civil War, several hundred black men engaged regularly in boat fisheries; by 1880, they formed a fleet of as many as 50 vessels. From sunrise to sunset in every kind of weather, the men would fish beyond the bar, sometimes 40 miles out. Charlestonians have long admired their skill and courage. "It was really a sight to see them running up in a high breeze to a market," Smith reported, "Many an old gentlemen would time their dinner if possible to suit the tide, and the wharf where they landed would be crowded with servants and hucksters, through whom the fish might reach the kitchens" (Smith 1950:64). The Mosquito Fleet remains active today, unloading its catch at the foot of Laurens Street (Figure 20).

Mechanic arts, "arts wherein the Hand and Body are more concerned than the Mind," included handcrafts such as carpentry, blacksmithing, coppersmithing, cabinet making, and cooperage (Bridenbaugh 1974:155). Although the majority of the Negroes in these trades never rose above the middle income range, still many prospered. Their work required only a small amount of capital in the form of tools to perform the job, and their skills were in great demand. Carpenters earned two to three times the wage of an ordinary laborer; shipwrights earned even more (Main 1965:77).

Free persons of color has established themselves in the building trades in the late eighteenth century, setting a precedent for free Negro carpenters, bricklayers, painters, and plasterers. By 1860, two thirds of all free black men worked in skilled trades; 58 percent of these were carpenters, bricklayers, and painters (Johnson and Roark 1984a:185). Those who prospered often expanded their businesses by purchasing slaves.

Butchering, a prominent free Negro enterprise, commonly employed slave labor. In the 1830s, John Weston and William Friday, Jr., free colored butchers on the Neck, had slave assistants. Friday purchased his male slave, York, for $215 in 1832. By 1860, 27 percent of all free colored butchers in Charleston, including Francis Wilkinson and Joseph Sasportas of the Neck, owned slaves (Koger 1985:151).

Slaves acquired by free people of color often were family members and friends whom they wanted to free. But "benevolence" did not motivate all or even a majority of the colored slaveholding class. In his exhaustive study of free black slavemasters in South Carolina from 1790 to 1860, Larry Koger concludes that many Negro slaveowners "viewed the institution of slavery as a source of labor to be exploited for their own benefit" (Koger 1985:2). He devotes an entire chapter to refuting the "benevolent interpretation" proposed by Carter G. Woodson. [14] "For the most part," Koger finds, the slave purchases "recorded by free black masters were for commercial transactions" (Koger 1985:101).

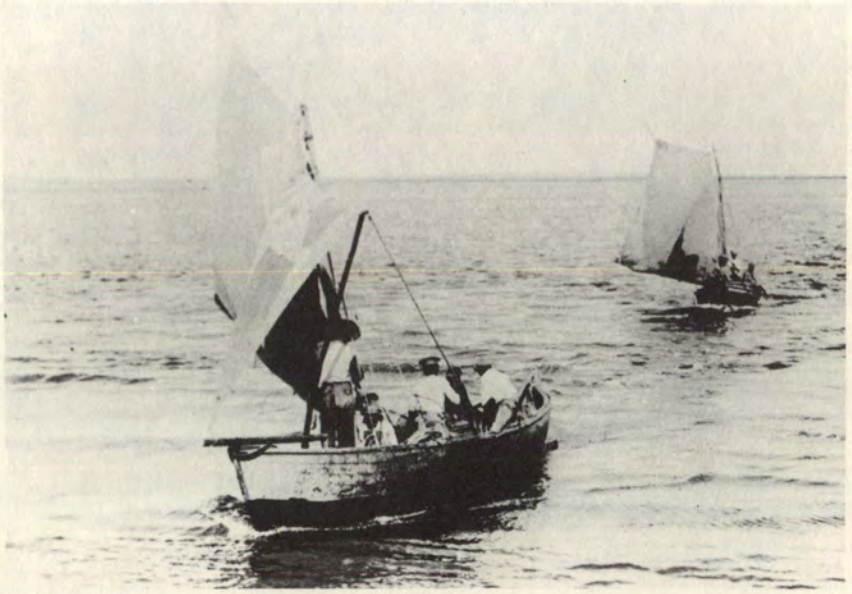


Figure 20: Black tradesmen in the early 20th century: a,b) The Mosquito Fleet; c) vegetable huckster; d) milk vendor. (Courtesy of The Charleston Museum, a-c, and The South Carolina Historical Society, d).

Koger does not ignore the sacrifices and struggles free Negroes undertook to emancipate their loved ones. In case after heartrending case, he describes these efforts, many of which involved free Negro residents of Charleston Neck. Peter Parlar, in 1833, requested that his house and lot on Radcliff Street be sold and the proceeds used "to purchase," through a trustee or trustees, "my daughter Hannah now the property of Mrs. Lartouche." George Lawrence, of the Neck, was able to secure freedom for his son, Charles, but some of his children remained enslaved when he died, and his estate was insufficient to purchase them. Nat Ball, a tailor from the Neck, bought his sister from Edward Simons for $300, a fairly modest price in 1835. Titus Gregorie transferred his children to James Gregorie for the sum of $1, trusting that James would abide by the terms of their agreement and emancipate the youngsters when they reached maturity. Evidently, Titus' trust was warranted, for in 1850, the census of Charleston Neck recorded his son Aberdeen as a free black man (Koger 1985:48-52).

Sometimes the same people who had managed to buy family members and free them also purchased slaves for economic gain. Examples from the Neck include James Brown, a free mulatto butcher. Brown bought his wife Nancy and held her and their sons, John and James, as nominal slaves, though no doubt he would have freed them if he could. He also purchased slaves to work in his shop and his home. In 1821, he paid Moses Levy $250 for a Negro boy named Joe. He later purchased, from the same slave trader, a black woman named Juliet and her three children, at a cost of $800. In a deed of trust, Brown attempted to provide for his sons by granting to John Weston and Richard E. Dereef, for the sum of $1, Juliet's three children, ages six, seven, and nine old, as well as the ten-year-old boy, Joe. Thus, Brown transferred legal title to four slave children for the future benefit of his two slave sons (Koger 1985:82-83).

Some free families of color acquired numbers of workers. In 1839, Maria Weston bought a millwright named Harry to work in the establishment operated by her husband, Anthony Weston, on the corner of Meeting and Boundary streets. According to the city's Ward Book for 1853, Maria Weston owned five contiguous lots on Calhoun Street, with overall dimensions of 196 by 75 feet. Structures stood on at least three, and possibly four, of these lots. On Meeting Street, Maria also owned a vacant lot, measuring 34 by 80 feet. Taken together, her real estate was assessed at $18,500. Three of these properties, described as fronting Meeting Street in the 1864 Ward Book, coincide with the layout of the lots and structures shown on the Bridgens and Allen's 1852 map of the city. Structures appear on all of the lots, with the property assessed for a grand total of $26,000. Anthony's shop was on the corner. The Westons rented out the two brick buildings on Meeting Street, and the two wood houses on Calhoun. Of the four occupants listed in the 1861 City Census, none was described as Negro (Ward Book 1853:47; Ward Book 1864:49; Bridgens and Allen 1852; City Census 1861).

The slave Harry helped to build threshing mills for Charleston District rice planters. Anthony Weston already employed five slave artisans, named John, George, Alex, Bob, and Sandy, who had cost a total of $4,550. As his business increased, Weston continued to

acquire bondsmen, always buying them through his wife. Between 1834 and 1845, according to numerous bills of sale, Maria purchased 20 slaves, whose prices totalled $8,950 (Koger 1985:44,145).

Anthony Weston can be regarded as the Charleston counterpart of the Negro millwright of Statesburg, William Ellison (Johnson and Roark 1984a:243), the central character of two superb books published in 1984 by Michael Johnson and James Roark. Born a slave, trained as a cotton gin maker, and granted his freedom in 1816, Ellison eventually became one of the wealthiest free Negroes in the South. Though he treasured his liberty and struggled to secure freedom for his one slave daughter, Maria Ann, he also owned large numbers of Negroes, was reputed to be a harsh master, and may have engaged in the particularly odious practice of selling slave girls to raise the money he needed to buy more adult hands and more land (Johnson and Roark 1984a:131-134).

Anthony Weston, patriarch of the most affluent free mulatto family in Charleston, was born in slavery in 1791:

> Toney - as he was then called - belonged to the wealthy rice planter Plowden Weston. By about 1810, the mills near Georgetown that hulled and processed Weston's rice were built and maintained by Toney, who had become an expert mechanic. Weston owned 140 slaves, but he singled out Toney for special attention, giving him gifts from time to time and allowing him to control his own time for about half of each year. When Weston died in 1827, his will provided that "in consideration of the good conduct and faithful Valuable services of my Mulatto man Toney, by Trade a Millwright," Toney was to be allowed to continue the privilege of controlling half his time for six years, while he trained other Weston slaves to take his place, and then be given all his time and, if possible, emancipated - a boon Weston gave to only two other slaves, both house servants who had given him exemplary attention. The terms of Weston's will made Toney - now Anthony - a free man by 1833, and he employed his freedom and his skills to amass more wealth than any other free man of color in Charleston.
>
> ... it appears that he married one of Plowden Weston's Charleston house servants, a woman named Maria, possibly buying her freedom with his earnings..., as he evidently did the freedom of two other Weston slaves, Samuel and Jacob, who were apparently his brothers. By 1860 Anthony Weston still did thriving business as a millwright in his shop on Calhoun Street, and he had accumulated real estate worth $40,075 and fourteen slaves, all held by his wife, apparently because her legal claim to freedom was stronger than his (Johnson and Roark 1984a:243-244).

Nothing indicates that Weston was a harsh master; the fact that he did not direct his wife to sell any of their slaves may indicate,

as Koger suggests, that he treated his workers with compassion and may have allowed them to live on their own and keep part of their earnings (Koger 1985:44). Regardless of how he treated his slaves, one thing is clear; Anthony Weston was an enterprising artisan, and made the most of the prevailing system.

Some prosperous free Negroes could afford to buy domestic servants as well as shopworkers. In 1849, for example, Frederick C. Sasportas, a free mulatto millwright from Charleston Neck, bought as a housekeeper a mulatto woman named Adeline for $449, sold her two years later, and subsequently purchased a 17 year old woman named Ellen to take her place (Koger 1985:146).

Free Negro slaveowners routinely hired out their servants, primarily to do housework for white people (Koger 1985:27). It is interesting to note that only five East Side people were described as "servant" and five as "housekeeper" in the Tax Book of 1861. Free Negro women were more likely to hire out their slaves as servants than do domestic work themselves. Many Negro slaveowners were female heads of households, who used the wages of their servants to support their families. Sometimes relatives and friends inherited the wages of hired out slaves. Jubah Warren, for example, a free Negro woman of the Neck, provided in her will in 1850 that Elizabeth Melrose Whiting receive the wages of her nine slaves, up to the sum of $600. With that money, Whiting was to buy herself a maid, after which the servants' wages would go to Warren's sisters (Koger 1985:159).

Free people of color who owned slaves had the same problems with their bondsmen as white slaveowners. Servants ran away, and their free black masters placed advertisements in the city's newspapers for their return. Servants disobeyed orders or shirked tasks, and their owners committed them to the city jail or the workhouse for punishment. Many free Negro owners sold their slaves when they grew dissatisfied with the servants' conduct. Some historians have argued that colored slaveowners were especially "hard taskmasters" (Halliburton 1974). It is perhaps safer to say that free Negroes exhibited toward their slaves the same range of behavior as whites.

The Brown Aristocracy

One indisputable characteristic of antebellum society was its acute sensitivity to the color of a person's skin. "In Charleston and elsewhere freedom was associated with light skin" (Johnson and Roark 1984a:6). Only 5 percent of South Carolina's slaves were mulatto, whereas nearly three-quarters of the state's free persons and all of Charleston's free colored elite had brown rather than black skin. From colonial times through 1820, intimate relations were "the most common means of gaining liberty in South Carolina" (Koger 1985:31). Slave women and mulatto children freed by their owners often received a small endowment and even some slaves. On March 26, 1811, for example, John S. Thorne manumitted his slaves, Rebecca Thorne and her son, who continued to live in Thorne's household. Rebecca subsequently had six more mulatto children by her former master. When Thorne died, Rebecca inherited a house on Boundary Street and four slaves (Koger 1985:33).

Among free people of color, most well-to-do or aspiring mulattoes married within their caste. Even the high ratio of free women to free men did not prevent mulatto women from finding light-skinned spouses. If free mulatto men were not available, free women found mates among mulatto slaves (Koger 1985:169). The 1860 census showed that more than nine out of ten co-residing spouses of light-skinned men were mulattoes (Koger 1985:169; see also Johnson and Roark 1984a:208-212).

Color was also an indicator of wealth among free Negroes. Free mulatto women who headed households were, on the average, three times as wealthy as free black women. "The mean wealth of free mulatto men was nearly half again larger than that of free black men," but both groups of men in Charleston were more prosperous than their free counterparts in the country (Johnson and Roark 1984a:211-212).

Charleston's free Negro elite numbered some 500 people, or 3 percent of the city's African-American population, and constituted "an aristocracy of status, color and wealth" (Johnson and Roark 1984a:6-7). Kinship bound together this society. "Intermarriage linked free mulatto families into a cousinry that rivaled that of the white aristocracy in its density and complexity" ((Johnson and Roark 1984a:208). The Neck had its share of elite families, including Westons, Dereefs, Wilkinsons, Sasportases, Holloways, and Walls, who intermarried with prosperous mulattoes in other parts of the city. These marriages were alliances of property as well as people. While more than three quarters of Charleston's free Negroes were propertyless, members of Charleston's brown aristocracy typically owned both real estate and slaves (Johnson and Roark 1984a:6).

Charleston Neck provided significant investment opportunities for enterprising free people of color. In the early 1800s, a free Negro tailor named Jehu Jones began to acquire land in Wraggsborough, then a new township, as well as on Logan and Beaufain streets. Jones' claim to fame and the cornerstone of his wealth was a hotel he ran on Broad Street, but his initial investments included lots on the Neck.

The village of Hampstead also appealed to free Negroes looking for money-making ventures. Artisans and entrepreneurs like Richard Holloway, Thomas Bonneau, Thomas Small, and Joseph and Richard Dereef speculated in real estate on "Charleston's frontier" (Wikramanayake 1973:106).

The Dereefs were highly successful investors. A wood factorage business at the north end of Washington Street, on what came to be called Dereef's Wharf, formed the basis of their prosperity. Born of a free Indian woman, Richard, Joseph, and Susan Ann Dereef were reported to be free mulattoes in the state capitation book in 1821. The brothers challenged the status, petitioning the Court of Common Pleas to be regarded as free Indians, which would exempt them from the extra taxes imposed on free Negroes and from the danger of reenslavement. On July 11, 1823, the Court certified their ancestry, and next to their names and that of their sister in the Free Negro Book of 1822, a note was inserted, "Proven to be Indians" (Free Negro Book 1821, 1822; Koger 1985:16).

Richard, older than his brother by about four years, held title to the family's key piece of real estate, the wharf and buildings on Washington Street. When the Dereefs purchased the property, it contained a two-story wood dwelling measuring 18 by 22 feet, with piazzas on three sides, a two-story wood kitchen, a single story shed, a privy, and two two-story wood houses occupied by slaves. In 1864, the property was assessed at $18,000, and included at least six residences, four of which housed slaves (Ward Book 1864:303; City Census 1861). Richard had married into a prosperous mulatto family. His wife Isabella had inherited slaves from the estate of her father, Michael Fowler, who had died in 1810 (Koger 1985:41). As a young couple, Richard and Isabella lived first on Charlotte Street, but moved several times in the 1820s and 1830s. Isabella, who continued to pay capitation taxes, was listed during these years at Hanover Street, Columbus Street, and Hampstead (Free Negro Books 1821-1840). In 1839, the Dereefs moved to their newly acquired Washington Street property, and in time brought their sons into the factorage business (Figure 21).

Joseph and his wife Mary, who gave her occupation as a "washer," lived on Mary Street and then on Amherst. Joseph also owned numerous rental properties, including a court which bore his name. On Dereef's Court in Ward 6 stood six wood houses, four of which Joseph owned. A free woman of color occupied one; the other three housed 20 slaves. His lots on Nassau, Amherst, and America streets each had two wooden structures; Mary Street had one. Joseph and family lived at the Amherst Street property. One of the America Street houses was vacant. All of his tenants apparently were free Negroes or slaves (Ward Book 1864:7,11,185,212; City Census 1861).

In spite of his roles as landlord and slave master, Joseph appears to have been a compassionate fellow, who kept the interests of his community in mind. During 1859 and 1860, when the police began rounding up slaves working without badges and free Negroes who could not prove their status, the Dereefs paid some $80 in fines for badge violations. A free woman of color came to Joseph with a tale of woe. She had no way to prove the free status of her mother or grandmother, hence no way to prove she was free. Dereef had known all three generations, and knew them "to be Bona fide," that is, legally free. But "as a free man of color he could not give sworn testimony," so his knowledge of her origins was useless. To his friend James M. Johnson, Dereef seemed "to be more oppressed than any one I have spoken with" (Johnson and Roark 1984a:239).

Even by white standards, the Dereefs were well-to-do. Richard, in 1860, owned 14 slaves and real estate valued at $23,000. His brother paid taxes on six slaves and $16,000 of real property (Johnson and Roark 1984a:203). Within their community, they were well respected, parties to numbers of "deeds of trust," and senior members of the elite Brown Fellowship Society. Yet when the police began demanding that free Negroes produce documentary proof of their freedom, the Dereefs could do nothing to help their friends.

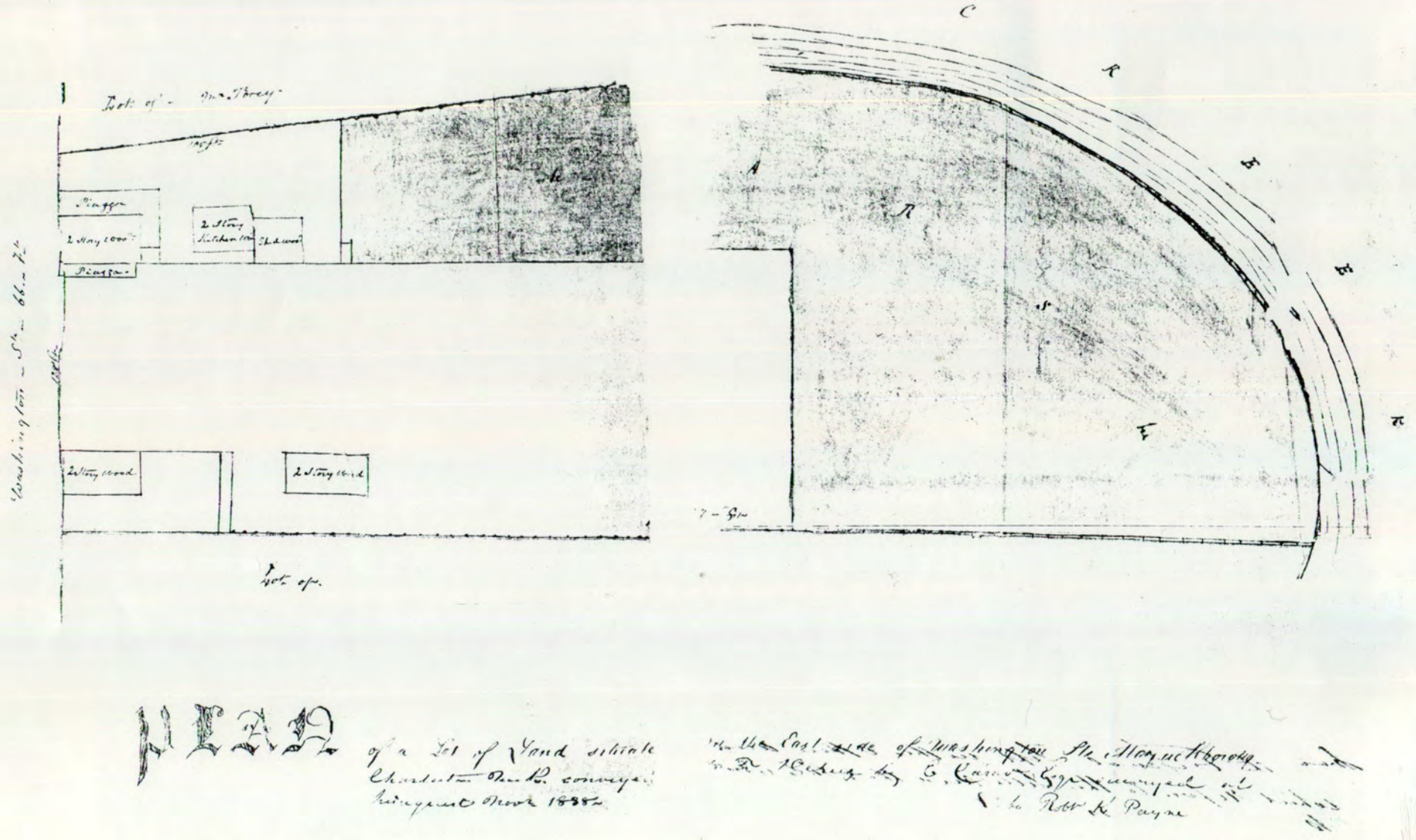


Figure 21: 1858 plat of Richard Dereef's property on Washington Street.

Benevolent Societies

Free Negro benevolent organizations had provided services and a degree of security for their members since the late eighteenth century. Some operated as insurance groups, credit unions, and burial societies; others as literary associations, library and debating clubs, and schools. As exclusive as Charleston's elite white associations, their admissions policies made overt distinctions between brown- and black-skinned people. Membership in the Brown Fellowship Society, the oldest and most prestigious of all the groups, was restricted to light-skinned "free brown men" and their descendants. A limit of 50 members was maintained. Meetings were conducted with strict decorum. The society's burial ground and school were reserved for members and their families. Access to credit was likewise confined to members, like the Dereefs, who were good risks.

Excluded from the Brown Fellowship, Thomas Small and a group of dark-skinned men founded an organization of their own in 1843. The Society of Free Dark Men, later called the Humane Brotherhood, was not as rigid in its color requirements as mulatto societies tended to be; its members admitted a few brown men to their ranks. Like the Brown Fellowship, the Humane Brotherhood provided sick benefits, burial expenses, and an annuity for widows and orphans of deceased members. The burial grounds of the two societies "stood side by side on Pitt Street, separated by a sturdy fence" (Johnson and Roark 1984a:213).

The Friendly Moralist Society regularly met on the east side of Charleston Neck. Most of its members lived north of Boundary Street. Prominent among its leadership were the Wilkinson brothers, Paul, Francis L., and Edward, who all served as officers of the Society at one time or another. Francis lived on Coming Street and operated a butcher shop on America. Edward moved back and forth between Chapel, Henrietta, Mary, and Coming streets. During Paul's tenure in office, over a period of at least eight years, the Society's "usual place" to convene was at his house, first on John Street, later at 18 Chapel.

Open only to mulatto men over 18 years old, "of moral character, and of good standing in the community," the Friendly Moralists were even more scrupulous in their racial screening than the Brown Fellowship. Three standing members had to testify that an applicant was a bona fide free brown man. If any member was proven otherwise, "he shall immediately be expelled; and each of his recommenders shall be fined two dollars" (Quoted in Johnson and Roark 1984a:214).

Debates over the racial qualifications of prospective members read today like theater of the absurd. But the Friendly Moralists were in deadly earnest. On at least two occasions, the Society divided over the eligibility of applicants. Heated debates stretching over several meetings revolved around two issues: whether membership in "a Society (of) Black men" makes one "a Black Man," and what exactly constituted "a bona fide brown man."

In one case, the Society's President Job Bass, supporting the application of Richard Gregory, argued that mixed ancestry formed the sole basis of mulatto status. Even "if the gentleman were to be

exposed to the scorching rays of the sun on the shores of Africa," Bass declared, "he would still be a Brown Man." Dark skin and "the fact of his being associated with Black men could never make him a black man" (Friendly Moralist Society Minutes 1844:57). [15] The Friendly Moralists were unconvinced, and by a small majority, rejected Gregory's application.

In 1848 these issues resurfaced when Edward Logan, a member of the Humane Brotherhood, tried to join the Friendly Moralists. Among those opposing the candidate was Michael J. Eggart, a 26-year-old wheelwright and the husband of Joanna Dereef, the eldest daughter of Richard E. Dereef, in whose household on Washington Street the young couple lived. In the debate over Logan's qualifications, Eggart was asked to define "the word brown." He responded that the definition depended on ancestry: to be brown "the individual must be descendent of brown parent, or white amalgamated with black" (Johnson and Roark 1984a:214,217).

In the midst of the furor, Michael Eggart delivered a speech to the Friendly Moralists, which Johnson and Roark call "the most probing analysis of mulatto identity in the slave South" (Johnson and Roark 1984a:215). Eggart defined the "middle ground" which mulattoes tread between "the white man's prejudice" and the "deepest hate of our more sable brethern." He defended his people from new racial theories which claimed that mulattoes were mongrels, weakened hybrids, "superfluous and monstrous productions." "Ours is gods own image," Eggart declared, "in our nostrals is his breath. Our capacities mental and physical are as good as either of the races." Rejecting the movement then underway of free blacks emigrating to Haiti and Liberia, Eggart called for unity, charity toward less fortunate free mulattoes, and a community-wide educational program designed to brighten the image of the free Negro and "triumph over the prejudice of the white man." Education "is our life, our sun, our shield," Eggart poetically proclaimed. "What but Education raises us Above the level of the slaves" (Johnson and Roark 1982:250).

As a practical measure, Eggart proposed that the community raise $500 or $600 per annum to "support a teacher capable of instructing children." This was not a new idea for the free colored community. One of the basic purposes of the Brown Fellowship Society, for example, was "to maintain schools for Negro children." In 1803, its members founded the Minors Moralist Society primarily to support and educate indigent and orphaned children (Birnie 1927:15; Curry 1981:151; Wikramanayake 1973:85; Berlin 1974:76; Johnson and Roark 1984a:222). The Minors Moralist Society, however, went out of existence in 1847, creating a void which Eggart may have been trying to fill.

Educating African-Americans had become a potentially hazardous business. Private classes run by white and free mulatto teachers, and adult education programs under the guise of library societies, continued in defiance of an 1834 statute designed to abolish Negro schools. As a student of Daniel Alexander Payne, Eggart himself had witnessed the hostility of whites toward Negro education; in the summer of 1834, he was one of three boys in Payne's advanced class whose innocent errand to collect a snake specimen provoked the remark,

"Payne is playing hell in Charleston" (Payne 1969:26). The law, which was drawn up just months after this incident, required that a white person be present whenever free persons of color were taught, and prohibited teaching any slave to read or write. Violators, if free and white, could be fined up to $100 or imprisoned for up to six months; free Negroes were subject to 50 lashes and a $50 fine; slaves could be punished by a whipping (Hoit-Thetford 1986:25).

In Charleston, the part of the law pertaining to free persons of color "was simply ignored" (Birnie 1927:18). Thomas S. Bonneau headed the longest running and most widely known school for Negro children, between 1803 and his death in 1831. "The influence of Bonneau's school reached throughout the antebellum period, since Bonneau taught the teachers of the succeeding generation" - among them, William McKinlay, Frederick Sasportas, and Daniel Payne (Johnson and Roark 1984a:223). At least one free colored teacher, a Native American named Ameila Barnett, was based on the East Side, offering instruction in her home on Mary Street, which she rented from Joseph Dereef (Birnie 1927:19; Hoit-Thetford 1986:57; City Census 1861).

Education became more difficult to obtain through the 1840s. Because schools met clandestinely and in violation of state law, parents responding to census takers were reluctant to admit that their children attended such schools. Censuses, therefore, are unreliable guides to Negro school attendance. Education must have been more widespread than was reported, since amazingly only 45 free colored males were listed as illiterate in Charleston district in 1850 (Curry 1984:161, 168).

Education, like independent economic activity among Negroes, was seen as a threat to the maintenance of slavery. During the 1859 mayoral campaign, "A Slaveholder" complained in the Charleston Mercury "of the many evils which are secretly undermining our institutions." At the top of his list were "the crowds of black children who throng our streets every morning on their way to school, with satchel well filled with books" (Johnson and Roark 1984b:107n.27).

In many ways Charleston's Negro elite was a reflection of white society. In their aspirations, property relations, and ideas about hierarchy, well-to-do Negroes were closer to white slaveowners than to slaves. But their fervor for education and their desire to prove their equal human capacity, and above all their economic success, appeared subversive to the majority of whites whose political philosphy was based on the inferiority of the Negro.

CHAPTER IV

The Era of Improvement: Charleston and Industrialization

The Ordering of the City: Municipal Improvements

Charleston has been described as a preindustrial city, whose major functions were political and economic. Surrounded by walls and divided internally into districts, the city quickly became congested, its spatial arrangement chaotic, and its sanitation inadequate. Residents were divided rigidly into an upper class, a lower class, and an outcast group. The social distance between classes was great, consciously reinforced by differences of dress, speech, and manners (Radford 1974:101; Sjoberb 1960). In the eighteenth century, Charleston was not so different from other colonial towns on the eastern seaboard.

By the middle of the antebellum period, most American cities were showing the effects of industrialization. Urban environments underwent radical changes between 1820 and 1860, as a national economy replaced local and regional economies (Goldfield 1977:52). Industrialized cities began to replace chaos with order: they featured a central business district (a clustering of goods and services in the heart of the city), functional differentiation in the use of space (separate areas for industries, businesses, and residences), innovations in intra-city transportion (the appearance of horse-cars), rapid in-migration (Charleston became the terminus of Irish and German immigrants), increased specialization among the mercantile class (no longer did a single individual serve as retailer, wholesaler, and banker; furthermore, merchants began to sell single types of items), and centralized improvements (street paving, sidewalks, lighting, drainage). Some cities moved faster in these directions than others. During the early years of the industrial movement, Charleston kept pace with the rest of the country; by the end of the nineteenth century, however, the city lagged behind other commercial centers in many areas of development.

As cities grew, more attention was paid to municipal services, planning, and promotion. Cities competed fiercely with one another for commerce, and urban promotion "developed into a fine art" (Goldfield 1977:52; 1979:235). Civic leaders emerged as a key social group, working to make their cities the best.

The ideal city would be efficient, attractive, orderly, modern, clean, and above all, healthy. The goals ushered in an era of internal improvement, which required increasingly strong municipal governments; centralized, public projects replaced private, individual facilities.

A major source of the problems antebellum cities faced was population growth. As people moved in and boundaries expanded, municipal authorities sought to impose a system on this growth. "The city familiar gave way to the city efficient" (Goldfield 1979:242). Cities, including Charleston, began publishing annual directories, numbering houses, and creating political entities called wards.

City directories first appeared in Charleston as early as 1785. These listings were designed to help businessmen locate other businessmen. They provided opportunities to organize the city's population in one document, functioning as informal, if incomplete, censuses. They also served as almanacs, and furnished space for businesses to advertise. City directories listed social and commercial organizations, as well as hotels and newspapers, information useful to the visitor. "The appearance of directories seems to relate directly to urban maturation" (Goldfield 1977:63). In Charleston, directories were produced only intermittently until the 1830s; thereafter, they were compiled almost every year.

