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Historic Preservation as Social Justice: Analyzing Historic Charleston Foundation's Elliottborough Neighborhood Impact Initiative

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HISTORIC PRESERVATION AS SOCIAL JUSTICE:
ANALYZING HISTORIC CHARLESTON FOUNDATION'S
ELLIOTTBOROUGH NEIGHBORHOOD IMPACT INITIATIVE

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate Schools of
Clemson University and the College of Charleston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
Historic Preservation

by
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ABSTRACT

While scholars debate the causes of gentrification and some question if it exists, the revitalization of inner-city neighborhoods more often than not results in the displacement of many of its residents. Failure to engage the unintended consequences of gentrification are world-wide. Some policy-makers embraced gentrification as a panacea for all their city's problems. The displacement of the urban poor and lower-middle class weakens not only their bonds with generations of community but also the character of the neighborhood which attracted the gentrifiers in the first place. Grassroots organizations have attempted anti-displacement efforts by in many places, but there have been few studies of their effects. In the late 1990s, Historic Charleston Foundation, an organization with a long record of accomplishment in neighborhood-wide regeneration efforts, joined forces with Calvary Episcopal Church's Community Housing Development Organization in an effort to rehabilitate blighted properties in the Elliottborough neighborhood while mitigating displacement. This paper analyzes the program from a demographic, financial, and social perspective utilizing archival records and oral histories to explore the positive and negative outcomes. These outcomes inform recommendations for future projects which seek to preserve the architectural fabric of a community while providing equitable access to the resulting environment for present and future residents.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
TITLE PAGE	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
Literature Review	3
CHAPTERS	
I. CHARLESTON HISTORY & PROGRAM BACKGROUND	17
Maps.....	18
Race relations in Charleston, South Carolina	22
Charleston’s History of Historic Preservation.....	57
Elliottborough and the Neighborhood Impact Initiative	81
II. METHODOLOGY.....	101
Demographics	102
Financial Data.....	107
Interviews.....	111
III. RESULTS	116
Demographics	117
Financial Data.....	126
Interviews.....	133
IV. DISCUSSION.....	140
Demographics	140
Financial Data.....	143
Interviews.....	146

Table of Contents (Continued)	Page
V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	148
Anti-gentrification Programs	149
Conclusions	155
Recommendations	167
APPENDICES.....	179
A: Interview Transcripts	180
Rossi Colter.....	182
Julia-Ellen Craft Davis & Vicki Davis Williams.....	195
Rev.Dr. Sidney E. Davis	232
Judge Richard E. Fields.....	245
Angela Hare & Walter Smalls	257
Judge Daniel E. Martin, Jr.	287
B: Memorandum of Understanding.....	300
C: Copyright Releases	304
REFERENCES.....	312

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1.1 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of the Charleston Peninsula, 1902-1944.....	18
1.2 Old and Historic District (A).....	19
1.3 Ansonborough & Auditorium (B)	19
1.4 Elliottborough & Path of Crosstown Expressway (C)	19
1.5 Places mentioned in History of Historic Preservation section	20
1.6 Neighborhood Impact Initiative, Elliottborough Properties	21
1.7 Mary and Drake Streets (1939)	69
1.8 Bennett Rice Mill (1937).....	71
1.9 Men Show Path of Highway as Boys Watch (1963).....	72
2.1 Census Tract Map.....	102
2.2 Calculation of Average Value	104

List of Figures (Continued)

Page

3.1	Census Tract 10 Population by Race and Age	117
3.2	Census Tract 9 Population by Race	118
3.3	Census Tract 11 Population by Race	118
3.4	Census Tract 10 Median Household Income.....	119
3.5	Census Tract 9 Median Household Income.....	120
3.6	Census Tract 11 Median Household Income.....	120
3.7	Census Tract 10 Value of Owner-Occupied Units.....	122
3.8	Census Tract 10 Affordability of Rent	123
3.9	Census Tract 10 Units per Structure.....	124
3.10	Population and Accommodations, College of Charleston	125
3.11	Elliottborough Partnership Proposed Funding	126
3.12	Elliottborough Partnership Proposed Budget.....	127
3.13	HCF/CHDO Partnership Funding	127

List of Figures (Continued)	Page
3.14 HCF/CHDO Partnership Budget	128
3.15 Neighborhood Impact Initiative Budgeted and Actual Expenses (All Properties)	130
3.16 33 Bogard Budgeted and Actual Expenses (1995 Dollars).....	131
3.17 2015 Property Values	133
3.18 Long-term Resident Similarity of Housing Patterns	134
3.19 Community Member Awareness of Neighborhood Impact Initiative and HCF's Role	137

INTRODUCTION

In 1991 Historic Charleston Foundation (HCF), a nonprofit historic preservation organization, created a new program, the Neighborhood Impact Initiative. As the organization described it, the initiative “is a local historic preservation program that attacks a national problem: the stability and vitality of low- to moderate-income neighborhood. The Neighborhood Impact Initiative addresses this need by rehabilitating derelict houses with historic character and value for resale to low- to moderate-income purchasers who reside in the neighborhoods.”¹ This thesis explores those aspects of the program that met their preservation or anti-gentrification goals, as well as those that did not. Utilizing a mixed-methods approach, this analysis examines demographic and financial data, archival records, and first-hand accounts to uncover specific elements of the program that are replicable with the expectation of similar effects. It also provides suggestions to address the limitations the program experienced in meeting its social justice goals in order to guide future programs as they seek to increase their impact within gentrifying neighborhoods.

Gentrification is a topic fraught with conflict. Gentrification is the process by which a run-down urban area attracts an influx of middle- and upper-class residents who rehabilitate the buildings. One effect of this is the tendency to displace the existing, poorer community. Just how that happens, whether it is a problem, or even if it happens are questions that have occupied scholars for more than half a century. This analysis will work within the framework established by HCF in its Neighborhood Impact Initiative, which

¹ “Historic Charleston Foundation Neighborhood Impact Initiative,” 1995, NII Elliottborough Box 1 of 3, Folder: General Info 2, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

states that gentrification is problematic and that preservationists have a responsibility to help mitigate its impact. A review of the academic literature follows this introduction and tracks the discussion of the topic from the first acknowledgement of the phenomena to the mid-2010s.

Though gentrification is now a global issue, Charleston's unique history of both race relations and historic preservation recommend it as a fascinating case study. Becoming familiar with the history of race relations is important because so much of the gentrification question in Charleston involves questions of race as much as it does socioeconomic status. In fact, so intertwined are the two, one often stands proxy for the other. This is why the minimization of the negative aspects of gentrification is an issue of social justice. Similarly, the history of historic preservation in Charleston is tangled in the story of class and race. Openly hostile towards African Americans and the poor in its early days, modern preservationists continue to battle community perceptions of classism and latent racism. The Neighborhood Impact Initiative addressed these issues head-on. The timeline of the rehabilitation and anti-gentrification program provides the context in which to understand the analysis of its operation and impact. Likewise, looking at other anti-gentrification programs offers both context and points of comparison to Historic Charleston Foundation's efforts.

Gathering the demographic and financial data, as well as interviews, followed similar but distinct processes, described in the methodology section. Results are presented in the most appropriate format for their content, be it a chart, graph, or narrative description.

Interpretation of the data, mining the numbers and the memories for their meaning, follows. The discussion section clarifies the information represented by each data set.

The conclusions drawn from the discussion include an assessment of where the Neighborhood Impact Initiative achieved its stated goals. Utilizing other anti-gentrification programs as comparison, an examination of the elements that were less successful identifies the weaknesses of plan and execution within the program. Finally, recommendations for future anti-gentrification efforts based on the analysis of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative aim to begin to establish best practices for the field.

Literature Review

The 1960s saw the first research into the gentrification process. Many pay homage to sociologist Ruth Glass as she coined the term “gentrification”, but it is important to recognize that she was not alone.² Economist Ira Lowry tackled the financial calculations necessary to truly understand the emerging theory of “filtering” (or, more recognizably, trickle-down economics). Proponents of this theory claimed that, much like used cars, the wealthy would tire of their old dwellings. These properties, no longer fashionable would become available to less well-off families as the market price fell. Ascribing figures to the many inter-related factors that go into housing choices, Lowry concluded that the only way filtering down would be viable is if every person consistently under-maintained their properties and allowed them to deteriorate to an increasingly less desirable condition. This

² Ruth Glass, “Centre for Urban Studies,” *TPR: Town Planning Review* 34, no. 3 (October 1963): 141, http://www.jstor.org.nuncio.cofc.edu/stable/pdf/40102394.pdf?_=1443662336913.

concept, that homeowners would neglect their properties to such an extent, runs counter to the intuitive desire to maintain an important asset.³

Also working in this period was Jane Jacobs, who not only advised on the elements that make a neighborhood vibrant and healthy, but also warned of the dangers of disinvestment and gentrification.⁴ The last several chapters of her 1961 seminal work, *The Death and Life of American Cities*, are still pertinent to those in the fields of planning, preservation, and government. Jacobs, a journalist, investigated how the disinvestment in a neighborhood led to it becoming a slum. She also proposed theories on the internal process of “unslumming” by which a neighborhood improves yet retains its inhabitants. She described the dangers of “cataclysmic” amounts of outside money rushing the process of unslumming and thereby overwhelming the neighborhood. Her ideas are instructive and strike a balance between socio-cultural and economic causes which is at times absent from the gentrification debate.

Glass who not only coined the term, but also led an interdisciplinary group of researchers who studied how the process of gentrification had taken place in the past follows Jacobs in the chronology. Her contention, that gentrification is the transformation of a neighborhood for use by a more advantaged class of people via the displacement of a less advantaged class, is the clearest definition of the term. Glass’ work would become the basis from which emerged the subsequent study of the phenomenon, first in the West and later internationally.

³ Ira S. Lowry, “Filtering and Housing Standards: A Conceptual Analysis,” *Land Economics* 36, no. 4 (November 1, 1960): 362–70, doi:10.2307/3144430.

⁴ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961).

A critical re-appraisal of filtering marks the transition between the first and second generation of scholarship. Urban planner Alan Altshuler criticized the “casual” and “traditional” use of “trickle down” economic policies that cater to the rich and offer platitudes about how all classes will eventually benefit, yet he offers nothing substantive in its place.⁵ Altshuler believed in trickle-down theories, arguing that the government must necessarily give more of its benefits to those who are not poor, emphasizing the need to do so while maximizing the possible advantages for the poor. Paternalistically, he reasoned that the poor must be acquiesced in order to avoid societal upheaval. It is bread and circuses disguised as a new theory, one which any student of history will recognize as appealing to a certain portion of the political class.

Countering the narrative of supply-side supremacy, the mid-1970s and 1980s brought a confident socialist, even Marxist voice to bear. Geographer David Harvey introduced the theory of “class-monopoly rent” that suggests that investors backed by the state use their power to manipulate the costs of housing in order to maximize profits.⁶ In a similar vein, Neil Smith, another geographer, explored the “rent-gap” concept as the source of gentrification. Smith’s “rent-gap” theory posits that the disparity between the actual rental income generated by a property and the potential rental income generated by a

⁵ Alan Altshuler, “The Potential of ‘Trickle Down,’” *Public Interest*, no. 15 (March 1969): 46–56, <http://search.proquest.com.nuncio.cofc.edu/pao/docview/1298113379/fulltextPDF/DA097673A6BD4D91PQ/6?accountid=9959>.

⁶ David Harvey, “Class-Monopoly Rent, Finance Capital and the Urban Revolution,” *Regional Studies* 8, no. 3 (November 1, 1974): 239, <http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edo&AN=ejs11778786&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

For an insightful and amusing explanation of the modern field of Geography as spacial analysis, see Elvin K. Wyly’s blog post here: <http://ibis.geog.ubc.ca/~ewyly/>

property with different tenants drives gentrification in a neighborhood.⁷ Chris Hamnett, who had earlier argued that changing lifestyles and housing preferences resulted in gentrification, took issue with Smith's theory. In a 1984 essay, the geographer disassembled the rent-gap thesis and presented gentrification as a consumptive process instead.⁸

On a different front, other voices during this period focused on how best to fight displacement. Urban planner Chester Hartman identified the need for good data.⁹ He developed a host of ideas for protecting residents, often at the grassroots level. Likewise, urban planner and lawyer Peter Marcuse identified income inequality as a major component of displacement and called for improved financial parity, specific public policies, and approaches for fighting the loss of affordable housing.¹⁰ Marcuse also created a unified theory of displacement, breaking the concept down into four types: physical displacement such as the landlord turning off the heat or harassing tenants; economic displacement where rents rise out of the reach of existing residents forcing them to move somewhere else in order to afford housing; chain displacement, in which residents are displaced over time; and exclusionary displacement, when a family chooses to leave of their own accord but the neighborhood has gentrified to the point that a family with a similar socioeconomic status

⁷ Neil Smith, "Toward a Theory of Gentrification A Back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45, no. 4 (1979), <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944367908977002>.

⁸ Chris Hamnett, "Gentrification and Residential Location Theory: A Review and Assessment," in *Geography and the Urban Environment: Progress in Research and Application*, ed. D. Herbert and R.J. Johnston, vol. 6 (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1984), 283–320, <https://kcl.rl.talis.com/items/CEAA24C2-6B2F-3396-AECC-E5D291EFB620.html>.

⁹ Chester Hartman et al., *Displacement: How to Fight It* (San Francisco: National Housing Law Project, 1982).

¹⁰ Peter Marcuse, "To Control Gentrification: Anti-Displacement Zoning and Planning for Stable Residential Districts," *New York University Review of Law* 13 (1984): 931- .

cannot move in.¹¹ Marcuse, in particular, was highly prolific in this period, identifying the many displacement pressures on the poor, everything from friends moving away, to stores that catered exclusively to a high-end clientele, to the loss of public facilities, and support services on which existing residents had relied.

Canadian geographic researcher David Ley proposed an alternative view of gentrification that focused on the desirability of inner-city neighborhoods.¹² Ley was not necessarily less concerned with displacement; he was looking at new ways of thinking about its causes. Unfortunately he and Neil Smith exchanged some barbed comments in certain academic journals, almost Shakespearean retorts of each other's theories, which reduced their theories, *ad absurdum*, to a barely recognizable state. As geographer Tom Slater put it, "[t]o argue that David Ley ignored economic transformation in Canadian cities in his work is nothing short of preposterous, and the same can be said for any writing which gives the impression that Neil Smith ignored the cultural aspects of gentrification...".¹³ This squabbling between two major scholars, over a matter of tactic rather than substance, side-tracked the conversation that had been emerging regarding what to do to mitigate displacement, to the detriment of the entire field.

¹¹ Peter Marcuse, "Gentrification, Abandonment, and Displacement: Connections, Causes, and Policy Responses in New York City," *Washington University Journal of Urban & Contemporary Law* 28 (1985): 195–248.

¹² David Ley, "Reply: The Rent Gap Revisited," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77, no. 3 (September 1987): 462–65, <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com/nuncio.cofc.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=fe5b4a4e-2ea4-4fb3-90ba-cf1a9392d0f9%40sessionmgr198&vid=0&hid=122>.

¹³ Tom Slater, "The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research," *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 30, no. 4 (December 2006): 746, <http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=23407858&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

Into this void stepped urban planner Michael Lang with his theory of the “urban life cycle,” in which a neighborhood is in one of four phases of growth or decay.¹⁴ His theory would liberalize the housing market so that governments benefitted from increased revenue, which they could use for anti-displacement programs.¹⁵ This idea of gentrification as a positive force, a “trickle-down” theory writ large, has come to dominate the public policy and city governments world-wide.

Complementing this economic theory, social scientist Jon Caulfield argued that Toronto’s gentrification was not about displacing the poor, but rather the rejection by the middle class of the soul-sucking sameness that suburban developments possessed. In his view the prevailing planning and market theories were falling short of the needs of consumers and were therefore turning to cities to fulfill their needs.¹⁶ This “emancipatory discourse” was taken up by geographer Jan van Weesep who encouraged researchers to focus on middle-class aspirations and use this knowledge to craft policy that would guide the return of this group to center cities.¹⁷ While recognizing that displacement would arise from such policies, van Weesep considered it a lesser problem that could be addressed in the future.

¹⁴ Michael H. Lang, *Gentrification Amid Urban Decline : Strategies for America’s Older Cities*. (Cambridge, Mass: Ballinger Pub. Co, 1982).