To facilitate administration, the city was partitioned into wards. The city proper, extending as far north as Boundary Street, was divided into four wards in 1831 (Ordinances 1848) (Figure 22). When the Neck was annexed in 1849, the area between Boundary and Line streets added four "upper wards" to the city. The number of wards was increased to 12 in 1884 (Ordinances 1885).

The history of house numbers in Charleston is long and complicated. Throughout the nineteenth century, the numbering sequence was changed frequently and, it appears, randomly. Street numbers were in use in the lower city by 1780, but did not make their way into the upper wards until after annexation.

A review of the street numbering system for Wards 5 and 7 provides insights into growth patterns of the area. The 1809 and 1822 City Directories list addresses by street names only; further, locations of residences in the northeastern section of the Neck are described only as "Hampstead." In 1831, structures on the Neck were still listed only by street name. In 1849, King Street buildings received numbers, underscoring the relatively dense occupation and commercial nature of this thoroughfare. By 1859, older structures elsewhere on the Neck had been given numbers, but most neighboring buildings had not.

The 1861 City Census assigned numbers to every house on every street in the city. The 1864 Ward Book and the 1869-70 City Directory, however, indicate that "infilled," or new structures were slow to receive numbers. The street numbering system epitomizes Charleston's modernization efforts during the nineteenth century; the intentions and plans of city fathers were up-to-date, but implementation lagged far behind.

More tangible than street numbers, physical improvements and services ultimately determined whether or not cities would attract new businesses and residents. Basic services such as fire fighting, police protection, water, lighting, and disease prevention were necessary if a city was to grow and prosper. Few visitors or customers would be attracted to a fire-prone, crime-ridden, unhealthy city (Goldfield 1977:67).

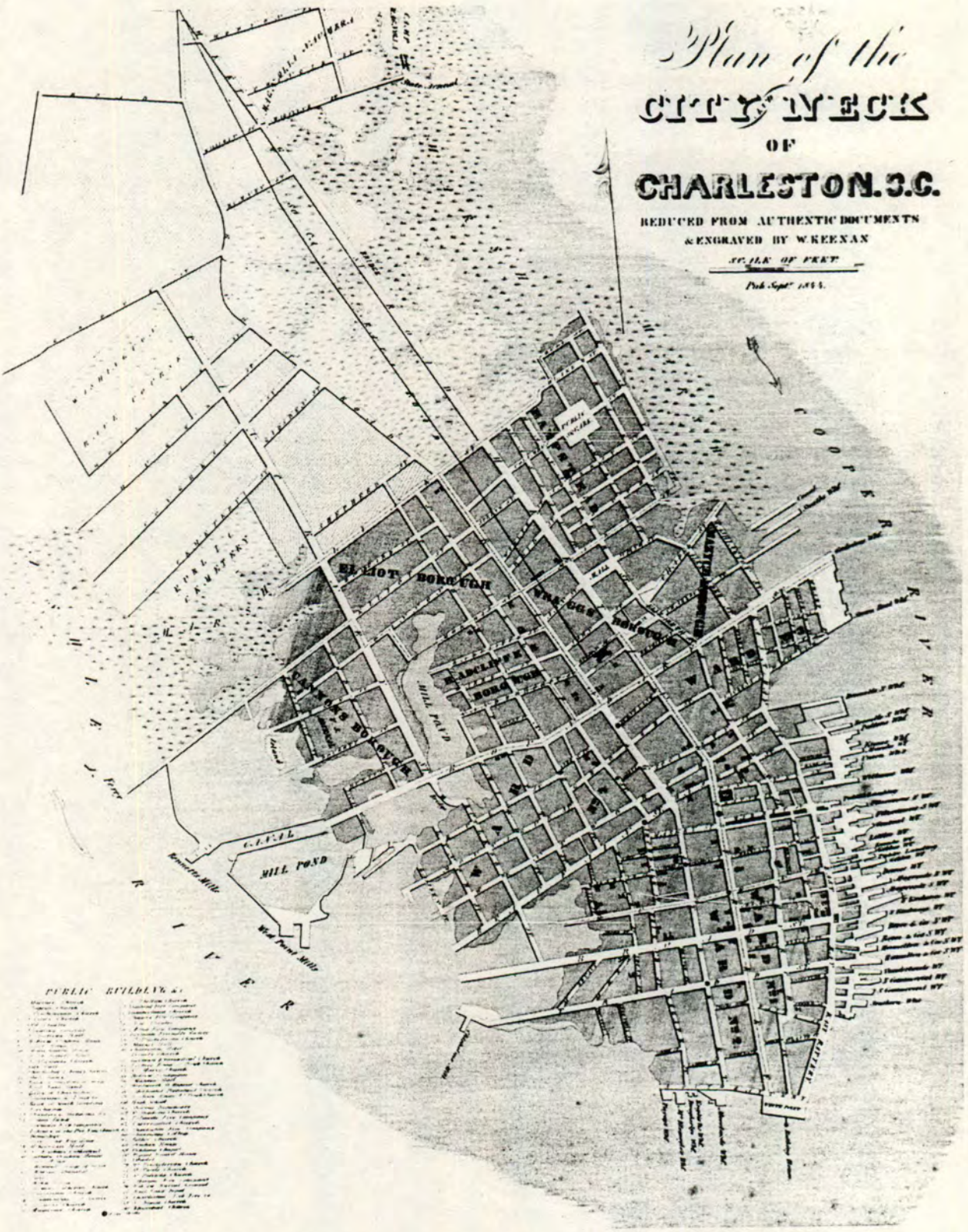


Figure 22: Charleston in 1844. (Courtesy of the South Carolina Historical Society)

The safe and efficient movement of people and goods depended on road improvement and street lighting. Street lighting was recognized as important for personal safety early in the eighteenth century, when the City began to appoint Commissioners of Streets and Lamps. Lighting of the major thoroughfares, first by oil and later by gas, was a top priority. By 1837, the lower city contained 1,722 lamps, maintained by private contract. Citing this figure, the Commissioners reported with confidence and pride, "that the city has been generally well, and in some parts beautifully lighted" (City Council Proceedings 1837-1838:44). Hampstead Mall was "planted with shade trees and furnished with benches and gaslight, so that it forms a pleasant resort in summer for the people of uptown, who cannot conveniently go two miles to the Battery, whenever they want to take a little exercise and breathe the fresh air" (South Carolina Institute 1870:50). Electric lights were installed in the upper wards in 1884, though the lower wards continued to be lit by gas (City Yearbook 1884).

Though the fires which gutted major sections of the city in the colonial and antebellum periods indirectly offered opportunities for urban planning and improvement, these plans were rarely realized. Fear of fire and attempts to prevent it are a major theme in Charleston's history. Major fires devastated the city in 1740, 1778, 1796, 1835, 1838, and 1861. Crowded streets filled with wooden buildings were seen as a major source of trouble, and legislative attempts to end building in wood appeared after each disaster. Within a few years, however, enforcement of these restrictions lapsed. Fires struck the city year after year, and produced in the citizenry a paranoia concerning arson. This fear was inevitably focused on the slave population (Pease and Pease 1978) (See footnote 4).

As the city fathers launched a campaign for urban development and economic growth, they tackled another persistent problem, the inefficiency of the fire-fighting system. Authority was divided among an appointed Board of Fire Masters, an engineer, city engine crews, and volunteer corps. Though such a division of labor was inefficient, political pressures, as well as class distinctions and conflicts, prevented any significant change. Most telling was the resistance to enrolling blacks in the fire companies. The City paid slaves to pull its engines, but volunteer companies, composed primarily of white clerks and artisans who viewed themselves as select members of private clubs, resisted attempts to draw free Negroes into the fire department. It was not until the later war years, when most white firefighters were involved in military duty, that the City bowed to necessity and recruited free blacks. Between December, 1863, and September, 1864, 241 black men were recruited to man eight City engines (List of Negroes Belonging to the Fire Companies 1864). Evidently, fear of fire overrode racial prejudices.

The surface of streets in colonial and antebellum Charleston was bare earth. Dusty in dry weather and muddy in wet, dirt streets were a notorious nuisance in antebellum cities. In 1818, an article in the Charleston Courier lamented that dry goods sales were slow, "owing in part to the heavy rains, which has made it almost impossible for the transportation of goods from one part of the city to another, and for country traders to come to market" (Charleston Courier, February 2,

1818). In the mid-nineteenth century, several important commercial thoroughfares were paved with Belgian block, obtained from granite quarries near Columbia and Winnsboro (Stockton 1985:22). Such improvements were slow to reach residential streets of the lower wards, and even slower to reach the Neck. After annexation in 1849, the paving of King Street proceeded to the north, but only one block at a time (City Receipts and Expenditures 1850-1851:183-184, 193). During this decade, stone paving reached as far as Vanderhorst Street; the remainder of King Street was paved with wooden planks until the 1880s (Stockton 1985). Besides King, a number of side streets also were paved with wooden planks (Banov 1970:7), but by 1882, most of these had been torn up and replaced by stone roadways, except on the east side of the Neck. Only John, Ann, Mary, Chapel, Elizabeth, Washington, and the east end of Calhoun streets were maintained as plank streets into the '80s. Even Meeting Street was a shell road during this time (City Yearbook 1882).

Residents urged the City to build sidewalks. Through the antebellum period, Charlestonians waged a vigorous campaign to provide sidewalks on all major streets. Reports of municipal expenditures from the late 1830s to the early 1850s indicate that sidewalk construction, evidently in wood, was underway (Receipts and Expenditures 1837:49-50; 1850-51: 37).

Public transportation, another area of improvement, began with the inauguration of railways for horse-drawn street cars in 1866. By 1875, three lines transversed the city. Two owned by the City Railway served the area between the Battery and Wentworth Street, where they divided. The western portion ran up Rutledge, while the main line ran up Meeting to Calhoun and then across to King. The Enterprise Railway serviced the East Side; its lower terminus was at the foot of East Bay and it followed that street to Calhoun, and then to Washington. From Washington, the line traveled through Chapel, Elizabeth, and John Street to Meeting, all the way to Magnolia Cemetery. The Company ambitiously proposed to "establish a freight line from the farms up the Neck and (from) the South Carolina and Northeastern Railroad depots to the several wharves along East Bay" (Mazyck 1875:100). The plan evidently never materialized.

Sanitation was also a constant concern for Charleston residents. In 1764, ordinances were enacted to curtail the disposal of garbage in the street; the frequent amendment of these ordinances indicates that the City was largely unsuccessful in controlling this offensive practice. Scavengers worked to haul garbage to designated locations. An ordinance of 1806 dictated that slaves be hired to accomplish this task:

> Each scavenger shall employ every day except Sunday 3 Negroes or other servants, 3 horses and 3 carts, for the purpose of removing from every street, lane, alley, or open court, all such dirt, rubbish, or other stuff, as may lay exposed or be brought out from the lots of the inhabitants, and likewise 2 Negroes or other servants provided with wheelbarrows and other appropriate implements for the purpose of levelling and raking the streets, and for keeping

the gutters and grates of the drains open and free from sand, filth, and other obstructions" (Ordinances 1806:222).

Later in the century, disturbing the dirt streets during warm weather was declared a health hazard. An ordinance was passed in 1853 forbidding the excavation or disturbance of the road surface between June 1 and October 1, for any purpose, including public improvement.

Epidemics of typhoid, typhus, cholera, and the dread yellow fever periodically scourged the city. Transmission of the diseases was attributed to "bad air" and "stagnant water," rather than to bacteria and vectors such as mosquitoes. With its low elevation and network of creeks and marshes, Charleston did indeed have a problem with stagnant water, exacerbated by the use of creeks as dumping grounds for refuse, offal, and night soil.

Charlestonians tried to rid the city of standing water first by filling low areas. An examination of maps, as well as municipal ordinances, indicates that filling was an early and continuous activity, and moved northward as the Neck was settled. Like the lower parts of the peninsula, the Neck was transected by a series of creeks and marshes (Figures 23 through 25). Apparently, any kind of refuse went to fill these areas: ballast, building rubble, industrial by-products, and domestic garbage.[16]

In the mid-nineteenth century, however, the City placed restrictions on the types of material used as fill. An ordinance of 1859 prohibited the dumping of rice chaff, sawdust, or offal; these materials had to be removed beyond city limits, north of Shepherd Street (Lebby 1870:19). Ten years later, the act was amended, permitting these substances to be used as fill from December through February, provided that the tide flowed over the dumping site. By 1873, "offal, garbage, scavengers' dirt or sweepings, or the cleanings or contents of the tidal or any other drains, or any other material containing organic matter" were forbidden - <u>except</u> for rice chaff or sawdust (Lebby 1870:28).[17]

The second method of dealing with stagnant water was the construction of tidal drains. A system of drains initiated in 1806 was added to from year to year. These "old drains," presumably made of wood, were intended to lower "subsoil water" and to carry off "rainfall and those liquids commonly called sewage." The drains, however, were actually worse than the cesspools that they supplanted. They relied on the flow of rain water to keep them clean, but the rains "did not come with that regularity demanded." The ensuing backup aggravated the unhealthy situation by producing "a series of detached ponds," which contributed to the contamination of the surrounding subsoil. In 1822, Dr. Samuel Prioleau attributed the appearance of "The Stranger's Fever" to these conditions, made worst than usual by a prolonged drought. Drains generally ran under city streets, while a number of lowlying lots were outfitted with "yard drains." These soon proved equally ineffective (Pringle 1892).

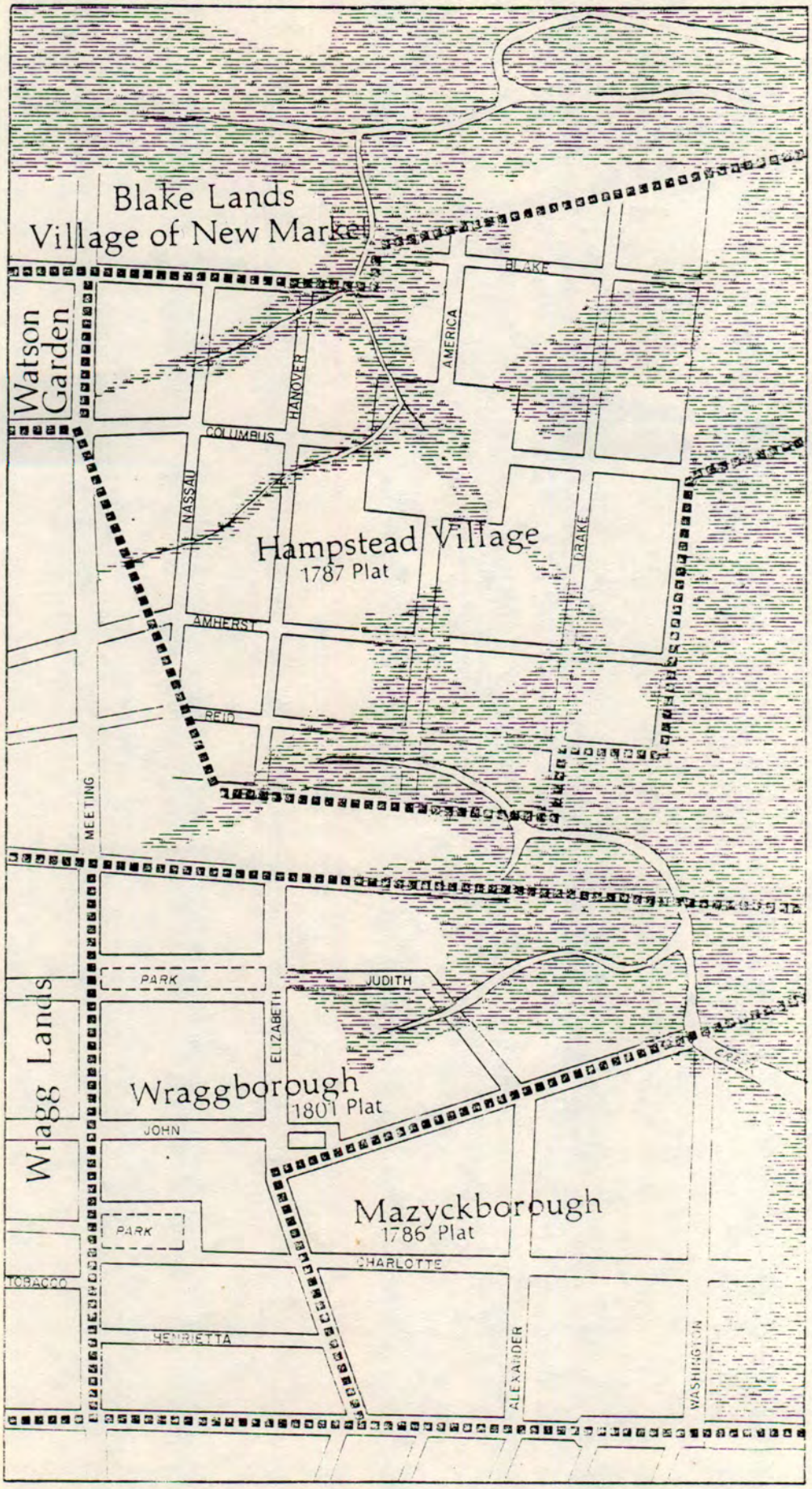


Figure 23: Configuration of the East Side in 1801.

Figure 24: Configuration of the East Side in 1852.

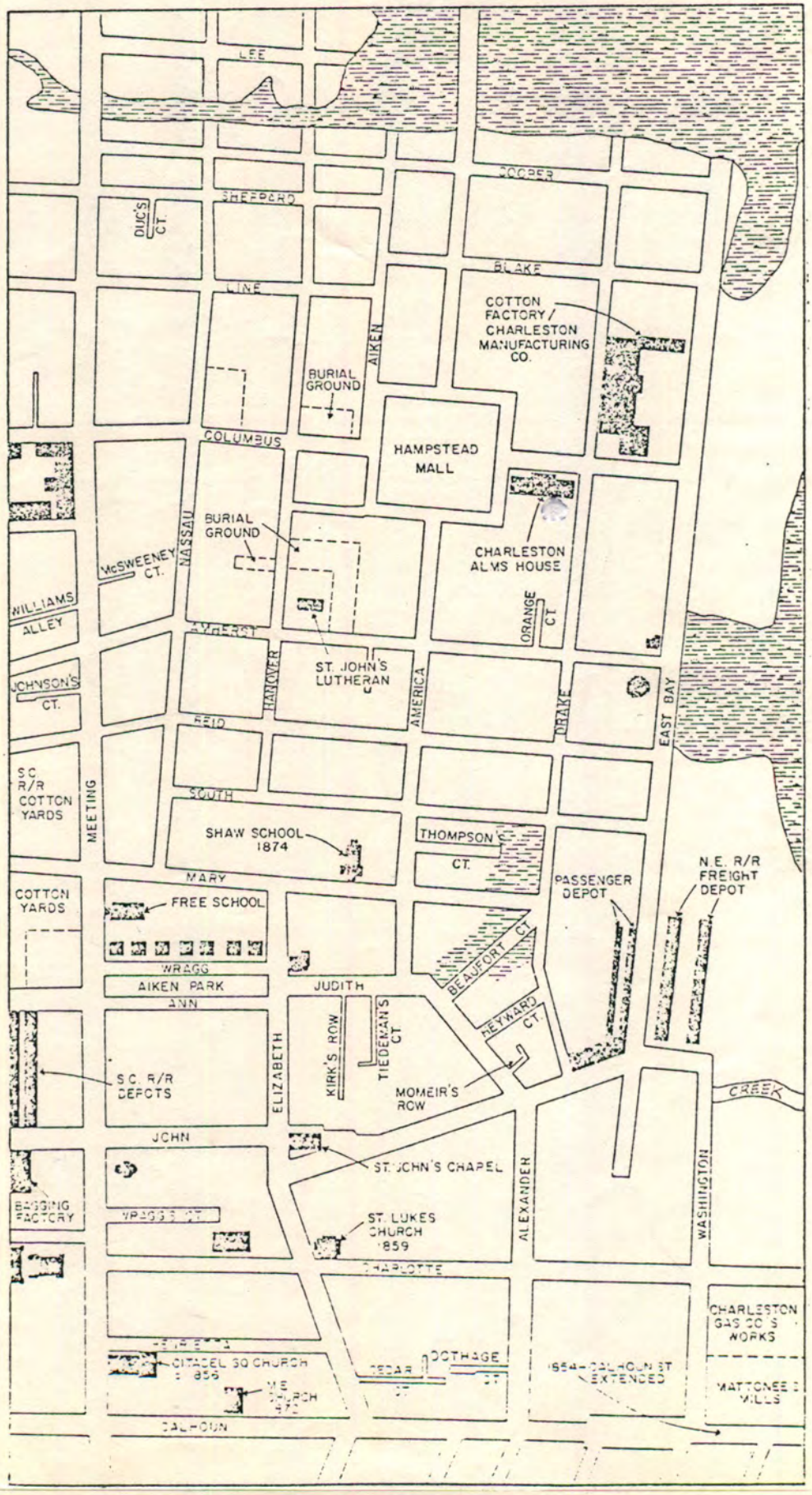


Figure 25: Configuration of the East Side in 1882.

Health and safety problems were tackled in the upper wards in the years following annexation. The predominance of wooden buildings on the Neck contributed to anxiety about fire; five fire wells were installed in Wards 5 and 7 in 1850 (Receipts and Expenditures 1850-51:185). Major improvements in drains were approved in 1854, and construction of a "Tidal System," which included the upper wards, began in 1856. New drains had plank bottoms, brick sides and tops (Report of the Commissioners of Health and Drainage 1857), and were equipped with manholes for cleaning and repair. Drain water could thus be used for fighting fires, as could the sand which collected in strategically placed "sand pits." Flushed by the tides, the drains were much more efficient. Still, the various components had not been connected to these street drains. In 1859, the City Registrar reported that the upper wards' drain system was inadequate to serve so large area. Hence, when Wards 7 and 8 were inundated by heavy rains, they depended on the slow process of absorption and evaporation to dry them out. Dampness, the report claimed, accounted for the prevalence of malarial fevers during autumn, and catarrhs, pneumonia, and other diseases during winter.

The east side of the Neck contained a large number of "low lots." While a few individual lots south of Calhoun Street were cited as problems in 1872, whole blocks on the East Side were identified as "generally filthy," low, and poorly drained.18 In 1880, plank and brick drains in the upper wards were replaced by 12 or 8 inch vitrified iron stone pipe. The work commenced in Nassau Street and continued south. Gradually, new drains were constructed, low lots were filled, and the eastern side of the Neck was made healthier.

By far the most persistent health problem, and one with which the City grappled into the twentieth century, was the "privy question" - the disposal of human waste. Privies and their below-ground vaults were standard features in urban areas since the colonial period. In Charleston, privies were first regulated by ordinance in 1698 (Statutes at Large:7). Citizens were ordered to empty and cleanse these vaults on a regular basis, lest they become offensive. A major complaint was that privies regularly overflowed into the streets. To address this problem, an 1836 ordinance forbade the construction of privies closer than ten feet to streets. A related problem was the discharge of privies into city drains - a practice declared unlawful in 1851.

While surface runoff from privies was an obvious evil, even more dangerous was the absorption of impure liquid into the soil, contaminating groundwater. The congestion of urban compounds and the use of shallow wells for drinking water made the problem worse. Recognizing that privies and wells in close proximity contaminated the water supply and spread disease, Charleston's citizens began, in the mid-nineteenth century, to construct cisterns to collect and store rainwater. Some city residents went to even greater lengths; in the 1850s, William Aiken constructed an elaborate brick drainage system in his yard. This drain featured brick sides and bottom, and was capped with slabs of slate. Two and possibly three privies, as well as a trough for watering the animals, were connected to this drain system, which probably flowed to a low, marshy area southeast of the house.

Evidently, Aiken felt that such an innovation was necessary to preserve the health of his household; besides his family, 15 slaves and a number of cows and horses shared a rear yard that measured 80 by 200 feet. Such a system represents a far-sighted adaptation to the same environmental pressures that resulted in the construction of municipal sewerage systems more than half a century later (Zierden et al. 1986:66).

In 1880, Mayor Courtney correctly assessed the situation:

> There are 50,000 people living on 3,300 acres of this City. To accomodate these people there are between six and seven thousand houses, and a corresponding number of vaults, sunk in the ground, their contents having free access to the soil. At least 100,000 pounds of excreta, solid and fluid, is desposited every 24 hours: The multiplication into the aggregates for a week! a month! a year: undergoing slowly the most offensive form of putrefaction fermentation, and escaping from these sinks partly by overflow into yards, partly by evaporation into the atmosphere, but chiefly by soil absorption, and from every direction poisoning the air, more or less. Conceive of this fully, and the mind can correctly value our unfortunate system (City Yearbook 1880).

Charleston's health commissioner recommended that the City stop spending money on disinfectants and concentrate instead on removal of these wastes. Scavengers were contracted to excavate the "night soil" at night, if at all possible, and carry it in barrels to the outskirts of the city. Cleaning privies was problematic:

> The chief difficulty in this case is that no contrivance can be devised by which to remove this stuff from the pits. Suction cannot do it, for all kinds of foreign things are thrown into the pits, such as garbage, dead rats, cats and dogs, and even sometimes, I am told, Negro babies are found. Such things go to obstruct the pipes and hinder the working of the valves (City Yearbook 1898).

Running water sewerage systems were developed in major American cities in the 1880s. Charleston's Board of Health endorsed Memphis' system and encouraged the city to develop a similar one. "Charleston," the Board projected, "would show a change in her mortuary statistics which would in a few years advance her to rank among the healthiest of American cities" (City Yearbook 1880:33). In 1883, a standing committee was organized to investigate possibilities, and city representatives attended the eleventh annual meeting of the American Public Health Association. They returned with detailed recommendations for construction of a sewerage system (City Yearbook 1883:60). A year later, the state legislature authorized the city council to pass the necessary ordinance to establish and maintain such a system (City Yearbook 1884).

The City's slow implementation of the project inspired annual complaints from the Board of Health. In 1898, Board members urgently remarked, "it is with some repugnance that we bring your notice to

this matter - to call to your notice and careful attention that in this age of decency, health, and cleanliness we have in the city of Charleston about 12,000 privy vaults reeking the entire year with polluting and noisome odors....This nuisance goes on year after year, and our citizens are called on to submit to these evils. The privy vaults of Charleston should be swept out of existence and replaced with the most scientific appliances that can be procured." The Health Commissioner added, with mild sarcasm, "There were 1,979 vaults cleaned out in 1898 - I should have reported emptied. It is impossible to clean a privy vault from a sanitary standpoint" (City Yearbook 1898:73).

Year after year, the Director of the Board of Health harangued the City, with few concrete results: "It has been my province to call attention again and again to the water conduit as the readiest, cleanest, and consequently the healthiest way of disposing of millions of gallons of sewage....Charleston should be properly sewered and the privy vaults relegated to the past and well forgotten" (City Yearbook 1885:63). Appealing to the City's sense of pride, he reported in 1887, "The pestiferous polluting privy is still a constant reproach to the city....When one visits a modern city and contrasts the conveniences afforded, one realizes how very far behind the age in which we live we are content to remain" (City Yearbook 1887:65). As late as 1905, the problem persisted, to the exasperation of the Health Officer:

> These horrible vaults are nasty and obnoxious in the extreme. The late Dr. Horlbeck wrestled with them, and he reckoned that there were 12,000 such places in the city; they have been here since the founding of the city in 1670, and no doubt before, and they are all here now; the people are complaining daily, and justly so, to the Health Officer in most grieved and not always in very polite language, about these most loathsome places, as if he had originated and was engaged in propagating them. Not so, for they are so insufferable that even he himself has to flee to the mountains to get away from them (City Yearbook 1905).

The tip of the peninsula south of Broad Street was connected to a water-bourne system by 1905; seven years later, a city-wide sewerage system was completed and the tasks of connecting houses and destroying privy vaults were begun. The oldest and most affluent sections of the city were serviced first, the upper wards last. A telling fact was an increase, in 1912, in the incidence of typhoid fever, the greatest number of cases occurring above Broad. The Health Officer directly linked this outbreak with superficial privy vaults. Since only 500 vaults were replaced per year, it took a number of years to complete the process. Alleys and courts, which abounded on the Neck, presented a special difficulty, as "the entrance was too narrow" to accommodate the necessary pipes (City Yearbook 1918:171).

Although privies were the major source of health problems in the nineteenth century, they were not the only ones. The city's marshy location and its many cemeteries generated a situation in which inhabitants drank a decoction "not only of the soluble filth and excretion of men and animals, but the very mortal remains of our

citizens who are interred in the city" (Quoted in Pease and Pease 1985:196). Even cisterns, a big improvement over shallow water wells, were not free from contamination. In 1905, the Commissioner of the Board of Health provided a number of tips to keep cisterns in good order, mainly, "they must be clean and tight." Public water was available before the turn of the twentieth century, but was used primarily for fighting fire and flushing the sewerage system.

A less well known health hazard was the keeping of livestock on city lots. Hogs, goats, and cows, as well as horses, were common urban dwellers in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, and even into the twentieth century. Charleston's cow population escalated after the Civil War. Although an ordinance limited the number of cows kept within the city, the law was routinely evaded. City officials acknowledged this as a serious problem in 1871, but were loathe to act: "This is a delicate subject to legislate upon, as a large number of our people now support their families entirely by the sale of milk" (Lebby 1870:36). A disproportionate number of the houses maintaining cows were located on the east side of the Neck.19

Cow lots were smelly and attracted flies, a City official noted in 1905. Confined in an urban setting, moreover, cows were bound to give unwholesome milk:

> As to offensiveness, cow lots are to be put in the same category as Butcher Pens. The two are "much of a muchness." They both are offensive to one's neighbors; they both breed flies, and flies, like mosquitoes, breed and transmit disease.
>
> By the last count made, there are 434 cows in the city; shut up, in most cases, in filthy pens, and cramped in small sheds and narrow stalls, they can hardly produce wholesome milk. The voidings of a cow are so profuse and pervasive that it is practically impossible to keep a cow yard "sweet and clean" as the requirements under Ordinance demand; and the breathing and re-breathing of such airs and of their own expirations and emanations must impart similar properties to the milk, and make it to that degree unfit, especially for infants (City Yearbook 1905).

Like his predecessors 30 years earlier, the Health Officer regretted having to point out this health hazard, "for some of my best friends are keepers of cows; and, in some cases, in part at least, it is their dependence and source of income, but personal friendships, in my official capacity, must give place to the public good" (City Yearbook 1905:115). In 1912, the Board of Health required that all dairies be removed beyond city limits (City Yearbook 1912:182).

Technological advances in the nineteenth century, coupled with urban population growth, resulted in a shift from individual responses to safety and sanitation problems to more centralized, corporate responses. Municipalities became keenly competitive. To attract new commerce and industry, cities strove to establish and maintain images of health, attractiveness, and modernity. Lighting, disease

prevention, water, and street maintenance were regarded as essential services (Goldfield 1977:67). Charleston had entered the nineteenth century at the forefront of the competition, but, as Health Commissioners testified, ended the century far behind its rivals. This lack of progress was not without good reason: a fixation on cotton and rice in the antebellum period was followed by economic collapse after the War. The phosphate boom in the 1870s provided only temporary relief to the city's economic stagnation. Natural disasters in the postbellum period, notably the earthquake of 1886 and the series of hurricanes around the turn of the century, struck devastating blows. Antebellum cities needed to centralize in order to modernize, and Charleston had dutifully expanded the municipal government. It was lack of funds, rather than lack of interest, that kept Charleston's civic improvements from moving ahead.

Charleston and the Railroads

The drive to create a healthy and orderly city was symptomatic of basic changes occurring in antebellum cities. In Charleston, the rallying cry from farsighted civic leaders was economic diversification and industrialization. The economic depression of the 1820s forced the city to assess its situation. Import trade had decreased 51.7 percent between 1815 and 1825; the value of domestic exports had dropped from $11 million in 1816 to $7.5 million in 1826. Charleston's cotton trade, its major export, had increased by 42.6 percent between 1820 and 1830; however, the gain was only half that of adjoining states, where production had risen 107 percent (Derrick 1930). More ominous was the growth of towns along the Fall Line, towns which used other rivers, such as the Pee Dee and the Savannah, for transport. Augusta, the chief upland market for cotton, sent goods down the Savannah River, thrusting Savannah ahead of Charleston as a commercial seaport (Derrick 1930).

Charlestonians recognized that the key to tapping trade from the interior and rejuvenating the city's commercial life was better transportation. In 1817, the State appropriated over $2 million for internal improvements. New roads were built and new canals dug (Anti-Debt 1847), but by the mid-1820s, it became apparent that these improvements had failed to bring more trade to the city. Urban capitalists, principally the maritime and banking elite of Charleston, requested a bill in 1827 to charter a railroad to run from Charleston to Hamburg, a Savannah River town across from Augusta. South Carolina, badly in debt from previous public works, granted the charter in 1828, to a private company. By May 12, with sufficient stock sold, stockholders organized the South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company: the nation's second railroad company to carry commercial traffic, passengers, and freight (Brown 1874).

The new enterprise needed millions of dollars. Only 3,501 shares of stock were sold in the spring of 1828; enough to start the Company, but far from adequate to finance construction. All of the stock had been purchased by Charlestonians, none by the citizens of Hamburg, Columbia, Camden, or any of the other inland towns to be serviced by the road. Clearly, the Railroad was viewed as a means of reviving the

commerce of Charleston and not as a promising investment elsewhere in the state (Horry 1833; Pease and Pease 1985).

In January, 1829, William Aiken, Sr., President-elect of the South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company, traveled to Washington with Alexander Black to seek federal aid. Senator Robert Hayne introduced a bill which failed from lack of support from the South Carolina delegation. Aiken and Black returned to Washington in 1830, but were once again unsuccessful. South Carolina had become a staunch proponent of states rights and thus opposed congressional financing of internal improvements. Returning home, Aiken and Black appealed to the State legislature which appropriated a loan of $100,000 at 5 percent interest for seven years, later extending the loan to ten years (Grinde 1976).

On January 9, 1830, Messrs. Gifford, Hilcomb and Company began work at Line Street on the first four miles of the road. Horatio Allen, renowned engineer of numerous northern railroad and canal projects, was selected as Chief Engineer of the South Carolina Company and served from 1829 to 1835. During that time, he married a Charleston woman, Mary Moncrief Simons, daughter of the prominent Reverend James Dewar Simons (Grinde 1976:87).

The entire line, 136 miles, was completed and opened for passenger service on October 3, 1833 (Figure 26). In his address at the Railroad's commemoration of completion, Elias Horry proclaimed that Charleston's problems were over.

> Our railroad furnishes the most complete, safest, and most certain expeditious mode of conveyance. Travellers who may wish to visit Charleston, will prefer the railroad...The accommodations will be found so great, that many will avail themselves to it and travel oftener that they otherwise would have done...Merchants...will find that they will be able to attend to their concerns, personally, without the intervention of agents. Planters will prefer it for sending their crops and the productions of their plantations to market...(Horry 1833:10).

Other speakers cited additional advantages: animals formerly used in transport could now be employed in farming; more farms were expected to develop along railroad lines, thereby boosting the economy of the state. Charleston, in turn, would prosper, since "the city is the best situated on the sea-coast as the Southern market for inland trade to the west and European and West Indian trade to the East" (Horry 1833).

During construction of the railroad line, stockholders debated what kind of power to use on the road. The Company offered $500 for the best locomotive run by horse-power. C.E. Detmold won with his "Flying Dutchman" which, on its test run, carried 12 passengers at the rate of 12 miles per hour (Brown 1874:138). Wind-power, tested on the "sailing car," proved less successful; it blew the car, traveling at 12 miles per hour with 15 passengers, right off the track (CDC March 20, 1830). Horatio Allen recommended a revolutionary solution.

Table 12
Presidents of the Railroad from 1828 to 1899

The South Carolina Canal and Rail Road Company:
1828-31 William Aiken
1831-34 Elias Horry
1834-37 John Ravenel
1837-43 Tristram Tupper
The Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Rail Road Company:
1837-39 Robert Y. Hayne
1839 Mitchell King
1839-40 Vardry McBee
1840-43 James Gadsden
South Carolina Rail Road Company:
1843-50 James Gadsden
1850-53 H. W. Conner
1853-62 John Caldwell
1862-78 W. J. Magrath
Receivership
South Carolina Railway Company:
1881 John Barnes
1881-82 John H. Fisher
1882-89 Henry P. Talmadge
Receivership
South Carolina and Georgia Railroad Company:
1894-99 Charles Parsons

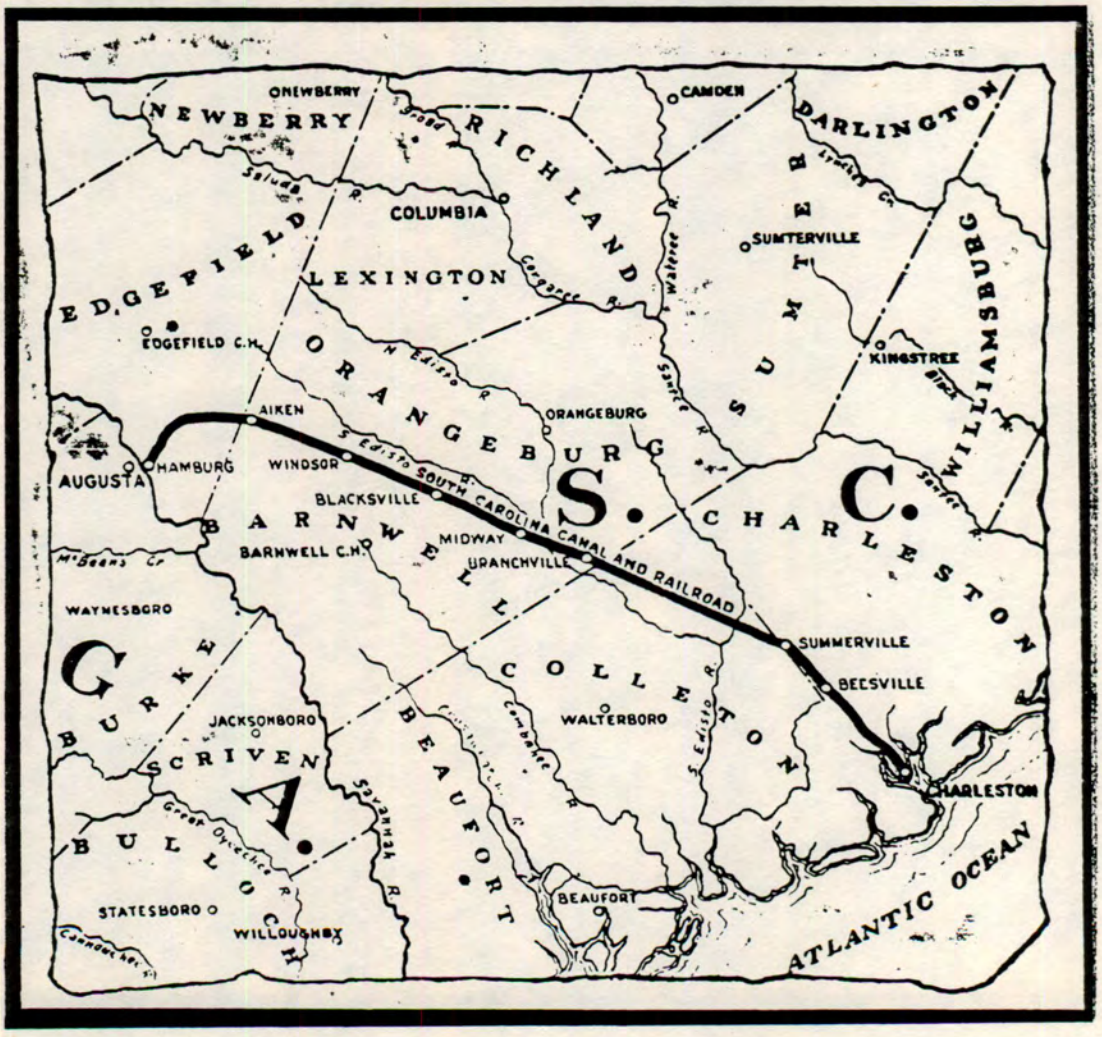


Figure 26: Route of the Charleston to Hamburg Railroad.

It was up to Allen, as engineer of the South Carolina Railroad, to decide whether the road should be built to accomodate locomotive power or horse-power. Despite strong sentiment in favor of at least beginning with horse-power, Allen advocated trying the locomotive. The capabilities of "this great mechanical blessing to mankind" had not yet been tested, but someday, he believed, the locomotive would outstrip the tried-and-true horse. The Board of the South Carolina Railroad Company unanimously concurred in Allen's recommendation, marking the first decision to use locomotive power on any freight or passenger railway in America or England (Brown 1874:137-138).

Following Allen's recommendation, the Board of Directors accepted an offer by Charlestonian E.L. Miller to construct a locomotive, named the "Best Friend," at the West Point Foundry in New York. This steam engine became the first American-built locomotive to see actual service on a railroad. The Best Friend arrived in Charleston in October, 1830. The firm of Dotterer and Eason was hired to assemble the engine, marking the beginning of railroad engine and car construction by native foundries. For foreman Julius D. Petsch and his assistant, Nicholas Darrell, the Best Friend inaugurated long careers with the Railroad. On its initial run on November 2, the wheels of the locomotive proved too weak to support the engine, but in all other respects the Best Friend was proclaimed a success. Indeed, on December 14 and 15, the engine "proved her force and efficiency to be double that contracted for" (Brown 1874:144).

On June 17, 1831, the boiler of the Best Friend exploded. The Charleston Daily Courier reported the incident the following morning:

> The locomotive 'Best Friend' started yesterday morning to meet the lumber cars at the Forks of the Road, and, while turning on the revolving platform, the steam was suffered to accumulate by the negligence of the fireman, a negro, who, pressing on the safety-valve, prevented the surplus steam from escaping, by which means the boiler burst at the bottom, was forced inward, and injured Mr. Darrell, the engineer, and two negroes. (Charleston Daily Courier, June 18, 1831).

The accident provoked the passage of speed limit laws and limitations on the number of passengers per car to 25. A single car was permitted to travel at 15 miles per hour, two at 12 miles per hour, and three at ten miles per hour (Brown 1874:149). J.D. Petsch rebuilt the locomotive and changed its name to the "Phoenix." The "West Point," a second locomotive from the New York foundry, arrived in Charleston in February 1831; both remained in operation until the development of the first eight-wheeled engine, the "South Carolina." J.D. Petsch, N.W. Darrell, John Eason, and Henry Raworth, apprentices of Dotterer and Eason Company and natives of Charleston, ran the locomotives. Darrell became a permanent employee of the Railroad on December 9, 1830, distinguishing himself as the first engineer of the first two locomotives built in America. Henry Raworth, who assisted Petsch in repairing the Best Friend, remained with the Railroad for 42 years. Adam Perry, a black fireman, became Raworth's "faithful" assistant, first as a slave, then as a freed man, for 32 years (Figure 27).

N. W. DARRELL.

HENRY G. RAWORTH.

ADAM PERRY.

Figure 27: Employees of the South Carolina Railroad.

Another key employee was Thorton Randall, a white fireman who served for 17 years. The three men never had an accident, a safety record attributed to their "perfectly friendly relationship and excellent character" (Brown 1874:160).

In 1833, the Railroad proved its worth. Farmers shipped 7,500 bales of cotton by rail, 3 percent of the entire upland cotton sold in Charleston that year. Throughout the rest of the decade, the Railroad carried between 13 and 18 percent of the crop. In July, 1834, the Company paid its first 2 percent semi-annual dividend (Pease and Pease 1985). Unfortunately, success was shortlived. After paying the first dividend, the Railroad began losing money. When the roadbed and track deteriorated, numerous accidents occurred and repair costs exceeded profits. Public trust waned, making it hard to recruit sufficient engineers. President Tupper, in 1836, blamed external as well as internal factors for the Company's losses: The Creek Indian War rendered western travel nearly impossible, while the cholera epidemic suspended public travel in all directions (Tupper 1837).

Railroad proprietors knew they needed to secure more trade to relieve their financial distress. Their response to adversity was to expand. The Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad Company (LCCRR), created in 1837, was designed to give southern states access to western markets; cotton and rice would come from the South, grain and meat from the West (Derrick 1930). Trade between different climate zones would prove mutually profitable. More important, Charleston would become a threshold for international imports. As President Robert Hayne expounded to the stockholders of the new railroad line, "We may be assured that if we can supply the interior with foreign goods by our railroad, CHEAPER THAN THEY CAN BE OBTAINED IN ANY OTHER WAY - THE TRADE WILL BE OURS..." (Hayne 1838:12). Finally, the promoter argued, trade between the South and the West would ally the two regions on the issue of slavery. "The Northern attack on 'slavery' threatened the 'existence' of the South and could destroy 'the Union'; an 'intercourse with the Western States might avert this dire calamity'" (Jaher 1832:321).

The LCCRR was plagued with problems from its inception. The Company had to borrow 2.5 million dollars from banks in England to purchase the Charleston to Hamburg line; accidents, decayed timber, and insufficient iron rail then forced it to spend more money to reconstruct the entire road (Proceedings 1839). John C. Calhoun, a director of the Company, opposed the route to Ohio, proposing that the new road pass through the cotton belt - Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. The defeat of Calhoun's plan dampened public enthusiasm for the project. Two additional problems beset the railroad: great distances over sparsely settled land and one-way freight. Charleston lacked products to ship to the midwest in return for agricultural staples (David Moltke-Hansen personal communication, 1987). The financial depression of the late 1830s and early 1840s undermined the price of cotton - in 1840 the staple sold for half of what it brought four years before - and sapped support for the Railroad in all states except South Carolina and Tennessee. The charter laws of the Railroad reflected the mounting crisis:

December 1838: "an act to authorize [the company] to increase the rates of transportation..."

December 1839: "an act to provide for an advance, by the state, on its subscription to the LCCRR Company..."

December 1840: "an act to authorize the LCCRR Company and Southwestern Bank to reduce their stock [devalued 350 to 1]..."

The President voiced deep financial concerns in his 1839 annual report:

> The Stockholders of the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad Company have seen, with much concern, the commercial embarrassments which have oppressed the country since they commenced their enterprise of uniting the South with the West, and of restoring to the Southern cities their legitimate portion of trade. These difficulties have now come home to our own citizens, and united with other causes, have in a great degree absorbed the resources upon which they relied for the prosecution of their enterprise.

Four year later, the LCCRR Company folded. The only line completed was the 67-mile run from Branchville to Columbia (Derrick 1930).

In 1843, the original Charleston to Hamburg line and the new branch to Columbia were reorganized to form the South Carolina Railroad Company (SCRR). From the mid-1840s to the onset of the Civil War, the SCRR carried products from the interior to Charleston, and contributed to a 71 percent rise in the value of the city's imports and exports (Jaher 1982). However, it did not "capture" western trade or dramatically improve foreign trade. While it spawned new industries on the East Side of Charleston, it also intensified the state's commitment to cotton, by encouraging the plantation system to expand. (Jaher 1982; Pease and Pease 1985).

A series of essays in the Daily Courier in 1847, ascribed to a writer dubbed "Anti-Debt" demonstrates that not all Charlestonians supported the Railroad. The essays claim that there never was nor would be enough freight or passengers to support a railroad. After the failure of the Louisville Company, investors forfeited their stock or sold it at a loss, and two thirds of the capital went to pay interest, leaving a debt of $4 million - "for what?" asked the essayist. The Railroad had managed to lay seven miles of track - a branch that had brought "not one bag of cotton nor one bushel of corn" to the city (Anti-Debt 1847:5). The largest cotton producers lived on rivers and used water transportation; farmers near roads used wagons to avoid freight costs. Still, the South Carolina Railroad Company held onto the dream of securing more trade and continued to expand. In the last essay, Anti-Debt wrote with exasperation:

> "If she [the state] has expended her last dollars in educating her citizens, and the promotion of those noble arts which elevate and purify the imaginations of men, the work would yield her the tribute of its highest admiration... But to bankrupt herself by canals and railroads, enterprises designed solely to facilitate trade, and in which money-mongers and speculators alone

usually invest, for the mere sake of gain, would not only be the sheerest folly, but disgraceful and disgusting (Anti-Debt 1847:9).

The major problem which plagued the Railroad Company from the start was the gap between its lines and the wharves. Because of prohibitions on steam engines within the city limits and rivalry among wharf owners as to whose wharf would be the terminal, the Railroad terminated on the Neck at Line Street, requiring drays to transport goods to their final destinations. In 1832, the Railroad succeeded in persuading legislators to grant a right of way to Boundary Street, provided that only horse-drawn cars pass Line Street. Neck inhabitants, already alarmed by the danger of fire from the locomotives' flying sparks, had taken the Company to court, which fined the Railroad $1,000 for creating a public nuisance. The Railroad, in response, developed "spark arresters" for its locomotives. During construction of the new length of track, strong opposition, primarily from draymen and wharfingers, forced the Railroad to stop when it reached Hutson Street, two blocks from Boundary. The depot, built at Mary Street, was five blocks away from the city limits (Derrick 1930).

Another attempt to bring the Railroad closer to the water began in 1846. President Gadsden reported that the Mary Street depot was too far from the wharves, resulting in heavy transportation costs. All of the railroad buildings were temporary edifices, constructed of perishable and flammable materials, and thus hazardous. Widely spaced workshops made it difficult for foremen to supervise workers. Gadsden proposed five alternate sites for new construction. He recommended building a depot and other facilities on Smith's Wharf and the marsh land around it (Figure 28). Steam power could be used all the way to the terminal; space would be available for future growth. At last, the Railroad would have direct access to a wharf in good repair. The "Committee of Seven" chosen to investigate the issue, like Gadsden, rejected the Mary Street location, but voted five to two to move the depot to Lauren's marshes, which featured East Bay Street frontage and a substantial wharf. The Railroad could then purchase property in Hampstead, a good investment, to lay its track. One opponent believed that the Railroad was in such serious financial trouble that it could not afford to move; the other felt a move would anger too many Charlestonians (Gadsden 1846).

In November, 1846, the stockholders of the South Carolina Railroad Company resolved that it was "inexpedient for the company to undertake the business of the wharfingers and inexpedient to transfer the depot at Charleston to any location upon the water" (Derrick 1930:199). Two years later, the stockholders voted to build a new depot at the Mary Street location and construct workshops on a lot that the Company owned on Meeting Street, opposite Tivoli Gardens. The new depot was completed in 1850, the workshops in 1851; construction had been delayed due to lack of funds. By 1853, the Company needed to enlarge the depot, so it converted the passenger house into a freight station, and built a new passenger facility on Line Street (Figure 29). Many of the railroad structures built during this period are still standing between Hutson and Mary streets.

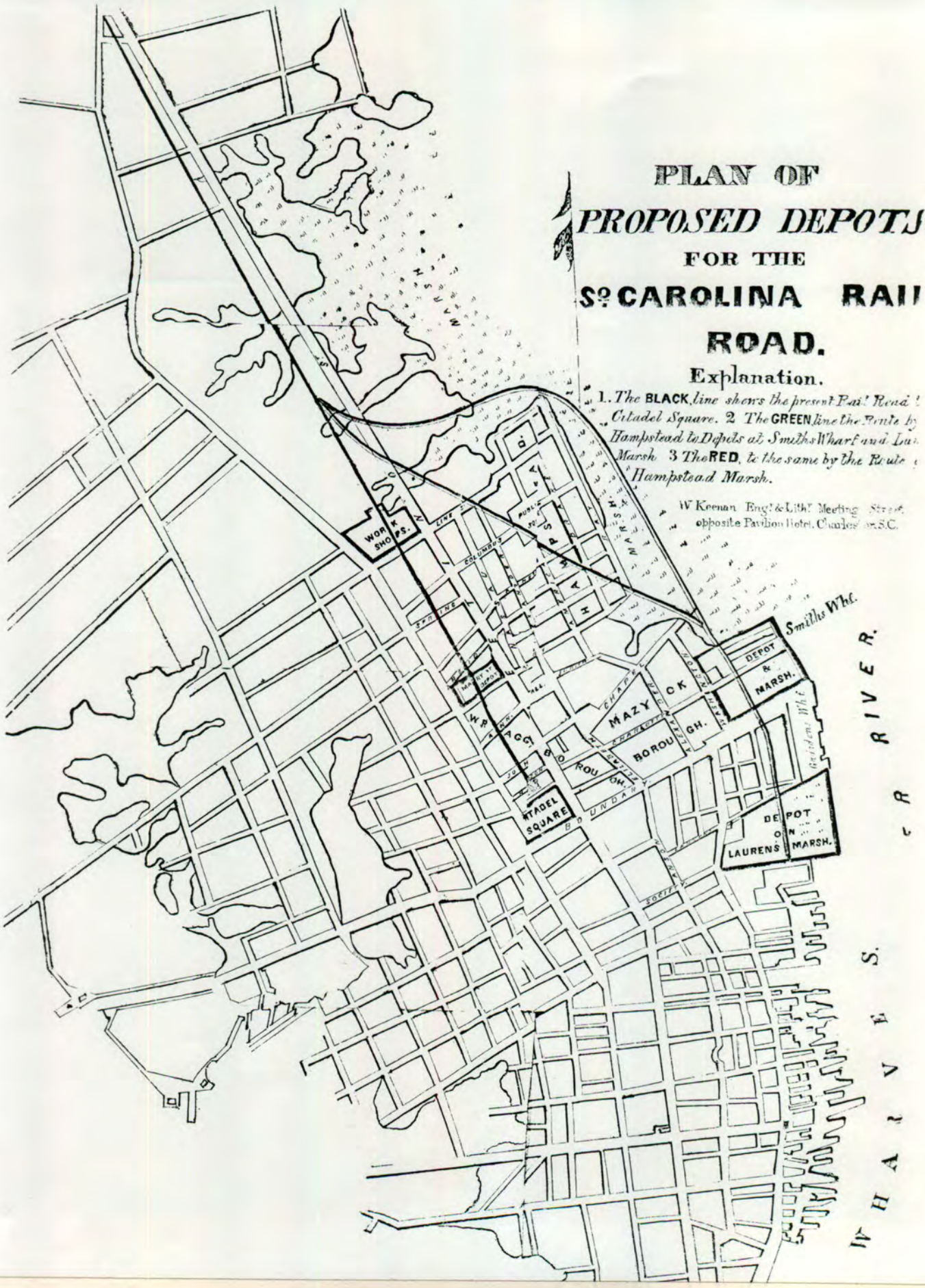


Figure 28: Proposed Depots of the South Carolina Railroad Company.

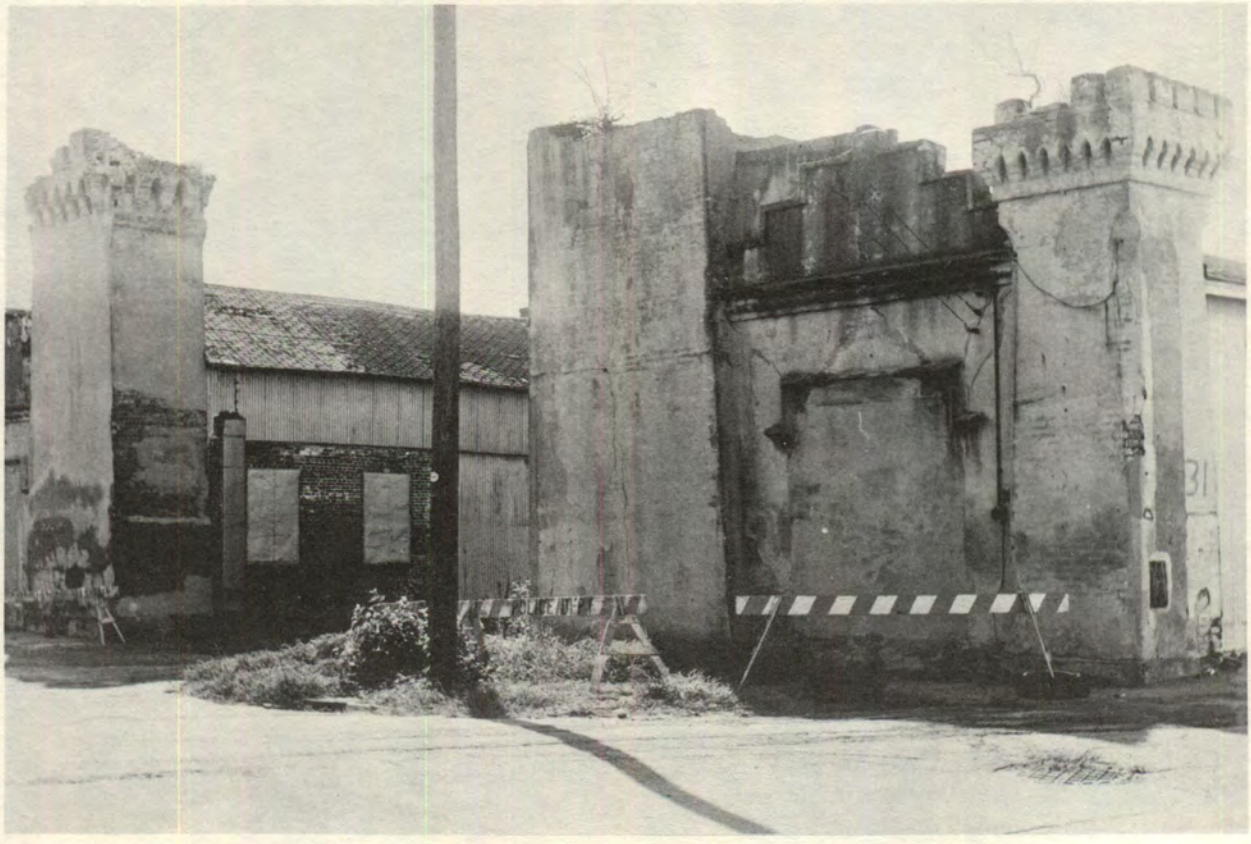


Figure 29: Extant Railroad structures: a) South Carolina Railroad, 1849; b) Northeastern Railroad, ca. 1852. (Photos by Will Williams)

The City Ward Book of 1853 identifies five pieces of land owned by the South Carolina Railroad Company. Three lots are of unspecified use, one is described as a depot, and the other as a railroad factory. The 1864 Ward Book reveals considerable land acquisition. Thirteen addresses accomodated a variety of functions: three unspecified, three freight depots, one storehouse, four groups of lots, five workshops and factories, and one building. Four of these addresses listed two types of use.

In the 1850s, Charleston acquired two more railroad companies. Extending the city's rail lines to the north was the Northeastern Railroad Company, and to the south, the Charleston and Savannah Railroad Company. The Northeastern, organized in February 1852, connected Charleston with the Wilmington-Manchester road, a vital north-south line. The Company intended to bring new trade to the city, especially from the Pee Dee Valley, a populous and productive region of the state; to provide profits for stockholders; and to maintain direct and continuous inland route north. Its Charleston depot, located on the Cooper River at the end of Chapel Street, connected rail to water, something that the South Carolina Railroad never accomplished. The 1853 Ward Book lists three addresses for the Northeastern Railroad: two of unspecified use, and one wharf. The 1864 Ward Book shows an increase in land holdings for the Company. Of the seven addresses given, three were unspecified, two were "accommodation" wharves, one was a cotton press, and two were house lots. These Northeastern properties laid along the eastern edge of the peninsula, east of Bay Street across the marsh; the South Carolina Railroad's holdings formed a corridor between Meeting and King streets (Figures 13 and 29).

On December 20, 1853, the legislature granted the Charleston and Savannah Railroad Company a charter and stipend of $270,000. President Thomas Drayton explained why the new line was needed: Commercially, it would establish a mail route along the seaboard; politically, it would foster a feeling of mutual reliance between slave states; and socially, it would improve relations between the two leading cities of the South Atlantic coast (Drayton 1855). Unfortunately, it was not until 1877 that the Charleston and Savannah and the Northeastern Railroad joined their lines to provide a continuous north-south route (Doster 1956).

At the onset of the War, the South Carolina Railroad owned 62 locomotives and 849 freight and passenger cars, the most extensive collection south of the Potomac. The car manufacturing company of Wharton and Petsch had its grounds and workshops beside the SCRR track, at the corner of Line and King streets, and by 1860, had produced over 1,000 box and platform cars for the South Carolina Railroad and 25 for the Northeastern Railroad. Wharton and Petsch employed over 100 men, including machinists, carpenters, finishers, and blacksmiths, whose wages ranged from $10 to $12 per week. On August 29, 1860, the Daily Courier reported that "not only does Wharton and Petsch Company have a reputation for "producing the best cars on the road, taking orders from many states," but it also proved Charleston's ability to "compete favorably with any of her rivals in

mechanical enterprises." Located on the corner of Nassau and Columbus streets in the immediate vicinity of the South Carolina Railroad depot, the foundry of J.M. Eason and Brother (an offshoot of the original Dotterer and Eason Company) furnished cast iron work and engineers for the Railroad. The William S. Henerey Foundry, on Meeting Street near Line, also provided the Railroad with car castings. As secession fever mounted, Charleston recognized the need for foundries and made great efforts to "build up an entirely Southern manufacturing establishment" (Charleston Daily Courier, August 25, 1860).