¹⁵ Michael Lang, “Measuring Economic Benefits from Gentrification,” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 8, no. 4 (September 1986): 27, <http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=91185636&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

¹⁶ Jon Caulfield, “‘Gentrification’ and Desire,” *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne de Sociologie* 26, no. 4 (August 1989): 617–32, doi:10.1111/j.1755-618X.1989.tb00437.x.

¹⁷ Slater, “The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research,” 741; Jan van Weesep, “Gentrification as a Research Frontier,” *Progress in Human Geography* 18, no. 1 (March 1994): 74, <http://eds.b.ebscohost.com/nuncio.cofc.edu/eds/detail/detail?sid=290e84a2-850b-4dc4-8541-afcd4854cad%40sessionmgr111&vid=0&hid=122&bdata=jnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmUmc2NvcGU9c2l0ZQ%3d%3d#AN=8006570&db=edb>.

Policy makers latched onto this neo-liberal ideology with increasing enthusiasm in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Scholars took up van Weesep's call to study policy—and a new term entered the lexicon, “social mix”. As geographers Wyly and Hammel noted, this policy relies on the theory that the poor will benefit from mixing with the middle-class, a theory that remains unproven.¹⁸ In fact, some studies into social mix prove the opposite true.¹⁹ Proponents of neo-liberalism readily discounted the displacement that these policies caused as they countered that data on displacement was also lacking. Wyly's rejoinder was to point out the difficulty of counting people who are not there, and the hypocrisy of using their absence to argue that displacement was therefore not taking place.²⁰ Even so, the

¹⁸ EK Wyly and DJ Hammel, “Islands of Decay in Seas of Renewal: Housing Policy and the Resurgence of Gentrification,” *Housing Policy Debate* 10, no. 4 (1999): 711–71.

The 1990s “Moving to Opportunity” program from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, which gave vouchers to place residents in neighborhoods of differing socio-economic levels at random, has long been the main source of researchable data into this idea. It found some benefits in health (both mental and physical) but no socio-economic benefits. A recently released (May 2015) study “The Effects of Neighborhood Change on New York City Housing Authority Residents” found that children under the age of thirteen benefitted most from living in areas surrounded by high-income residents in that they have better educational opportunities. It also found that residents in these neighborhoods feel alienated from the wider community. They cite a lack of local jobs, a general lack of enrichment opportunities for their children outside of school, and rising cost of food and services in the local area are putting pressure on them to move out, even as their rents are holding steady. To read the full report, visit http://www.nyc.gov/html/ceo/downloads/pdf/nns_15.pdf. The New York City Center for Economic Opportunity has pulled together “Findings at a Glance” that highlights the most important findings. It is accessible here: http://www.nyc.gov/html/ceo/downloads/pdf/nns_policy_brief.pdf. Sites accessed October, 2015.

¹⁹ Loretta Lees, “Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance?” *Urban Studies* 12 (2008): 2450, http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsgao&AN=eds_gcl.190180885&site=eds-live&scope=site; R.A. Walks and R. Maaranen, “Gentrification, Social Mix, and Social Polarization: Testing the Linkages in Large Canadian Cities,” *Urban Geography* 29, no. 4 (May-June 2008): 293–326; <http://ejournals.ebsco.com.nuncio.cofc.edu/Direct.asp?AccessToken=23L199F8SMSLBME3A2H9Y32HY3HS893292&Show=Object>; D. Rose et al., “‘Social Mix’ and Neighbourhood Revitalization in a Transatlantic Perspective: Comparing Local Policy Discourses and Expectations in Paris (France), Bristol (UK) and Montréal (Canada),” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (2012), http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edselc&AN=eds_elc.2-52.0-84862257258&site=eds-live&scope=site.

²⁰ Kathe Newman and Elvin Wyly, “Gentrification and Resistance in New York City,” *Shelterforce Online*, 2005, Online, <http://www.nhi.org/online/issues/142/gentrification.html>.

clarion call of gentrification as an unmitigated good proved irresistible to many policy makers. In 2001, New Urbanist Andres Duany, with a healthy dose of condescension, waxed eloquent on the virtues of gentrification.²¹ In his view, gentrification is a natural adjustment that will improve the lot of the poor, or at least his very stereotypical view of the poor in which they are all unemployed and lack a work ethic.²² Property lawyer J. Peter Byrne backed these assertions, insisting that the poor would benefit from jobs serving their new neighbors, learning beside them in local schools, and gaining a stronger presence on the political scene as each learned about the concerns of the other.²³ This positivity continued in the work of city planner Lance Freeman and economist Frank Braconi, who found that the poor appreciated the improvement in public services of their gentrifying neighborhoods, so much so that they would make the necessary adjustments to afford rising rents.²⁴ They concluded that a certain amount of gentrification was possible without displacement and, therefore, was not that bad. The media and politicians seized on to this philosophy. The superstar of the neo-liberal sphere is urban studies theorist Richard Florida, whose blockbuster books provided politicians with a gift-wrapped repackaging of gentrification not as displacing the poor but as attracting the “creative class” who would bring new levels of

²¹ Andres Duany, “Three Cheers for ‘Gentrification,’” *The American Enterprise*, no. 3 (2001), http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsgao&AN=eds_gcl.72611049&site=eds-live&scope=site.

²² “Gentrification rebalances a concentration of poverty by providing the tax base, rub-off work ethic, and political effectiveness of the middle class...” *ibid.* p. 39

²³ J. Peter Byrne, “Two Cheers for Gentrification,” *Howard Law Journal* 46, no. 408 (2003): 405–32, <http://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1936&context=facpub>.

²⁴ Lance Freeman and Frank Braconi, “Gentrification and Displacement,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 70, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 39–52, <http://www.astudentoftherealestategame.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/Freeman%2520and%2520Braconi%25202004%2520Gentrification%2520in%2520NY.pdf>.

culture and consumerism to city centers.²⁵ This vision of a hip, bohemian community made up of young trendsetters left no room in public policy discussions for the poor on whose neighborhoods this new class would descend.

The change in nomenclature was an important part of Florida's success. The public discourse moved to the "creatives" and glossed over the fact that these were not only more affluent but also whiter and younger than those they would replace. By focusing on the education that made them exceptional, the distinction was moved from class to meritorious achievement. This same shift in language is evidenced in the academic literature of the time such as when Chris Hamnett's theory that London had not seen a wholesale displacement of its working-class, but rather a professionalization of the workforce.²⁶

On the other hand, human geographer Loretta Lees sought to answer van Weesep's call for policy study by reminding policy makers of the consistent evidence of displacement and inequity found by gentrification scholars.²⁷ She called for greater inclusion and consideration of diversity than that which *laissez-faire* market systems provide. Geographer

²⁵ ADDIN ZOTERO_ITEM CSL_CITATION

{"citationID":"tjpbLqu8","properties":{"formattedCitation":"{\rtf Richard Florida, {\i} Cities and the Creative Class} (New York: Routledge, 2005).},"plainCitation":"Richard Florida, Cities and the Creative Class (New York: Routledge, 2005)."},"citationItems":[{"id":1048,"uris":["http://zotero.org/users/2165422/items/NUSRVBSQ"],"uri":["http://zotero.org/users/2165422/items/NUSRVBSQ"],"itemData":{"id":1048,"type":"book","title":"Cities and the Creative Class","publisher":"Routledge","publisher-place":"New York","number-of-pages":"198","archive":"C","archive_location":"A","event-place":"New York","call-number":"HT201 .F56 2005","language":"English","author":[{"family":"Florida","given":"Richard"}],"issued":{"date-parts":["2005"]}}},"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"} Richard Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class* (New York: Routledge, 2005). Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, 1st ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

²⁶ Chris Hamnett, "Gentrification and the Middle-Class Remaking of Inner London, 1961-2001," *Urban Studies* 40, no. 12 (November 2003): 2401-26, <http://usj.sagepub.com/content/40/12/2401>.

²⁷ Loretta Lees, "Policy (re)turns: Gentrification Research and Urban Policy -- Urban Policy and Gentrification Research," *Environment and Planning A* 35 (2003): 571-74, <http://epn.sagepub.com/content/35/4/571.full.pdf+html>.

Nick Blomley also called out the logical inconsistencies of social mix theories, which treat homeownership as the solution to all problems and, by assumption, treats renters as a “transient” group without rightful claim to the society of the city.²⁸ He also questioned policymakers’ assumptions that new middle-class residents moving to neighborhoods that had a long history of disinvestment would be good for the existing occupants but never considered moving the poor to a rich enclave. Wyly and Newman followed up with a re-examination of Freeman and Braconi’s own data, which brought them to the opposite conclusion.²⁹ They found that displacement was not a rare, but in fact a complex issue that requires a multidisciplinary approach to research in order to fully understand its extent. They introduced the phrase the “right to stay put,” emphasizing the ethical imperative to create policy that addresses displacement and aiming to reduce the rapacious neo-liberalist embrace of gentrification which was (and is) rampant.³⁰ Marcuse and co-authors Brenner and Mayer also brought into the conversation the French (Lefebvre) phrase “right to the city.” This theory supported addressing the dangers of treating property as exclusively a profit-generating source instead of as housing.³¹ This work also called attention to the rights

²⁸ Nicholas Blomley, *Unsettling the City: Urban Land and the Politics of Property* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

²⁹ Newman and Elvin Wyly, “Gentrification and Resistance in New York City.”

³⁰ Kathe Newman and Elvin K. Wyly, “The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and Resistance to Displacement in New York City,” *Urban Studies* (Sage Publications, Ltd.) 43, no. 1 (January 2006): 23–57, doi:10.1080/00420980500388710.

³¹ Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse, and Margit Mayer, “Cities for People, Not for Profit,” *City* 13, no. 2–3 (2009): 176–84, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13604810903020548>; Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, trans. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., 1996).

Marxist sociologist and philosopher Lefebvre tied architecture and urban planning to sociology in a 1968 treatise *Le droit à la Ville*. In it, he explained that the right to the city is the right of the marginalized to participate in urban life. In his view, only the working class can determine what their needs and aspirations are, even as the capitalists use coercion and unbalanced access to oppress them and impose a vision of urban life favorable only to those in power.

of those already deprived of material goods and legal parity to have a voice in policymaker's decisions. Rachel Bratt, Michael Stone, and Chester Hartman called this a "right to housing," the need for policy to address the affordability of downtown living for members of all socioeconomic classes by providing for secure tenure (balanced by reasonable levels of change) and encouraging society not to accept dramatically lower standards in housing for the poor than standards they would accept for themselves.³² In their book, *A Right to Housing: Foundation for a New Social Agenda*, the social scientists and activists called for acknowledgement of the intrinsic inequalities of our American social, economic, political, and judicial systems. They encouraged the use of grassroots pressure, coalitions of social justice activists who address different areas of inequality, and the judicious use of litigation to counter the negative effects of neo-liberal ideology in policy decisions.

In 2006, urban geographer Tom Slater, the most prolific author on gentrification issues since Marcuse, issued a challenge to his colleagues.³³ In an article published in the *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research*, Slater called for unity amongst the community of scholars who see the danger of displacement by gentrification. He also suggested a general acknowledgement that both cultural and economic forces are at play, and that they connect to each other at so many points as to make parsing them out as separate issues a Solomonesque task. He also called for a fight against the hypocrisy of neo-liberalism, with renewed study of those existing residents of neighborhoods undergoing gentrification. Slater himself took up this work, and there are others who have seconded his call for this

³² Rachel Bratt, Michael Stone, and Chester Hartman, eds., *A Right to Housing: Foundation for a New Social Agenda* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), <http://site.ebrary.com.nuncio.cofc.edu/lib/collegeofcharleston/detail.action?docID=10182529>.

³³ Slater, "The Eviction of Critical Perspectives from Gentrification Research."

new focus.³⁴ Among those answering Slater's call into action is ethnographer Japonica Brown-Saracino. Her analysis of the gentrifiers is a nuanced assessment, sorting out the "pioneers" (who see a manifest destiny in retaking a city), from the "social homesteaders" (who will fight the loss of neighborhood character to trans-national retailers), and the "social preservationists" (whose concern for the protection of "old-timers" in the neighborhood belies their status as gentrifiers).³⁵ In her view, it is possible to recruit these last two groups to join in the struggle against gentrification-related displacement.

Grassroots efforts still lead the way in anti-displacement efforts. Groups and individuals have joined forces since the 1970s to take action to prevent the wholesale displacement of marginalized communities. Some of these efforts are led by the original wave of gentrifiers now battling "super gentrification" by the super rich, as seen in New York and London.³⁶ This has left the academic community far behind in the anti-

³⁴ Tom Slater, "A Literal Necessity to Be Re-Placed": A Rejoinder to the Gentrification Debate," *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 32, no. 1 (March 2008): 212, <http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=31267131&site=eds-live&scope=site>; Tom Slater, "Unravelling False Choice Urbanism," *City* 18, no. 4/5 (October 2014): 517, <http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=98501708&site=eds-live&scope=site>; Loïc Wacquant, "Relocating Gentrification: The Working Class, Science and the State in Recent Urban Research," *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 32, no. 1 (March 2008): 198, <http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=31267144&site=eds-live&scope=site>; Paul Watt, "The Only Class in Town? Gentrification and the Middle-Class Colonization of the City and the Urban Imagination," *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 32, no. 1 (March 2008): 206–11, <http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=23h&AN=31267149&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

³⁵ Japonica Brown-Saracino, *A Neighborhood That Never Changes : Gentrification, Social Preservation, and the Search for Authenticity*, Fieldwork Encounters and Discoveries (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), <http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=311790&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

³⁶ Lees, "Policy (re)turns: Gentrification Research and Urban Policy -- Urban Policy and Gentrification Research."

displacement conversation. Neo-liberals are still producing apologist essays praising the vague promises of the positive effects of gentrification on the poor.³⁷ Politicians world-wide are still enthralled with this philosophy. Even so, a small cadre of scholars has begun to explore past grassroots programs, searching them for their lessons. Some find the problem too large, and encourage policy to prevent this investment, rather than any course of action to maintain diversity in currently gentrifying areas.³⁸ However, a few excellent studies could guide this new direction of gentrification research.³⁹ Their limited number makes it difficult to generalize the results, although their mixed approach to the field is helpful when taking in all of the complex forces involved in displacement, (just as Slater predicted).

Further research in this manner, the thorough analysis of anti-displacement programs, both those that have worked and those that have not, will eventually lead to an accumulation of enough data to allow a meta-analysis and lead to more successful programs. The work that follows is as a first step in the greater process of using rigorous research to identify best practices in the realm of anti-gentrification. This thesis uncovers how vagueness

³⁷ Justin Graham, "Playing 'Fair' with Urban Redevelopment: A Defense of Gentrification Under the Fair Housing Act's Disparate Impact Test," *Arizona State Law Journal* 45, no. 4 (2013): 1719, <http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=96971434&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

³⁸ Justus Uitermark and Maarten Loopmans, "Urban Renewal Without Displacement? Belgium's 'Housing Contract Experiment' and the Risks of Gentrification," *Journal of Housing & the Built Environment* 28, no. 1 (March 2013): 157, <http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=86177533&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

³⁹ J.R. Cohen, "Combining Historic Preservation and Income Class Integration: A Case Study of the Butchers Hill Neighborhood of Baltimore," *Housing Policy Debate* 9, no. 3 (January 1, 1998): 663–97, <http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edselc&AN=edselc.2-52.0-0347874917&site=eds-live&scope=site>; Stephanie R. Ryberg, "Preservation at the Grassroots: Pittsburgh's Manchester and Cincinnati's Mt. Auburn Neighborhoods," *Journal of Planning History* 10, no. 2 (May 2011): 139, <http://nuncio.cofc.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=60094904&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

within the Neighborhood Impact Initiative's mission, unmet expectations regarding the mechanics of program management, poor financial planning and control, and a lack of social dexterity in interactions with both the CHDO and the Elliottborough community undermined HCF's efforts to mitigate gentrification at the neighborhood level.

CHAPTER ONE

CHARLESTON HISTORY & PROGRAM BACKGROUND

Charleston's history is complicated and often fraught. Before delving into the intricacies of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative, it is helpful to become familiar with the city and its history. Presenting the streetscape of peninsular Charleston, referenced throughout this work, takes the form of a series of maps. A history of race relations follows. The story in Charleston, though similar to southern history in general, certainly has its finer points. Charleston's claim to the status of the first in preservation, at least in the United States, provides a view into the priorities and pursuits of preservationists in the city. With two organizations operating in the city for almost the entire twentieth century, the tale is fascinating. Finally, the chronology of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative, exploring the daily decisions and discussions between participants, gives context for the deeper investigation ahead.

Maps

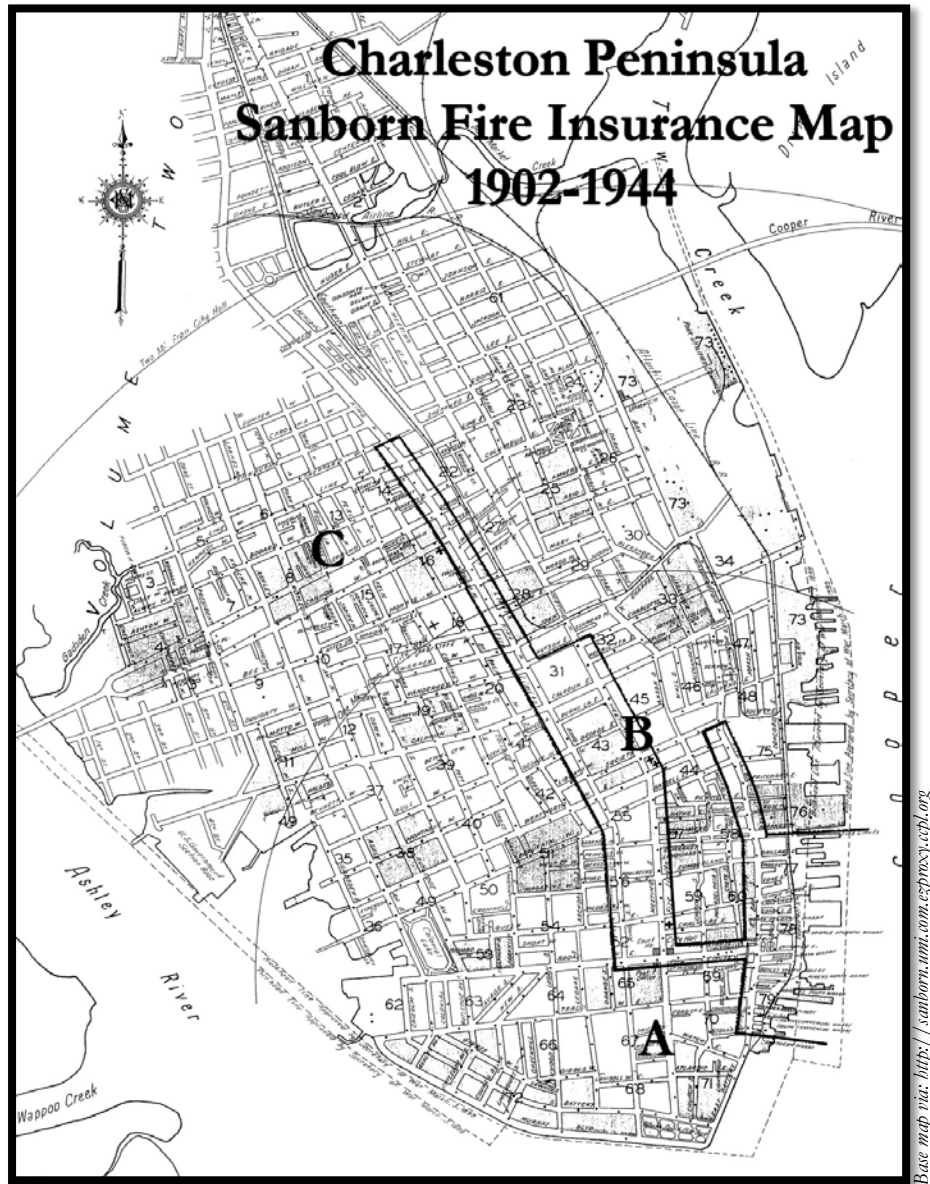
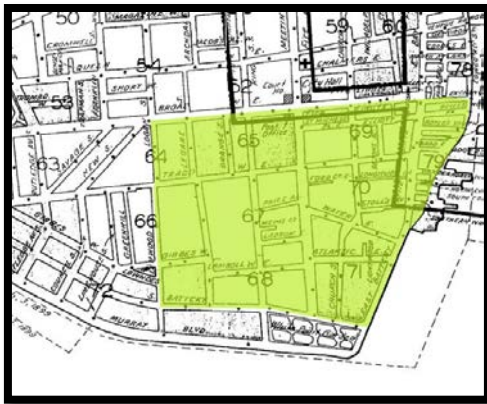


Figure 1.1- Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of the Charleston Peninsula, 1902-1944

KEY

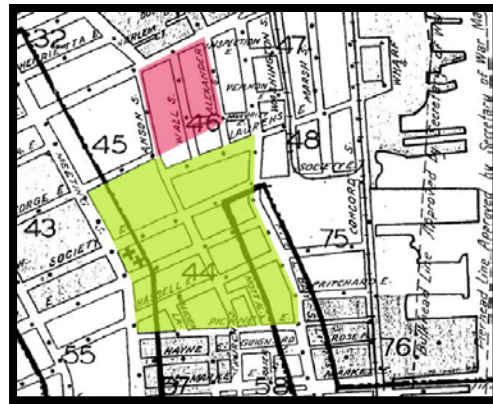
- A- Old and Historic District
- B- Ansonborough & Auditorium
- C- Elliottborough & Path of Crosstown Expressway

See next page for close-up view of each area



Base map via: <http://sanborn.umi.com/expressy.cpl.org>



Figure 1.2- Old and Historic District (A)

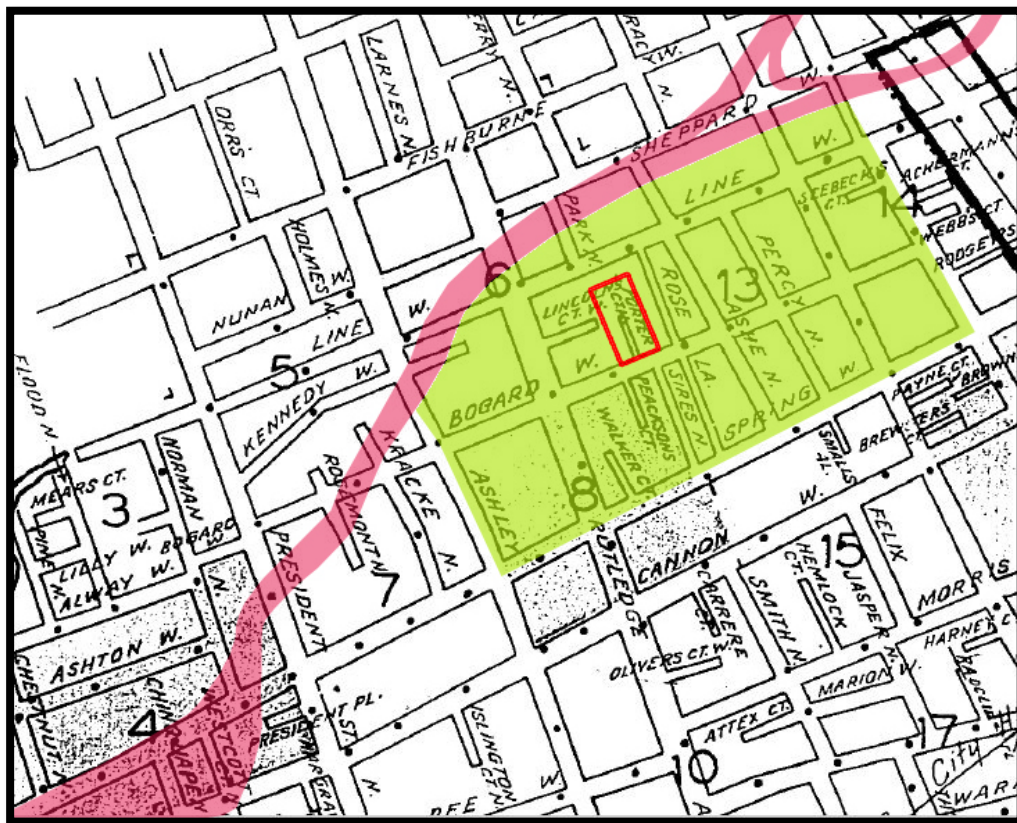


Base map via: <http://sanborn.umi.com/expressy.cpl.org>

Figure 1.3- Ansonborough & Auditorium (B)




 Old and Historic District

 Ansonborough
 Auditorium



Base map via: <http://sanborn.umi.com/expressy.cpl.org>

Figure 1.4- Elliottborough & Path of Crosstown Expressway (C)

 Elliottborough
 Path of Crosstown Expressway
 Porter's Court

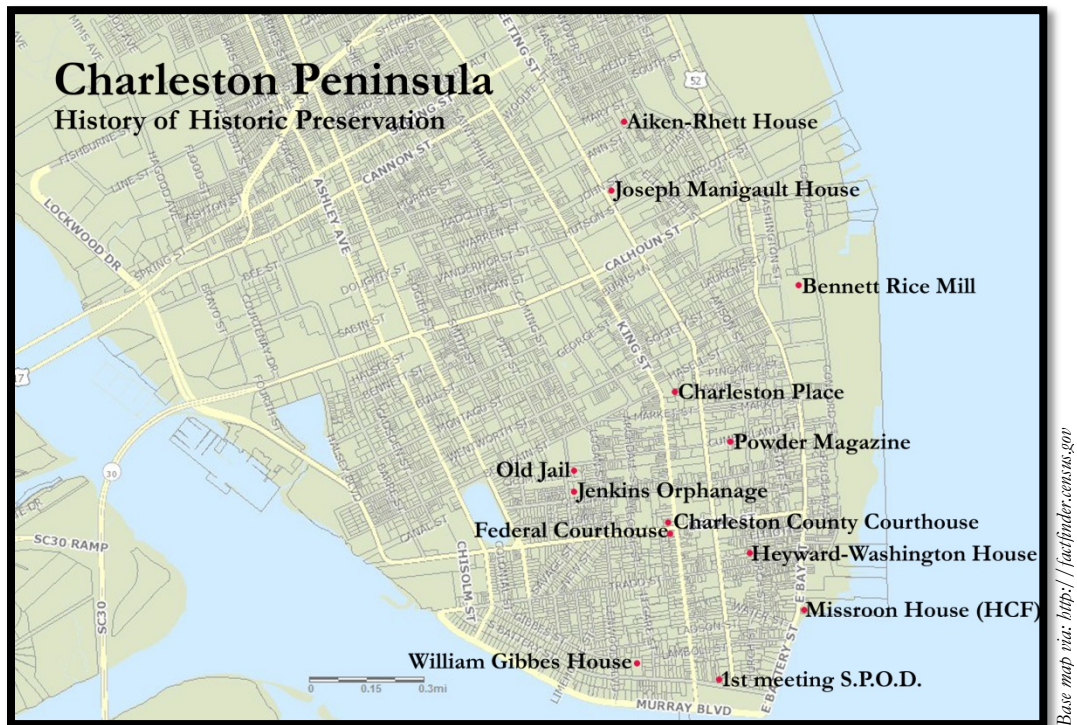


Figure 1.5- Places mentioned in History of Historic Preservation section

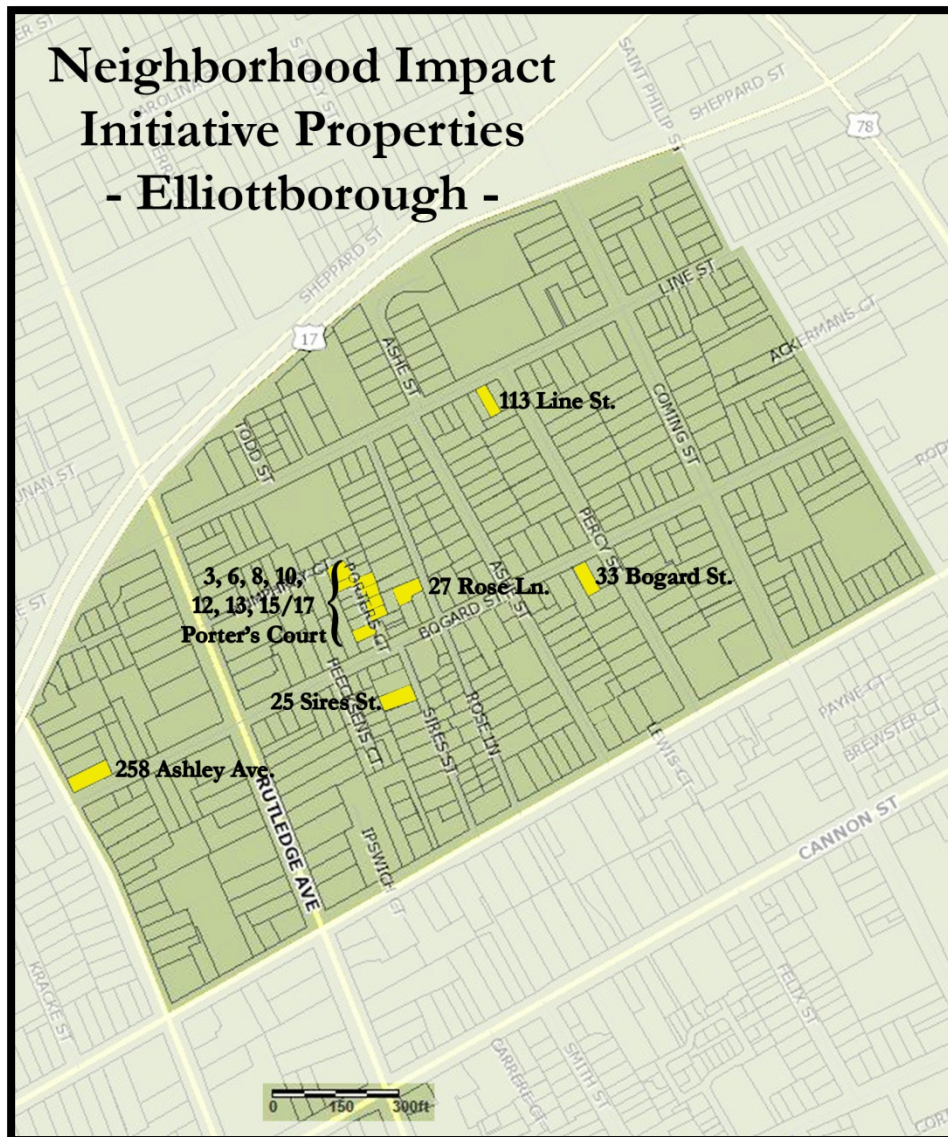


Figure 1.6- Neighborhood Impact Initiative, Elliottborough Properties

Race relations in Charleston, South Carolina

Established under a 1663 Charter from King Charles II of England, the establishment of the Carolina colony began in the mid-seventeenth century.⁴⁰ The 1669 Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina attracted many Barbadians to settle the area. Drawn mainly by the promise of freely available land, the right for even the least wealthy to vote, guaranteed trial by jury, and religious tolerance, these settlers brought their long-standing slave-owning tradition with them. The constitution gave this colonial elite almost unlimited power over indentured servants and enslaved persons.⁴¹ Experience in the Caribbean taught these whites to fear revolts by the enslaved population, and so complete subjugation was the only way to settle their anxious minds. This was especially true after 1708, the first time the black population in the Carolina colony outnumbered whites.⁴² In an area with endemic levels of diseases such as malaria, diphtheria, and yellow fever, the enslaved population grew mainly through importation. Though better able to resist these illnesses, the African and later African American enslaved population often succumbed to hard labor under the brutal Carolina sun, infectious diseases and malnutrition. Only the large number of importations annually was able to meet the demand for labor.⁴³

The one thing most dreaded by the slave-owning colonists took place in 1739. In the Stono Rebellion, a group of approximately twenty enslaved men and women rose up with

⁴⁰ King Charles II, "Charter of Carolina - March 24, 1663" (The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, 2008), Online, Yale Law School, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/nc01.asp.

⁴¹ The Lords Proprietors of the Carolina Colony, "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina: March 1, 1669" (The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, 2008), Online, Yale Law School, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/nc05.asp.

⁴² Steve Estes, *Charleston in Black and White: Race and Power in the South after the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 10.