The War brought hard times to the South Carolina Railroad Company. In 1861, trains began missing their advertised connections; night trains were cancelled, and the Company offered only limited liability for freight transported. The South Carolina Railroad lost half of its assets in the course of the War. Sherman wreaked havoc on the road itself, and half of the passenger mail cars, two-thirds of the freight cars, and four-fifths of the engines were demolished. Portions of both the South Carolina and the Northeastern Railroad properties were destroyed in the evacuation of Charleston in 1865. President William J. Magrath, writing to his brother, Governor A.G. Magrath, on March 18, 1865, exactly one month after the evacuation, expressed shock at the heavy loss sustained by the Company:

> I thought the management of the evacuation of Charleston bad enough, but this must have been desperately bad. It is sickening to contemplate the probable extent of private and public losses - and much of it surely could have been avoided. Every man now must put his hand, and his heart, and head to work. It is the only way to remedy the deficiencies which are the natural consequences of the inertia and despondency that have followed Sherman's blow. But if we will not work, hunt work and find it - if we will have it that we are whipped, ruined, and refuse to make any effort, then is our case deplorable (Magrath Collection).

President Magrath did indeed put his hand, head, and heart to work. The Company reopened service to Columbia and Augusta by 1866, and to Camden by 1867. It realized four to six percent profit on its stock in 1865 and 1866, and put the money into reconstruction. Within eight years, Magrath brought the Railroad from near ruin to its highest earnings ever and the Board of Directors officially applauded his success (Resolution of January 20, 1869, Magrath Collection).

But even during this auspicious period, forces were gathering that would lay the Railroad low. Through the 1870s, as the South struggled against economic collapse, the South Carolina Railroad faced cut-throat competition in a fight for regional dominance. The Southern Railway Security Company, founded in 1870 by northern railroad promoters and bankers, bought up southern railroad stock and by 1871, held controlling interests in the Charlotte-Columbia-Augusta line, the Wilmington-Columbia line, the Northeastern Railroad Company, and the Richmond-Danville line in Virginia. They leased the North Carolina Railroad Company and, in 1873, built a line from Charlotte to Atlanta. The "Air Line" cut across the upper South Carolina tributaries, strangling the SCRR (Doster 1956). A letter to Magrath from H.S.

Haines, of Plant Investment Company, New York, reflects ongoing concern about railroad conglomeration:

> The Railroad corporations of this country are entering upon an era of aggregation and consolidation exceeding anything heretofore conceived of and unless this tendency is controlled by men of broad views and large experience with a capacity for organization and unswerving loyalty to the best interests of those whom they serve, the result will be failure and disaster (Magrath Collection).

To counter the expansion of the Southern Railway Security Company, the SCRR invested in other western lines, but these eventually went bankrupt. Using state credit, all of the railroads overbuilt, laying more lines than the traffic could support.

Competition also brought on fare wars. President Magrath, in 1871, proclaimed that "we are ready and determined to protect ourselves and our connections," and seeing no other choice, began cutting rates to the point of recklessness (Doster 1956:188). The public image of the South Carolina Railroad hit rock bottom when customers compared the cheap rates of the competition with the SCRR's "extravagant" rates, and denounced the Company for discrimination against local traffic and local needs (Doster 1956).

With debts mounting to $4 million in 1876 and $6 million in 1877, the South Carolina Railroad could not remain solvent. In April, 1878, the Company defaulted on its interest payment on a second mortgage bond and in July defaulted on its sterling bonds. By September, the Company was bankrupt; one month later, the Court placed it in receivership (Doster 1956). In the end, the Railroad succumbed to the movement toward consolidation and was swallowed by its rival, the Southen Railway. R.G. Rhett remarked on the irony of the situation in an address to the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commission in 1895:

> It was the irony of fate that America's first real railway built by the money and enterprise and vision of the people of Charleston in 1830 to 1833 for the development of commerce, should have been bought by the Southern Railway over half of a century later for the purpose of strangling that commerce because it interfered with its long haul up and down the coast from New Orleans to Norfolk (Magrath Collection).

Other Industries

While the railroads represented Charleston's major effort at industrialization, the antebellum city promoted other enterprises as well. In the mid-1800s, southern states began pushing for development of their own industrial base to free them from dependence on northern mills, factories, and foundries. As part of this effort, and to encourage home manufacturers and agricultural experimentation, the South Carolina Institute was founded in 1849. Its purpose was to

promote "Arts, Mechanics, and other Industry and Ingenuity" by holding an annual fair. Exhibitors, who brought their products to be judged and hoped to carry home premiums, came exclusively from southern states. "The object of these Exhibitions is to induce general inquiry and investigation, to find out where perfection, or approximation to it, rests; to develop the resources of our section especially; and to bring out the inventive genius, thrift and skill of our people" (Lawton 1855:32). Besides defending the dignity of the mechanical arts, the Institute pushed for diversification in agriculture, animal husbandry, and artisan crafts. The Institute Hall on Meeting Street, site of the signing of the Ordinance of Secession on December 20, 1860, was reduced to rubble by fire just one year later.

The connection between the drive for industrial development and the movement for secession, both of which gained momentum in the 1850s, is evident in the rhetoric of regionalism. The words "Southern built" appeared in advertisements again and again: "Southern built steam engines" should power "Southern built rice mills and cotton gins." "Southern built railroads" should roll on "Southern built rails" (Johnson and Roark 1984a:178).

A series of articles published in the "City Intelligence" column of the Daily Courier from August 17 to September 12, 1860, acclaimed the abilities and resources of Charleston mechanics. Reports of six foundries and iron works, a woodworking business, a steam sawmill, a railroad car manufacturer, a carriage manufacturer, a gas works, and an umbrella factory also praised the ingenuity and perserverence of native entrepreneurs. Four of these businesses were situated on the Neck; structures associated with three of them - the iron foundry, the gas works, and the car manufactory - are still extant.

The Charleston Gas Company was located on the corner of Washington Street and Charlotte (Figure 30). By 1860, the Company had built a new wharf, 650 feet in length, with a dock 66 feet wide for the loading and unloading of vessels. A trestle with a double track railroad was erected on the wharf, and conveyed coal to three Coal Stores. These three buildings together had a storage capacity of 8,000 tons of coal, immense quantities of which were consumed in the manufacture of gas. The Gas Company's objective was to make coal a desirable freight for vessels trading between Charleston and Great Britain. To do this, they needed to eliminate the expense of wharfage, receiving, cartage, and storage. For maximum efficiency, the Company bought eight hand cars to run simultaneously in both directions, and at night lit the double track with gas to permit uninterrupted unloading of vessels (Charleston Daily Courier, September 3, 1860).

One of the largest foundries in the city, spread over four acres, belonged to J.M. Eason and Brother; this was "the pioneer foundry, in operation for over a quarter of a century" (Charleston Daily Courier, August 25, 1860). Situated at the corner of Nassau and Columbus streets, Eason and Brother manufactured a wide variety of heavy machines, including steam engines, pumps, threshers, rice mills, saw mills, grist mills, sugar mills, and cotton presses (Figure 31). Under contract with the City, the Easons were the first to dredge the harbor - a task others considered too difficult (Johnson and Roark

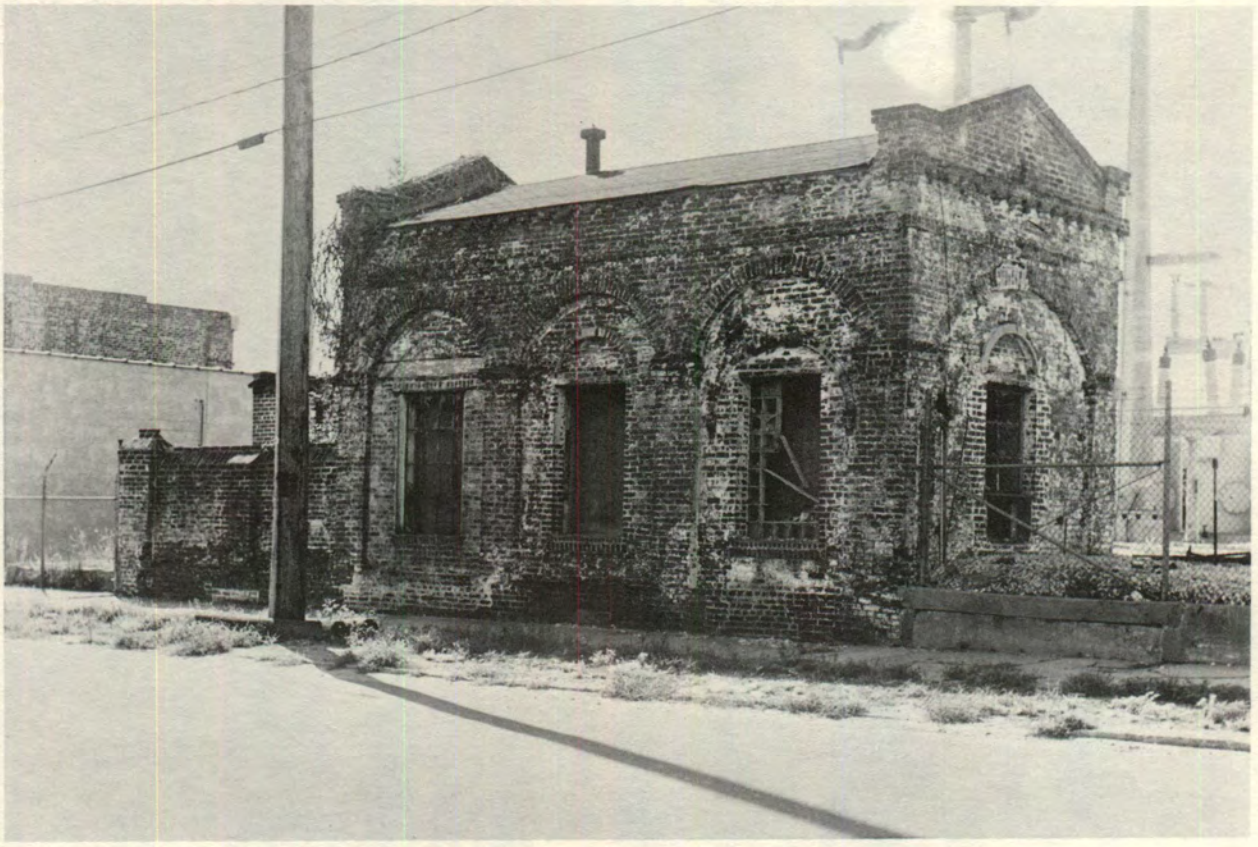


Figure 30: Extant building at the Charleston Gas Works, ca. 1853.
(Photo by Will WIlliams)

Eason Iron Works.

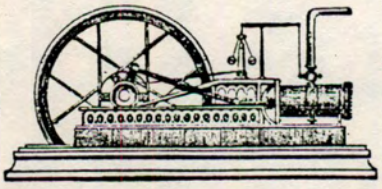
ESTABLISHED 1838.

NASSAU AND COLUMBUS STREETS,

CHARLESTON, S. C.

This Book was printed on a press driven by an Engine built at the Eason Iron Works.

STEAM ENGINES,

Marine,  Portable,

STATIONARY.

BOILERS OF ALL CLASSES.

MACHINERY.

Rice Pounding Mills,
Rice Threshing Mills,
Saw Mills, Flour Mills,
Sugar Mills, Grist Mills,
Shafting, Pulleys, Gearing,

Castings in Iron and Brass.

J. M. EASON.
T. D. EASON.

J. M. EASON & BRO.

Figure 31: Advertisement for Eason Iron Works.

1984a:267). At the 1849 South Carolina Institute Fair, the Company won a silver medal for the "best Rice Threshing Machine" (Report on the Committee on Premiums 1849). In 1850, the Easons won the silver medal again for their rice threshing machine, another silver medal for "finished work on Engines and Patterns for Mill Gearing," and a diploma for "Setting boilers in brick" (Report on the Committee on Premiums 1850). In 1860, the Company employed about 80 men, owned 12 slaves, and held real estate valued at $12,000. James M. Eason, co-owner and machinist, personally owned six slaves and real estate valued at $14,500, including a two-and-a-half story wooden single house where he lived (List of Tax Payers 1860; Mayzck 1875). His brother, Thomas D. Eason, paid tax on $6,000 worth of real estate and $2,500 of personal property (Federal Census 1860), and owned a house on America Street near Columbus.

William S. Henerey's large foundry and iron works was located on the upper end of Meeting Street near Line. Founded in 1853 by William Lebby, Henerey's produced cotton gins, rice threshers, mills of all sorts, horse-powered steam engines, boilers, "and every class of machine to order" (Figure 32). Within its foundry, blacksmith shop, machine shop, and boiler shop, the business usually employed 60 men - 70 during peak seasons (Charleston Daily Courier, August 31, 1860). Just two years after its establishment, the Company won a silver medal for the "best Sea Island Cotton Gin" in the Institute Fair, and William Lebby won a silver medal for his "best Portable Steam Engine" (List of Premiums 1855). Lebby, in 1850, and Henerey, in 1870, served as directors of the Institute. The Company was doing a "good business...steadily on the increase," claimed the Daily Courier, four months before the Secession Convention convened. "All that is asked, is that our citizens should be fully alive to the importance of their own manufacturing interests, to give Charleston what her location and advantages entitle her - a full share of the benefits of Southern enterprise" (Charleston Daily Courier, August 31, 1860).

Another thriving industry on the east side of the Neck was the car manufactory of Wharton and Petsch established in 1850 on King and Line streets. The Company supplied cars to railroads across the South. Over 100 employees produced 30 to 40 cars monthly, requiring more than 800,000 feet of lumber a year from the Charleston City Mills. Wharton and Petsch owned two shops, a machine shop and a blacksmith shop, each measuring 80 by 20 feet (Charleston Daily Courier, August 29, 1860). A. H. Petsch won a gold medal from the South Carolina Institute in 1849 for his invention of the "Bobbin Dresser and Winder"; he won again in 1850 for his "Spindle Banding machine," this time earning a silver medal (Report on the Commission on Premiums 1849, 1850). The Company's assets in 1859 totalled $13,000 including real estate, five slaves, and one horse. Thomas J. Wharton personally owned one slave and real estate valued at $5,500. Wharton lived on Woolfe Street near the SCRR track; Petsch lived on Mary Street (Population Schedules 1860).

Other East Side industries were not so successful. The Charleston Cotton Factory, organized in 1847, occupied a two-and-one-half story building facing Hampstead Square. When the enterprise failed to prosper, its owner, William Gregg, sold to a second group,

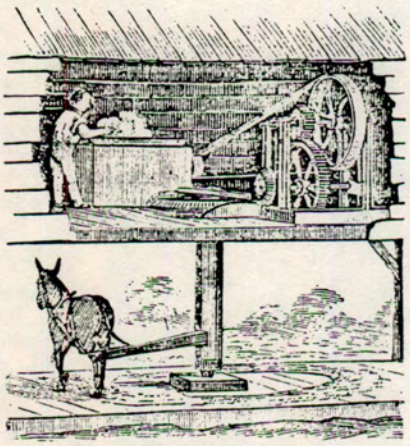
WILLIAM S. HENEREY,

Machinist and Founder,

NO. 314 MEETING STREET, (near Line,)

CHARLESTON, S. C.

Henerey's Under Stone Runner Corn Mill, (or Bottoms' Patented Horse Power.)



MANUFACTURER OF

Bottoms' Patented Horse Power, Henerey's Horse Power.
Gin Gearing, from 6 feet to 16 feet diameter.
McCarthy Cotton Gin, for Long Staple Cotton.
Brooks' Patented Screw Cotton Press, Lever Presses.
Dotterer's Rice Planter, Rice Mills.
Rice Threshers, Cotton Planters.
Dickson's Sweep, (Steel and Iron,) Cast Iron Ploughs.
Williamson's Patent Plough and Stock, adjustable to any Plough or Sweep.
Black's Patented Gang Plough.
Corn Mills, Sugar Mills, Sugar Kettles.
Engines, Boilers, Saw Mills, and every class of Machinery to order
The TAYLOR SAW GIN for sale.

Figure 32: Advertisement for Henerey's Foundry.

and in 1852 the factory closed for good. The building subsequently served as Charleston's Alms House.

Pockets of industry existed in other parts of the city. There were rice mills along both rivers, foundries near the wharves of Ward 3, artisan manufactories and lumber yards at the southern end of the peninsula. (See Charleston Daily Courier, September 3,4,7 and 12, 1860). But the clustering of big enterprises near the railroad yard gave the East Side, and especially Ward 7, a definite industrial cast.

Charleston's Working Class in the Neck

As in other southern cities, Charleston's working population was sharply divided by legal status, nativity, and race. Native-born southern whites monopolized the upper ranks of Southern society, earning their living as merchants, planters, bankers, factors, doctors, and lawyers. In fact, the wealthier the person, the greater the likelihood that she or he was born in the South (Berlin and Gutman 1983:179-180). On the lower end of the occupational ladder, the free working class population of Charleston was more heterogenenous, including southern-, northern- and foreign-born whites, and free persons of color. White native South Carolinians tended to dominate the clerical, commercial work force; most foreign-born people held manual, industrial jobs.

Immigrants were attracted to Charleston by the city's expanding industrial base. Charleston's wharves, factories, and foundries, and its role as a labor market for state public works projects and for municipal support services, all spelled jobs for unemployed immigrants. Irish and Germans in particular flocked to Charleston in the antebellum period.

Although Charleston had always been the port of entry for a small number of European arrivals, direct immigration declined significantly after 1800; between 1820 and 1840 the annual influx rarely exceeded 350 persons (Silver 1979:149). In the 1830s, northeastern cities became the principal source of Charleston's Irish population. Through the next decade, a sizeable number of immigrants traveled between New York and Charleston. Many new arrivals engaged in seasonal work, returning to New York in the spring. For the unemployed immigrant, "a seasonal trek to Charleston for the sake of a few months of steady, albeit lowpaying, employment" was preferable to permanent unemployment in New York (Silver 1979:150). Most of these seasonal migrants worked as laborers in canal, road, and later, railroad construction.

Charleston's Irish population increased dramatically in the 1840s. A local newspaper reported that the city "was being inundated by impoverished immigrants." The white laborer, noted the Commissioner of the Poor, "is gradually taking the place of the slave" (Silver 1979:148). Irish immigrants soon comprised the majority of the free white working class.

By 1860, slightly less than 40 percent of Charleston's white population was foreign-born. Of the adult free working class, foreign-

born men comprised over half (52 percent) of the Charleston work force. Although slightly less numerous on the East Side, they still formed the majority of free workers in Ward 5 and slightly less than half in Ward 7. Women accounted for 17 percent of the work force in Wards 5 and 7 in 1860. Of the working women, southern-born women, foreign-born women, and female free persons of color comprised roughly equal percentages of the population in Ward 7. In Ward 5, however, over half of the free working women were free persons of color. Otherwise, the white free female work force tends to mirror the male groupings, with southern-born white workers forming the majority in Ward 7 and the foreign-born white workers predominating in Ward 5 (Table 13).

Table 13
Adult Free Working People by Nativity and Race, 1860

	Number	Percentage of Working People					
		Southern Born White		Northern Born White		Foreign Born White	Free Persons of Color
Charleston							
Males	3846	28%		6%		52%	14%
Ward 7							
Males	571	47		5		42	6
Females	127	36		0		35	28
Total	698	45		4		41	10
Ward 5							
Males	774	37		5		45	13
Females	142	15		3		24	58
Total	916	34		5		41	20

(Population Schedules 1860; Berlin and Gutman 1983:1181)

Immigrant workers did not usually stay in the city long. Historian Christopher Silver notes that barely 30 percent of the Irish listed in the 1850 census appear again in the 1860 census. The percentage was even lower among the unskilled. Surprisingly, Charleston's "mobile immigrants" brought their families with them; most were married men (Silver 1979:155).

The Irish found homes in the squalid waterfront areas of Ward 3 and in the upper wards. Ward 5, in particular, had a substantial contingent of Irish laborers, most of whom were unskilled. Forty-one percent of the free workingmen living in Ward 5 were unskilled; the Irish comprised 78 percent of this labor group and accounted for 90 percent of the foreign-born workers. Over half of the foreign-born unskilled workers in Ward 7 were Irish (Tables 14 and 15). Ward 5 was in many ways "barely a cut above the dockside wards in appearance, with its rows of shacks built to accomodate hired out slaves and free blacks; yet to an immigrant family, the attractions of the area were twofold. Still relatively undeveloped, there was room to implant a sizeable immigrant community without the crowding of the lower wards. More importantly, it was one area where land sold at prices within the means of a working class family" (Silver 1979:153).

Table 14
Skill Distribution of Free Workingmen, 1860*

	Number of Free Workingmen	Percentage Skilled	Percentage Unskilled
Charleston	3,846	63	37
Ward 7	404	77	23
Ward 5	421	59	41

(Population Schedules 1860; Berlin and Gutman 1983:1179)
*Following Berlin and Gutman, unskilled work is that which demands strength or exertion rather than skill. Carters, dock workers, drayman, laborers, porters, sailors, stable keepers, and tobacco factory workers comprise this category. Skilled workers include artisans and craftspeople: bakers, barbers, blacksmiths, book binders, bricklayers, butchers, cabinet makers, carpenters, confectioners, coopers, coppersmiths, finishers, jewellers, masons, moulders, painters, plasterers, printers, saddlers, shoemakers, slaters, soap manufacturers, stage drivers, tailors, tanners, trimmers, upholsterers, and wood sawyers. Skilled industrial jobs include those of boiler makers, car builders, castors, conductors, engineers, firemen, foremen, founders, gas fitters, machinists, mechanics, millers, millwrights, pattern makers, pumpmakers and wheelwrights. No apprentices were included.

Table 15
Free Workingmen, Skilled and Unskilled, by Nativity and Race, 1860

		Percentage of Workingmen				
		Southern Born White	Northern Born White	Foreign Born White		Free Persons of Color
	Number					
Skilled:						
Charleston	2,413	38	6	40		16
Ward 7	312	58	7	29		7
Ward 5	247	40	5	30		25
Unskilled:						
Charleston	1,433	11	5	72		11
Ward 7	92	20	5	70	(53 Irish)	5
Ward 5	174	7	2	77	(90 Irish)	14

(Population Schedules 1860; Berlin and Gutman 1983:1183)

The presence of poor immigrants is reflected in residential patterns in Wards 5 and 7, where over half of all courts and alleys were occupied exclusively by whites - several exclusively by households headed by foreign-born adults. Williams Row, for example, was a long, narrow court off Meeting Street, between Woolfe and Spring, which today lies beneath asphalt parking lots and light industry. A hundred years ago, eight houses, each measuring a meager 10 by 20 feet, faced onto the row. In 1861, these dwellings housed

some 39 people, mostly northern Europeans, hailing from Ireland, Bavaria, Hanover, and France, who had lived in the United States long enough to have borne American children. One remarkably crowded dwelling sheltered a total of 16 individuals in four family groups, whose adult members were all Irish and illiterate. The men, along with the German occupants, were unskilled laborers. One Irish daughter became a skilled milliner. The Frenchman was skilled as a moulder and his son was an apprentice moulder. His two other children along with one Irish child attended school (1861 City Census; Population Schedules 1860).

While the working class immigrants formed the majority of the unskilled laborers, they also comprised a third of the skilled labor force in Wards 5 and 7 (Table 15). For example, of the 61 skilled white railroad employees, 26 percent were immigrants. Aside from the railroad workers, 21 immigrant men worked in industrial jobs and 128 in artisan or craftsmen occupations on the Neck (Appendix I) (Population Schedules 1860).

Numerous southern-born men, primarily native South Carolinians, pushed the percentage of skilled workers in Ward 7 above the city's average. The call for "southern-made" goods and "southern industry" is clearly reflected in this industrial ward. The percentages of skilled versus unskilled workers in Ward 5 is similar to the city's average, although Ward 5 is weighted in favor of unskilled workers (Table 14) (Population Schedules 1860).

Free Negroes were barely represented in the mechanical trades, with two notable exceptions - the preindustrial skills of wheelwrighting and millwrighting. On the East Side, only one mulatto engineer and one machinist, both living in Ward 5, broke the color barrier, yet three out of nine wheelwrights and seven out of ten millwrights were free Negro men. These tradesmen, so vital to the plantation economy, included Francis Mishaw, and Anthony and Furman Weston, members of the wealthiest and most well-respected free black families in Charleston (1860 Federal Census; Johnson and Roark 1984b:111).

White immigrants made inroads into the skilled and semiskilled job market, but met with some resistance. New arrivals sought jobs which traditionally had been done by slaves, and, to a certain extent, by free blacks. In some cases, immigrants filled vacancies created when slaves were sent to work in the country or sold to western planters, who were clamoring for hands to cultivate new cotton land. The draymen of Charleston illustrate this trend. Until the 1840s, hired out slaves and free Negroes nearly monopolized the carting of goods through city streets; by 1850, 33 of Charleston's 225 draymen were Irish immigrants, and within ten years, their ranks had swelled to 150. The battle between Irish and slave carters was open and occasionally vicious, in one instance resulting in a slave losing an eye (Silver 1979:156).

The Irish and other white artisans protested competition from free blacks and hired out slaves who, in general, worked at lower wages. Spurred by white leaders, such as James Eason and Henry Peake,

white laborers repeatedly petitioned the state legislature to regulate slave and free black labor. In the 1859 legislative session alone, more than 20 bills to impose additional restrictions on free persons of color were proposed. (Johnson and Roark 1984b:7,133-135). It was the immigrants' hope "that we may be able to compete with them, if they are to be an equality with us" (Silver 1979:159). Time and time again, the legislature refused to act.

In 1860, Eason and Peake, dedicated to their anti-Negro campaign, ran for the legislature. Presenting themselves as representatives of the interests of white workingmen, both were easily elected, winning by overwhelming majorities on the Neck. Eason immediately presented a bill to prohibit all free persons of color from carrying on any mechanical pursuit and from contracting for mechanical work. The measure called free Negroes

> plague spots in this community, affecting pecuniarily and socially, only working men.... The learned professions being closed against the Negro, as also all mercantile pursuits, they have been thrust on the working men only as competitors (a system which has driven nearly all our young mechanics from their homes) (Johnson and Roark 1984b:134).

The bill was never voted on; in December of that year the Ordinance of Seccession was signed and more pressing matters took over the agenda.

Attempts by white immigrants to do "nigger work" sometimes were opposed by employers as well as by black workers. Railroad companies, for example, initially hired white immigrants but soon found the expense and difficulty of securing suitable white laborers exhorbitant, and began to buy their own slaves or to hire bondsmen from slaveowning contractors. The Northeastern Railroad hired slaves to replace white workers who had fled the city during the unhealthy summer of 1855 (Starobin 1970:123). President Drayton of the Charleston and Savannah Railroad Company urged stockholders not only to hire slave labor, but to purchase Negroes as well:

> The labor is the kind which we should use at the South, because it is cheaper, can be kept under better discipline, work both in summer and winter, and the planter be relieved from those annoyances which always accompany the introduction among our plantations of contractors with hireling white labor from the North and foreign parts (Drayton 1855:6).

Drayton argued that the annual expense of sustaining a company-owned slave worked out to half that of hiring a slave. Tackling the task of excavating earth in the lowcountry, a company-owned slave could dig one cubic yard for 5 1/2 cents, compared to 15 or 16 cents for hired slaves. Drayton clinched the question by pointing to rail lines in the state that had been built "easily and cheaply" with slave labor (Drayton 1855:8-9). In 1848, according to the Proceedings of the Stockholders of the South Carolina Railroad, the Company held $11,963 in slave property. During the previous year, the SCRR had accrued $1,290.56 from wages earned by hired out Negroes and $300 from the

sale of one Negro man, June. The Company spent $259.75 on Negro clothing (Waring 1848). In the Proceedings for 1849, income from hired out slaves totaled $1,029.65; income from the sale of a man named Joseph amounted to $500.00. The Railroad spent $750 on "Negro Essex," $5,696.17 on Negro provisions, and $196 on Negro clothing (Waring 1849). A statement of slaves belonging to the South Carolina Railroad Company in 1859 lists 90 bondsmen purchased between 1836 and 1859 (Appendix II).

The willingness of the SCRR directors to employ slave labor is apparent in their assent to an unusual motion made at a meeting in 1836. The President suggested "the expediency of running freight trains with black engineers under the management and control of a white conductor." The motion was approved, the measure to be put into effect "as soon as practicable" (Derrick 1930:124). The order was never enacted, however. Railroad officials may have been afraid of slave defections, but more likely were unwilling to challenge the vested interests of skilled white workers.

Although little information has been recovered on the type of work bondsmen performed for the Railroad, their jobs apparently included heavy manual labor, such as excavating earth, and hazardous tasks. One Carolinian expressed reservations about hiring his Negroes to the Railroad; "they will be exposed in the mud and water and it is far from home, for if they were to get sick they might die before I could have an opportunity to do anything for them" (Starobin 1970:133).

Staunch supporters of the railroads had no such reticence about hiring out slaves for industrial work. In 1864, William Aiken, Jr. provided the Coals Field and Northeastern Railroad companies with a list of Negroes available for hire. Ten years later, Aiken submitted the two slave schedules to corroborate an affidavit addressed to Federal Judge George Bryan, requesting compensation for his lost investment (Figure 33). One schedule lists 505 slaves and distinguishes them as field hands, children, old and infirm, runaways, carpenters, and deceased. "Coals Field Rail Way - List of Negroes" is written on the back of the schedule (Appendix III). Aiken described the Coals Field Rail Way simply as a corporation in the state of South Carolina. It may have referred to the Charleston Gas Company's double track railroad, built for the purpose of conveying coal. The other slave schedule contains three lists sent to Aiken by John Nettles of the Northeastern Railroad. The first recorded the names of 167 people, grouped as families and marked as full or half hands. A tally at the end counts 44 working men, 43 working women, six old men, 26 old women, and 48 children. On the reverse of the list is written "Northeastern Railway/list of Negroes." The second named 170 "Negroes at Lanes," repeating approximately three fourths of the people on the first list. Again on the back is written "Northeastern Railway, November 1, 1864." The third records the names and ages of 36 children under the age of 12, and the names of 35 people over 50 years of age. Aiken also requested compensation for 3/37th of the undivided shares of "91 slaves owned by the private unincorporated association of West Point Mills" (Aiken Papers).

The United States of America
Eastern District of South Carolina

1

In the matter of
William Aiken

Before the Honourable George S Bryan Judge of the United States for the District of South Carolina personally comes the Honble William Aiken, formerly Governor of the State of South Carolina in the years 1845 and 1846 who being duly sworn deposeth and saith, that he had been for many years the owner of a large number of slaves, them recognized as property by the laws and Constitution of the United States of America and of the State of South Carolina, and so continued to be up to and until the Proclamation of the President of the United States, and after the provisions of law by the United States, and by the said State of South Carolina, by which all the slaves in the Southern States of the United States, were emancipated and set free.

That at the time of such emancipation and freeing of the said Slaves, this Deponent was the lawful owner absolutely and

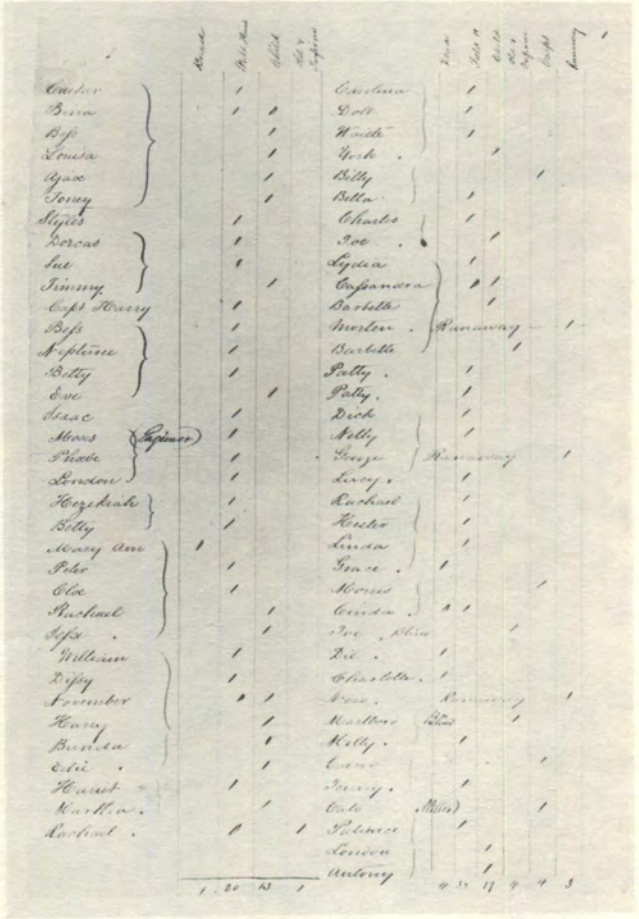


Figure 33: Pages from William Aiken's 1874 affidavit and 1864 list of slaves. (Photo by Grayson Matthews)

Industrial slavery depersonalized the relationship between master and slave. Rather than belong to an individual, slaves were owned by a corporate entity, an "intangible master." In the same way that the hiring out system created a new economic organization of labor, corporate ownership of slaves loosened the bonds of the old slavery system (Henry 1914:99), and appropriated some features of the new industrial order.

Like northern mill companies, southern railroads provided dormitory housing for their workers. According to the 1864 Ward Book, slaves barracks or tenements were located at three addresses on the East Side: one at 26 King Street and two on Meeting Street, between Woolfe and Spring, and between Mary and Reid. On the Sanborn map of 1884, cartographers specified those dwellings which housed African-Americans by labeling them "Negro," a practice which had been abandoned by 1888. The map shows one "Negro tenement," 20 feet wide, 60 feet long, and two stories tall at the King Street address. This building, which housed blacks in 1884, may well have housed railroad slaves 20 years earlier. On Ann Street, a similar linear, barrack-type building, 20 feet by 100 feet, is marked "Negro dwelling" on the 1884 map. The railroad barracks between Mary and Reid had evidently been demolished to make room for expansion of the SCRR cotton yard.

By the eve of the War, Charleston's immigrant population had begun to wane; opportunities for advancement proved more imagined than real. When slave labor, which had effectively barred the immigrant groups, dissolved with emancipation, Charleston reversed its position on immigrants and actively, but unsuccessfully, campaigned to lure Irish workers. The failure of this effort is reflected in the declining growth rate of Charleston's immigrant community during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER V

The East Side and the Civil War

Fire and Siege

For several months following the firing on Fort Sumter, soldiers freshly mustered into Confederate camps around the city found it "hard to realize that we are engaged in warfare." "Every afternoon," reported a new recruit to the South Carolina Rangers, in July, 1861, "the Battery and King Street are thronged with equestrians and pedestrians, gayly dressed and in high spirits. 'Mt. Vernon' (the iced-cream garden) is also well patronized" (Tennent Family Papers, July 18, 1861). Dr. Edward Smith Tennent spent the summer in Hampstead, on Bay and Blake streets, at the recently completed house of his elder brother Josiah and his sister-in-law Mary. "The climate here," he wrote to his bride, "has been delightful ever since my arrival, a constant Sea breeze blowing" (Tennent Family Papers, July 3-4, 1861).

The light-hearted mood did not last. After the fall of Port Royal and Beaufort in November, refugees from the coastal islands crowded into Charleston. On the night of December 11, some slaves who had accompanied their master from one of the outlying plantations allowed a small cooking fire to get away, and before daylight some 540 acres of prime real estate had been laid waste (Burton 1970:80-84). The burnt district "is an awful sight," Tennent related on December 14, "the loss of property is frightful, the amount it is impossible at present to estimate" (Tennent Family Papers, December 14, 1861).[20]

Charleston Neck began filling with people displaced from the "utter desolation" of the burnt district; the movement of Charlestonians into the upper wards continued until the city was finally evacuated in February, 1865. Besides fire, repeated bombardments threatened the southern end of the peninsula. Strolling through the shelled area on "a day's leave," D.E.H. Smith found "the lower part of the city...terribly battered" (Smith 1950:96). Clergymen felt especially obliged to open their doors "to the shelterless." Episcopal minister, A. Toomer Porter, whose house on Rutledge and Spring streets had 12 rooms, took in Dr. Wragg, from Broad Street, when he was "burnt out." Allston Pringle, from the lower end of King Street, and A.O. Andrews, from Hasell Street, "both shelled out," also sought refuge in Porter's home and remained there until the War ended (Porter 1898:147).

Before the federal forces' final assault, few shells fell above Calhoun Street. Confederate General P.T.G. Beauregard's headquarters was moved out of danger to former governor William Aiken's mansion on Elizabeth Street. Numerous hospitals and chapels were set up on the Neck, and an astonishing number of houses were built in the upper wards during the long siege. By the Christmas bombardment in 1864, however, the range of Union guns had increased. Gunners changed their target from St. Philip's and St. Michael's steeples to the Second Presbyterian Church between Henrietta and Charlotte, landing shells as

far north as John Street (Burton 1970:259-260, 317). Although the damage caused by these shells was limited, the impact of the War on the lives of Neck residents was nonetheless profound (Figure 34).

Mobilization for War

Besides providing shelter for Charlestonians displaced from the lower wards, citizens and business establishments on the Neck contributed materially to war mobilization. The foundries and railroads played strategic roles. In the spring of 1862, J.M. Eason was awarded the contract for the second gunboat commissioned by the Confederate government. The crew working on the first boat vied with his crew "to see which would finish first." The importance of this effort was underlined by special provisions made to expedite supplies of timber and armor plating. Eason, with the better crew, completed work before his competitor, Marsh and Son. On August 23, 1862, the governor and other notables attended the launching of the newly named Chicora. Two months later, at the commissioning ceremony of the Palmetto State, "the Chicora came steaming up the river, flags flying fore and aft, and gave a salute" to her rival. Standing on the Chicora's deck beside her officers "was her builder, Mr. Eason" (Burton 1970:125-126).

Earlier that year, the railroads had been assigned a special duty: to prepare for the evacuation of the city. A state convention had adopted an ordinance on January 2, 1862, "to provide for the Removal of Negroes and other property from portions of the State that may be invaded by the enemy." Two weeks later, General Robert E. Lee, in charge of coastal defenses for the South Atlantic region, wrote to the chairman of the commission set up to carry out this directive in Charleston, advising him "to make provision in time of security for what would be required in time of danger." Chairman C.M. Furman met with South Carolina Railroad President Caldwell and received assurances that "the company has made arrangements" for transporting up to 5,000 people "at any time." Similarly, the President of the Northeastern Railroad, Alfred Ravenel, promised "to keep the whole of his rolling stock in such position as to be available for the removal of non-combatants in case of an attack upon the city" (Grimke 1908:41, 44-45).

In April, the Commission made plans to store provisions at various depots along the rail lines and to construct a shanty town in Summerville large enough to shelter some 10,000 people. Caldwell and Ravenel were asked to make definite arrangements "as to the mode and order in which persons and property may be transported on their respective roads." The South Carolina Railroad, the Commission was told, could command "almost at any hour 100 cars of all kinds; these divided into four trains could follow each other as fast as filled." At a capacity of 40 persons per car, "in the space of two hours 4,000 persons could be removed provided they are tractable and will assist themselves."

Caldwell recommended that trains be boarded between Mary and Reid streets, but asked that the Company be held blameless for any injuries

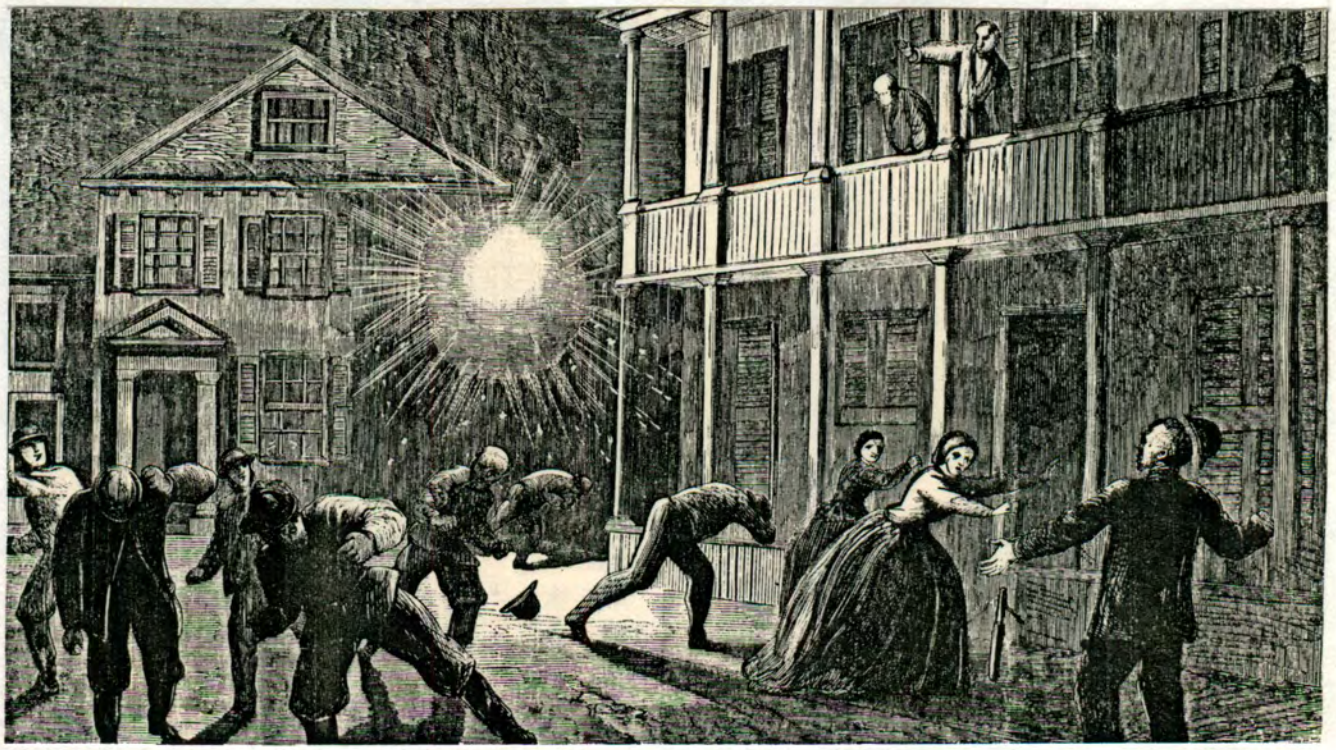


Figure 34: Harper's Illustration of the Bombardment of Charleston.

incurred, "or for the escape of negroes." The risk of slave defections was prominent in his mind. "If practicable," he suggested, "slaves should accompany their owners in the same cars and their luggage kept with them." Meanwhile, Caldwell took care to uphold racial protocol. Free persons of color who assemble at the same time as whites, "should be directed to confine themselves to the Eastern portion of the platform" - prefiguring "Jim Crow Car" requirements later in the century.

Caldwell was confident that other railroad executives would cooperate fully in the evacuation plan. But President Ravenel demurred, claiming that "his road could do very little in comparison with the South Carolina Railroad." The Northeastern, in an emergency, would "take care of the military stores," leaving the refugee problem to the larger railway (Grimke 1908:46-47).

The Commission in charge of formulating these contingency plans also considered, as "Unofficial Business," the issue of impressing hands "to work upon the fortifications in the neighborhood of the city." Between 800 and 1,000 slaves had been requisitioned from "the districts adjoining the sea-board." The Commission decided that this procedure was "impolitic and impracticable." Impressing slaves from outlying areas ran contrary to "the private interests of individual citizens." Moreover, a "large portion" of the slaves specified by this directive "had either deserted to the enemy, been removed, or were preparing for removal." Hence, the Commissioners resolved to ask Mayor Charles Macbeth how many workers "might be procured" from Charleston itself. Macbeth, in turn, appointed a committee "to canvass the city to ascertain definitely the number of laborers which could be furnished" (Grimke 1908:45-46).

The substantial work force William Aiken provided for the Coals Field and Northeastern Railroads may have represented his response to similar wartime exigencies. No documents survive to indicate what arrangements Aiken made for the lease of his slaves, nor do we know what work his laborers were required to do. But his postwar affadavit makes abundantly clear how "very prime and valuable" his slaves had been and what a sacrifice it was to lose them.

Aiken was building a case for compensation for the Negroes he had owned, who were "worth as much money, in Gold, at the time of their emancipation, as any slaves...at that time." Identifying himself as a former governor of the state, he insisted that he "had retired into private life" after his term in Congress had ended in 1856. As a private citizen he had not "in any way participated in the proceedings which led to the secession movement in this State." Furthermore, "he did not concur in them, and indeed as far as he could, did all in his power to prevent the same, for they were entirely against his judgment and desire" (Aiken Rhett Papers).

This document reveals Aiken's strong streak of realism and prudent self-interest. Though opposed to secession before the War, Aiken was emphatically loyal to the Confederate cause. In November, 1863, he hosted President Jefferson Davis on an inspection tour of Charleston, and he offered his house as military headquarters when the

lower part of the city came under heavy bombardment. By the fall of 1864, however, he apparently foresaw the coming defeat and decided to get his affairs in order. It was then that he systematically began to collect schedules of his slaves.

Bitter Losses

Of the many residents of Charleston Neck who contributed to the war effort, the Tennent family left perhaps the most abundant record of its bitter losses. The Tennent Family Papers, preserved in the South Caroliniana Library, provide an intimate chronicle of the early war years, in daily letters exchanged between a younger son of the family and his new wife. The Josiah Smith Tennent house, which stands derelict today at the corner of East Bay and Blake streets, is a sad reminder of the prosperity the Tennents enjoyed before the War, and the tragedies they sustained.

The family's home place was Parnassus, a large rice plantation on Back River in St. James Goose Creek Parish. Parnassus' claim to fame was brick making. It had belonged to a wealthy Hugenot, Zachariah Villeponteux, and bricks made there were used in the construction of St. Michael's Church. John Charles Tennent purchased the property and, in partnership with his neighbors at Medway, the Stoneys, continued to operate the brick business (Tennent 1971:188). His sons William and Josiah followed in his footsteps, running a brickburning factory at 60 Anson Street. Their brother, Dr. C. Tennent, won a premium for "grey bricks" at the South Carolina Institute's 1855 Fair.

The Tennents began to invest in subdivisions on the East Side early in the nineteenth century. Between 1809 and 1817 they acquired, in trust for John Charles Tennent's wife, Ann Martha, two adjacent lots in Hampstead, #77 and 78 (CCRMCO V-7:251; F-8:242-243; X-8:267-271). Ann Martha's trustees sold the two lots, apparently at a loss, soon after they had purchased the western half of #78. John C. Faber bought the properties, which measured 100 by 254 feet and 80 by 142 feet, for a $4,000 bond with interest (CCRMCO T-8:182). Coincidently, it seems, these lots bounded on the site where Josiah Tennent was to build more than 40 years later.

From 1822 until 1861, the Tennents bought and sold considerable real estate, including numerous properties on the East Side. Among these were land on the corner of Washington and Charlotte streets, lot #24 in Mazyckborough, on the west side of Alexander Street, and several parcels in the vicinity of Calhoun and Elizabeth. According to the 1859 City Directory, William was living on one of the Tennents' Calhoun Street properties. His eldest son had just been appointed as Resident Graduate and instructor in mathematics at the Citadel, a few blocks away. Josiah, meanwhile, was completing his monumental brick house in Hampstead (CCA Tennent file).[21]

The land on which Josiah built had belonged to his father-in-law, Dr. John Hyrne Tucker of Litchfield. Like other wealthy Georgetown District rice planters, Tucker had chosen Hampstead as his Charleston seat, attracted, no doubt, by its spacious lots and famous breezes. In

1824, he paid $4,000 for lot #77, previously owned by Ann Martha Tennent. He also acquired the property immediately to the south, lot #76, on the northwest corner of Bay Street and Blake. In 1856, he conveyed the corner lot adjacent to his own house for the use of his daughter, Mary Ramsay Tennent, and her husband Josiah (CCRMCO O-9:542-544; V-13:239). Within a year, William Tennent and Joseph Hall Ramsay Tucker, as trustees of Josiah and Mary, mortgaged the Hampstead lot to Henry Ravenel for $6,000, payable in three equal annual installments of $3,000. Most likely the money was intended as a construction loan. (CCRMCO E-14:96-97).

Dr. Tucker lived just long enough to see the Tennents' house near completion. Josiah first paid taxes on the property in 1860, but apparently he was not able to pay off his mortgage. The real estate, valued at $13,000, included a three-story structure which, with piazzas, covered 72 feet 6 inches by 59 feet 10 inches of ground.

The Tennent family had illustrious ancestors on both sides. Charles Tennent was the fourth and last child of William Tennent III and Susanne Vergeneau Tennent. William III, a scion of prominent clergymen and educators, graduated from the College of New Jersey at Princeton and earned a masters' degree from Harvard. His youngest son's marriage to Ann Martha Smith joined old New England Dissenter stock to roots that went back to the original tidewater aristocracy. Ann Martha was the youngest surviving daughter of Josiah Smith, Jr. and Mary Stevens Smith, and a great-great-granddaughter of the first Landgrave Thomas Smith, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Carolina in 1691 (Tennent 1971:188; University of South Carolinian Society, Report of Gifts, 1969).

Charles Tennent died in 1838, at age 63. Ann Martha was 48 years old, and outlived her husband by 21 years. She died suddenly on October 31, 1859, at the South Carolina Railroad depot on Charleston Neck, as she was arriving for a visit with her children. Her last words, "My children I come to die with you," were sadly prophetic. Within five years, four of her six surviving offspring were to follow her to the grave (Tennent 1971:193-194).

The five Tennent brothers were ardent Confederates. William, Charles, Josiah, and Edward all fought in the War. Gilbert, who left with his wife for England early in 1861, may have been a Confederate agent. Their eldest sister Mary had died in June, 1860, shortly after her mother. The first casualty of the War was Edward, who, like Charles, had been trained as a physician. Edward and Josiah signed up for the Sumter Guard; Edward enlisted even before the outbreak of hostilities. He had rushed to Charleston early in December, 1860, to witness the proceedings of the Secession Convention. On the eighteenth of the month, he promised his fiance, Harriet Harris Taylor, that he would see her "as soon as the <u>ordinance</u> of <u>secession</u> has been passed." Two days later, he wrote to her from the "Republic of South Carolina;" overnight he had become "a foreigner," no longer owing allegiance to the United States of America, "free from...that miserable <u>Free Soil Government</u> under which you now exist." His excitement was echoed all around: "Cannons firing, bells ringing and other demonstrations of rejoicing." On January 6, with their wedding just two weeks away,

Edward assured Hattie that he was in no danger; his company was guarding the "Late U.S. Arsenal," and he expected the impending revolution to be peaceful (University of South Carolinian Society, Report of Gifts, 1969).

Edward and Hattie were married on February 20, 1861; seventeen months later, she was a widow with an infant son. During those months, the couple exchanged letters almost every day. "We are all together in Camp," Edward wrote on November 10, 1861, "at least in tents adjoining, three of the Browns, Josiah and myself, so that it's like a family party....We will in all probability be encamped together on the Race ground." Hattie, from her parents' home in Wilmington, North Carolina, responded, "I am very glad that camp life agrees with you so well - how does it serve Brother Josiah? I should think, so much drilling, would rob him of some of his flesh" (Tennent Family Papers, November 13, 1861).

At first, the brothers were stationed at camps on Charleston Neck. Mary Ramsay Tennent, staying in Hampstead, was able to visit her husband and in-laws almost every day (Tennet Family Papers, November 15, 1861). Hattie wondered, late in November, if Josiah went with the "Calhoun Guards" to "some front on the coast," would Mary then remain in the city. Many families were said to have left. "I didn't know but that Sister M. might consider it more prudent, for her to be in the country - she is indeed to be pitied!" (Tennent Family Papers, November 26, 1861). Four days later, Edward reported that Mary had been to see him the afternoon before, "with her carriage full of daughters." (This remark must have sounded especially poignant, as Josiah and Mary had lost a son just three months before.) Indeed, Mary did not like Josiah's absence from her at all, Edward told Hattie, "though he is stationed just across the river from south bay garden in full site of the City where she rides every day to look across at the camp" (Tennent Family Papers, November 30, 1861).

Mary continued to visit whenever the Tennent men were stationed nearby. "Yesterday," Edward wrote on April 11, 1862, one year into the War, "Mary paid her usual visit to camp and made me a present of a nice little mosquito net for the head, I wish you could see it as it is quite an ingenious thing, and will be very servicable on the Islands" (Tennent Family Papers, April 11, 1862). William and Charles Tennent had just joined the "Sumters," making "five Tennents and three Browns in the same camp." (Tennent Family Papers, April 2, 1862. The fifth Tennent probably was a son of William Mackey and Eliza Tennent). The "family party," however, was soon to break up. In June, 1862, at the Confederate victory of Secessionville, Edward received "a flesh wound in the calf of the leg." He was taken to the Taylor's house in Marion, where Hattie and "Little Edward," their five-month-old son, were staying. Complications developed and on July 24, Dr. Edward Smith Tennent died.

A few months later, Edward's 17-year-old nephew, Gillie, who had fought with him at Secessionville, died from an illness contracted in camp. William, the boy's father, was next to go, dying unexpectedly at "The Barrows," St. Johns, Berkeley, in September, 1863. Josiah and Mary were at Red Bank, near Columbia, at the time. Josiah was "boiling

salt" and Mary was weaving cloth for the Negroes who had remained at their house in Hampstead, which was serving as a hospital for wounded soldiers. Josiah insisted that the family's sacrifices were not in vain. "Our cause must triumph," he wrote from Red Bank, "and what more glorious death to die for all that's worth fighting for." Josiah and Mary were planning to return to Charleston in 1864, during a respite from heavy shelling, when he died suddenly, "whether from natural causes or from the effects of war is not now known" (Tennent 1971:196-197).

By 1872, Mary Ramsay Tennent and her children had lost the property on Bay and Blake to the heirs of Henry Ravenel. Hattie Tennent's cousin, Varina Chapman, expressed the family's bitterness after the War. Wife of a Presbyterian minister, Varina could not accept the Yankees "polluting the atmosphere of our Sanctuaries with their vile unwelcome presence." Neither would she allow them in her school - "don't admit a Yankee or radical offshoot....I'm not poor enough for that yet" (Quoted in USCS, Report of Gifts, 1969).

Relief for the Wounded

The Soldiers' Relief Home, set up in Josiah Tennent's house during the War, was one of several hospitals located on the east side of the Neck. The Tennent house served double duty, giving asylum to the wounded from the First North Carolina Hospital, at Mary and America streets, when it burned in January, 1864. Other private homes requisitioned as hospitals included #29 and 33 Charlotte Street. Named the Third North Carolina Hospital, 29 Charlotte Street operated under the supervision of Dr. J.B. Memminger and Dr. J.G. Thomas (Confederate Hospitals in Charleston, SC, n.d.). D.E.H. Smith was sent there for treatment, noting in his Recollections that the head nurse, Mrs. Lining, was a "lady of good birth" (Smith 1950:91).

The new freight depot of the South Carolina Railroad became the "Charleston Wayside Hospital and Soldier's Depot" soon after it opened in November, 1861. The inadequacy of the two rooms set aside for patients was immediately apparent, and the Citadel building was pressed into service. Within the month of December, more than 7,000 men passed through the Wayside Home (Confederate Hospitals of Charleston, SC, n.d.).

The East Side also harbored Union prisoners of war. A "Yankee Prison Hospital" was established at 11 Washington Street near Charlotte, opposite the Gas Works. In the last year of the War, as Sherman marched through Georgia, prisoners from Anderson were moved to Florence, passing en route through Charleston Neck. Dr. Porter remembered "one incident of these days" with special poignancy. A temporary track had been laid across the Ashley River bridge through Spring Street to the South Carolina and Northeastern Railroad stations. The box-cars would stop at the corner where Porter's house stood. Moved by the condition of the men, many of whom were wasted from malnutrition and suffering from scurvy,

> [Porter] accordingly laid down a store of onions, and as each train stopped I sent out my two little boys Toomer and Theodore, with loaves of bread, and bags of onions and fresh water to the prisoners. On Wednesday, October 20, 1864, these two children had gone as usual with their stores to help the poor fellows, when I suddenly saw them running back weeping bitterly. The eldest, Toomer, nearly eleven years old, threw himself on his mothers's knee, and said: "Oh, mamma, mamma, I saw him die. I know he is our enemy, but I saw him die in a box-car. Maybe he is some boy's papa, and suppose my dear papa was a prisoner, and was to die in a box-car, what should we do?" (Porter 1898:148-149).

Porter remembered the scene so vividly because it was the prelude to his saddest loss; Toomer was struck down by yellow fever, and within two weeks, lay in his grave in Magnolia Cemetery.

Evacuating the City

General Robert E. Lee had directed, in 1863, that Charleston be defended "to the last extremity, and if necessary the fight...be made from street to street and from house to house" (Quoted in Grimke 1908:43). By February, 1865, the city's capacity to resist had been broken. Both Jefferson Davis and General Beauregard, as late as February 11, thought that Sherman was heading to Charleston. The day before, Union troops had landed successfully on James Island; with federal vessels massing off Bull's Bay and the guns on Morris Island pouring shells beyond Calhoun Street, Beauregard ordered the evacuation of the city.

Troops began to leave on February 17. That night was one of "horror and chaos." The city was full of refugees, especially women, fleeing before Sherman's army. For several days, cotton had been piled in public squares and railroad yards, ready to be burned to keep it out of enemy hands. "Now, with the evacuation imminent, the piles were set on fire, along with thousands of bushels of rice, casting an eerie glow over the entire city" (Burton 1970:320).

At the South Carolina Railroad yard, the cotton had been heaped so high that the flames endangered surrounding buildings. Mayor Charles MacBeth ordered the piles levelled to avoid a general conflagration. But calamity struck at the Northeastern Railroad. Confederate troops had left food and other commodities at the depot, "informally turned over to the city authorities for the poor," as well as a large amount of cannon powder in cartridges (Cardozo 1866:135; Burton 1970:320-321). Food shortages, made worse by skyrocketting inflation, and a sense that law and order had lapsed, sent mobs of people rushing to the Railroad depot to help themselves. The piles of cotton had already been set on fire. Some small boys discovered that the discarded gunpowder would make an exciting smokey blaze when thrown on the fire. "In running to and fro with cartridges, the drippings of powder from the bags established a train between the fire and the powder. In an instant a flash from the fire to the powder blew up the depot" (Cardozo 1866:137; Burton 1970:32. Burton's account

differs only in that he describes the boys carrying handfuls of powder, some of it trickling through their fingers, leaving a trail to the depot.) The explosion killed about 150 people and probably burned an equal number. Firemen and citizens retreated before the blast, and the blaze spread to nearby houses. The French Consul on Calhoun Street was threatened by the fire set in the yard of Lucas' Mills. The Blake Buildings on Meeting Street, Madame DuPre's school on East Bay, as well as several structures in the western part of the Neck, where the Ashley River Bridge had been ignited, all were in flames. The city was burning from river to river (Burton 1970:321).

Prior to the explosion at the Northeastern depot, two other blasts accompanied the departure of the troops: the destruction of the enormous Blakely gun and the detonation of the magazine on Sullivan's Island. More explosions resounded from the Cooper River, at the foot of Calhoun Street. The gunboat Palmetto State was blown up at her wharf. Eyewitnesses claimed that the volume of smoke rising over the sinking ship formed, "on the blue expanse of heaven," the exact shape of a palmetto tree. The emblem hung palpable for moments, "then gradually disappeared," symbolizing for a shocked citizenry the imminent defeat (Cardozo 1866:136-137).

Soon the Chicora, the pride of J.M. Eason, was also blasted. Finally, 20 tons of powder blew the gunboat Charleston out of the water, rocking the city and sending flame fragments onto nearby wharves (Burton 1970:321-322). The Arsenal at Ashley and Bee streets was supposed to go next, but the explosion failed to occur.

Union commanders poised on islands southeast of the city deduced from the clouds of smoke and series of explosions that Charleston was being abandoned. On the heels of the Confederate retreat, the Twenty-first United States Colored Troops debarked on the "deserted, grass grown wharves at the lower end of the peninsula," and were joined, minutes later, by several companies of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts. While the tenor of the evacuation had been panic and despair, the greeting Union soldiers received from Negroes who had managed to stay in the city was one of profound joy. "The Twenty-first marched up Meeting Street led by a Negro soldier riding a mule and carrying a banner with the inscription 'Liberty'". One old woman, "who the night before had lain down a slave, and even on that morning was uncertain of her master's movements," ran into the street. "Unable to embrace the mounted herald, she hugged the mule, exclaiming 'Thank God! Thank God!'" (Williamson 1965:22).

Less predictably, perhaps, immigrant workers also warmly welcomed the Union Army. Federal officers promptly recruited two regiments among the occupied population - one black, one Irish. At their peak, Negro recruits numbered 200 a day. Crowds who gathered to watch the troops parade, one Union soldier noted, were "chiefly negroes and Irish, and their delight at seeing us was unbounded, the Irish being quite as enthusiastic in the expression of joy as the negroes" (Quoted in Berlin and Gutman 1983:1200).

In the months following the evacuation of the city, Charleston's African-American community dramatically demonstrated its appreciation

of freedom. At noon on March 29, "perhaps one of the most impressive parades ever seen in Charleston" began assembling. A procession of about 4,000 people, led by two Negro marshals on horseback, included representatives of many trades: fifty butchers carrying knives, tailors with shears, coopers with hoops, blacksmiths, painters, carpenters, wheelwrights, and barbers. The Twenty-first Colored Troops followed a band, and behind them came a car of "Liberty" bearing 13 young girls, signifying the 13 original states. Eighteen hundred school children with their teachers made up the main body of the parade. Eight companies of firemen, dressed in red shirts, paraded with their equipment. A mock auction block was pulled on a cart; two women with their children standing around them symbolized "Negroes for sale," while a number of men were pulled behind, tied with a rope. Another cart carried a coffin, hung with signs which proclaimed: "Slavery is dead," "Who owns him, No one," and "Sumter dug his grave on the 13th of April 1861." Fifty sailors, a company of wood sawyers, newspaper carriers, and several clubs and associations brought up the rear. The procession stretched three miles long as it wound through the streets below the Citadel (Williamson 1965:48).