⁴³ Ibid., 8–9.

the intent to reach freedom in Spanish Florida. They killed and decapitated two shop owners on their way from the Charleston area down towards Savannah. Led by an Angolan named Jemmy, they looted and burned four plantations, sparing only whites whom other blacks vouched for as good masters. It took the Lieutenant Governor a month to hunt down the group, which had come to number almost 100. By the end of the rebellion, over 40 whites and 20 blacks were dead. The reaction from Carolina's slave owners was swift and punitive.⁴⁴

Even as anxiety among the white minority ran high, the colony became increasingly wealthy. By the 1770s, the Lowcountry was among the richest areas in the British dominion with nearly half of this wealth in the form of enslaved people. The port in Charleston saw more than forty percent of the enslaved men and women that entered North America before the Revolutionary War. Charleston not only loomed large financially, it was also the fourth-largest city in the thirteen colonies.⁴⁵

Within the bustle of the city, voices were rising up against British Rule. Among the merchants, planters, and trades people, the talk of rebellion and freedom increased daily. Charlestonian Christopher Gadsden, founder of the South Carolina chapter of the Sons of Liberty and creator of the famous "Don't Tread on Me" flag, exemplified the contradictions of this Revolutionary generation. While insisting on the colonists' right to be free from England, Gadsden carefully defended the institution of slavery on which was predicated the Lowcountry's great fortunes.⁴⁶ Not all Charlestonians believed this dichotomy could hold,

⁴⁴ Ibid., 10; Peter Wood, *Black majority: Negroes in colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Knopf, 1974).

⁴⁵ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 10–11.

and the first stirrings of the white abolitionist movement were evident in the Revolutionary period, even among some of Charleston's native sons. Even so, slavery remained firmly entrenched.

Slavery in the city of Charleston was different from that experienced on the plantations up river. A number of enslaved persons whose owner's did not need their labor were "hired out". Wearing a special copper badge, these people could travel the city with relative freedom. Some even lived away from their owners in a "living out" arrangement.⁴⁷ Hiring out these enslaved tradespeople; slave owners were able to make an income on their labor even as they underbid white tradesmen. Some owners even trusted these hired-out people to negotiate with customers or even hire other skilled workers. White workers complained that, in this situation, they only ever hired other blacks.⁴⁸ The enslaved people in this position gained valuable negotiation skills and sometimes retained a portion of their wages with which they could purchase their freedom.⁴⁹ This resulted in a higher free-black population. Those enslaved in the city often acquired knowledge that would be completely unattainable by their rural counterparts. Reading and writing, while officially outlawed, was common among these men and women. Attendance at church services also increased the likelihood of literacy among city-dwellers. Those who were hired-out were often literate, some even learning accounting.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Harlan Greene, Harry S. Hutchins, Jr., and Brian E. Hutchins, *Slave Badges and the Slave-Hire System in Charleston, South Carolina, 1783-1865* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2004), 1783–1865.

⁴⁸ Bernard E. Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822-1885* (Fayetteville, AK: The University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 12–14.

⁴⁹ Greene, Hutchins, Jr., and Hutchins, *Slave Badges and the Slave-Hire System in Charleston, South Carolina, 1783-1865*, 19–20.

⁵⁰ Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 15–16.

The special status of the enslaved in the city of Charleston often gave their owners pause. Dressed in their finery and promenading the streets on Sundays, they used honorifics when encountering other blacks and inquired after family members as if paying a call.⁵¹ Of particular concern was the lawless area of the unincorporated “neck”. Blacks often gathered there to drink and relax. In a time when the congregation of more than seven black men (free or enslaved) without the presence of a “responsible” white man was illegal, such reckless flaunting of customs was disturbing to many whites. The fear, as always, was collusion and insurrection. Resistance by blacks to slavery came in many forms. Runaways were ubiquitous, especially with the temptation of sea-faring vessels a constant presence. They sometimes physically attacked or even killed slave owners in their bid to be free. Arson was another common tool of resistance, particularly costly in a city with vast quantities of goods in a tinderbox of wooden buildings.⁵² It was violence, actual and threatened, that whites used to keep the enslaved in line.⁵³

Perhaps the greatest quandary in black/white relations during the antebellum period was the growing community of free blacks. As early as the 1690s, Charleston had an established community of free blacks.⁵⁴ It was an open secret in antebellum society that many slave owners fathered children with enslaved women. Though considered property, the fathers of these mulatto children would sometimes provide for their freedom via a will or certain privileges that allowed them to earn the money they needed to purchase their

⁵¹ Powers, Jr. *Black Charlestonians*, 21–36; Wilbert L. Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day: African American in Post-Civil War Charleston*, Blacks in the Diaspora (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 7.

⁵² Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 21–30.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

freedom. Up to ten percent of Charleston's population in the antebellum period was composed of "free persons of color".⁵⁵ This is the highest percentage in any colonial city of the period.⁵⁶ In addition to mulatto children, wills awarded freedom to a number of free blacks, usually as a reward for long and faithful service.⁵⁷

While many of the enslaved were compelled to attend church with their masters, owners permitted some to attend one of the several black churches of different denominations. Others met clandestinely. Many whites feared the meetings of blacks to the extent that even church services were required to have white observers. The fear was that, allowed to mix freely with others, these congregants would conspire to undermine the very institution of slavery. Attempts by whites to clamp down on the somewhat autonomous leadership by blacks of their church finances, morality courts, and conferences backfired.⁵⁸

In the 1780s, a young enslaved named Demark Vesey moved to the city of Charleston. He won a \$1,500 lottery in 1800 that he used to purchase his freedom and set himself up in business as a carpenter. Fifteen years later, he was living a quiet middle-class life. In the same year, Morris Brown, a free black man, returned from Philadelphia after being ordained in the newly formed African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) church. He formed a congregation in Charleston in 1818 and nearly three-fourth of black congregants withdrew from Charleston's white Methodist churches in order to join.⁵⁹ Vesey, inspired by the independence and insistence of equality between the races found in the A.M.E. church,

⁵⁵ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 11–12.

⁵⁶ Dr. Grant Gilmore, Enslaved populations in the American Colonies, Personal Communication, February 3, 2016.

⁵⁷ Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 37.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 18–21.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

began planning an insurrection. His plan was to set certain parts of the city aflame, murder the political leaders of the city, and raid the local arsenals for weapons. The second phase of the plan was an escape to Haiti via boat. In the summer of 1822, a few conspirators gave away the plot. Vesey and thirty-five co-conspirators hanged. The membership of Vesey and many of the other conspirators in Morris Brown's congregation led to the deportation of the minister and almost thirty other parishioners and the burning of their church.⁶⁰

The razing of Morris Brown's A.M.E. church was not the only retribution white leaders exacted from the free black community. Legislation passed which steadily eroded the freedoms of the community. They were required to have a certificate of freedom on their person at all times or risk enslavement.⁶¹ The raid on Haper's Ferry in 1859 stirred further calls to take away the freedom of all black persons regardless of their status. The persecution became so intolerable that some of the free black elites fled the city.⁶² This group of about 500 set themselves apart from the rest of the free black community by color and class. Most of the elite were mulatto, and therefore had fairer skin. They also owned real estate and many owned slaves themselves.⁶³

The conclusion of the long and bloody conflict that brought about the end of slavery caused a great upheaval in Charleston. With Union troops in the immediate vicinity, the newly freed people destroyed some property and took other things they believed should be theirs. This shudder of violence was short-lived and quickly gave way to peaceful

⁶⁰ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 11–12.; Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 21.

⁶¹ Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 32.; Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day*, 20.

⁶² Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 63. Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day*, 22.

⁶³ Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day*, 21.

celebrations.⁶⁴ It was the blacks of Charleston who celebrated the first Memorial Day, decorating the graves of Union troops that had died and been buried at the Washington Race Course.⁶⁵ Into the chaos caused by the loss of even a marginal government, Freedmen's Aid Societies stepped in to assist both blacks and whites. The Freedmen's Aid Societies were composed mainly of white northerners and many freedmen felt embarrassed about needing aid. Facing poverty, starvation, and disease, these newly freed people were compelled, sometimes violently, to return to plantation work for their former owners. Displaying the paternalism endemic to southerners and northerners, the federal authorities told the former slaves that those who used to own them knew what was best for them. To drive the point home, the authorities insisted all able-bodied blacks have a job, granting charity only to the elderly, sick, and orphaned children. The clear lack of work for all freedmen did not deter them in their insistence. Making matters worse, the all-white legislature passed four laws in 1865, the "Black Codes". These laws allowed black children to be apprenticed out as young as two years of age and bound them to their apprenticeship until age eighteen or twenty-one, females and males respectively. Furthermore, licensing requirements for those who wished to work in a trade was a cynical move since licenses were impossible to acquire. Even had they been available, the severely depressed economy made cash scarce. This meant some artisans who had been in business before the war could not have paid the fee and this drove them out of business.⁶⁶ Even with the restrictions of the "Black Codes", many African Americans continued to operate businesses. Quite a few

⁶⁴ Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day*.

⁶⁵ Brian Hicks, "The First Memorial Day," *The Post and Courier*, May 24, 2009, <http://www.postandcourier.com/article/20090524/PC1602/305249938>.

⁶⁶ Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day*, 49–53.

worked as domestic servants, skilled, and unskilled laborers. Some continued to work for former owners with whom they had good relationships. Others, including many formerly enslaved on plantations, left for urban centers.⁶⁷

The loss of their slaves did not mean white Charlestonians were willing to part with the social status quo. The “Great Problem of The Times,” according to one woman in 1866, was the “insolent and disrespectful manner” blacks used with whites. The police were a tool for former masters to search freedmen’s homes on the pretence of looking for stolen goods. Hostility for officers only increased when police confiscated the possessions of blacks on these baseless searches and accosted black citizens with ruthless beatings. Some white men still insisted blacks address them as “boss” or “massa”.⁶⁸ Many whites complained both publically and privately of a lack of deference shown by African-Americans on the streets and public areas and “sassiness” which showed a lack of respect. As many whites tried to continue to treat blacks as they had the enslaved, freedmen resisted and stood up for their new freedoms.⁶⁹

Charleston had always been a remarkably integrated city. The enslaved often lived in outbuildings or even in the family home. Free blacks lived, worked, and had their businesses in among their white neighbors. Enslaved women shopping for their owners visited stores with white proprietors and customers. As the war ended, these residential patterns tended to remain. Freeman rented the accommodations they were used to living in and employers of domestic servants continued to have them living in the family home. As more blacks moved

⁶⁷ Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day*.

⁶⁸ Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 76–79.

⁶⁹ Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day*, 134.

to Charleston from outlying plantations, there was a small shift in the overall settlement patterns as many of these new residents lived in the upper reaches of the peninsula.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, for these migrants life in the city did not improve their economic outlook since the job market was so weak.⁷¹

In April of 1867, a black woman, Mary Bowers, was forcibly removed from a rail car. She filed a formal complaint with the Freedmen's Bureau and they quashed any plans for black-only rail cars or even black sections in cars. *De facto* segregation existed for a time but practical-minded Charlestonians eventually accepted blacks in the rail cars. Formal efforts by legislators to pass anti-discrimination laws drove a wedge between black and white Republicans. White legislators wanted nothing to do with equality and expected blacks to accept their magnanimous accommodation in the public arena without pressing for codification.⁷² White Republicans held all of the most powerful positions in Reconstruction governments and were appalled when black politicians demanded roles that were more significant. They felt that blacks should be grateful for being allowed to participate at all. There were also contentious relationships within the black political class. Mulattos, who had tended to be free before the war and were an elite even in this group, held more numerous positions, disproportionate to the general makeup of the community. Frustrations with this state of affairs pervaded among the non-mulatto politicians.⁷³ All these concerns would be a moot point at the end of Reconstruction.

⁷⁰ Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 246.; Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day*, 48.

⁷¹ Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day*, 49.

⁷² Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 231, 234–235.

⁷³ Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day*, 153–154.

In the period immediately after the war, it was not unusual for black and white children to play together in the streets and schoolyards. The same could not be said for schools. Black legislators ordered compulsory attendance for all school-aged children, black and white. They also wanted all schools, colleges, and universities receiving public money to accept all students. Whites rejected this integrationist drive.⁷⁴ The Freedmen's Bureau opened schools for black children throughout the south. Their concerns of interest waning with time proved unfounded as adults and children continued to be ravenous in their pursuit of education. Visitors to the city commented on how readily black children took to their lessons being equal to white children in intellect and more enthusiastic.⁷⁵ Many blacks saw high quality all-black schools, such as the Avery Normal Institute, as preferable to white schools. The pursuit of integration was not as vigorous because black leaders of the time recognized the social capital available in an all-black environment. As long as the caliber of black education was high and black children who wished to attend a white school could, they felt no need to agitate for all black children to attend school with whites.⁷⁶ Advanced education from several colleges and universities affiliated with northern white religious institutions provided African Americans in this period with further educational opportunities. The Baptists sponsored the Benedict Institute, while the Methodists established Claflin University. Each functioned as a high-school level institution with theological programs to educate preachers and teachers. Agricultural and mechanical programs provided technical instruction. The University of South Carolina, despite

⁷⁴ Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 137, 142.

⁷⁵ Jenkins, *Seizing the New Day*, 83.

⁷⁶ Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 142–143.

resignations from among both the faculty and student body, admitted African American students for a time during Reconstruction. Half the students at the University were black by the end of the period.⁷⁷

As the Democrats came back into power at the end of Reconstruction (1865-1877), the erosion of public education for blacks began. Soon after re-gaining control of budgets, public funds for black education failed to match those for white students. The revocation of scholarships for universities quickly followed and access to Charleston High School denied. This made secondary education inaccessible to lower- and middle-class African Americans who were unable to afford to send their children to the institutions in the state capital of Columbia.⁷⁸ The transition from generally integrated to segregated public accommodations took place over the course of the 1870s and into the 1880s. Theaters, the race track, hospitals, insane asylums, even orphanages made the change. Municipal functions such as police and firefighter companies consisted of both black and whites in this era, although segregation was the rule in the fire companies.⁷⁹ In this same period, the disenfranchisement of African Americans took place through draconian voter registration laws, reinforced by lynching to stifle dissent.⁸⁰ In 1889, the newly resurgent Democratic Party repealed the civil rights law passed by their predecessors and began the process of creating the regimented segregation that would dominate the state until the mid-Twentieth Century. The election of

⁷⁷ Ibid., 154–156.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 157–158.

⁷⁹ Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 240–246.

⁸⁰ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 13.

Ben Tillman to the Governor's Office in 1890 saw the culmination of the disenfranchisement agenda:

The constitution of the Democratic party was revised in 1890 to require statewide primaries beginning in 1892, and requiring any blacks...to produce evidence that they had consistently voted Democratic since the 1876 election...the state constitution was revised in 1895 to include a poll tax, literacy test, and an understanding clause...When these methods prove ineffective, vote fraud still provided the ultimate solution.⁸¹

The Democrats would go on to control state politics until well into the twentieth century. The police became the enforcing power behind the racial laws of segregation. In 1870, African American police officers made up 40 percent of the police force. As the Democrats reasserted their dominance, the makeup of the force dropped to a mere five percent. Between 1896 and 1950, no black police were permanently hired in the city of Charleston.⁸²

The early twentieth century was a period of deliberate and careful actions by those seeking to restore black civil rights. The Colored Civil League of Charleston denounced the showing of *Birth of a Nation* and petitioned mayor John Patrick Grace to prevent the movie screening in the city. Mayor Grace denied the petition. Edwin A. Harleston, classically trained painter and University trained in chemistry and sociology, formed a local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in February of 1917. He, along with twenty-nine local African American leaders, came together for the venture. In 1919, the group challenged the state law that barred blacks from teaching and

⁸¹ Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians*, 264.

⁸² Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 66.

questioned the legitimacy of spending just 11 percent of the educational budget on schools for black children when they constituted the major portion of the student body. They circulated a petition that garnered 5,000 signatures successfully calling for a repeal of the ban against African-American teachers.