At a meeting in Zion Church a week later, black Charlestonians passed resolutions thanking the Army for liberating them. On April 14, Robert Anderson, who had abandoned Fort Sumter to the Confederates exactly four years before, returned to raise the American flag over the ruins. In time for the ceremony, Robert Smalls arrived on the Planter, the Confederate ship he had commandeered in Charleston harbor and delivered to the Union Navy at Beaufort. On shore stood more than 3,000 black Charlestonians, eager to hear what abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison had to say. Among those remaining on the Planter's quarterdeck was a son of Denmark Vesey (Williamson 1965:48-49).

Postwar Years

While the lower wards had been debilitated, Charleston Neck emerged from the War with a new sense of importance. For years, the burnt district lay in ruins, its "charred timbers...crumbling walls, broken pillars and fallen spires," symbolic of a ravaged civilization. By comparison, the upper wards were a bustle of activity. Crossing Calhoun Street, the South Carolina Institute told visitors to its Fair in 1870, was like passing over "hundreds of miles and hundreds of years," coming into "a new city," advancing suddenly into "a new era" (South Carolina Institute 1870:38,43).

From the corner of Calhoun and King, a visitor first would notice the Citadel, over which the Palmetto flag no longer flew. Postwar Charleston was an occupied city. "Upright cadets...in their swallow-tailed gray coats, or their brown-linen roundabouts" who had drilled on the green in front of the "imitation fortress" had been replaced by regiments of the U.S. Army (Figure 35). "The gay cadets are disbanded veterans, or occupy soldiers' graves," eulogized the Institute guide, "and the flag is folded among the mementoes of the past." Federal soldiers, assigned to police the city, pinned small red flannel badges, with "police" printed on them, over their left breasts (Cantwell 1908:13). The troops were of mixed origin. In 1870, over

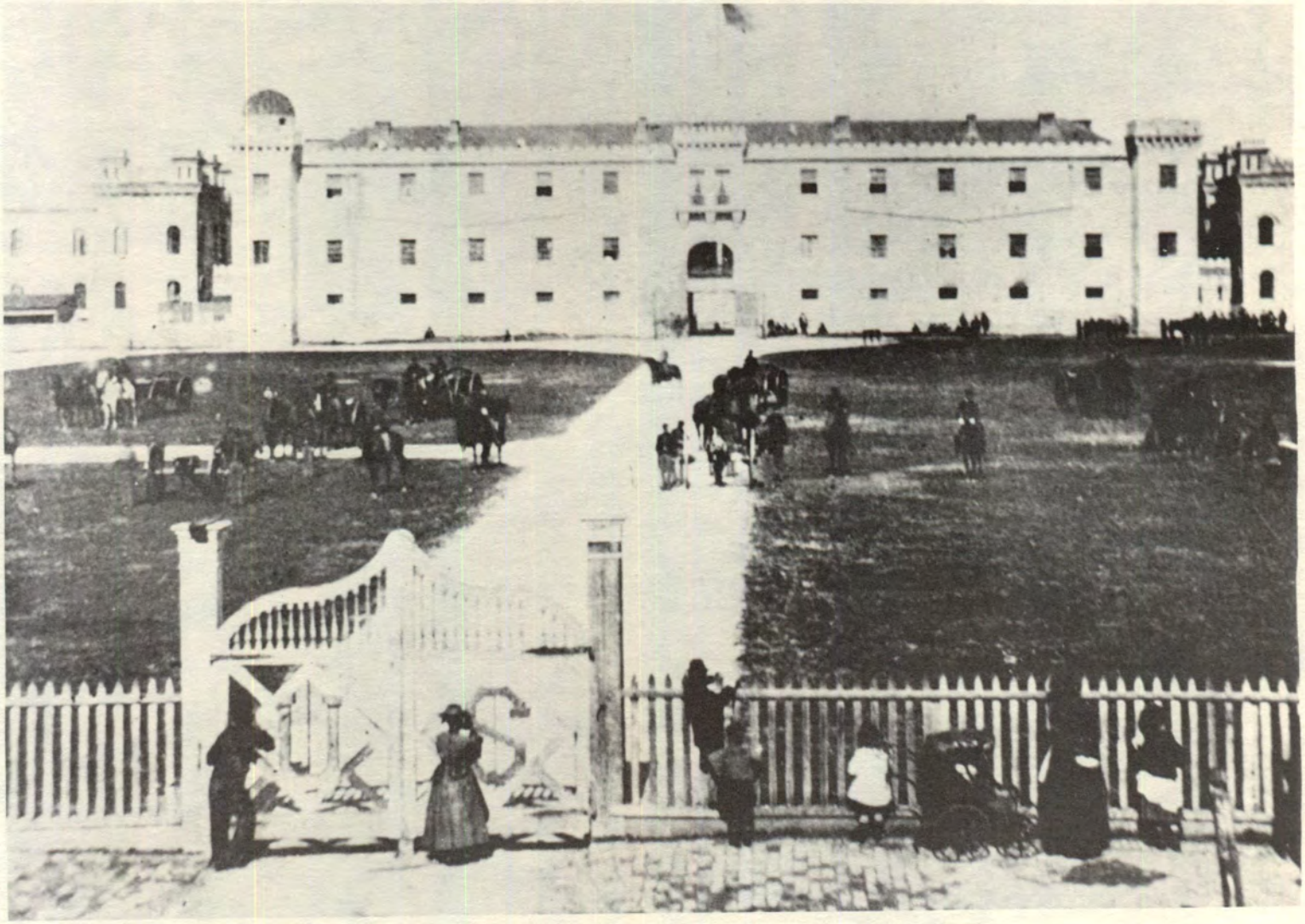


Figure 35: The Citadel during Reconstruction. (Courtesy of the Citadel Archives)

half of the men garrisoned in Ward 5 were foreign, most of them Irish or German. Among the native-born, 43 were born below the Mason-Dixon, 42 came from northern or mid-Atlantic states (Population Schedules 1870).

The War had created a new order of things. Former male slaves became citizens and voters; they joined freedwomen as taxpayers, and could make their own decisions about where to live and work. "Free persons of color" were no longer a privileged minority. As a class they had lost their legal status, as well as considerable property, when the slaves were emancipated. Until 1865 their self-image depended on their distance from the majority of blacks; now the free elite was in a position to use its skills, education, and political power in the service of all Negroes, to embrace and uplift a wider "membership group" (Wikramanayake 1973:92).

White Charlestonians, too, had new choices to make. The Reverend A. Toomer Porter urged them "to turn their backs on the past and look to the future; not to waste energies on vain regrets, but to realize that they were on a wreck and to save life they must build, out of materials at hand, a raft to bear them to the shore" (Porter 1898:199). Some, like Porter, chose to "accept as a fact the freedom of the slaves" and make the best of new realities. Some, like the Tennent family, deserted the city and tried to rebuild their lives elsewhere. Others bided their time, preparing for the moment when they would "redeem" the state from Radical Reconstruction and return to a semblance of the old hierarchical order.

Black Migration

One impact of emancipation was to give Charleston a black majority once again. City-wide, white residents had exceeded African-Americans by 6,230, according to the 1860 census; by 1870, Negroes outnumbered whites by more than 4,000 (Williamson 1965:108). On the east side of the Neck, both Wards 5 and 7 showed a 13 percent increase in the Negro population. On the eve of the War, Ward 5 had been 37 percent slave and 15 percent free colored; by 1870 it was 65 percent Negro. Ward 7 remained predominantly white, though by a margin of 57 percent, down from 70 percent in 1861.[22] In other words, demographic patterns which existed before the War continued during Reconstruction, while the African-American population of the East Side rose overall.

In the immediate postwar years, the actual growth of the Negro community was entirely due to in-migration. Natural increase stood at zero because the death rate was so high, rising by about one-seventh between 1860 and 1870. The risk of mortality was especially alarming among transients and youngsters. Half of the Negroes who died in the city between 1866 and 1871 were children. Advances had been made against smallpox, and blacks retained their comparative immunity to yellow fever, but they fell in ever greater numbers to "the most dangerous new killer," consumption. In Charleston in 1866, 75 Negroes died of tuberculosis; in 1871 the disease claimed 135 (Williamson 1965:319).

Clearly, living conditions for blacks in these years were not conducive to health. Food was scarce, sanitation poor, and there were more mouths to feed. The War had disrupted many ways of making a living. "Most of the people, white and colored," the Reverend Porter found on his return to Charleston, "were living on rations furnished by the government" (Porter 1898:195). Another factor contributing to the decline in health was overcrowding. Freedmen and women were flooding into the city, not as many as some observers claimed, but enough to put pressure on available resources. Even before the War ended, Negroes from other parts of the state began to move into the liberated city. White southerners, watching their servants leave, claimed that the blacks were attracted to Charleston because they believed "freedom was free-er" there. A planter on the lower Cooper River complained that the Negroes would not stay out of the city, where they "claim they are free." In Camden, following a rally held by African-American troops on April 5, 1865, Emma E. Holmes observed that "great numbers of servants went off from town, really crazy from excitement and the parade, as well as [the] idea of going to Charleston in carriages" (Williamson 1965:24,42,47).

Contrary to these interpretations, expressed in the final, chaotic months of war, the leading motives of the Negro migration were deliberate and purposeful. Especially on very large plantations, workers tended to stay where they were until after the harvest, so the massive coastward movement didn't begin until the fall. Many people who came to Charleston were looking for work or for lost family members, or returning to the city from wherever their masters had taken them for safe-keeping as Union troops advanced.

For some displaced people, Charleston was a waystation. After walking to Columbia and then plodding more than 100 miles along the railroad line to Charleston, refugees took shelter in deserted houses or the burned-out buildings of the lower city, while they waited for the Freedmen's Bureau steamer to take them home. A Northern correspondent, in January, 1866, saw 1,500 Negroes "camped on the waterfront, wretched and pitiable, some living in the open coal sheds along the wharves" (Quoted in Williamson 1965:43).

Household Composition

The number of dwellings listed in the 1870 census as occupied by combinations of families and individuals or by groups of unrelated adults (Table 16) reflect the widespread poverty of the postwar years, and housing insufficient to meet the demand. The 1860 census lists 82 vacant houses in Wards 5 and 7; in 1870 only 14 dwellings were unoccupied. Overall, in 1870, 13 percent of East Side residences were racially mixed; the figure jumps to 25 percent, if single family dwellings are discounted. All-black housing arrangements comprised 51 percent of the total; all-white dwellings amounted to 35 percent.

Among the racially mixed dwellings containing single families and individuals, if the family was white, the co-residing black individuals were typically servants, cooks, nurses, or laundresses, representing a continuation of the antebellum social pattern. The

combination of black families with white individuals was less common. Especially in Ward 7, racially mixed multiple family dwellings, multiple families and individuals, and groups of individuals living together appear to have been sharing housing for economic reasons, rather than because of employer-employee relations. Households of Irish and black laborers, for example, may have been work crews boarding together.

Table 16

Household compostions of dwellings on the East Side in 1870

Occupants of Dwellings		Ward 5	Ward 7
Multiple Families & Individuals	White	17	9
	Black/Mulatto	94	9
	Mixed	31	18
Multiple Families	White	29	34
	Black/Mulatto	82	20
	Mixed	22	17
Single Family & Individuals	White	43	51
	Black/Mulatto	138	45
	Mixed	64	41
Single Family	White	205	193
	Black/Mulatto	301	116
	Mixed	0	4
Individual(s)	White	10	5
	Black/Mulatto	21	6
	Mixed	7	3
Total = 1635		1064	571

(Population Schedules 1870)

An influx of foreign-born people into Charleston helped to balance the male to female ratio in the 1870 population (49 percent men and 51 percent women), which otherwise would have been skewed by war casualties. Among households of native white South Carolinians, for example, many consisted of a woman and several children. The newly arrived male laborers, who offset these female-headed households, tended to room with single families or to live as groups of individuals in a dwelling.

In 1870, 68 percent of all adults in Ward 7 were native South Carolinians; two percent were born out-of-state. Of the 30 percent foreign-born, almost half (49 percent) were Irish, 41 percent were Germanic, and the remainder came from other parts of Europe and from the Carribean (Population Schedules 1870).

Depreciation and Recovery

East Side property values fell in the postwar years. Notes pencilled in 1867 and '68 in the city's Ward Book for 1852, which included assessments through 1856, describe some war damage - "4 shelled badly" on W.H. Houston's lot on John Street, John Tolla's two-story building on Ann Street "Burnt" - and an almost universal depreciation of about 30 percent (Ward Book 1852:20,22).

Paul Wilkinson's house on his father's lot on Chapel Street, for example, dropped in value from $2,100 in 1856 to $1,500 in 1867. On Calhoun Street, a three-story wooden building owned by Maria Weston depreciated from $5,000 to $3,500 over the same period, and her two-and-a-half story brick house on a neighboring lot dropped from $7,500 to $5,000. An exception to this pattern was William Aiken's property. His seven rental houses on Wragg Square lost only 20 percent of their value; each was assessed at $10,000 in 1856, $8,000 in 1867. Aiken's mansion on Elizabeth Street actually increased in worth, its assessment rising from $20,000 to $25,000 (Ward Book 1852:9,10,15,35) (Figure 36).

Some families were unable or unwilling to hold onto their property after the War. The two surviving Tennent brothers, Charles and Gilbert, moved permanently to Buncombe County in the mountains of North Carolina. Mary Ramsay Tennent returned with her children to their Hampstead home; according to the 1870 federal census, the Tennent household in Ward 7 consisted of Mary, six children ranging in age from eight to 18, and two black women, a 50-year-old cook named Adelle McCants and a 25-year-old named Annie McCants. Mary evidently was having a hard time making ends meet. In 1870 the sheriff's list of tax executions claimed she owed $200 in taxes, to which was added a $40 penalty (Tax Executions 1870, CCA). Three years later she lost the property on Bay and Blake streets to the heirs of Henry Ravenel. On July 25, 1873, the Court of Common Pleas heard William Parker Ravenel's Bill of Complaint against Mary Ramsay Tennent and her children, for foreclosure of the mortgage the Tennents had signed in 1857. In August, the Court awarded the house and lot to Ravenel, upon payment of $1,000, securing "the defendants against all claim for taxes in the property" (CCRMCO K-16:81-83).

A loss to one family sometimes proved a boon to others. In December, 1874, William, Mary, and Daniel Ravenel, with William C. Bee serving as trustee, sold the Hampstead property, for the sum of $4,000, to Carsten Wulbern, a member of Charleston's increasingly prosperous German community. (CCRMCO P-16:298-300). Wulbern's brother-in-law, Henry Bischoff, acquired the other property on the block, the Tucker house. With an Amherst Street neighbor, Wulbern conducted a wholesale business in groceries, liquor, and tobacco on lower East Bay. He was an original pewholder and a president of the congregation in the new Lutheran church, St. Matthews. He served as a director of both the Home Insurance Company and the Germania Savings Bank. A prominent civic leader, he was an alderman on the Charleston City Council from 1883 to 1887, a member of the Board of Equalization, and a long-time representative to the Department of Charities. The Wulberns stayed in the house in Hampstead until 1886, when it was

Figure 36: a) The Aiken-Rhett house (Photo by Will Williams);
b) Aikens's Row (Courtesy of The Charleston Museum).

damaged by the earthquake. With the opening of the Charleston Cotton Mills on Columbus Street, two blocks south, the neighborhood changed. Wulbern sold the house in 1889 to the Mills for use as offices (CCA Tennent File).

Industrial leaders recognized in the early years of Reconstruction where the future lay. In 1870, the South Carolina Institute, under the directorship of J.M. Eason and W.S. Henerey, among others, took pains to point out that East Side industries were returning to business as usual, war damage had been repaired, and new enterprises were underway. The Northeastern Railroad station, destroyed on the night of evacuation, had been replaced by "two large and handsome depots," one on Chapel Street to handle freight and the other on Washington Street for passengers, each over 200 feet long. Just below the passenger depot, about 100 yards east of Washington Street, P.P. Toale was about to add to his sash business "a department for the manufacture of ploughs," and was preparing to exhibit his products at the Institute Fair (South Carolina Institute 1870:50-51).

Eason's Iron Works, at the corner of Columbus and Nassau streets, had turned from forging rifling cannon, propellers, gunboats, and torpedo-boats to "more peaceful manufactures" associated with the new industrial age: boilers, stationary engines, rice mills, sugar-cane mills, ditch-digging machines, centrifugal pumps, phosphate washers. On Meeting Street near Line, Henerey's Machine Shops specialized in machinery for use on plantations, such as "the McCarthy Cotton Gin, Brooks' Cotton Press, Bottoms' Horse Power, Black's Sulky Cultivator, Williamson's Plough, [and] Grist Mills." Just below Henerey's foundry, the immense South Carolina Railroad Machine Shops manufactured locomotives and the iron parts of cars. The Railroad's ample, brick depots extended from above Line Street down to Hudson (South Carolina Institute:50-51).

Separation of Churches

The Negro community was also engaged in building. Most significant of the new African-American institutions were churches. Immediately after the War, black Charlestonians withdrew from many white congregations and established their own religious organizations. In this sphere they could be entirely independent; they could operate without white financial support and legislative approval. Spiritual equality, religious leaders observed, required separate churches. "Colored men who had admitted to a distinction in the House of God," declared Daniel Alexander Payne, a bishop in the African Methodist church, "had lost half their manhood." In May, 1865, while Confederate General Joe Johnston was working out terms of surrender to Sherman in North Carolina, Payne called a conference of four northern and 12 southern African Methodist ministers in Charleston, and launched a carefully planned missionary effort. In June, one informant wrote, "the colours are separated now as to churches. The Blacks now have Calhoun & Zion, Old Bethel, also I believe another Methodist church, Morris St. Baptist and perhaps some other old churches to themselves" (J.K. Robertson to Mrs. Smythe, June 28, 1865, quoted in Williamson 1965:180, 188-189).

White Southern Methodists, though reluctant to give up their Negro members, backed the separatist movement rather than lose the colored congregations to their old rivals, the Northern Methodists. They allowed the African Methodists to use Trinity Church for two years after the War, while the African Church was being built. The principal mover behind the construction of Emmanuel Church was Richard H. Cain, one of the first African Methodist ministers to enter South Carolina in the spring of 1865. "Houses are being repaired but I see no new ones building," reported the Reverend C.P. Gadsden in October, 1865, "except the African Methodist Church on Calhoun Street, opposite Zion [Presbyterian] Church" (Quoted in Williamson 1965:190n.36). Completed at a cost of $10,000, the huge structure had a seating capacity of 2,000. By 1876, African Methodism was the second largest Negro denomination in the state, claiming 44,000 members, twice as many ten years before (Williamson 1965:190-191) (Figure 37b).

Shortly after the occupation of Charleston, African-American Episcopalians formed their own congregation called St. Marks, choosing as their rector the Reverend J.B. Seabrook, a former planter and slaveholder. They worshipped temporarily at the Chapel of the Orphan House, at the corner of Calhoun and St. Phillip's streets, but soon bought an old building on Alexander Street from St. Lukes Church - a structure which the Reverend Gadsden had built while St. Lukes was under construction.

Numbering 3,000 at the end of the War, Negro Episcopalians concurred in the prevailing separatist tendency. "I find the coloured people friendly to me personally," wrote Gadsden, "but the majority of those that belonged to my church have organized a congregation of their own" (Quoted in Williamson 1965:199-200). Negro communicants, however, wanted to be part of the Episcopal Diocese. In 1866 and again in 1876, St. Marks asked for admission to the Diocesan Convention. The application was denied both times - the second time over the opposition of "most of the clergy and a majority of the whole body." The controversy continued for 13 years, and, according to Dr. Porter, "shook the Church...to its centre" (Porter 1898:310).

Soon after its founding, the St. Marks congregation had acquired a lot on the corner of Thomas and Warren streets, on the west side of the Neck. Members laid a brick foundation, raised the frame for a large church, but stopped construction short of completion. When the Reverend Seabrook died in 1877, Bishop W.B.W. Howe designated Porter to see the project through. "You have always taken an interest in the colored work," Howe insisted over Porter's objections. "They are fond of you, and you are the only one of the clergy who knows anything about finance." Porter accepted the mission, and immediately announced to the congregation that he "did not propose to stay long in <u>this tumble-down shanty</u>." He received pledges of $3,500 and had supervised the completion of the church and the installation of a new organ when the cyclone of 1885 ripped off the roof. Repairs had just been finished and the building enlarged, at a cost of $4,500, when the earthquake of 1886 once more damaged the structure (Porter 1898:332-336). Today the Church stands in pristine condition, with a plaque beside the door proudly proclaiming its origin on Easter day, 1865.

Broad Street and the Bank of Charleston in 1882, with horse-cars.

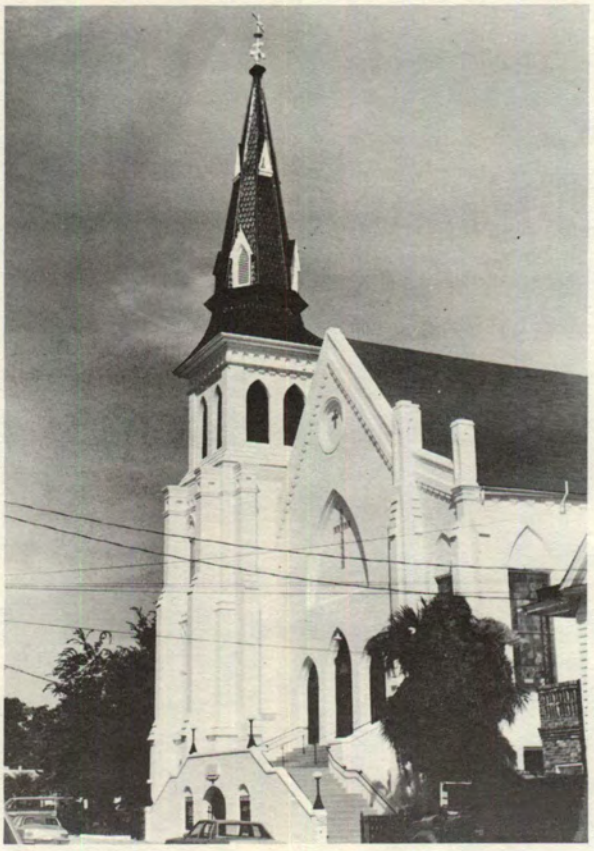


Figure 37a: Horse-drawn streetcars on King Street. (Courtesy of the South Carolina Historical Society)
Figure 37b: Emmanual A.M.E. Church, built in 1891. (Photo by Will Williams)

Public Facilities

While Negro Charlestonians were eager to worship in their own churches, they insisted on "full and free access to most public facilities," including restaurants, bars, railway and street cars, ships, and theaters. During the first week of the Constitutional Convention of 1868, a Negro delegate introduced an anti-discrimination resolution which eventually was incorporated into the state's bill of rights. From 1868 until 1889, when the civil rights legislation was repealed, all public facilities were legally open to Negroes (Williamson 1965:279,287).

The first frontal attack against racial discrimination in public transportation came within a month after Negro enfranchisement. The Charleston Street Car Company had inaugurated its facilities in December, 1866, taking care to assure the Negro community that it would "allow persons of color to avail themselves of the benefits of the railway," either by providing "special cars" as was done in New Orleans, or by "assigning to them a portion of the ordinary cars as is more usual in other cities." Horse-drawn cars, each manned by a driver and a conductor, ran along double tracks the length of the peninsula, with a spur branching off near the midpoint. Until the Company decided where Negroes could ride, they were forced to stand on the platforms at the front or the rear of the seating compartments (Figure 37a).

On the afternoon of March 27, 1867, following a freedmen's mass meeting in the city, several Negroes attempted to test their right to ride in the cars. According to an account in the New York Times, the first man who entered a car yielded to his friends' advise and exited before he was "forcibly ejected." "On its return trip," however, "the car was filled at the same place by a crowd of negroes," who rushed in and "declined to go out." The conductor instructed the driver "to throw his car from the track." Failing in this, the driver unhitched his horses and abandoned the car. The demonstrators then got out and tried to push the car, threatening the conductor, but dispersed when police and soldiers arrived (Williamson 1965:282). Although the police, as a rule, were armed only with clubs, at least one man was reported to be carrying a pistol and to have "shot a rioter in the heel with it" (Cantwell 1908:14).

Following the "street car riots," the Negro community mobilized to present its case to the courts. By early May, African-Americans were riding in the cars. A month later, the military commander General Sickles officially prohibited racial discrimination on railroads, horse-cars, and steamboats; Sickles's successor, Canby, continued this policy during his tenure (Williamson 1965:283). Both Sickles and Canby were headquartered at one of the "handsomest private residences in the northeastern part of the city," the substantial brick single house of John Thomas H. White at 29 Charlotte Street, which had served as a Confederate hospital during the War (South Carolina Institute 1870:52; Ward Book 1864:61).

Integration of the railroads occured with less strife. Some companies had been acquired by radical politicians or by northern capitalists, but even those still under conservative management

usually acquiesced to Republican rulings. In any case, the division of trains into first- and second-class cars provided a convenient means of maintaining racial separation in fact, if not in law. "Most Negroes apparently deliberately chose to ride in the more economical second-class accommodations, and virtually all of the whites, particularly white women, took passage on the first-class cars" (Williamson 1965:284).

Discrimination in restaurants, bars, saloons, hotels, theaters, and even cemeteries was denounced by Negro leaders, and on occasion challenged in court. In actual practice, however, black South Carolinians usually chose to avoid confrontations by keeping their distance or by observing the old racial etiquette. In 1874, a Times reporter applauded the "moderation and good sense" of black Southerners. "They seldom intrude themselves into places frequented by the whites," he observed, "and considering that in South Carolina they have a voting majority of some thirty thousand and control the entire state government, it is somewhat remarkable that they conduct themselves with so much propriety" (Quoted in Williamson 1965:287).

On the other hand, when Negroes successfully challenged segregation, white people generally withdrew. Native whites deserted Charleston's street cars, for example, as soon as blacks won the right to ride. On a Sunday in May, 1867, a Charlestonian reported counting "five cars successively near the Battery crowded [with] negroes," with only one white man, the conductor, "in attendance." The Battery itself was no longer "patronized by the elite," and when the Academy of Music was threatened with a discrimination suit in 1870, white patrons announced their intention to abandon the theater and allow it to close (Williamson 1965:292).

Free Schools

Public schools were opened to Negro students two weeks after the occupation of the city, but remained largely segregated. In the first month of operation under the abolitionist superintendent James Redpath, Charleston's free schools served white and black children in separate classrooms. Schools run by the Freedmen's Bureau and benevolent societies were uniformly boycotted by whites. Observing the Bureau's Charleston schools in November, 1865, a Nation reporter found "no white children in attendance."

White parents were determined to keep Negroes out of the schools they controlled. In 1867, when the native white school board regained authority over its buildings, the Morris Street School, whose principal, F.L. Cardozo, was to become the respected reconstructionist Secretary of the Treasury, was set aside for Negro children. Three other schools were designated for whites only. Even the Episcopal schools, established primarily by the efforts of the Reverend Porter, were segregated; one was reserved for whites, and another, in the Marine building, for colored children (Williamson 1965:217,219-220).

In 1870, of the 325 people listed as attending school in Ward 7, 65 percent were white and 35 percent were black. In Ward 5, the

percentages closely followed the composition of the population: 63 percent of all school children were black, 37 percent were white (Population Schedules 1870).

The teaching of Negro children depended heavily on the educated mulatto elite who had been free before the War. Among the teachers which the Bureau recruited and sent "into the hinterland," many were formerly free pesons of color from Charleston. Henry L. Shrewsbury, Henry E. Hayne, William J. McKinlay, T.K. Sasportas, James N. and Charles D. Hayne all served as Bureau teachers; several went on to become political leaders in the Reconstruction era, and returned to Charleston as delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1868 (Williamson 1965:366).

The Negro Elite

Color distinctions among Negroes, so scrupulously observed during slavery, began to erode after emancipation. In as short a time as between July and September, 1865, a Northern visitor in Charleston found that "the old jealousy between blacks and mulattoes is disappearing" (Williamson 1965:316). Census figures, too, suggest that barriers based on skin color were breaking down. The frequency of intermarriage between blacks and mulattoes is suggested by the proportion of mulattoes in the Negro community, which rose from about 7 to 10 percent between 1870 and 1880, and continued to rise to 16 percent during the next two decades (Williamson 1965:316).

To be sure, many of the "bona-fide free" maintained their elitism toward those who had been "set free." This was especially noted among the Negro Episcopalians of St. Marks. "Late arrivals from the city say the really respectable class of free negroes, whom we used to employ as tailors, bootmakers, mantua makers, etc. won't associate at all with the 'parvenue free' - but have the Orphan House Chapel...as a place of worship, Mr. Joseph Seabrook preaching, "Emma Holmes of Camden wrote at the end of May, 1865. "They are exceedingly respectful to the Charleston gentlemen they meet, taking their hats off and expressing their pleasure in seeing them again, but regret that it is under such circumstances" (Williamson 1965:317). Indeed, the habitual deference of Charleston's "old issue free" toward upper class whites persisted into the twentieth century.

During the War, members of the mulatto aristocracy, including the Dereefs and Westons, had sworn their allegiance to South Carolina. "In our veins flows the blood of the white race," free Negro Charlestonians had written in 1861. "Our allegiance is due to South Carolina and in her defense, we will offer up our lives, and all that is dear to us" (Quoted in Koger 1985:190). Barred from serving in the army because of color, free blacks manned fire engines and worked in labor battalions for the city (List of Free Blacks belonging to Fire Companies; Johnson and Roark 1984a:306). Many black masters held onto their slaves, even as the Confederacy faced defeat. As late as 1864, 81 Charleston Negroes owned a total of 241 slaves (Koger 1985:192).

In the first months of the Union occupation, some Charlestonians who had "belonged to that respectable class of free colored citizens" found themselves in a position to help their white patrons get on their feet again. George Shrewsbury, for example, a prosperous butcher who had owned a considerable number of slaves in the antebellum period, loaned Dr. Porter $100 in greenbacks in June, 1865, when he learned that the Reverend was penniless. Though Shrewsbury was a Methodist, "like many of the colored members of that denomination, he preferred that his children should be baptized, married, and buried by an Episcopalian minister," Porter recalled. "I had performed several services for him and his family, so that for many years there had been a kindly feeling between us" (Porter 1898:197; on Shrewsbury's dealings in slaves see Koger 1985:86-88,151,158). Shrewsbury's prosperity did not suffer after the War, and his loyality to the Old Guard of the white community remained steadfast. In 1870, he employed two black servants to wait on his family. Four years later, he "was elected to the city council and was recognized in the Charleston Daily Courier as a very conservative man" (Koger 1985:198).