The Red Summer of 1919, filled with race riots in cities around the country, began in Charleston in May.⁸³ Sailors from the Navy training camp, called “bluejackets”, accused an African American man of shooting at one of their number. At 9:30 p.m., the first casualty arrived at Roper Hospital. By midnight, over a thousand sailors had flooded Charleston streets near the Market. They accosted, harassed, and shot any black person they encountered. They destroyed a barbershop and other businesses, took over cars driven by blacks, and even attacked a trolley. Charleston police were unable to put down the riot, and the Navy sent in a provost guard followed by a contingent of Marines. Ordering blacks off the streets on the threat of arrest, the Marines succeeded in loading up a number of the sailors onto trucks that took them to the Navy Yard. When the trucks proved too few to handle all the men, the rest spent the night at the local jail.⁸⁴ The Harleston-led NAACP negotiated restitution for the black businesses looted during the riot. They also sought compensation for the 17 people injured and the families of the three people killed in the riot. A call for the Navy to punish those involved, for the city to provide protection from mobs,

⁸³ Femi Lewis, “The Red Summer of 1919,” Educational, *About Education*, (December 7, 2015), <http://afroamhistory.about.com/od/segregation/p/The-Red-Summer-Of-1919.htm>.

⁸⁴ “Race Riot Occurs Here,” *Charleston News and Courier* (published as *The Sunday News*), May 11, 1919, Online, American’s Historic Newspapers, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.ccpl.org:2048/resources/doc/nb/image/v2:13CCA871AD118D5A@EANX-1461F2042E085168@2422090-146106AC0C595AA4@0-14623CAD8AD85248?p=AMNEWS&drefer=image%2Fv2%3A13CCA871AD118D5A%40EANX-1461F2042E085168%402422090-146106AC0C595AA4%400&drefertype=unknown>.

hiring black police officers, improved housing and sanitation services, and an interracial committee to address civic affairs were a part of the requests by the organization.⁸⁵ While many Charleston blacks chose to join the “Great Migration” to northern cities, some could not leave. The residents of the Sea Islands near Charleston were among the most vulnerable. Isolated by geography, the African American residents of the islands, Johns, James, Wadmalaw, and Sullivan’s among them were unique. Their culture, Gullah, is a Creole blend of African, European, and American language and culture. Without ready access to jobs and educational opportunities, Sea Island residents were financially impoverished and lacked prospects for a better life. That grim future began to change with the 1910s establishment of Promise Land School on Johns Island. A two-room log and clay building, the school had 2 teachers and over 130 students. As was typical for the period, the white school located on the island had three students and one teacher. The white teacher earned more per month (\$85) than the two African American teachers combined (\$70). In 1916, Septima Clark, daughter of a former slave and a washerwoman that grew up in downtown Charleston, received her first teaching assignment to the Promise Land School. Clark recognized the good fortune that was growing up in the city with a family who could afford to send her to the private black school. The children of Johns Island, unless they could commute to Charleston, had no access to a high school education. This would remain the situation for islanders until the 1960s. Clark’s tenure at the school was short, but her impact on education for African American children was to be long-lasting.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Susan V. Donaldson, “Charleston’s Racial Politics of Historic Preservation: The Case of Edwin A. Harleston,” ed. Hutchisson, James M. and Harlan Greene (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2003), 186.

⁸⁶ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 15–17.

As Charleston's affluent whites enjoyed the reinvention of the city, the "Charleston Renaissance" of the early twentieth century, the black community continued to struggle. Industry did start to come to the Lowcountry, which was to be a very good thing for blacks. The American Tobacco Company took over the old cotton factory building on East Bay Street in 1903. The plant went on to hire blacks and whites, men and women.⁸⁷ White workers complained that blacks, who were willing to work for lower wages, were incapable of executing the work of the plant. Booker T. Washington came into the city, observed the workers, and declared the claim untrue.⁸⁸ The factory was segregated by race and gender, and certain jobs were reserved exclusively for white men.⁸⁹ Production at the factory picked up in the 1930s and the company was well-placed to take advantage of the boom in business during the Second World War. They did this by paying low wages and offering no benefits. The factory workers unionized in segregated unions in 1944, but agreed not to strike until the end of hostilities. American Tobacco withheld the pay of its employees from December 1944 to October 1945, even as they made record profits. With the war at an end, black workers called for a strike. The white Union members joined the strike and American Tobacco factories around the country dealt with walk-outs. The strike showed the unity possible when people focused on common issues regardless of race. It was not perfect unity, though. The highest-paid workers, white men, did not support the calls for non-discriminatory hiring and firing practices and equal pay. The strike produced an anthem that

⁸⁷ Dwana Waugh, "Charleston's Cigar Factory Strike, 1945-46," University Library, *Lowcountry Digital History*, (May 2014), http://ldhi.library.cofc.edu/exhibits/show/cigar_factory; Dr. Nicholas Butler and Dr. Susan Millar Williams, "Hampstead Square: The Heart of Charleston's Historic Eastside Neighborhood" (Audio-Visual Presentation, Palmer Campus Amphitheater, Trident Technical College, October 27, 2014).

⁸⁸ Butler and Dr. Susan Millar Williams, "Hampstead Square."

⁸⁹ Waugh, "Cigar Factory Strike."

became synonymous with the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. Every evening as the strikers ended their day of walking the picket line, longtime American Tobacco employee Lucille Simmons sang the gospel song “I’ll Overcome Someday”, changing the refrain to “We Shall Overcome”. The strike officially ended in March of 1946. While the employees gained some concessions from American Tobacco, the company ensured the end of unions in the state of South Carolina by exerting its political influence.⁹⁰

World War II proved a great boon to the South Carolina economy. The military installations in the area expanded to provide for the war effort. These new, well-paying jobs were welcome employment for both white and black men in Charleston. Even so, equality was far from possible. Although overt violence against blacks was less common in Charleston than elsewhere, those in power colluded to use their control of government bureaucracies to deny blacks their civil rights. Demands for access to education and the political process created tension in the period. Integration of the publicly-funded College of Charleston, Democratic primaries open to all and equal pay for African American teachers were among the specific desires black Charlestonians strove to fulfill in the 1940s and 1950s.⁹¹ In their quest, the community had an unlikely ally. The son and nephew of Confederate veterans, lawyer Julius Waites Waring’s family had deep Lowcountry roots. President Franklin Roosevelt appointed Waring to the federal bench in 1942. The politically well-connected judge shocked many in the city when he ruled in *Thompson v. Gibbes* that black

⁹⁰ Ibid; Azizi Powell, “The Gospel Song ‘I’ll Overcome Someday’ & The Civil Rights Song ‘We Shall Overcome,’” African American music, dance, and customs, *Pancocojams*, (November 16, 2013), <http://pancocojams.blogspot.com/2013/11/the-gospel-song-i-will-overcome-someday.html>.

⁹¹ John W. White, *Managed Compliance: White Resistance and Desegregation in South Carolina, 1950-1970*, 2006th ed. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI, 2006), 13-14, 17.

and white teachers had to receive the same wage. In his ruling, Judge Waring found that South Carolina's convention whereby black teachers' pay was less than whites violated the doctrine of "separate but equal" established in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896.⁹² The disparity in spending by the Charleston public school district on black and white schools in this period was astonishing to many champions of Civil Rights. As the NAACP pointed out in its case against the district, even if the entire sum of a special allocation of federal funds for education (granted in part due to the poor state of black schools) was spend entirely on schools for African American children, the state would still be underfunding these pupils by \$50 per student. Of course, the state was not disposed to spend all the money on black schools. It decided to divide the funds in half, even though the black system had more students overall with buildings in greater disrepair.⁹³ In a case out of Texas, the Supreme Court ruled in 1944's *Smith v. Allwright* that whites-only primaries were unconstitutional. This decision met with dismay in South Carolina. The state's Democratic primaries had been exclusively white since 1892, and those primaries determined the legislative representation of the state. The Republican Party was a non-entity in this period of the state's history. In an attempt to circumvent the ruling, the state made political parties private clubs. Thurgood Marshall, attorney for the NAACP, argued a case against this move in front of Judge Waring. In 1947, he found that the clubs were unconstitutional. A 1951 case, *Briggs v. Elliot*, once again saw Marshall arguing the NAACP's position, this time in front of Judge Waring and two other Justices. The NAACP sought to overturn the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. The two other judges upheld the more than fifty-year-old ruling. Judge Waring, in his eloquent

⁹² Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 15, 19.

⁹³ White, *Managed Compliance*, 50–53.

dissent, pointed out the intrinsic inequality of segregation and provided a thorough analysis of the Fourteenth Amendment. The U.S. Supreme Court heavily relied on this dissent when deciding *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954.⁹⁴

Although reprisals against white supporters of civil rights tended to be subtler, they were none-the-less harmful. Judge Waring made enemies not only for his rulings, but also for his personal affairs. Waring had married a fellow Charlestonian, a daughter of the elite, in 1913 and the couple had two daughters. Shortly after his ruling in *Thompson v. Waite*, he divorced her to marry a northern socialite, Elizabeth Avery. Further outrage rocked the scandalized city over her outspoken support of her husband's decisions and condemnation of white supremacy. Subjected to death threats, charges of Communism, and virulent social ostracism, the couple eventually left the city.⁹⁵ Perhaps assigning pariah-status to the Warings gave succor Charleston's political elite. Southern white Democrats were chagrined when, lacking the two-thirds majority required to veto, the Party adopted a pro-civil rights platform in 1948. In response, South Carolina Governor Strom Thurmond and Mississippi Governor Fielding Wright formed a ticket to run in the Democratic primary in direct opposition to President Truman. Their dramatic loss (unable to carry even a majority of southern states) shows that segregation had not yet become a driving factor in most voters' decisions.⁹⁶

The African American Sea Islanders decided to deal with inequality in their own way. Esau Jenkins was a son of the islands. He had left school after the fourth grade to help

⁹⁴ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 19–20.

⁹⁵ White, *Managed Compliance*, 38–43.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 20–23.

support his family. Having recognized the limitations his lack of education imposed on his ambitions, he studied in the evenings. His first teachers were leaders on the island, followed by classes at the public black high school in the city of Charleston. Along with his academic skills, Jenkins educated himself on civil rights strategies. In 1949, responding to yet another instance of white violence, Jenkins formed The Progressive Club. His goal was to raise civic awareness and guide the community towards social action. Jenkins' motto: "Hate is expensive; love is progress," encapsulates his entire philosophy. Upon meeting Septima Clark at the influential Tennessee-based Highlander Folk School, Jenkins returned to Johns Island with the idea of opening a citizenship school.⁹⁷ In 1957, The Progressive Club began to teach adults the reading and writing skills required by the 1895 state constitution to vote.⁹⁸ They also helped them register and recruited them to become active in the civic functioning of the city. Clark returned to the island (half a century after having been transferred from her teaching post at Promise Land School) in order to run the program. It became the model for similar programs set up by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference throughout the south starting in 1961.⁹⁹ For those students who wanted to pursue further education, Jenkins drove a passenger bus to and from downtown Charleston and the public high school daily.¹⁰⁰

The political discourse in the 1950s increasingly focused on the fight against integration. Segregationists feared that a coalition of moderate whites and the black

⁹⁷ Clark met Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr. through the school.

⁹⁸ Michael Trinkley, "South Carolina African Americans - Literacy Tests to Eliminate Black Voters," Government Database, *SCIWAY*, (2016), <http://www.sciway.net/afam/reconstruction/literacytests.html>.

⁹⁹ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 17–19.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 21–22.

electorate would force the white elite out of power. While certain politicians were engrossed with proving their segregationist bona fides, outright attacks on federal policies did not receive much support in the early years of the decade. South Carolinians focused more on the state's economy, which relied heavily on government spending. The 1952 presidential election was crucial for the rise of the new reincarnation of the Republican Party. While both parties ran anti-integrationist campaigns, the Republicans did so on the grounds of reducing government encroachment on state's rights. This played well in South Carolina, where a designer to keep the federal government out of the integration battle belied its reliance on federal monies for its economic well-being. A visit to the southern United States by General Eisenhower, the first true outreach by the party since the end of reconstruction, also helped. In contrast, local Democratic politicians were busy distancing themselves from the national party. They publically fretted that Communist sympathizers were controlling the party.¹⁰¹

Even as they railed against the federal government investigating civil rights and voting abuses, South Carolinians sought increased funding from the government for Cold War industry. The level to which these two functions of the government were divorced in the minds of local politician is evidenced by their request for federal funds to build a new black-only hospital. The African American community was growing rapidly as more jobs supplying the military became available. Eisenhower put an end to South Carolinian's hopes of utilizing federal funds while maintaining the racial status quo. In 1953, he ordered the desegregation of all military installations. They were enraged when the president appointed liberal judge Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, especially in the crucial

¹⁰¹ White, *Managed Compliance*, 84–98, 112–116.

period when *Brown v. Board of Education* was going before the court.¹⁰² White politicians and public figures fought back with one of the most powerful tools of the period. By connecting the civil rights advocates to Communism, true or not, was a surefire way to delegitimize their calls for justice. Black supporters of the NAACP's petition for equal educational opportunities suffered serious economic reprisals. It was not uncommon for them to be fired without cause, refused work and housing, and denied business opportunities by those who monopolized the trade markets.¹⁰³ In fact, the reason Septima Clark had time to travel to the Highlander Folk School was that she lost her job with the Charleston County School District for being a member of the NAACP.¹⁰⁴

The delicate situation was unbalanced by the 1954 *Brown* decision. Politicians at every level in the state denounced the decision, questioned the court's jurisdictional legitimacy, and declared their determination to defy the order. Though some staunch segregationists encouraged a dramatic response, most were not as strident. This group was not above intimidation tactics, but preferred to use bureaucratic and legal measures to deny integration. They were unwilling, though, to throw the state into turmoil to achieve that aim.¹⁰⁵ Politicians of the time realized that they would eventually have to comply with the *Brown* decision but also recognized the political expediency of insisting that segregated schooling could and would remain for the indefinite future. In fact, the South Carolina School Commission's Gressette Committee stated as much in its report for the 1954-55 school

¹⁰² Ibid., 133.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 18–30.

¹⁰⁴ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 18.

¹⁰⁵ White, *Managed Compliance*, 141–145.

year.¹⁰⁶ Problems with implementation of the *Brown* decision were multi-faceted. The fact that the court had not proscribed an enforcement or implementation mandate fueled the segregationists. The black community, while clearly supporting the decision, did not always agree as to the best way to implement desegregation. In 1955, the court handed down the implementation order. Though many continued to claim the ruling was invalid, it was becoming increasingly clear that South Carolina would have to comply. Though there was a moderate increase in Ku Klux Klan action in the state, most whites shunned the disreputable organization. Instead, they turned to the State's Rights League, an organization that emerged when Strom Thurmond's Dixiecrat revolt failed in the 1948 campaign.¹⁰⁷

The NAACP moved quickly once the court ruling came down. By September of that same year, it had filed desegregation petitions against eight school boards around the state. Segregationists seized on this action to call for greater resistance and blamed racial tensions on African Americans.¹⁰⁸ Little changed in Charleston schools as a direct result of the *Brown* decision, schools for African American students received only a token increase in funding in the 1950s.¹⁰⁹ In 1961, five African American families filed a petition with the Board of Trustees of Charleston District 20. They sought the transfer of thirteen children to some of the city's all-white schools.¹¹⁰ At that same time, Harvey Gantt, a graduate of Charleston's all-black Burke High School attempted to apply for the architecture program at Clemson University, the only such program in the state. The South Carolina Regional Education

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 149–150.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 161–174.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 178.

¹⁰⁹ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 84.

¹¹⁰ White, *Managed Compliance*, 318–334.

Board chose instead to pay the difference between in-state tuition at Clemson and out-of-state tuition to Iowa State University. Gantt continued to pursue admission to Clemson while attending Iowa State. He submitted another application in December of 1960 for admission for fall 1961. The school returned his application, telling him that the state intended to continue its arrangement for him to attend Iowa State. Gantt applied several more times and the school utilized a series of stalling tactics. In 1962, the NAACP filed a lawsuit against the school on behalf of Gantt's father, Gantt being technically still a minor. They asked for an immediate injunction, which a state judge denied. The district court also refused a temporary injunction, but expressed a desire for the case to be heard on its merits. The school's defense was that Gantt had never filled out a complete application and, therefore, he had never been denied admission, much less based on race.¹¹¹ The state seemed to anticipate that this argument would be unlikely to hold up in court. Governor Hollings sent the head of the South Carolina Law Enforcement Division (SLED) to Oxford, Mississippi to meet with representatives from the University of Mississippi.¹¹² That school had endured rioting by whites when its first black student, James Meredith, came to integrate the campus. The crowd became so violent that two people were killed and scores were injured.¹¹³ Governor Hollings hoped to learn how to avoid a similar situation at Clemson.¹¹⁴ Back in court, the state judge found for Clemson. This time, though, the circuit court ruled

¹¹¹ "Harvey Gantt and the Desegregation of Clemson University," Educational, *Clemson University Office of Institutional Research*, (February 5, 2008), <http://www.clemson.edu/oirweb1/fb/factBook/Historical%20Enrollment/Integration.htm>.

¹¹² White, *Managed Compliance*, 318–334.

¹¹³ "Ole Miss Integration," Educational, *Civil Rights Digital Library*, (October 31, 2015), crdl.usg.edu.

¹¹⁴ White, *Managed Compliance*, 318–334.

for Gantt. He was admitted in 1963 and successfully completed the architecture program. He would go on to form his own firm with a partner in Charlotte.¹¹⁵

Stipulations of the 1964 Civil Rights Act tied federal funds for education to integration (voluntary or compelled). Between the mid-1960s and 1970s, several school districts attempted to avoid integration and forgo federal funds. In every instance, these districts were unable to pursue this course of action for long. Instead, a “freedom of choice” regime became a popular option. In this system, African American students could apply for transfer to white schools. Integrationists fought against federal acceptance of these programs. They pointed out that this system put the onus on black families to file for a transfer, which required overcoming fear and creating nothing more than token integration.¹¹⁶ For students who did transfer, their new schools may have been more diverse, but they were not welcoming.¹¹⁷

South Carolinians, afraid of losing federal funds on which the state’s economy relied, looked for ways to soften the impact of integration. The Dixiecrat efforts of the early 1950s would likely draw too much national scrutiny. Instead, many turned to the “New Right” wing of the Republican Party. Focusing on anticommunism, reversing New Deal social programs, and a crusade to restore morality, overt racism was underplayed. This appealed to the white southerners looking for a palatable alternative to direct confrontations over integration.¹¹⁸ Many also joined one of a number of white resistance groups. The largest of

¹¹⁵ “Desegregation of Clemson.”

¹¹⁶ White, *Managed Compliance*, 383–386.

¹¹⁷ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 85.

¹¹⁸ White, *Managed Compliance*, 343.

these groups in the state of South Carolina was the White Citizen's Council (WCC). All groups used political pressure, intimidation and coercion to accomplish their goals. The emergence of these groups coincided with a marked increase of violence against blacks in the state. The WCC were the best organized and had six or more chapters in Charleston County alone.¹¹⁹

Not all whites in the state felt this way. As Democrats became more dependent on support from the African American electorate, they found powerful symbolism in supporting the cause of integration.¹²⁰ Nineteen sixty eight's Supreme Court decision in *Green v School Board of Kent County* finally forced the state to desegregate.¹²¹ Governor Robert McNair enrolled his own daughter in a public school as a sign of his support.¹²² Many whites were unaffected by the order. They were able to rely on residential segregation and gerrymandered districts to keep the total number of African Americans attending classes with their children to an absolute minimum. For other, private schools proved the solution. Almost eight percent of South Carolina's children attended private schools by 1975.¹²³ The high private school enrollment rate has persisted over the past forty years even as life had improved to upper- and middle-class African Americans. In an echo of the past, class, not solely race has become a determinant of the quality of education the state's children receive.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 181, 184, 188.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 396.

¹²¹ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 84.

¹²² White, *Managed Compliance*, 396.

¹²³ Ibid., 403.

¹²⁴ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 3.

The turmoil that swept much of the United States in the 1960s did not completely spare Charleston. A fairly progressive police force and pragmatic business community went a long way towards keeping a relatively calm spot in the south. New York native John F. Conroy became Chief of Police in the late 1960s. Together with Ligure “Duke” Ellington, who first walked a segregated beat and joined the force in 1967 as a Captain, Conroy oversaw an increasingly diverse police force. The two men insisted their officers actively engaged with the community, especially the majority African American eastside neighborhood. Instead of focusing exclusively on ministers and other outspoken members of the community, the officers were encouraged to spend time with regular citizens.¹²⁵ A 1963 compromise between civil rights activists and white business leaders led to the businessmen agreeing to hire and promote black employees and to serve all customers, regardless of race.¹²⁶ The city was calm for the most part, but things were far from perfect.

In February of 1967, two Licensed Practical Nurses (LPN’s) and three nursing assistants, all African American, walked off the job at the Medical College of South Carolina. A white nurse had denied the women access to patient records, without which they could not perform their jobs. The College responded by firing the five. Hospital worker Mary Moultrie reached out to Korean vet and rights activist Bill Saunders. He, in turn, brought on Isaiah Bennett, a member of the AFL-CIO and employee of American Tobacco. Their purpose was to unionize the hospital’s African American employees who received less compensation than white workers in the same position. Some workers’ pay was below the federal minimum wage. Treated with contempt and verbally abused at the hands of white

¹²⁵ Ibid., 67–68.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 21.

doctors, nurses, and administrators, the African American employees endured years of harsh treatment.¹²⁷

In September of 1968, the hospital workers organized local 1199B (under a New York City AFL-CIO affiliate) and sought recognition from the medical college. A scheduled meeting with college president Dr. William McCord in February of 1969 turned into a protest in his office when he failed to show up. The hospital retaliated by firing twelve of the protesters.¹²⁸ On March 19, 1969, over 300 union members walked off the job. Their demands were straightforward; recognition of their union, minimum wage meeting federal requirements, the creation of an evenhanded grievance process, and the re-hire of the twelve union leaders. The police arrested some protestors and received an injunction against more than ten people picketing the college at one time. The protestors ignored the injunction and spread throughout the city, explicitly tying the paternalism of 1960s Charleston with the slavery of 1860s Charleston.

The medical college easily garnered the support of the state in its refusal to recognize the union. They expected to wait out the strike, especially as other strikes in the area had folded under the strain of extended actions.¹²⁹ The strikers gained strength when County Hospital workers joined the strike. Southern Christian Leadership Conference leader Ralph Abernathy came to Charleston to lend his support. An economic boycott of white businesses by black customers and national press that threatened Charleston's tourism industry made business leaders nervous. Marches continued throughout the spring with a

¹²⁷ Ibid., 22–23.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 23.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 27–29.

special march on Mother's Day. This march was attended by Abernathy, the head of the United Auto Workers Union, and five U.S. Congressmen. The day of the march was not incidental. Many of the striking workers were mothers, their families seriously impacted by the economic decisions of the college. Senator Strom Thurmond complained of outsiders meddling in a state's rights issue. He was a supporter neither of civil rights nor of unions.

Finally, a move by the state's General Assembly to increase pay for all state workers opened the door to further conversation. Three female union leaders met with members of the Medical College's Board of Trustees. Ninety-nine days after the strike began; hospital administrators re-hired the twelve union organizers, created a grievance system and a credit union. Though the Union was not to be recognized, they did gain a level of respect that had long been lacking.¹³⁰

White flight from the city of Charleston in the decades after the Second World War was dramatic. Nineteen-seventies Charleston actually had fewer residents than in 1940. Meanwhile, the population of the County more than doubled in that same time.¹³¹ Urban renewal projects such as the Crosstown Expressway and Municipal Auditorium, destroyed large swaths of mostly African American housing in the city. Combined with Mayor Gilliard's opposition to the hospital workers strike, the community was aware of the need for change. In 1975, many African Americans embraced a slender young man who was running for mayor, Joseph P. Riley, who would become a name synonymous with

¹³⁰ Ibid., 29–33.

¹³¹ Regina Bures and William Kanapaux, "Historical Regimes and Social Indicators of Resilience in an Urban System: The Case of Charleston, South Carolina," *Ecology and Society* 16, no. 4 (2011): 16, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5751/ES-04293-160416>.

Charleston. He served as mayor for forty years, 1975-2015. Born in Charleston, the son of Joseph Riley, Sr., a well-known civic and business leader, he gained support not only from the wealthy elites South of Broad, but also from the black community. His campaign called for increased teacher pay and improved infrastructure. Riley's wholehearted embrace of affirmative action was perhaps his most progressive stance. His supportive policies brought record numbers of women and African Americans into the employ of the city. His political shrewdness enabled his extended tenure. With the return of Ward elections in 1975, Charleston finally saw a more equitable representation on the City Council. Riley was not without his critics. His expansion of the city boundaries over his forty years in office has been seen by some as an effort to capture more white voters.¹³²

The balance of state politics has shifted dramatically over the course of Riley's mayorship. The "southern strategy" originally proposed by Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon began to gain traction in the mid-1970s. A 1974 visit from popular California governor Ronald Reagan began to pay dividends in the 1980 election. By appealing to whites concerned with the Democratic Party's move to the left, opposed to affirmative action, desiring lower taxes, cutting social programs, building the strength of the military, and using tough on crime rhetoric, Riley gave Charleston its first Republican congressman since the end of Reconstruction. Though Republicans had accurately calculated that white support from the suburbs and wealthy enclaves of the city would be enough to win elections and despite intimidation at the polls that persisted in the 1980s and 1990s, the party insisted that it was not race, but fairness, that led to their political stances. A few black conservative

¹³² Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 34–35, 46, 49, 55, 57.

candidates ran on the Republican ticket, but their election happened despite the lack of support from the black community. African Americans may not have voted *en masse* for Republican candidates in the 1990s, but that does not mean they were content with Democrats. Underrepresentation and a feeling that white politicians took the black vote for granted were their chief complaints. In the 1990s, some black Democrats became unlikely partners with Republicans. Redistricting was the cause that united them. By re-drawing district lines, African Americans gained more political power in that there was finally enough of a concentration of African American voters to elect candidates from the community. The inverse of this, of course, was also true. White Republicans were able to lock in districts in which great pluralities of voters were conservative whites, precisely the demographic Republicans targeted.¹³³ The apparently contradictory alliance between white Republicans and black Democrats bore fruit on the issue of the Confederate battle flag. With little fanfare, a Democrat-held legislature in the 1960s erected the flag over the Statehouse. By the 1980s, with neo-Confederate feeling running high among a certain sector of the Republican constituency, the flag became a flashpoint of controversy, with many calls for its removal. Everything came to a head in the early 2000s when Republican state legislators agreed to remove the flag from its perch. Instead, the flag would fly at a monument to Confederate soldiers in front of the Capitol. The state also commissioned a monument to African American history for the grounds. This long-sought project granted the Republicans a respite from the controversy for fifteen years. The NAACP and others criticized the black

¹³³ Ibid., 128–137.

legislators for “selling out” their cause. In fact, the move managed to make the flag more prominent as it was closer to tourists wandering the grounds.¹³⁴

Mayor Riley’s embrace of affirmative action gave Charleston its first black and Jewish Chief of Police in 1982, Reuben Greenberg. In some ways, he exemplified all of the hopes of civil rights crusaders. In others, he was the antithesis. Greenberg embraced the “law and order” aims of federal drug policy and openly relied on profiling in a manner that would have led to the condemnation of any white Chief. Hired in the wake of former Chief Conroy’s suicide, Greenberg set about cleaning house within the department as a first priority. He professionalized the force by increasing the level of education of his officers, eventually requiring a college degree. He would not tolerate racism in his police force and expected a strong work ethic. His conservative nature meant Greenberg believed personal responsibility trumped any mitigating factors. In direct contrast to his antecessor Conroy, he directed officers to patrol heavily in neighborhoods where drug deals happened in the open, drawing condemnation from those who noted that this led to a greater proportion of poor and black residents arrested for drug crimes. Their affluent white neighbors, meanwhile, could pursue any drug habit behind closed doors without prosecution. In 1988, a program endorsed by Greenberg allowed for testing pregnant women that Medical University of South Carolina (MUSC) doctors felt met certain risk factors for crack cocaine use. This testing program allowed police to arrest forty-two women, all but one black. In the lawsuit, *Ferguson v. City of Charleston* made its way to the Supreme Court, which found that, in pursuing this policy, the police had turned a medical test into a police search. The difficulties

¹³⁴ Ibid., 142–145.

of policing a city with Charleston's history in the era of the "war on drugs" highlight the complicated relationship Greenberg had with the African American community.¹³⁵

Under Mayor Riley's affirmative action hires, about a dozen department heads in 1990 were women. Even though official policies aimed at reaching parity, segregation proved stubbornly intractable. Public schools added curricula on African American history and culture even though it upset certain segments of the population. Among them was School Board Chairman John Graham Altman III. The twenty-year veteran of the board, Altman's reactionary views led him to call for police to arrest truants and for the expulsion of HIV positive students.¹³⁶ Since the 1950s, politicians had been consolidating school districts, eventually setting Charleston County up as one large district. Subdivision of the district into "constituent districts" allowed for oversight of more localized areas. During the Carter Administration, the Justice Department began looking into districting. Their concerns that drawing these lines aimed to keep rural and urban black students out of wealthier (and whiter) suburban schools led to the investigation. Their argued that this process' intention was to maintain segregation.

That segregation generally existed in the schools was clear. What was less clear was if the cause was racial prejudice or class sorting. Burke High School became a point of contention in this debate. The Department of Justice and NAACP Legal Defense Fund brought forth a case *United States of American and Richard Ganaway II et al. v Charleston County*

¹³⁵ Ibid., 61–81.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 86–87.

School District and State of South Carolina in 1982.¹³⁷ The suit claimed that the district had shut down black schools to avoid integration. Those that remained were rat infested, dilapidated and underfunded. Furthermore, the plaintiffs claimed the district has made it very difficult to transfer between constituent districts and enforced attendance and discipline in an unequal manner. More than a decade would pass before the case was resolved.

The political climate was changing as Reagan-era policies took hold. In 1992, three judges found that schools were in fact segregated but not through any fault of the district. Instead, the found, segregation in Charleston County Schools was based on the geographic distribution of the student body, something which new district lines would be unable to address. The judges' assessment was accurate, although it failed to take into account the skewed demographics, particularly downtown. Many white families residing in predominantly black constituent districts, including Mayor Riley's, sent their children to private schools.¹³⁸ By opting out of the public school system, some felt, these families enjoyed the benefits of downtown living without contributing to the community. Of course, living in an integrated community where public school attendance by both black and white students is high is no guarantee of parity. As noted throughout the country, students tend to gather with others of their own race, something evident at Wando High School.¹³⁹ This school, which serves a predominantly upper-middle class enclave of both races, retained its informally segregated buses used by the large marching band as they traveled to away games

¹³⁷ Judge Sprouse, Judge Hill, and Judge Ward, *United States of American and Richard Ganaway II et al. v Charleston County School District and State of South Carolina*, Second Series Federal Reporter (U.S. Circuit Court 1992).

¹³⁸ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 89–101.

¹³⁹ Beverly Daniel Tatum, *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?: And Other Conversations About Race*, Revised (New York: Basic Books, 2003).

well into the 1980s.¹⁴⁰ This self-segregation continues to this day in the lunchroom and classes each group of students chooses to take.

Race relations in Charleston continue to be a complicated issue. Two thousand fifteen proved to be a year an exemplary year. In April, the U.S. District Courthouse on Meeting Street, originally named after former Democratic U.S. Senator Fritz Hollings, was renamed to honor Judge J. Waites Waring at Hollings' request. This belated acknowledgement of Judge Waring's contribution to Civil Rights in South Carolina, half a century after he left the state, is a bright beacon of the reconciliation possible in the city. In October of 2014, a renaming ceremony brought out many city luminaries.¹⁴¹ Hollings was the governor who had pushed for the integration of Clemson University despite legislative resistance. He arranged for the funding to build the courthouse annex and it bore his name for several years.¹⁴²

On Wednesday, June 17, 2015, a white man entered a Bible study class at Emmanuel A.M.E. church in the heart of the city of Charleston. In a racially motivated attack, he murdered nine parishioners and injured several more. This action sent a shockwave through the entire country and around the world. As debates over gun rights and mental health predictably arose, an outpouring of love and support embraced "Mother Emmanuel." The African American community's peaceful reaction to the events was both praised and

¹⁴⁰ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 86.

¹⁴¹ Schuyler Kropf, "Unanimous Support to Rename Federal Courthouse for Judge J. Waites Waring," *The Post and Courier*, April 30, 2015, Online edition, Online, <http://www.postandcourier.com/article/20150430/PC16/150439950/unanimous-support-to-rename-federal-courthouse-for-judge-j-waites-waring>.