Some white aristocrats expressed sympathy with the free people of color. "Upon this class fell most heavily the hand of war," D.E.H. Smith observed. "Ruined like others, their prosperity was swept away. But they lost much more; they lost their status, and their children to-day are hardly to be distinguished from the mass of liberati and libertine of the African race" (Smith 1950:10). When Richard Dereef greeted the abolitionist minister Henry Ward Beecher with cold civility immediately after the War, Beecher confided his disappointment to a friend; he had not expected "such treatment from a man whose race had reason to be grateful to him." The friend was quick to assure him that "Dereef's hospitality had been admirable, in view of the loss of property he had suffered during the war" (Wikramanayake 1973:89n.51).

True, Charleston's colored slaveowners lost some $216,900 in human chattel when their bondsmen were freed, but the elite of the free Negro class still owned considerable property. The Dereefs and the Westons, for example, could rely on their real estate investments and their trades to support their families in style. Anthony Weston, 79 years old in 1870, had lost 14 slaves valued at $12,600, and his real estate had depreciated by $11,500. He was far from destitute, however, owning property worth $30,000, including several houses which he rented out (Koger 1985:197). Richard E. Dereef netted $1,300 when he sold his Alexander Street property to T.A. Reed in 1867. Three years later, the South Carolina Railroad Company paid him $17,000 for Dereef's Wharf, with the buildings and improvements on Washington Street (CCRMCO E-15:155; P-15:81). Richard's son, J.M.F. Dereef, apparently continued the family's wood factorage business. City accounts for 1876 list regular remittances to the younger Dereef under the heading "Commission of Public Lands," which administered a home for aged and infirm Negroes established in 1867, as well as the Public Cemetery and the House of Correction (Accounts 1876, CCA).

While Reconstruction was revolutionary in extending political rights, it did not radically alter economic stratification. The occupations of freedmen and women followed the precedents set in

slavery. In the country, most Negroes earned their living as agricultural laborers; in the cities, the majority were domestic workers - butlers, valets, coachmen, gardeners, handy men, housemaids, cooks, laundresses, nurses, and serving girls. Free Negroes in Charleston continued to dominate the skilled trades, though they faced new competition from emancipated plantation artisans (Williamson 1965:161). The old elite, equipped for leadership by its experience and education, seized the opportunities presented by Negro emancipation and Republican politics. Even "wealthy slaveholding mulatto families," a Northern reporter observed in September, 1865, "are fully identified in interest with the mass of the colored people, and are becoming leaders among them" (Quoted in Williamson 1965:317). When Reconstruction ended and white rule was restored, black solidarity became more of a necessity.

CHAPTER VI

Implications for Archaeological Research on the East Side

The study of written records has been critical to the success of The Charleston Museum's urban archaeological program over the past six years. Urban archaeologists long ago recognized the value of documentary sources, and have learned to use them in innovative ways. In 1981, archival research laid the groundwork for long-term research goals (Calhoun and Zierden 1984; Calhoun et al. 1982; Zierden and Calhoun 1982, 1984). Because urban archaeology is a relatively new field of inquiry, some questions posed by this survey addressed basic issues, such as site formation, integrity, and types of archaeological features to be encountered. Other inquiries dealt with more complex and subtle processes of human behavior and the traces these leave in the archaeological record.

In the East Side project, we have tried to identify differences between Charleston Neck and the lower city in land use and residential patterns, and to profile the social, ethnic, and occupational composition of neighborhoods. Utilizing historical interpretations and data generated from previous excavations, we can refine and expand our original research goals. Because most urban field projects are small in scale, precise and informed inquiries are essential to integrate data into larger frameworks. New questions will guide future excavations, and these excavations will, in turn, refine our questions.

Land Use and Spatial Patterning

The spatial patterning of Charleston reflects the demands of, and adaptation to, the urban environment. This is manifested on many levels, from individual buildings to lots, neighborhoods, and even the city as a whole.

The earliest settlement was oriented to the Cooper River, along the portion of the waterfront best suited to commerce. During the eighteenth century, the city expanded to the west and south, but growth was inhibited by numerous creeks and marshes bisecting the peninsula (Calhoun et al. 1982). Instead of spreading out, the city became more densely occupied; lots were further subdivided, multi-story buildings were constructed, and secondary structures filled in the center of blocks.

By the early nineteenth century, an increasing population pushed the areas of settlement north across Boundary Street. Large plots of land on the Neck, functioning as plantations or held for speculation, were subdivided and sold. For several decades, holdings remained larger than those in the lower city. But as the population grew, lots continued to be partitioned. Because blocks on the Neck tended to be smaller than those downtown, by mid-century the average suburban lot was smaller than its counterpart in the old city. In both sections, creeks and marshes were gradually filled to create new real estate and

reduce health hazards. Planters' houses that used to front the rivers now looked over roof tops or into the yards of commercial enterprises.

In the colonial city, the area which later became Wards 1 and 3, many dwellings doubled as places of business. In newer sections, including the Neck, residential and commercial functions tended to be separate. Tradesmen and women, corner grocers, and King Street retailers might live above their shops, but manufacturers, mechanics, and railroad employees usually resided some distance from their workplaces. This trend conformed to conditions imposed by new industries and represented a break from the mercantile past.

While land use on the Neck differed from that of the lower city, individual lots were laid out in remarkably similar ways. Responding to the same daily needs and confined to a comparable amount of space, residents of the Neck turned their single houses sideways, built kitchens behind them, and put as much distance as possible between their wells and privies. Exceptions to these rules were made by some wealthy merchants and planters, such as Joseph Manigault, who acquired large lots, faced their houses broadside to the street, and arranged outbuildings in nontraditional patterns.

The spatial patterning of the Neck thus conformed to the demands of the urban environment. Suburban residents experienced most of the same daily problems encountered in the lower city, and the arrangement of residential compounds in the two areas is quite similar. The arrangement of lots and buildings over the suburban landscape, however, varies from that of the older city in significant respects.

Private versus Public Adaptation

As archaeological research in Charleston shifts from the commercial district of the colonial city to the antebellum subdivisions of the Neck, investigators must consider how Charlestonians, in comparison to inhabitants of other cities, adapted to a rapidly changing urban environment. In the eighteenth century, individual households took care of their own basic needs, such as water procurement, trash disposal, and sanitary waste management, functions reflected archaeologically as wells, trash pits and sheet deposits, and privies, respectively.

Urban population growth in the nineteenth century obliged cities to develop more centralized, efficient systems to handle these problems, while technological advances offered new solutions. Municipal water supplies, sewers, storm drains, and designated dump sites became the order of the day. Wells and privies, used from time to time for refuse disposal, now were given over totally to this function. The new systems were built on top of the older features, resulting in the disorganization of the archaeological record that characterizes many urban sites (Honerkamp and Council 1984; Honerkamp et al. 1983).

Like developments in municipal water and waste systems, new industrial technologies dramatically altered the urban landscape

(Goldfield 1977:52; see also Greb 1978; Goldfield 1982; Pease and Pease 1985). Antebellum cities competed fiercely for railroads, commerce, and manufacturers. To establish a reputation for safety, cleanliness, and modernity, cities rushed to install amenities such as street lights, plank or paved roads, sidewalks, and fire wells (Goldfield 1977:67). Lighting, road maintenance, and fire control no longer were the responsibility of private citizens and volunteer groups, but fell on the shoulders of the municipality. Bowing to necessity, cities centralized in order to modernize.

Excavation of urban sites is likely to reveal archaeological evidence of these new adaptive strategies. These are manifested in both physical facilities, such as pipes, pipe trenches, or drains, and in the disturbance of earlier proveniences caused by the new construction. Studies of the temporal sequencing of these changes can provide clues to the status of site occupants and definition of neighborhood boundaries. For example, since central and upper status neighborhoods typically received municipal services first, dating these installations can help describe the community's social and economic base. Shifts to these facilities will also be manifested in the abandonment of earlier facilities, such as wells and privies, and their subsequent use as refuse recepticles.

Defining Neighborhood Boundaries

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Charleston exhibited a socioeconomically and racially integrated residential pattern; within this general heterogeneity, however, clusters of homogenous residential sites existed. By defining the physical and social boundaries of these neighborhoods, it should be possible to investigate human behavior on a neighborhood, as well as a household, level.

Examination of East Side residential patterns, street by street, indicates that free colored people, urban slaves, white immigrant laborers, and wealthy planters and merchants all lived on the same streets. However, closer examination indicates that within neighborhoods, clustering of these social groups occurred. A basic pattern first exhibited in the colonial period and continuing through the nineteenth century was the location of higher class residents on wide, major thoroughfares, with lower status individuals, particularly slaves, crowded onto alleys and back streets around the corner; street fronts, rather than blocks, appear to have served as neighborhood boundaries. A tendency towards racial segregation on the East Side is also apparent in the occupancy of the many courts which dead-ended in the center of blocks. Unlike the major streets, these tended to be all white or all black. Today, distinct neighborhoods within the East Side are recognized by community residents. Hampstead has become predominantly black, partly as a result of the influx of people from Ansonborough and Henrietta Street, who were largely displaced by Gaillard Auditorium and the Federal Building; Ward 5 remains a racially mixed neighborhood.

Correlation of archaeological deposits with specific households has been the traditional approach of historical archaeologists. However, archaeologists working in urban areas often encounter proveniences which, for various reasons, cannot be attributed to individuals or households; these proveniences have usually been eliminated from detailed analyses. Recently, though, some archaeologists have suggested that to do so biases urban research; such mixed deposits are the "reality of the city" (Honerkamp et al. 1983), and archaeologists must develop analytic techniques appropriate to the resource. A promising, but controversial, solution is to expand archaeological research to a broader level, from the household to the neighborhood (Honerkamp 1987; Rothschild 1985, 1987; Zierden and Calhoun 1987; see Beaudry 1987; Brown 1987). An important first step is defining a neighborhood in physical and social terms. The present research suggests that in Charleston, such a task is possible.

Urban versus Plantation Slavery

While historical and archaeological research on enslaved African-Americans has focused on rural plantation sites, a significant number of Negro slaves lived and worked in cities. Differences between urban and rural slavery should be discernable archaeologically. The greater economic freedom of urban slaves, for example, should be manifest in a greater diversity of slave housing and material culture.

Urban slaves can be roughly divided into two groups: those who lived and worked in their master's household, and those who were "hired out" to other employers and sometimes allowed to live on their own. Typically, slaves who "lived in" were confined to a single large dwelling unit in the same urban compound as their masters' families. While plantation slaves often sought domestic service, in Charleston slaves preferred employment which enabled them to leave the compound as frequently as possible.

Urban slaves were commonly hired out to other employers by their masters, either on a temporary or a long-term basis. Trusted slaves were also allowed to hire out their own time, giving their owners a set monthly fee, and retaining the remainder for themselves. The slave hire system was large and complicated enough to require regulation, manifested in frequent legislative enactment, sporadic police control, and a municipal slave badge system. Most hired out urban slaves worked as porters and servants, while some held jobs requiring a high degree of skill.

A significant number of urban slaves also lived outside their masters' compounds. Slaves offered this opportunity to "live out," whether due to their master's generosity, parsimony, or lack of space, eagerly took it. They made their homes in any available space: a room, floor, shack, crowded tenement, or house. Some attained a certain degree of affluence and rented relatively spacious quarters, generally on the Neck. Their landlords were often free people of color.

The greater amount of flexibility enjoyed by slaves living out and working out encouraged economic initiative and the accumulation of

personal possessions. Plantation slaves were supplied with necessities by their master or overseer. They augmented the rations by hunting, fishing, and selling produce from their quarter-acre garden plots (Otto 1987; Blassingame 1975). Because urban slaves were closer to the commercial center and had daily contacts with free blacks, who served as role models, suppliers of goods, and intermediaries, they were more able to choose articles for themselves. Contemporary accounts often mention that urban slaves dressed "above their class" (Wade 1964:125-130). Hiring out provided the income necessary to accumulate personal possessions, such as clothing, an easily recognized symbol of status. In general, the artifact categories most sensitive to social status are those containing personal, highly prized objects, including clothing, ornaments, and keepsakes. Urban sites should yield more numerous and more varied artifacts of these types than do plantation slave sites (Reitz 1979:14; Zierden 1981:133).

A major difficulty with this line of research is the "invisibility" of the urban slave. Although slaves comprised over half of Charleston's population through much of the antebellum period, they are mentioned perfunctorily or not at all in documentary sources. The 1861 City Census, for example, indicates slave housing by the word "slaves" in the occupant column; this is our only clue to the location of slaves who lived out. Such tenements most likely were small, insubstantial, and disappeared long ago. This makes identification of urban slave sites problematic. Slave quarters built behind masters' town houses are relatively abundant, but isolating archaeological deposits clearly related to slave residents may be difficult. Refuse and lost objects of both masters and slaves presumably were deposited in the same backyard proveniences. To pursue the next phase of this research we must identify, with precision, an archaeological slave site in Charleston.

The Marginality of the Free Colored Population

A significant portion of Charleston's antebellum population was made up of free persons of color. Demographically, this social group was concentrated in Wards 5 and 6, in the subdivisions immediately north of Calhoun Street. Economically, a vast majority of Charleston's free Negroes were lower to middle class, employed in manual labor or trades. A large number were skilled artisans; many owned real estate and slaves. Yet, even this elite group was "a working aristocracy, an aristocracy with calluses," whose wealth, with a few exceptions, did not amount to a fraction of that of the city's white aristocrats. Rather than acquire tidewater plantations or gangs of slaves, prosperous free Negroes tended to invest in urban real estate or in businesses employing a few bondsmen or women (Johnson and Roark 1984b:6).

Socially, Charleston's free African-Americans occupied a "middle ground," modelling their lifestyles after white society, but barred from complete assimilation by the color of their skin. As the antebellum period progressed, free colored people found themselves in an increasingly precarious position. Their freedom was considered a privilege, not a right, and came under concerted attack by an

expanding white working class. Dreading the prospect of more intense discrimination or even reenslavement, some free colored families chose to emigrate from the city, while others sought to prove their trustworthiness to white society through emulation and unobtrusiveness.

Free African-Americans who were able to achieve the limited success open to them in southern society formed a distinct group. Although wealth did not insulate them from restrictive laws or racial taboos, affluent Negroes saw themselves as a class apart. They established social organizations based on status, and sometimes on degree of color. In acquiring slaves, some were merely exercising their greater rights to ease the plight of their enslaved brethren; others sought primarily economic gain (Koger 1985). Free Negroes were anxious to educate their children and guarantee their security in times of increasingly harsh restrictions. To do this, they had to tow the line drawn by white society, yet distinguish themselves in manners and material goods from Negroes of lesser wealth and freedom.

The material culture of urban free blacks is expected to be more similar to white households of equal economic status than to that of urban slaves. While status is more easily recognized archaeologically than is ethnicity, intensive studies of free black sites should reveal some evidence of the African heritage of the occupants. Ethnicity should be reflected most clearly in artifact categories that are culturally conservative, such as foodways and use of personal space (Deagan 1983; Reitz 1981; Reitz and Cumbaa 1983; Vlach 1978; Wheaton et al. 1983).

The relatively vast documentary record on free colored people makes identifying where they lived and worked easier than identifying slave sites. Carefully designed, descriptive, baseline studies are needed, however, before research questions concerning free urban Negroes can be addressed successfully. The separation of status and ethnic affiliation in the archaeological record has been a recurrent problem for researchers (Kelley and Kelley 1980; Otto 1980; Schuyler 1980). Nevertheless, several promising investigations of this issue have been conducted on African-American sites on the Georgia and South Carolina coasts, forming a foundation for the present study (Drucker and Anthony 1979; Ferguson 1980, 1985; Fairbanks 1984; Singleton 1980, 1985; Wheaton et al. 1983).

Industrial Slavery

In the eighteenth century, urban slaves were employed as servants, laborers, semiskilled craftspeople, and skilled artisans. As southern cities developed industrially, a new class of workers, industrial slaves, came into being. The material culture of industrial slaves is expected to be more limited than that of other urban slaves, especially those who were able to hire out their own time.

The ownership of slaves by a company changed the traditional master-slave relationship, depersonalizing it. Stockholders might hold shares in an undifferentiated gang of slaves; William Aiken, for

example, requested compensation for "3/37 shares of 91 slaves" owned by West Point Mills. Under corporate control and responsibility, the food, health care, and housing of slaves suffered. Assigned to menial and hazardous jobs, industrial workers were often in danger of losing life or limb. Masters who leased Negroes to railroad companies seemed particularly nervous about their slaves' safety, charging higher wages and sometimes taking out insurance policies on their workers in recognition of the risks they would incur (Goldin 1976:38).

Assuming the Negro tenements or barracks which the South Carolina Railroad provided for its workers were typical, industrial slave housing was congested. If the slaves the Railroad owned in 1860 were divided among the three slave dwellings ascribed to the Company in the 1864 Ward Book, and if all three barracks were the size of the one on King Street, then more than 30 people would have been living in a space 20 feet wide and 60 feet long. In comparison, the slave quarters behind Joseph Manigault's house measured 20 by 40 feet and sheltered about 12 servants.

The artifactual remains of industrial slaves, no doubt reflecting the poverty and congestion in which these people lived, makes their archaeological record even harder to decipher than sites associated with other urban slaves or white laborers. Despite the difficulties inherent in this new area of research, archaeological investigation of a slave barracks site offers the possibility of broadening our perspective on urban slavery. Test excavations are in order to determine the feasibility of such an undertaking.

Plans for Future Research

"Between the Tracks" should be viewed as the beginning, rather than the end, of comprehensive research on the East Side. Our archaeological research goals now need to be tested, expanded, and refined through controlled excavation at appropriate sites. Many more documentary sources are available for study than those we had time to examine; continued archival study will undoubtedly refine our knowledge of the heritage of the East Side.

While the present study has focused on delineating general trends, sufficient data are available to identify some sites relevant to the issues summarized above. The homes and businesses of several free persons of color have been identified, either as standing structures or as archaeological sites. The property of the Westons, at the northeast corner of Meeting and Calhoun, and the Dereefs, at the northeast corner of Washington and Charlotte, are important archaeological sites. The Weston site currently contains a store and gasoline station; construction of these modern features has probably disturbed a large portion of the site. In contrast, the former Dereef property is currently an asphalt lot used by the Port for the storage of container units. It is very likely that this asphalt paving has served to protect rather than destroy deposits associated with the Dereef occupation; research on the twentieth-century uses of the property will provide clues to site conditions. The Dereef site may be the best opportunity to investigate prosperous free blacks in

Charleston. Other promising free black sites include the Wilkinson family lands on Chapel Street, as well as properties along Henrietta, Nassau, Calhoun, Chapel, Reid, and other East Side streets.

Isolating and identifying slave-occupied structures will be more problematic; the sites are difficult to identify through documents, and, once identified, will probably be relatively difficult to isolate archaeologically. This is particularly true of the industrial slave barracks. Three locations for these have been identified in city records (26 King, Meeting between Woolfe and Spring, and Meeting between Mary and Reid) and at least one location has been verified on the maps. The slave barracks site on Ann Street should be investigated as part of the excavations at the VRTC site. Exhaustive title search should be conducted on suspected slave dwelling sites to identify their owners and occupants. The slave quarters on planters' town house properties, in contrast, are easy to identify through maps and documents, and many of these structures are extant. Because deposits from both masters and slaves are mixed together, however, these sites are less than ideal for the study of urban black life.

Town house sites can yield an abundance of data on suburban life among the elite. Several excellent sites are located on the East Side, including the William Aiken house at King and Ann, the Aiken-Rhett mansion at 48 Elizabeth, the Joseph Manigault house at 350 Meeting, the Josiah Tennent house at 727 East Bay, 2 Amherst Street, and the Faber house at 635 East Bay. Archaeological testing has already been conducted at the Aiken-Rhett, Joseph Manigault, and William Aiken houses (Zierden and Hacker 1986; Zierden et al 1986; Lewis 1982).

The East Side also offers sites amenable to the study of urban neighborhoods. Specifically, the courts located in this vicinity tended to house economically and racially homogenous populations. Studies of such properties, augmented by oral histories, should allow us to define both the spatial and social parameters of East Side neighborhoods and should provide a data base for the more complex examination of "street front neighborhoods." Thompsons Court, Dereefs Court, Cedar Court, and Hagermans Court are appropriate sites for the examination of urban African-Americans; the white working class can be studied through excavations at Hunters Court, Johnsons Court, McKeegans Court, Orange Court, and especially Williams Row.

Finally, the East Side contains most of Charleston's important industrial sites. Many of these are located in portions of the city where development, and thus destruction, is likely. Examples of important industrial sites include: The South Carolina Railroad on the VRTC property and at Line Street, Eason Iron Works on Nassau Street, the Gas Works at 1 Charlotte, and the Northeastern Railroad at Chapel and East Bay.

Intended as a foundation for archaeological research on the East Side, this document also points toward further documentary research. Because of time constraints, several major sources were examined superficially, or not at all. The capitation books warrant further examination, as does the 1852 Ward Book. Only the 1860 and 1870 Population Schedules were examined; additional federal censuses would

serve to broaden our knowledge of population dynamics. Municipal documents also should be surveyed more systematically.

All sources, including those already studied in detail - the 1853 and 1864 Ward Books, the 1860 and 1870 Population Schedules, and the City Directories - should be investigated for the city as a whole, to allow comparisons of the East Side with the lower city, and with the West Side. The West Side has not been researched at all, and should be the subject of a baseline study similar to this one.

The East Side project has been successful in delineating trends of growth and development for the East Side. A logical next step is to gather data on specific families and places. Families from a variety of social and ethnic groups were used as examples in the present study. Family papers, diaries, and record books should be examined in detail to learn more about the businesses and personal affairs of the Dereefs, Westons, Tennents, Aikens, Tiedemans, and Wulburns. Exhaustive title search, a time consuming process, was conducted on selected East Side properties; more work will be necessary to identify and describe more sites on the East Side. Our deepest regret is the invisibility of the urban slave population; documentation beyond lists of names is extremely rare. Special attention should be paid to any sources offering information on this group.

Finally, the data and all future findings should be made available to the East Side community through publications, lectures, education programs, and exhibits. The Charleston Museum, in cooperation with Avery Research Center and the City of Charleston, hopes to be at the forefront of such endeavors.

Explanatory Notes

1. Members of the Drayton family purchased the following lots:
   #5 and 7, adjoining, 220 by 200 feet, fronting Hampstead Square, corner America
   #111-113, 300 by 275 feet, between Hanover and Nassau streets, south of Columbus
   #19-21, 330 by 240 feet between Hampstead Square and Drake Street, north of Columbus
   #63, 110 by 284 feet, Front Street to Drake Street, south of Amherst
   #54, 100 by 280 feet, between Amherst and Reid Streets, just east of America
   (Unpublished research, Drayton Hall, a property of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.)

2. In his dissertation, "Charleston, South Carolina Merchants, 1815-1860: Urban Leadership in the Antebellum South," Gregory A. Greb asserts, "Of far greater impact on the trade patterns of the state was the introduction of steamboats in 1819. After that date, river steamers replaced wagoners as the principal carriers of upland produce and cotton, and East Bay wharves replaced King Street retail shops as the main center of business activity" (Greb 1978:82). Data compiled from Charleston newspapers contradicts Greb's statement. Although the introduction of steamboats increased, or at least maintained, the commercial importance of East Bay and the wharves, placement of the railroad terminus between King and Meeting on the Neck helped promote the desirability of King Street as a location for retailers. Thus, East Bay and the wharves <u>combined</u> show the heaviest concentration of retailers until 1840, when King Street became predominant.

3. The white population of the Neck rose from 2,681 in 1848 to 4,866 in 1849 (City Census 1848:iv).

4. Following the fire of 1838 which had resulted in the loss of $4 million in real estate, a law was passed prohibiting the construction of wood buildings within the city. The Neck was exempted from this "brick ordinance" for a period of 20 years. Charlestonians justifiably feared fire. Between 1807 and 1861, 13 major blazes did an estimated $13 million of damage. White Charlestonians suspected that the city's slaves were prone to arson. After the 1838 fire, according to the Proceedings of the City Authorities, 18 arson attempts followed within four weeks. "In every one of these cases, all the slaves attached to the premises... were promptly arrested, and committed to the work house." Their owners were questioned and the slaves were subjected to "close, rigorous, and repeated examination....The result was a decided impression of the guilt of five individuals," who were "directed to be prosecuted for arson or the attempt to commit it." (Proceedings of the City Authorities 1837-1838:43). The disasterous fire of 1861, which destroyed $5 million in real estate - more property than the wartime bombardment - allegedly resulted from the carelessness of a group of slaves tending cooking fires (Cardozo 1866:5-7).

5. The configuration of streets and lots was actually the product of two able surveyors; William Davis laid out Hampstead, and James Purcell drew the plans for Wraggsborough and Mazyckborough.

6. See Smith 1950:58-60 for a list of servants in each of his grandmothers' yards and in his father's establishment.

7. The unusual location of the Manigault kitchen building facilitated its reuse in the 1850s for rental purposes. George Reynolds, a carriage manufacturer, who evidently did not house slaves on his property, acquired the building from Joseph Manigault's heirs in 1852 when they sold their East Side mansion. Reynolds converted the slave quarters into a rental residence, which carried a Meeting Street address. The property was occupied by middle- to lower-class white tenants in the second half of the nineteenth century (Stockton 1987).

8. The Reverend F.A. Mood wistfully recalled the walk-out by the colored Methodists: "At one fell swoop nearly every leader delivered up his class papers, and 4,367 of the members withdrew. None but those who are accustomed to attend the churches in Charleston, with their crowded galleries, can well appreciate the effect of such an immense withdrawal. The galleries, hitherto crowded, were almost completely deserted, and it was a vacancy that could be <u>felt</u>. The absence of their responses and hearty songs was really felt to be a loss to those so long accustomed to hear them" (Mood 1856:132).

9. Historian Larry Koger claims that neither Brown nor any "of the influential members of the African Methodist Church, such as Charles Corr and Henry Drayton," was aware of the planned uprising (Koger 1986:172). Richard Wade, in 1964, reached the startling conclusion that "no conspiracy in fact existed" - a conclusion that has won few adherents (Starobin 1970:166).

10. The next year the Treasurer commissioned Rouse to make even more badges. The numbers reported in the City's accounts were as follows:

Servants	3,500
Porters	1,600
Mechanics	600
Fruiterers	500
Fishers	150
Drays	700
Carts	400
	7,300

(Receipts and Expenditures, 1850-51:65)

11. Wages for slaves hired out were consistently lower than for whites in the same jobs. In 1817, Charleston's official rate for slave wages was 81 1/4 cents per day, and the figure did not reach $1 for 20 years (Wade 1964:42, 47).

12. Ernest Everett Just, the renowned African-American marine biologist, was Charles Just's grandson (For a biography of E.E. Just, see Manning 1983).

13. By 1850, the percent of Charleston's African-American households owning slaves had dropped to 42.3, but the largest decline appeared on the Neck, where the number of colored slaveholders decreased by nearly 120, leaving only 58 households still reporting slaves. Several factors, Koger claims, contributed to this decline. Many free Negroes refused to inform census takers of their slave property; several slaveowners had died and their estates had been liquidated, increasing numbers of the city's free people of color were leaving town. Koger cites two examples involving residents of the Neck: Edward Logan, whose slave girl named Bella was sold for $600 after his death in 1850, and Peter H. Merchant, who sold his two slaves and moved to Colleton District sometime between 1840 and 1850 (Koger 1985:19-20). Other scholars suggest that the antebellum censuses may reflect coresidence -slaves as "lodgers" - rather than slave ownership by free persons of color (Michael Johnson personal communication 1987).

14. Woodson's "philanthropy thesis" has also been challenged by John H. Russell (1913), U.B. Phillips (1918) and John Hope Franklin (1967). See Halliburton 1975:131-132.

15. This manuscript was made available through the generosity of Edmund L. Drago of the College of Charleston.

16. Archaeological excavations have turned up all of these fill materials.

17. Ironically, sand ballast dumped on a low lot on Alexander Street in 1874 was suspected as the source of a yellow fever epidemic. City officials disputed this claim, however; the ship had just come from quarantine in Brazil, and was found to be free from contagion (Lebby 1870:12).

18. The following East Side properties were cited as "generally filthy, low lots, bad drainage" in the Proceedings of the Board of Health, June 12, 1872:

> Lots and premises, Reid Street from Hanover to Drake
> Lots and premises, Drake south of Amherst
> Lots and premises, Henrietta from Meeting to Elizabeth
> Vacant lots from Alexander to Washington streets, south of the Northeastern Railroad
> Lots and premises, America Street from Alexander to Blake
> Lots and premises, Aiken Street from Hanover to Blake
> Lots and premises, Amherst from America to Bay
> Lots and premises, Drake from Amherst

19. The following East Side households maintained cows on the premises: 428, 488, 496, 518, 528, 582, 694 King, 218 Meeting, 46 Reid, cor. Amherst and Nassau, 26 Amherst, 6 Woolfe, 13, 59 Washington, 4,8, Calhoun, 6, 40, 58 Alexander, Heyward Court, 28, 30, 32 Alexander, cor. Chapel and Alexander, 23 Hanover, 3 Hampden Court, cor. Amherst and America, John Street depot, 3, 6, 9 South, 13, 43 Nassau, 64, 11, 23, 16, 39, 59 America, 12, 13 John, 4, 6 Drake, 3 Line. A total of 45 households on the East Side kept cows, compared to 103 for the whole city.

20. Damage in the burnt district was later estimated at $5 million (Cardozo 1866:29).

21. We would like to thank Ernestine Fellers and Gail McCoy at the Charleston City Archives for making this material available.

22. The federal and city censuses are not strictly comparable. The Charleston Census of 1861, commissioned because city officials were dissatisfied with the 1860 Population Schedules, counted significantly more people, especially free colored people, than did the federal census the year before. In Ward 5, for example, the city figures for free Negroes were 22 percent higher than the federal schedules; in Ward 7, the discrepancy was 36 percent. Nevertheless, because the 1860 document did not include slaves in its household enumeration and the City Census did, it is sometimes helpful to contrast 1861 statistics with federal figures, assuming a large margin of error.