¹⁴² "Courthouse Renamed for Civil Rights Hero," Blog, *United States Courts*, (October 14, 2015), <http://www.uscourts.gov/news/2015/10/14/courthouse-renamed-civil-rights-hero>.

excoriated.¹⁴³ This case will continue to develop as the killer and a friend who claims foreknowledge of the attack face trial. A united black and white community channeled its distress over the event into a call to remove the Confederate battle flag from the grounds of the state capitol. The tenuous compromise of 2000, never fully acceptable to many of either race, fell apart in light of photographs of the Charleston shooter with his guns and that flag. While some questioned why the focus turned to the flag, the outpouring of the community's call to action led to its retirement on July 10, 2015. Many saw the flag "as a symbol of support for racism and white supremacy".¹⁴⁴ Display of the flag will continue in the South Carolina Confederate Relic Room & Military Museum just one mile away.

After forty years as Charleston's mayor, Joseph P. Riley chose to retire in 2015. He spent the last several years of his mayorship championing for the establishment of an African American history museum in the city. The project has encountered countless obstacles but Riley, perhaps with an eye towards his legacy, has continued to advocate for it. Charleston is poised on the edge of a new era. There is guarded hope that the city will continually strive for the day when all citizens are treated with respect and equity.

¹⁴³ Susanna Capelouto, Catherine Shoichet, and Martin Savidge, "Charleston Minister: 'No Evil doer, No Demon' Can Close Church," *CNN*, June 21, 2015, Online, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/06/21/us/charleston-church-shooting-main/>.

¹⁴⁴ Jason Hanna and Ralph Ellis, "Confederate Flag's Half-Century at South Carolina Capitol Ends," *CNN*, July 10, 2015, Online, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/07/10/us/south-carolina-confederate-battle-flag/>.

Charleston's History of Historic Preservation

The very roots of the historic preservation movement in the United States stem from Charleston. Some cite the 1853 call to arms by South Carolinian Ann Pamela Cunningham to save George Washington's Mount Vernon as the first stirring of the movement. Her letter, published in the *Charleston Mercury* newspaper in December of that year, led to the founding of the Mount Vernon Ladies Society, which still owns and operates the estate.¹⁴⁵ On a local level, the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in The State of South Carolina purchased the eighteenth-century Old Powder Magazine in 1901. They renovated the structure and opened it to the public in 1902.¹⁴⁶ Preservation in large part relies on documentation. In 1917, local artist Alice Ravenel Huger Smith teamed up with her father, D.E. Huger Smith to publish *The Dwelling Houses of Charleston*.¹⁴⁷ Still in publication, this work was but one of many to document the city's colonial and antebellum architecture. The inspiration for this work and the several preservation efforts of these years was a reaction to the loss of what many held dear to the forces of progress.

Left destitute by the Civil War, the city struggled to improve its situation. No longer able to rely on the free labor of enslaved people, the economy slowly adjusted to the new reality. White families found that maintaining their ancestor's palatial homes was much more difficult, if not impossible, under these circumstances. At the same time, northern tourists and museums enjoyed the charms of the city and purchased pieces of it, a mantle here, a

¹⁴⁵ Stephanie E. Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 29.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Martha R. Severens and Charles L. Wyrick, Jr., eds., *Charles Fraser of Charleston: Essays on the Man, His Art and His Times* (Charleston: Carolina Art Association, 1983), 37.

whole room there, to take home. From its founding, Charleston was an integrated city, with slaves living in the attics and outbuildings of their owners. Unlike plantation slaves, many of whom struck out to improve their lot by moving to the city, many of Charleston's newly free population found it convenient to rent out their same accommodations. Even before the war, a large number of the free black community chose to live among whites in mixed neighborhoods. The 1905 City Directory offers one of many examples of this mix in housing. The property at 21 Pitt Street, owned by Julia R. Boag, widow of Theodore G. Boag, was also the residence of black driver Henry Brasset and his wife Lula, and black laborer James Berry. The address for the three African Americans "rear" 21 Pitt Street, was probably a carriage house.¹⁴⁸ Likely, the widow Boag was supplementing her income by letting out rooms on her property. As World War I restricted international travel, bringing a greater number of tourists to the city, Charleston's white elite reinvented the city. These leaders peddled a whitewashed version of history, which northern tourists were eager to accept, while at the same time protecting the tangible evidence of their history from disappearing up north. In the story they chose to tell, there was no room for an integrated city.¹⁴⁹

Wednesday, April 21, 1920 thirty-two of Charleston's leading figures gathered in the parlor of Nell and Ernest H. Pringle, Jr. (20 South Battery) at the behest of forty-nine year old Susan Pringle Frost. As a group representing Charleston's elite, the meeting was also a tangled web of interfamilial ties. Their consanguinity would unite them in the cause of

¹⁴⁸ *Walsh's Charleston, South Carolina, 1905 City Directory, 22nd Year* (Charleston, SC: The W.H. Walsh Directory Company, 1904).

¹⁴⁹ Steve Estes, *Charleston in Black and White: Race and Power in the South after the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 51; Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory*, 213.

preservation and influence the places they chose to preserve. As a remnant of Charleston's antebellum ruling plantation aristocracy, it was only logical for the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings (the name they adopted) to declare the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century residences of this class to be the worthiest. As a primarily feminine contingency, it is also logical that it was the domestic heart of the city that drew the Society's focus.¹⁵⁰

In many ways, the early preservation movement in Charleston was full of contradictions. Though celebrating an ancestry of elite antebellum leisure where men and women followed narrowly defined societal roles, Pringle Frost and her sisters were spinsters who rented out rooms in their home and taught school in order to maintain their ancestral residence. They were also active in the cause of women's rights, organizing the Equal Suffrage League and championing admission of women to the College of Charleston.¹⁵¹ While cloaking themselves in historians' language, the members of the Society appealed to the increasing racial discontent of the period to "clean up" neighborhoods and sweep away blacks in both a physical and metaphorical sense.¹⁵² Arguing for the conservation of certain buildings, they actively encouraged the modernization of the city and re-development of areas they considered unhistorical for commercial purposes.¹⁵³ The Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings was not the only group attempting to protect Charleston's

¹⁵⁰ Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory*, 21–30.

¹⁵¹ "Miss Susan Frost Dies At Residence," *The Charleston Evening Post*, October 1, 1960, sec. A, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Associations--Preservation Society, Charleston County Public Library, 2A.

¹⁵² Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory*, 30–31.

¹⁵³ "Society Seeks to Preserve City as Artistic, Historic Center, Captain Deas Says," *The News and Courier*, October 21, 1928, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Associations--Preservation Society, Charleston County Public Library; Charlotte Walker, "These Women Crusade," *The Charleston Evening Post*, March 14, 1952, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Associations--Preservation Society, Charleston County Public Library.

tangible heritage. Laura Bragg, Director of the Charleston Museum, proved instrumental in the formation of the South Carolina Culture Department. Helen McCormack, trained under Bragg, took charge of this department. Its role was to act as a repository for antiques and other important articles of Charleston's built heritage to prevent them going to northern dealers. In 1925, Bragg also directly opened the Charleston Museum to house any pieces of Charleston whose *in situ* preservation was impossible for the "edification" of the city.¹⁵⁴ Though ostensibly on the same side of the battle for preservation, many Society members viewed Bragg with suspicion, perhaps because her New Jersey birthplace did not accord with their narrative of southerners preserving their familial history.¹⁵⁵

In addition to the Society's major effort to save the Joseph Manigault Mansion, which she spearheaded, Susan Pringle Frost's personal projects concentrated on Tradd Street. She had a vision of the street cleansed, freed from black brothels and other tenants, filled instead with white homeowners.¹⁵⁶ In the years between 1910 and 1930, she managed to see this vision come to fruition.¹⁵⁷ Her commitment to her cause was a great one as she

¹⁵⁴ Louise Anderson Allen and James T. Sears, "Laura Bragg and Her 'Bright Young Things': Fostering Change and Social Reform at the Charleston Museum," in *Renaissance in Charleston: Art and Life in the Carolina Low Country, 1900-1940*, ed. Hutchisson, James M. and Harlan Greene (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2003), 174.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Interestingly, a 1902 publication called "The Blue Book" that advertised the services of several brothels lists their addresses primarily on the streets near the market and the College of Charleston, far to the north of Broad Street. Likewise, newspaper coverage into the 1950s of raids on brothels involved almost exclusively white sex workers.

"The Blue Book: Exposition Number," 1902, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library; "The Charleston Scandal," *Pick Magazine*, June 9, 1942, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Vice, Charleston County Public Library; John G. Leland, "Early Taverns in Charleston," *Preservation Progress*, May 1971, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Vice, Charleston County Public Library; Charlie Geer, "A Baudy Old Gal," *Charleston Magazine*, February 2006, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Vice, Charleston County Public Library .

¹⁵⁷ Susan Pringle Frost, "First President.....On Preservation," *Preservation Progress*, January 1971, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Associations--Preservation Society, Charleston County Public Library.

insisted that she lost money on almost every project.¹⁵⁸ It is also something that would connect preservation as an elitist pursuit, a notion that the field continues to contend with and try to shake. Who else but the elite could afford, as a private citizen, to absorb such losses? The classism of many early preservationists' (Albert Simons referred to them as the "mechanic class") further reinforced this idea in the mind of the public.¹⁵⁹ Another issue that continues to haunt preservation is that of racial injustice. Though a product of their time, the appeal to elite white's anxieties about race, the concerted efforts to utilize public funds to relocate African American tenants beyond the boundaries of the historic district, and the continual description of majority-black neighborhoods as "blighted" and "slums" have reverberated through time, casting a long shadow over the movement.¹⁶⁰ To point out that racism, anti-Semitism, and elitism were common in the housing politics of the 1920s and 1930s, while factually true, does little to limit their legacy.

As the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings gained more influence, professional men replaced its female leadership.¹⁶¹ Captain Alton Deas took over as president of the Society in 1927 just as it took on a major new project, the preservation of

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory*, 211.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 25, 38; Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 50–51; "Ansonborough--- A Lesson in Restoration," *The News and Courier*, February 19, 1967, sec. B, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; "Tours of Historic Houses to Feature Ansonborough," *Charleston Evening Post*, March 25, 1967, sec. A, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; "Ansonborough Restoration Moves Ahead," *The News and Courier*, July 14, 1960, sec. A, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; "The City: Bringing Back the Heritage," *Time*, September 1, 1967, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library.; H. Allen Morris, II, "Ansonborough 1746-1968," *The Charleston Gateway*, June 1968, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; H. Allen Morris, II, "Dream-To-Reality Municipal Auditorium and Exhibition Hall," *The Charleston Gateway*, July 1968, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; "Acquisition of 15-Acre Site Was Thorny Process," *Charleston Evening Post*, July 16, 1968, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; Jack Leland, "Ansonborough Tour On Agenda Tonight," *The Post and Courier*, October 17, 1983, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library

¹⁶¹ This is true throughout the preservation movement in this period.

the Heyward-Washington House. Deas oversaw (in 1957) the change of the organization's name to The Preservation Society of Charleston.¹⁶² The greater influence wielded by these men soon bore dividends for the movement. Riding a wave of public outrage over the demolition of several Meeting Street houses for a gasoline station, Mayor Thomas Stoney and the City Council formed the City Planning and Zoning Commission in 1929. This committee hired a planning consultant, Morris Knowles, who worked with native son and architect Albert Simons to survey the properties below Broad Street. Though the City Council did not take up all of the consultant's recommendations, it chose to implement one of the most important ideas, a preservation ordinance. The Council passed a zoning ordinance to govern an area of more than 400 buildings that they named the "Old and Historic District". The ordinance was officially adopted on October 13, 1931, the first such preservation ordinance in the United States.¹⁶³ The Council had previously established the City of Charleston Art Commission as "an advisory board in matters looking to public improvements".¹⁶⁴ Albert Simons was a member of this commission along with serving as president of the Carolina Art Association and as the first chairman of the Charleston County Planning Board.¹⁶⁵ As an American Institute of Architects (AIA) member, Simons had also sat on the AIA Committee to Preserve Charleston.¹⁶⁶ It seemed only natural that the City

¹⁶² "The Preservation Society of Charleston (Infographic)," *Preservation Progress*, Spring 1995, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Associations--Preservation Society, Charleston County Public Library.

¹⁶³ Robert R. Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City: Historic Charleston Foundation, 1947-1997* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 17; Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory*, 43; "Charleston and Preservation," Government Agency, *National Park Service*, (1998), <http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/charleston/preservation.htm>.

¹⁶⁴ Kenneth Severens, "Toward Preservation Before 1931: The Early Career of Albert Simons," *Preservation Progress*, Spring 1993, 10, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid; Robert P. Stockton, "Dean of Charleston Architects," *Preservation Progress*, November 1975, 7, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library.

¹⁶⁶ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*.

Council, upon creating the Board of Architectural Review (BAR), would appoint Simons to that organization as well. The mayoral appointees to the board, all men, would have to approve of any exterior changes to structures within the Old and Historic District before allowing the change. Simons' expertise as architect, writer, editor, and publisher, along with the personal taste of both he and the rest of the board, would be the guiding principle for decisions.¹⁶⁷ Both the area demarcated and the predilections of the board leaned towards the preservation of colonial and antebellum buildings. Victorian eclecticism did not pass muster.¹⁶⁸ The reach of the BAR would continue to expand, exercising power over a large portion of peninsular Charleston by the early decades of the twenty-first century.¹⁶⁹

Universal approbation did not greet the celebrated ordinance. As former mayor Patrick Grace noted at the time, Charleston's history was a much larger story that these early preservationists were telling. His Charleston was built on the labor and entrepreneurial gumption of immigrants and not the wealthy elite's pleasure park.¹⁷⁰ In the grips of the Great Depression, preservationists prevailed through their capacity to garner federal funds. BAR member Albert Simons lobbied for New Deal funds to clear slums and build new black and white public housing outside of the Old and Historic District.¹⁷¹ Throughout the 1930s, Simons, who served multiple roles within the city, both as a public servant and a private citizen, pursued an agenda that pushed poor whites and all blacks to the margins of the city. The wholesale destruction of an African American neighborhood near the Old City Jail, an

¹⁶⁷ Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory*, 24, 43-44.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 44.

¹⁶⁹ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 56.

¹⁷⁰ Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory*, 42.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 46.

area that borders the Old and Historic District, is a case in point. Over the objections of its residents, this black community had to relocate further from the city center. In place of the black neighbors and their wooden houses, Simons designed a whites-only brick public housing complex in the then-fashionable duplex plan.¹⁷² Though Simons was acting in his official capacity as a city planner, his involvement in so many preservation projects in the city indelibly linked his official actions with the cause of preservation in the minds of much of the public. The entangling of causes further continued when the Preservation Society successfully petitioned for the protection of the Old City Jail and neighboring Marine Hospital. Both buildings' demolition with the rest of the neighborhood had been preordained. Instead, city officials used federal funds awarded after a hurricane hit the city to relocate the Jenkins Orphanage (which had been located in the Merchant Hospital building and served the black community) to a new location ten miles out of town. The jail and hospital disappeared off the demolition list, and rehabilitation has allowed for their continued use.¹⁷³

Simon's influence on policy and aesthetics in Charleston in this period is difficult to overstate. When Standard Oil sought to make amends for demolition of several properties on Chalmers Street, they hired Albert Simons to design their new station.¹⁷⁴ He designed a colonial revival filling station that now houses Historic Charleston Foundation's Frances R. Edmunds Center for Historic Preservation (their retail operation).¹⁷⁵ In 1939, civic leaders,

¹⁷² Ibid., 47–49.

¹⁷³ "The Preservation Society of Charleston (Infographic)."

¹⁷⁴ Standard Oil had undertaken quite a few demolitions in the city for new service and filling stations. In fact, these demolitions gave a great boost to the effort to pass the preservation ordinance.

¹⁷⁵ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*, 16–17.

preservationists, and arts organizations brought Frederick Law Olmstead, Jr., son and professional heir of the famous landscape designer, to Charleston. They asked him to design a plan that would guide Charleston's preservation efforts while retaining a living city. Though most of his recommendations received half-hearted if any implementation, his idea for an organization that would provide financial and professional guidance to those renovating historic properties was implemented through the founding of Historic Charleston Foundation in 1947. Carolina Art Association director (and former art curator at the Charleston Museum) Newton Spry Whitelaw was instrumental in the organization of the Foundation.¹⁷⁶ Frances S. Edmonds started as the director of Tour Operations (the annual spring Tour of Homes continues to be a major fundraising effort for the organization) and rose to the post of Executive Director where she served for 38 years.¹⁷⁷ The attitude of early twentieth-century America, where many saw blacks as undesirable second-class citizens, permeated the preservation conversations of this period. Olmstead recommended steering tourists away from the "unattractive negro sections" of town.¹⁷⁸ Newspapers of the time frequently described neighborhoods with heavy concentrations of black residents as "slums" that were filled with brothels.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 24-26.