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Appendix I

Industrial Workers, Wards 5 and 7, 1860

Name	Place of Birth	Address listed in the 1859 City Directory
Railroad Workers, Ward 5		
Owen Bannen, overseer	Ireland	East end Amherst
John Bland, foreman	South Carolina	
Charles Boag, conductor	South Carolina	
William Cogley, watchman	South Carolina	
A. M. Corree, conductor	Maryland	
William Darby, conductor	South Carolina	
John Dunn, conductor	Ireland	
Jacob Flagg, finisher	South Carolina	
John Gaillard, conductor	South Carolina	Henrietta near Meeting
L. H. Price, conductor	South Carolina	Henrietta near Meeting
Patrick Ryan, fireman	South Carolina	Washington above Charlotte
Samuel Tinsley, observer	Georgia	Reid near King
Railroad Workers, Ward 7		
William Allason, fireman	South Carolina	
John Blanch, fireman	South Carolina	Amherst near America
J. B. Boyden, rr service	South Carolina	
James Broxlon, rr service	Georgia	
John Burns, conductor	Ireland	
Timothy Cockran, conductor	Ireland	
Albert Cordes, rr service	South Carolina	
W. S. Deltay, rr service	South Carolina	Columbus near Meeting
William Desports, engineer	South Carolina	
David Farrell, rr service	South Carolina	
Charles Francis, rr service	Holland	Nassau near Line
Ephelira Gilbere, conductor	South Carolina	
Steven Gilbert, conductor	South Carolina	
John Glenn, fireman	South Carolina	
William Glover, fireman	South Carolina	
Thomas Goodwin, conductor	South Carolina	
Stuart Green, clerk	South Carolina	
Barnet Grofs, rr service	England	
Robert Guy, rr service	South Carolina	
Patrick Hastings, conductor	Ireland	
Charles Henry, conductor	South Carolina	East end Amherst
Henry Hordoff, rr service	Holland	Nassau near Line
Edwin Kent, rr service	South Carolina	
John Klee, fireman	Denmark	
Alexander Maffit, engineer	South Carolina	
Bernice McBride, conductor	Ireland	Reid near King **
Benjamin Moore, rr service	South Carolina	Nassau near Line
James Murrell, conductor	South Carolina	
John Nell, rr service	South Carolina	
Richard Newell, rr service	South Carolina	Hanover near Line
Oterman Ohldorf, rr service	Germany	Nassau near Line
John Parker, fireman	South Carolina	
Frederick Platt, rr service	South Carolina	
William Rails, rr service	South Carolina	

D. J. Randal, engineer	South Carolina	
Joshua Redhamer, conductor	South Carolina	
John Rodgers, watchman	South Carolina	
John Seriven, engineer	South Carolina	
Edward Shirer, engineer	South Carolina	Columbus near King
W. I. Smith, engineer	South Carolina	Columbus near King
Carston Stemmivonyer, service	Germany	Nassau near Line
Henry Stier, rr service	Holland	Nassau near Line
John Storch, rr service	Holland	Nassau near Line
William Suder, engineer	South Carolina	
Marion Tharin, engineer	South Carolina	Columbus near King
Isiah Turse, conductor	South Carolina	
Virgil Watson, rr service	Georgia	
A. Wilkinson, conductor	North Carolina	
Charles Williameen, fireman	England	

Engineers, Ward 5

Augustus Angel	Prussia	
William Arthur, fpc *	South Carolina	
Peter DeBonville	South Carolina	
John Dupree	South Carolina	
William Ferguson	South Carolina	Nassau corner Reid
William Hill	Virginia	
Charles Hutton	New York	
David Maull	South Carolina	
D. M. Maull	South Carolina	
James McCabe	Ireland	
J. J. McCollum	South Carolina	
R. B. Reeves	South Carolina	Reid near Nassau
Eves T. R.....	South Carolina	
S. S. Solomons	South Carolina	Chapel above Alexander
H. A. Suder	South Carolina	
Christopher Webb	South Carolina	
John Whaley	Pennsylvania	

Engineers, Ward 7

James Allason	South Carolina	
William Berry	Virginia	Amherst corner Nassau
William Bredemann	Prussia	
Jonathan Bregden	South Carolina	Rear Meeting near Woolfe
Henry Brickman	Germany	Hanover near Line
William Broxton	Georgia	America near Columbus
Henry Brummen	Prussia	
John Cato	England	Amherst near Nassau
D. W. David	South Carolina	
Nathanial Dunlap	South Carolina	
William Dunlap	South Carolina	
Albert Fayell	South Carolina	
Geroge Hall	Massachussetts	46 America
James Hampton	South Carolina	Columbus above Meeting
Daniel Haseltine	Massachussetts	46 America
Gabriel Hodger	South Carolina	
H. Kahrs	Germany	
John Parda	South Carolina	
John Philips	South Carolina	

Seth Philips	North Carolina	
James Sealey	England	
John Shokes	South Carolina	Hampden Court near Hanover
Hamilton Tiesdale	South Carolina	
Thomas Turse	South Carolina	
W. C. Watson	Georgia	
W. I. Watson	Georgia	
Thomas Williams	Alabama	

Machinists, Ward 5

James Bee	South Carolina	
James Bowick	South Carolina	
Richard Burtton	Ireland	
C. H. Butts	New York	
Frederick Caminade	South Carolina	
John Conlan	South Carolina	
William Foret, fpc	South Carolina	
Brian Kennedy	Ireland	
Jefferson Williams	Alabama	

Machinists, Ward 7

William Arms	South Carolina	
Francis Bradford	South Carolina	
Frederick Brown	South Carolina	
William Brown	South Carolina	
Charles Buforte	South Carolina	
John Cammarade	South Carolina	
T. Dotterer	South Carolina	
Elias Dufort	South Carolina	Meeting near Columbus
J. M. Eason	South Carolina	
Thomas D. Eason	South Carolina	America near Columbus
Henry Elmore	South Carolina	Amherst corner America
Samuel Evans	South Carolina	America near Amherst
Michael Harlon	Ireland	
W. S. Henry	South Carolina	
David Kennedy	South Carolina	Columbus near Hanover
John Kennedy	South Carolina	Columbus near Hanover
Robert Kuhn	Germany	
Daniel Love	Scotland	Line corner railroad track
William Lowndes	Pennsylvania	Columbus near Meeting
O. S. Mackey	South Carolina	
John McCay	Scotland	
John McKay	Scotland	
E. T. Miller	South Carolina	
Edwin Mosan	New York	
David Mustard	South Carolina	
Robert Mustard	South Carolina	
John O'Connel	England	
Julius Petsch	South Carolina	
J. J. Rose	South Carolina	
Michael Ryan	Ireland	
Thomas Ryan	Ireland	Line corner railroad track
W. Ryan	South Carolina	
George Sillogoe	South Carolina	
Calib Singleton	England	Line corner railroad track

William Strong	South Carolina	America near Columbus
John Taylor	New Hampshire	
John Tobin	South Carolina	
Louis Wagner	Alabama	Columbus near Meeting
Wheelwrights, Ward 5		
Joseph Barron, fpc	South Carolina	
Paul Barrow, fpc	South Carolina	
Benjamin Blank	South Carolina	
George Blank	South Carolina	
Dennis Heffernon	Ireland	
Francis Mishaw, fpc	South Carolina	
Michael O'Neill	Irleand	
Wheelwrights, Ward 7		
Hugh Adams	South Carolina	Reid near Drake **
James Pereneau	South Carolina	
Millwrights, Ward 5		
James Chester	South Carolina	
John Green, fpc	South Carolina	
Riley Hugeley	South Carolina	
Ellaby Jackson, fpc	South Carolina	412 King
Anthony Weston, fpc	South Carolina	
Furman Weston, fpc	South Carolina	
Millwrights, Ward 7		
Amos Barton, fpc	South Carolina	
William Eden, fpc	South Carolina	
George Lucas	South Carolina	
James Wilson, fpc	South Carolina	
Boiler Makers, Ward 5		
Samuel Farris	South Carolina	Elizabeth near Henrietta
James Gruber	South Carolina	Reid near Nassau
George King	South Carolina	
George Myers	South Carolina	Alexander near Calhoun
Augustus Prinde	South Carolina	18 Washington
Calvin Simons	South Carolina	America near Reid
Boiler Makers, Ward 7		
John Carter	New York	
Irvin Commier	South Carolina	
Irvin Corby	Massachussetts	
Irvin Mayzck	South Carolina	Reid near Hanover **
Thomas McIntire	South Carolina	Meeting above Woolfe
Robert Mustard	Scotland	
Pattern Maker, Ward 5		
Somerset Matthews	South Carolina	
Pattern Makers, Ward 7		
Henry Cammarade	South Carolina	
Okay Cammarade	South Carolina	
Shippers Dagget	Massachussetts	

James Dewire	Massachussetts	
Caster, Ward 5		
John Morney	South Carolina	
Caster, Ward 7		
Henry Bulwinkle	Germany	Amherst corner America
Mechanics, Ward 7		
E. Chivab	New York	
William Dalvie	South Carolina	
G. Owens	South Carolina	
James Petch	South Carolina	
Car Builder, Ward 7		
Thomas Wharton	South Carolina	Woolfe near railroad track
Car Builder, Ward 5		
Alex Petsch	South Carolina	Mary opposite Nassau
Foremen, Ward 7		
Benjamin Equitern	Alabama	
Philip Kremer	Germany	
Gas Fitters, Ward 7		
James Huger	South Carolina	
Edward Malone	South Carolina	
Pump Makers, Ward 7		
Edward Quimby	South Carolina	Nassau near Woolfe
Henry Shokes	South Carolina	Nassau near Woolfe
Millers, Ward 7		
D. Appelar	Germany	
George Hacker	South Carolina	
Planning Mill, Ward 5		
William Sanders	South Carolina	East side Washington above Calhoun
Moulder, Ward 7		
James Kennedy	England	Meeting above Woolfe
Laborers, Ward 5		
William Aken, fpc	South Carolina	
John Bavas	Holland	
John Bense	Germany	
Isaac Bruckney, fpc	South Carolina	
George Bullard	Ireland	
James Burn	Ireland	
Thomas Butler	Ireland	Nassau near South
Lawrence Cahill	Ireland	Calhoun above Elizabeth
Michael Callaher	Ireland	South near America
Stephen Campbell	Ireland	
John Canford	Ireland	

James Carey	Ireland	
Thomas Cavinought	Ireland	Reid corner Hanover
Bartholeman Coffee	Ireland	America near Amherst
Ervin Conlan	Ireland	
James Conlan	Ireland	America corner Reid
John Conlan	Ireland	
Patrick Conlan	Ireland	
Richard Contey	South Carolina	
Joe Cunningham	Ireland	
Thomas Daily	Ireland	
Patrick Dider	Ireland	
Humphrey Disman	Ireland	Woolfe near Nassau
John Doogan	Ireland	
Bernard Doolan	Ireland	Rear Chapel above Washington
John Dugan	Ireland	
Mick Fitzgerald	Ireland	
John Flaherty	Ireland	
Peter Fleming	Ireland	
Patrick Flinn	Ireland	
John Francis, fpc	South Carolina	Hanover near Reid
Easly Gayman, fpc	South Carolina	
Thomas Goldrich	France	
Molt Halpin	Ireland	
Patrick Hannon	Ireland	
Thomas Hayden	Ireland	
Patrick Haze	Ireland	
Michael Hines	Ireland	
Michael Hoogan	Ireland	
James Johnson	Ireland	Reid near America
Patrick Kelly	Ireland	
Thomas Kenny	South Carolina	Washington near Charlotte
John Killbride	Ireland	
Patrick Kinnelly	Ireland	Reid near America
Thomas Laraghal	Ireland	
Martin Lee	Ireland	436 King
Louis Lindoff	Prussia	
Barthel Lynch	Ireland	17 Henrietta
John Madden	Ireland	
Henry Mathephius	Germany	
Patrick McCarthy	Ireland	
Barnes McGrans	Ireland	
Patrick McKenna	Ireland	
Patrick McMann	Ireland	America near Amherst
John McQuire	Ireland	436 King
John Morgan	Ireland	
Daniel Morrissey	Ireland	Reid near America
William Morrissey	Ireland	
Daniel Mortimer, fpc	South Carolina	
John Mulberry	Ireland	America near Reid
Thomas Mulberry	Ireland	
Jerry Murphy	Ireland	
John Murphy	Ireland	398 1/2 King
Timothy Murphy	Ireland	
John Neagle	Ireland	
John O'Brien	Ireland	

Luke O'Brien	Ireland	South Near America
Patrick O'Halloran	Ireland	
Michael O'Neill	Ireland	
William O'Neill	Ireland	Woolfe near King
William Pevemin	Ireland	
Daniel Poivers	Ireland	
Thomas Powers	Ireland	
Michael Quinless	Ireland	
Patrick Quinn	Ireland	
Alexander Rose	England	
O'Brian Rourke	Ireland	America near Amherst
Louis Schrimble	Prussia	
Tim Seanlan	Ireland	
John Shrins	Ireland	Mary below Nassau
Patrick Sullivan	Ireland	
Francis Sweeney	Ireland	Reid near America
Thomas Ward	Ireland	
Daniel White	Ireland	
Henry Wilkins	Germany	

Laborers, Ward 7

Fred Aberr	Germany	
Andrew Boles	England	
Edward Brown	South Carolina	
James Bunsk	South Carolina	
Luther Burn	Ireland	
George Clark	South Carolina	
Thomas Clark	Ireland	
Peter Comlan	Ireland	
Timothy Conroy	Ireland	
Albert Cordora	South Carolina	
Henry David	South Carolina	
Thomas Davidson	Pennsylvania	
Patrick Duffie	Ireland	
Henry Enerbach	Germany	
August Fally	Germany	
Henry Finck	Germany	
Edward Finnan	Ireland	
Peter Frenchmann	Germany	
Robert Gap	Ireland	
Michael Harlow	Ireland	
Nicholas Heffer	South Carolina	
Charles Heinson	South Carolina	
Herman Heiser	Germany	
Henry Hincken	Germany	
Frederick Henning	Germany	
Michael Henry	Ireland	
F. D. Hisch	Germany	
M. Jacob	Germany	Reid near America **
Walter Jervis	England	
John Kelly	Ireland	
Jacob Lobschier	South Carolina	
Robert McDonald	Ireland	
Tim McEllerney	Ireland	
James Morgan	Ireland	

Adam Morris	Germany	
Richard Newell	South Carolina	
Thomas Neil	Ireland	
John O'Brien	Ireland	Reid near America **
John O'Bryan	Ireland	
James Painers	Ireland	
Patrick Panrer	Ireland	
Christian Panzerbreter	Germany	
Henry Peteres	Germany	
O. S. Pleins	Germany	
William Ralinsky	Russia	
Frederick Reed	Germany	
John Saffran	Ireland	
Patrick Saffran	Ireland	
Peter Salter	Ireland	
Michael Sannagan	Ireland	
Michael Scanlan	Ireland	
William Sheridan	Maryland	
Allen Simmons	North Carolina	
Joseph Sireath	Bavaria	
Josiah Sireath	South Carolina	
Henry Slendorf	Germany	
Alonzo Splente	Massachussetts	
Crawford Stapleton	South Carolina	
Herman Stemmerman	Prussia	
William Ticke	Germany	
Richard Tobin	Ireland	
William Tobin	Ireland	
Patrick Wald	Ireland	
William Warneche	Germany	
Diedrick Weinberg	Germany	
John Wienger	South Carolina	

(Population Schedules 1860)

* fpc - Free Person of Color

** The 1860 Population Schedules list them as living in Ward 7; the 1859 City Directory lists their addresses on Reid Street, Ward 5.

Appendix II

Statement of Slaves Belonging to the South Carolina Railroad Company, December 31, 1859

No.	Date of Purchase	From whom Purchased	Names of Slaves	Cost
1	4/1836	James Vidal	Anthony	$ 825.00
2	2/1845	Estate of McMillan	Jack	400.00
3	"	"	Frank	"
4	"	"	Andrew	686.00
5	8/1848	S. J. Young	Essey	750.00
6	11/1850	N. C. Trowbridge	Richard	900.00
7	"	"	John	"
8	"	"	Nelson	"
9	"	"	Richardson	"
10	"	"	Jeff	"
11	"	"	Nelson	"
12	"	"	Harrison	"
13	"	"	Cyrus	"
14	"	"	Jim (black)	"
15	1/1851	Ester S. McNeil	William	800.00
16	3/1852	James & Robt. Adger	Pompey	451.00
17	4/1852	W. A. Harriss	Jerry	820.00
18	"	J. C. Sproull & Co.	William Stovall	748.25
19	"	"	Hardtimes Gadsden	907.12
20	"	"	George Bailey	896.87
21	"	"	Henry Mosely	927.62
22	"	"	Jerry Tendill	922.50
23	"	"	Moses Walker	"
24	"	"	Jerry Morton	821.86
25	"	"	Moses Tucker	922.50
26	"	"	Alfred Sproull	821.86
27	"	"	Shadrack Stovall	876.37
28	"	"	Alfred Cothran	825.12
29	"	"	James Simpson	845.62
30	"	"	Perry Barnes	932.75
31	"	"	John Wesner	998.83
32	"	"	Henry Blythe	922.50
33	"	"	Peter McRae	789.25
34	"	"	Samuel Hale	568.87
35	"	"	Elias Calleway	717.50
36	"	"	William Hill	821.88
37	"	"	May Hill	717.50
38	"	"	Jack Morris	779.00
39	"	"	Cato Sproull	825.12
40	"	"	York Sibley	876.37
41	"	"	William Sproull	820.00
42	"	"	Harrison Coleman	922.50
43	"	"	Shelly Boyd	1,004.50
44	"	"	William Boyd	957.37
45	"	"	Balifoe Palmer	820.00
46	"	"	Ben Wright	932.75
47	"	"	George Taylor	512.50
48	"	"	Robert Dye	871.25
49	"	"	Edmund Brownlee	912.25

50	"	"	Stephen Garmany	922.50
51	"	"	Aaron Gaskins	917.37
52	"	"	Ned Larkin	660.12
53	"	"	Nelson Skinner	963.50
54	"	"	Ben Cothran	871.25
55	5/1852	F. Schwartz	Andrew Jackson	860.00
56	8/1853	N. Calderbank	Ben	1,050.00
57	12/1853	Jos. L. Inabinet	Isaac	1,000.00
58	3/1854	J.J. Chisolm & Bryan, trustees of C.L. Chisolm	Robert	1,101.00
59	4/1854	Est. Geo. F. Raworth	Bob	850.00
60	"	"	Markly	850.00
61	"	Warren Wells	Peter	1,000.00
62	5/1854	"	Philip	900.00
63	12/1854	Nathan Calderbank	Austin	900.00
64	"	T. J. Robertson	Bill	1,000.00
65	3/1855	Samuel George	Harry	1,010.00
66	6/1855	James Coward	William	1,000.00
67	"	Mrs. M.E. Purse	Abram	900.00
68	"	E.M. Gilbert	Crockett	1,000.00
69	9/1855	James Coward	Tom	900.00
70	11/1855	Jacob H. Wells	Jim	1,000.00
71	"	"	Levi	"
72	"	C. T. Scaife	Daniel	"
73	"	"	Andrew	"
74	1/1856	H. E. Walpole	Adam	900.00
75	4/1856	Thos. P. Smith	Pompey	700.00
76	"	George P. Elliott	Ben	1,200.00
77	1/1857	Dr. M. C. King	John	"
78	2/1857	W. J. Magrath	Peter	900.00
79	"	"	Alexander	1,000.00
80	"	S. Kingman	Andrew	800.00
81	4/1857	D. A. Ambler	Davy	1,050.00
82	12/1857	B. S. Gibbs, trustee	Maurice	1,200.00
83	2/1858	Est. F. Stall	John	1,035.00
84	"	J. B. Seabrook	Frank	1,170.00
85	"	Benjamin Davis	Dave	1,075.00
86	"	A. S. Winter et. al.	Stephney	959.60
87	1/1859	James W. May	Morris	1,000.00
88	"	D. A. Pendarvis	Harry	900.00
89	"	W. W. Harley	Robert	900.00
90	11/1859	Z. A. Oakes	Jack	1,500.00
				$80,518.72

(Derrick 1930:Appendix V)

	Dead	/Field Hand	Child	Old & Infirm		Dead	Field Hand	Child	Old & Infirm	Carpet	Runaway
Caesar		x			Carolina		x				
Bina		x	x		Doll		x				
Bess			x		Waiste		x				
Louisa			x		York			x			
Ajax			x		Billy					x	
Toney			x		Bella		x				
Styles		x			Charles		x				
Dorcas		x			Joe			x			
Sue		x			Lydia		x				
Timmy			x		Cassandra		x	x			
Capt.Harry		x			Barbette			x			
Bess		x			Morten (Runaway)						x
Neptune		x			Barbette				x		
Betty		x			Patty		x				
Eve			x		Patty		x				
Isaac		x			Dick		x				
Moses (Engineer)		x			Nelly		x				
Phoebe		x			George (Runaway)						x
London		x			Lucy		x				
Hezekiah		x			Rachael		x				
Betty		x			Hester		x				
Mary Ann	x				Linda		x				
Peter		x			Grace	x					
Cloe		x			Morris					x	
Rachael			x		Cinda	x	x				
Jesse			x		Joe (Blind)				x		
William		x			Die	x					
Dissy		x			Charlotte	x					
November		x	x		Nero (Runaway)						x
Harry			x		Marlboro (Blind)				x		
Bunda			x		Molly		x				
Edie			x		Caesar					x	
Hariet		x			Jenny		x				
Martha			x		Cato (Miller)					x	
Rachael		x		x	Parience		x				
					London			x			
					Antony			x			
	1	20	13	1		4	38	19	4	4	3

William Aiken's List of Slaves
for Coals Field Railway

	Dead	Field Hand	Child	Old & Infirm	Carpt.	Blk Smith	Nurse
Mogul		x					
Rinchey		x					
Willoughby			x				
Cain			x				
Cuffy		x					
Patience		x					
Sarah			x				
Harry		x					
Patsy							x
Eliza			x				
Owen		x					
Patty	x						
Abrm.			x				
Eliza			x				
Leah			x				
William		x					
Levinia		x					
Dublin		x					
Deliah			x				
Brutus		x					
Clara			x				
George		x					
Elsy		x					
Nancy			x				
Bristol		x					
Dafney		x					
Josey		x					
Elizabeth		x					
Scipio		x					
Dissy		x					
Diana			x				
Joe			x				
Nea			x				
Green		x			x		
Bella		x					
Lucy		x					
Frank		x					
Beaver		x					
Rhyna		x					
Dick		x					
Susan		x					
August		x					
Coelia		x					
Julian			x				
Sarah		x					
Jack		x					
Cassandra		x					
Dick		x					
Clarnida		x					
Milly		x					
Tom			x				
Frederick			x				
Diana		x					
Joseph			x				
Becky			x				
Sue (old)				x			
Yanaka		x					
Cubbins			x	x			
Moses		x					
Boston		x					
Hetty		x					
Handy child		x					
Isaac		x					
Cloe		x					
Job		x					
Lucy		x					
Romeo					x		
Kate		x					
Morris			x				
David			x				
Joe					x		
Nanny		x					
Chas			x				
Simon		x					
Total	1	46	22	1	3		1

	Dead	Field Hand	Child	Old & Infirm	Carpt.	Driver
Janey - Washerwoman						
Eugenia		x				
Simon		x				
Green (Gone)						
Moses (Gone)						
Joefry (Gone)						
Venus (Gone)						
Nelly		x				
Daniel				x		
Prince		x				
Sam						
Bess		x				
Adam					x	
Tiner		x				
Tom		x				
Lady						
Doll		x				
Garritt	x					
Hagar				x		
Hector				x		
Betty				x		
Harry					x	
Pheobe		x				
Harriet			x			
Margaret			x			
Katura			x			
Peter				x		
Grace				x		
Hagar			x			
Peter		x				
Ritta		x				
Smart			x			
Jacob	x					
Daniel						
Tina		x				
Joe	x					
Phoebe		x				
Dorinda			x			
	3	15	6	6	2	

	Dead	Field Hand	Child	Old & Infirm	Carpt	Cook	Nurse	Driver
Nurse	1							
Morris					x			
Molly		x						
Abigal			x					
Sylvia	x							
Lucy				x				
Dinah								
Hercules		x						
Judy		x						
Peter			x					
Pleasant			x					
Tinah			x					
Hanibal			x					
Winter				x				
Ritta						x		
David		x						
Patty			x					
Bella	x							
Nancy				x				
Child		x						
Chance		x						
Mariah		x						
Ivy			x					
Timmy			x					
Mathias			x					
Charlotte		x						
Lydia		x	x					
Lucy			x					
James		x						
Delia		x						
Peter			x					
Cumpsey			x					
Ino		x						
Cely		x						
London;		x						
Ino			x					
Nancy		x		x				
Susanna								
	5	29	19	11	3	1	1	1

	Dead	Field Hand	Child	Old & Infirm	Carpt.	Runaway	Nurse
Bob	x						
Eve		x					
Frank		x					
Shurper					x		
Nanny		x					
Hercules		x					
Caty		x					
Dick		x					
Roxana							x
Joe					x		
Mary Ann		x					
Juber		x					
Fergus			x				
Josy	x						
Mitta		x					
Carolina		x					
Sucky		x					
Clemate			x				
Rebecca			x				
Charlotte		x					
Dianna		x					
Jack African				x			
Dido	x						
April		x					
Ameria		x					
Coelia			x				
Sam			x				
Harry		X					
Sam		x					
Caty		x					
Dick		x					
Alice			x				
Tiner		x					
Sambo					x		
Daniel	x						
Sye		x					
	4	21	6	1	3	1	1

	Dead	Field Hand	Child	Old & Infirm	Carpt.	Runaway	Nurse	Driver
Abraham								x
Judy								
Cudjo		x						
Liley		x						
Clauda			x					
(Joe) 1		x						
Nelly		x						
(Alex) 2		x						
(Ino) 3		x						
(Tom) 4			x					
(Jane) 5			x					
(Isaac) 6			x					
(6=children=not included)								
Cain		x						
Hester		x						
Hanah		x						
Sam			x					
Brahm			x					
Mary	x							
Jack		x						
Cibby				x				
Rina		x						
Lucy		x						
Sharper		x						
Saffo			x					
Edwin			x					
Jacob			x					
Antony						x		
Simon		x						
George		x						
Robert	Gone	(Florence)						
Jack	"	(removed these)						
Gibby		x	..... Cook)					
Primus		x						
Andrew -Blacksmith					x			
Betty		x						
Elizabeth			x					
Wilby			x					
Pshyche			x					
	5	39	18	2	4	2	1	1

	Dead	Farm Hand	Child	Old & Infirm	Carpt.	Runaway	Nurse / Cook
Sam					x		
Slyvia		x					
Richard		x					
Green		x					
Annette			x				
Louisa			x				
July		x					
Sally		x					
Trial			x				
Sarjeant			x				
Jack						x	
Affy		x					
Nanny			x				
Sam		x					
Mariah				x			
Susanna		x					
Bush			x				
Charles				x			
Jane		x					
Radhel		x					
Sue			x				
Rodger			x				
Charles Keena			x	0			
Jane Melina	x	0					
Ra McBright		x					
Fanny (Nurse)							x
Doll		x					
Tran		x					
Cynthia			x				
Massa		x					
Snow			x				
Minna			x				
Sylvia				x			
Minda		x					x
Minda							x
Bina		x					
Sanco			x				
Clarnida							
Sophy	x						
Abram							
Sue							
Morris		x					
Thomas		x					
Sarah Ann		x					
Sam			x				
Johnson			x				
Lizzy		x					
Milly		x					
Simon		x					
Sarah		x					
Cretia	x	0					
Grace	x						
Joshua		x					
Tira		x					
Betsy			x				
Andrew			x				
Poinsette			x				
April		x					
Rachael		x					
Fortimore		x					
Simon			x				
Nicolas			x				
Owen			x				
Ben	x						
Bina		x					
Jack			x				
Harris	x						
Lizzette				x			
Coely				x			
Jacob		x					
Dinah		x					
Mudlon				x			
Frank			x				
Tom		x					
	1	16	13	3	1	1	1 1
	6	32	24	8	1	1	1 1

	Dead	Field Hand	Child	Old & Infirm	Carpts.	Ranaways	Nurse	Cook	Driver	Gone	Also
Martha		x									Nelly (housekeeper)
Ninna			x								Thomas a boy
Greenwich										x	Hato -Do-
Boney		x									
Cloe		x									At the Town of Cheraw
Stephen		x									Staying in a family
Cloe		x									
		5	1								

Turn Over*

*On reverse of page 6:

And between 30 or 40 more Negroes at my Cedar Grove place Which I may probably send with this Gang - A List will be furnished hereafter.

Dec.14th 1863 WA-

	Dead	Field Hand	Child	Old & Infirm	Carpt.	Driver	Nurse	Runaway	Dead	Field Hand	Child	Old & Infirm	Carpt.	Nurse	Blk Smith	Driver
Pope						x		Nancy				x				
Mary Ann				x				Polly		x						
Minia		x						Billy				x				
Tisby		x						Maulsey			x					
Marcie			x					William		x						
Pope			x					Nancy						x		
Grace			x					Nanny		x						
Toney		x						Pino		x						
Peggy								Lizzette		x						
Carolina								Mario			x					
Prince					x			Dann			x					
Tissey		x						Mingo			x					
Abel		x						Guvins			x					
Isaac			x					Phoebe		x						
Will			x					Kuli		x						
Jenny			x					Joseph		x						
Scinda			x					Cyrus		x						
Dorinda			x					Mary		x						
Hercules			x					Juliet		x						
Tissy		x			x			Sophia			x					
Frank								Sue			x					
Nancy		x						Robert			x					
Cyrus		x						Milley			x					
Eliza		x						George							x	
Brahm				x				Barbara		x						
Peggy							x	Compsey		x						
Mariah	x							Violet			x					
Rhina		x						Francis			x					
Eliza			x					Scipio		x						
Paul Cani								Betsy		x						
Rhina		x						Isaac			x					
Gypta			x					Boston			x					
Ruth			x					Johny			x					
Timmy			x					Amy			x					
(Big) Sue		x						Tom					x			
Carolina			x					Hariet		x						
Elsy							x	Venus			x					
Sucky		x														
	1	15	14	2	2	1	2	1	1	31	30	4	3	3	1	1

	Dead	Field Hand	Child	Old & Infirm	Carpt.	Ranaway
Stephen		x				
Nanny		x				
Grace				x		
Indy		x				
Billy			x			
Landa			x			
Ben		x				
Ben		x				
Affy				x		
Grace			x			
Charity			x			
Nero		x				
Jenny		x				
Ritta		x				
Carolina		x				
Richard			x			
Dinah			x			
William		x				
Mary Ann		x				
Jimmy			x			
Wixholm			x			
Colin			x			
		x				
Benjamin		x				
Lady		x				
Yanakin			x			
Abram		x				
Nancy		x				
Katy			x			
Atto			x			
Child			x			
Frank						x
Mariah		x				
Warley			x			
Child			x			
Abram						
Flora						
Doll						
		16	15	2		1

	Dead	Field Hand	Child	Old & Infirm	Carpt.	Ranaway	Driver	Nurse	Cook	Blk Smith	Left.
Catharine			x								
=Amos		x									
Hannah		x									
Peggy		x									
Moses		x									
Hannah		x									
Sarah		x									
Ninny			x								
Ned			x								
Hardtimes		x									
Flora		x									
George		x									
Josey		x									
Princer		x									
Tanny		x									
Phillis			x								
Cyrus			x								
Peter						x					
Samah						x					
Ann		x									
Peter			x								
Tom			x								
Die			x								
Scipio			x								
Arbor					x						
George			x								
=Ben			x								
		31	24	2	3	1					
Sheet No.1	4	38	19	4	4	3					
2	1	46	22	1	3			1			
3	5	29	19	11	3		1	1	1		
4	5	39	18	2	4	2	1	1	1		
5	6	32	24	8	1	1		1	1		
6		5	1								1
7	1	31	30	4	3	1	1	3		1	
Totals:	22	251	157	32	21	8	3	7	3	1	