¹⁷⁷ "Charleston and Preservation."

¹⁷⁸ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*.

¹⁷⁹ "Ansonborough--- A Lesson in Restoration," *The News and Courier*, February 19, 1967, sec. B, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; "Tours of Historic Houses to Feature Ansonborough," *Charleston Evening Post*, March 25, 1967, sec. A, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; "Ansonborough Restoration Moves Ahead," *The News and Courier*, July 14, 1960, sec. A, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; "The City: Bringing Back the Heritage.," H. Allen Morris, II, "Ansonborough 1746-1968," *The Charleston Gateway*, June 1968, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; H. Allen Morris, II, "Dream-To-Reality Municipal Auditorium and Exhibition Hall," *The Charleston Gateway*, July 1968, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; "Acquisition of 15-Acre Site Was Thorny Process," *Charleston Evening Post*, July 16, 1968, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; Jack Leland,

In 1944, Alice Rutledge Huger Smith, native daughter of several old Charleston families and co-author with her father of *The Dwelling Houses of Charleston*, was one of four people tasked with the classification of downtown structures. Their categorization of certain properties as “notable” or “valuable” was enshrined in the published tome *This is Charleston*.¹⁸⁰ Significance to the elite of the city served as the basis for this value judgment. In 1953, the Preservation Society of Charleston created the Carolopolis awards, recognizing excellence in preservation. A small group whose criteria was their personal sense of “good taste” similarly ruled the committee that oversaw the awards.¹⁸¹ Much was made of the “reclamation” of these buildings and neighborhoods from the state of decrepitude into which they had fallen. In every instance, the removal of black tenants and their replacement with whites (tenants or, preferably, owners) was encouraged as an act of preservation.¹⁸² Certainly, housing as many as a dozen families in one building (as often occurred) is not in the interest of the longevity of any house designed as a single-family residence.¹⁸³ Yet there is no denying the social pressure members of the preservation community applied onto private property owners to prevent them renting to African-Americans.¹⁸⁴ Of course, this was not uncommon across the country at the time, in cities both south and north. Examples

“Ansonborough Tour On Agenda Tonight,” *The Post and Courier*, October 17, 1983, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

¹⁸⁰ Severens and Charles L. Wyrick, Jr., *Charles Fraser of Charleston: Essays on the Man, His Art and His Times*, 40.

¹⁸¹ Robert Behre, “Carolopolis Award Turns 50: 1,316 Plaques Have Recognized Exemplary Preservation Efforts,” *The Post and Courier*, January 12, 2004, sec. B, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Associations--Preservation Society, Charleston County Public Library.

¹⁸² Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory*, 46.

¹⁸³ “The City: Bringing Back the Heritage.”

¹⁸⁴ Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory*, 49.

range from the Georgetown area of Washington D.C., to New York's Harlem, and the Southside of Chicago.¹⁸⁵

Historic Charleston Foundation's (HCF) early staff implemented a second recommendation from Olmstead's plan, establishing a revolving fund within a decade of its chartering.¹⁸⁶ The Preservation Society would follow suit in 1973, creating its own revolving fund with plans to move and restore the 1796 Frederick Wolfe House.¹⁸⁷ The ambitious goal for HCF's fund was to save not a solitary building, but rather an entire neighborhood – Ansonborough.¹⁸⁸ In this program, HCF used a donation of funds to purchase and stabilize buildings in the neighborhood. It then sold the buildings to middle- and upper-class buyers who agreed to certain deed restrictions on the exterior appearance and use of the property while encouraging them to renovate the interiors to suit their modern lives.¹⁸⁹ Between 1957

¹⁸⁵ Shel Clark, "The Mandate to Remember Black Georgetown," Community Blog, *The Georgetown Metropolitan*, (February 9, 2016), <http://georgetownmetropolitan.com/2016/02/09/the-mandate-to-remember-black-georgetown/>; Kevin McGruder, *Race and Real Estate: Conflict and Cooperation in Harlem, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), <https://books.google.com/books?id=LHqpBgAAQBAJ&pg=PA8&lpq=PA8&dq=pressure+not+to+rent+to+blacks&source=bl&ots=JB22RCJ0eh&sig=7HomL59Oe1yk5RRcQ-tjStKqInM&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjU7a3YgJHLAhVMqx4KHdIKB3gQ6AEIKjAC#v=onepage&q=pressure%20not%20to%20rent%20to%20blacks&f=false>; Max Page and Randall Mason, *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2004), <https://books.google.com/books?id=xYLB8P-HraUC&pg=PA168&lpq=PA168&dq=pressure+by+preservationists+not+to+rent+to+blacks&source=bl&ots=nDMHHiklfd&sig=XnMn6ZRGJHORDyKbJ2Ix7rNauJE&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjcoN6Ng5HLAhXDFh4KHxhYCW4Q6AEILzAE#v=onepage&q=pressure%20by%20preservationists%20not%20to%20rent%20to%20blacks&f=false>; Julius C. Washington, "Historic Preservation, History, and the African American: A Discussion and Framework for Change" (Master's Thesis, Georgia Institute of Technology, 1992), Archive.org (Online), <https://ia801308.us.archive.org/25/items/historicpreserva00washpdf/historicpreserva00wash.pdf>.

¹⁸⁶ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*, 25–26.

¹⁸⁷ Robert P. Stockton, "Revolving Restoration Fund Created," *The News and Courier*, May 12, 1973, sec. B, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Associations--Preservation Society, Charleston County Public Library.

¹⁸⁸ "The City: Bringing Back the Heritage."

¹⁸⁹ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*.

and 1976, the program's operating years, over 60 properties passed through the program.¹⁹⁰

"It's hard to imagine Ansonborough was ever a slum, the sort of place where the kids were actually called 'borough rats'" marveled the Charleston Post and Courier in 2012.¹⁹¹ The characterization of the neighborhood, especially in the press, has had a lasting impact on its legacy. Descriptions of this neighborhood of low-income laborers routinely called it a "slum", a "ghetto", "urban blight" overrun by "Negroes".¹⁹² In fact, the coverage never acknowledged how integrated the area truly was. A cursory examination of the 1950-51 City Directory, which used a © to distinguish "colored" residents, clearly shows the highly integrated nature of the area. The neighbors along Anson Street (the main artery through the neighborhood) were both black and white with some areas alternating between black and white residents and others clustering one group or the other. Of the 126 residents listed along Anson Street, 38 are marked as "colored". The street is further home to twelve businesses, two houses of worship (one "colored", one not), and one parochial school.¹⁹³

The Foundation touted its project as the largest "slum clearing" effort since the Second

¹⁹⁰ "Edmunds Endangered Property Fund," Corporate Website, *Historic Charleston Foundation*, (2015), historiccharleston.org.

¹⁹¹ Brian Hicks, "History's Guardian: Group Makes Sure City's Past Has a Future," *The Post and Courier*, October 22, 2012, sec. B, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

¹⁹² "Ansonborough--- A Lesson in Restoration," *The News and Courier*, February 19, 1967, sec. B, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; "Tours of Historic Houses to Feature Ansonborough," *Charleston Evening Post*, March 25, 1967, sec. A, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; "Ansonborough Restoration Moves Ahead," *The News and Courier*, July 14, 1960, sec. A, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; "The City: Bringing Back the Heritage.," H. Allen Morris, II, "Ansonborough 1746-1968," *The Charleston Gateway*, June 1968, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; H. Allen Morris, II, "Dream-To-Reality Municipal Auditorium and Exhibition Hall," *The Charleston Gateway*, July 1968, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; "Acquisition of 15-Acre Site Was Thorny Process," *Charleston Evening Post*, July 16, 1968, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; Jack Leland, "Ansonborough Tour On Agenda Tonight," *The Post and Courier*, October 17, 1983, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

¹⁹³ *Nelsons' Baldwin's Charleston South Carolina City Directory*, vol. 6 (Charleston: Nelsons' Baldwin Directory Company, Inc., 1950).

World War.¹⁹⁴ While there was a certain amount of truth to this talk, it has become the narrative about the neighborhood. So much so that a 2012 piece in the *City Paper* claimed, that Ansonborough in the 1950s had become “the stomping ground of whores and low-lives.”¹⁹⁵ What was politically expedient language at the time still rankles those who once lived in the neighborhood. Many of these former residents blame preservationists for the gentrification of the neighborhood and the breakup of their community. As the program neared its end, the careful crafting of narrative was taking place. Frances Edmunds, then director of Historic Charleston Foundation, gave an interview to *The News and Courier* about the changes in the neighborhood. “The saving of Ansonborough was started off by our work and assistance but its real salvation has been achieved by the many families who moved in, did the work and made the project come true.”¹⁹⁶ In the same article, William McIntosh III, then president of the Historic Ansonborough Neighborhood Association continued the theme. “Basically Ansonborough is a success story.”¹⁹⁷

The success of the Ansonborough venture received a boost from the actions of the City of Charleston. Like HCF’s project, though, its impact on an African American community, significantly



Figure 1.7- Mary and Drake Streets (1939)

1939 City Yearbook, reprinted with permission

¹⁹⁴ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*, 63.

¹⁹⁵ Stephanie Barna, “Best Neighborhood: Ansonborough,” *Charleston City Paper*, March 7, 2001, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

¹⁹⁶ W.H.J. Thomas, “Ansonborough: An Undeniable Success,” *The News & Courier*, March 19, 1972, sec. D, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

minimized at the time, has had long-lasting repercussions in the mistrust of many for the cause of preservation. This project was the construction of a Municipal Auditorium on the northern edge of Ansonborough.¹⁹⁸ The city had long searched for a location, creating a Greater Charleston Auditorium District Commission in 1958. The Commission consisted of seven white men who ostensibly represented the varied interests of the community.¹⁹⁹ After several false starts, the committee chose the Middlesex location just north of Ansonborough, trumpeting its central location and the clearing out of three blocks of run-down houses.²⁰⁰ The Commission claimed that there were just one or two properties “of minor historic value”.²⁰¹ Demolitions filled the summer of 1964 as houses were knocked down and the rubble removed.²⁰² The displacement of 700 people cleared the way for the construction of the Gaillard Auditorium.²⁰³ When interviewed in 2000, former mayor Gaillard proclaimed the auditorium to be “one of the best things we did while I was mayor.”²⁰⁴ The resulting building, typical of the period, received frequent condemnation for its ugliness. In 2015, the

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ “Auditorium Group At Full Strength,” *The News & Courier*, May 8, 1958, sec. A, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

²⁰⁰ Frequently cited as positive development in urban areas throughout the country in this era of “Urban Renewal”.

²⁰¹ Belvin Horres, “Most Buildings in Area Decrepit,” *Charleston Evening Post*, May 29, 1964, sec. A, America’s Historical Newspapers Online Database, Charleston County Public Library, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.ccpl.org:2048/iw-search/we/HistArchive/HistArchive?d_viewref=doc&p_docnum=-1&p_nbid=M59U56TUMTQ1MTkzODk3OC4zNTQzNjM6MToxNDoxOTIuMTUyLjI0OS4yOQ&f_docref=v2:13E3762B9393175B@EANX-15778B761E63EB70@2438545-15778ADC5F42D31E@0&p_docref=v2:13E3762B9393175B@EANX-15778B761E63EB70@2438545-15778AE1D59F5722@12; Laurens H. Irby, “Council Approves Midtown Site For Civic Auditorium,” *The News and Courier*, May 29, 1964, Vol.164, No. 150 edition, sec. A, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

²⁰² David Farrow, “Entire Neighborhood Razed to Build Gaillard Auditorium: Do You Know Your Charleston,” *The Post and Courier*, December 7, 2000, sec. D, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

²⁰³ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*, 65.

²⁰⁴ Farrow, “Entire Neighborhood Razed to Build Gaillard Auditorium: Do You Know Your Charleston.”

City of Charleston opened the doors to a new and improved Gaillard Center, a grand neo-classical design that has been generally well-received.

From its very inception, Historic Charleston Foundation has been a powerful lobbying force in the city. It has successfully fought for specific preservation efforts and city decisions. This has placed it in a unique position to influence



Figure 1.8- Bennett Rice Mill (1937)

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-cas-03659

policy in the city. The organization purchased the Nathaniel Russell House in 1955 and opened it as a museum in 1956. In addition, the building provided offices for the organization. In 1958, they partnered with the Preservation Society to save the antebellum Bennett Rice Mill from a demolition order.²⁰⁵ This was quite a coup considering the Board of Architectural Review did not have power to delay demolitions until 1959 and did not receive the authority to bar demolitions until 1966.²⁰⁶ Unfortunately, much of the Rice Mill was lost to a 1960 hurricane.²⁰⁷ Nineteen sixty-six was a banner year for Historic Charleston Foundation. That year brought the expansion of the special zoning ordinance from the Old and Historic District to also cover Ansonborough.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ "Preservation Society Notes Achievements," *The News and Courier*, January 11, 1959, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Associations--Preservation Society, Charleston County Public Library.

²⁰⁶ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*, 19.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 32–45.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 78–85.

In the 1960s,
an extension of U.S.
Highway 17
(Crosstown
Expressway) came
through the city of
Charleston. The area
chosen, well to the
north of the historic



SCDOT courtesy of the Margareta Childs Archive at HCF

Figure 1.9- Men Show Path of Highway as Boys Watch (1963)

center of the city in a predominantly African American neighborhood, did not draw comment from the preservation community, even as it left a wide scar bisecting the center of the peninsula and an entire community. At the same time (1968), plans for a bridge connecting James Island to the peninsula called for access at Broad or Beufain Street. The Preservation Society and Historic Charleston Foundation expressed vehement opposition, as this plan would have essentially bisected Harleston Village.²⁰⁹ In 1975, HCF was able to influence the final decision that placed the Connector's access to the peninsula at Calhoun Street, conveniently tying it into the Crosstown and containing the impact to an area that had already lost its integrity.²¹⁰

Historic Charleston Foundation presented the Historic Preservation Plan of 1974 to the city, which eagerly adopted it and used it as its planning document through the end of the century. The plan included an extensive survey of the peninsula south of the Crosstown

²⁰⁹ "The Preservation Society of Charleston (Infographic)."

²¹⁰ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*, 124–143.

that would classify structures on a four-level system. A Level 1 property was “exceptional” and its preservation prioritized; a Level 2 property was “excellent”; Level 3 was “significant”; Level 4 was “contributing”. The city dropped this last category but used the other three to determine the level of BAR review a project would receive.²¹¹ The 1974 plan also called for a height ordinance restricting upward development. This controversial aspect of the program, adopted in 1978, has nine zones of varying restriction.²¹²

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, HCF embarked on a series of successful preservation ventures. In addition to the victory with the James Island Connector, by partnering with the National Trust for Historic Preservation, HCF helped raise the funds required for the Trust’s 1974 acquisition of Drayton Hall.²¹³ Following the drafting of guidelines under the Uniform Conservation Easement Act (1981), Historic Charleston Foundation seized the opportunity to start an easement program.²¹⁴ In 1982, Jonathan Poston came in to run the program in which homeowners donated restrictions on the use and appearance of their properties to a nonprofit organization (HCF) in exchange for tax deductions from the government.²¹⁵ This benefited the organization in that they could have continuing impact on preservation without the expenses and difficulties of owning and selling a property.²¹⁶ The 1984 purchase and restoration of the William Gibbes House (64 South Battery) brought another first to the organization. Included in the covenants at the

²¹¹ Ibid., 78–85.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid., 124–143.

²¹⁴ Thomas F. King, *Cultural Resource Laws & Practice*, 3rd ed., Heritage Resource Management (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2008), 375–383.

²¹⁵ In the tradition of preservationists in the city, Poston would go on to publish the influential *The Buildings of Charleston* in 1997, the most extensive collection of building histories of any in the genre.

²¹⁶ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*, 106.

sale, in addition to standard protections for the exterior appearance and continued use of the property as a residence, was a first-of-its-kind interior easement.²¹⁷ In 1987, HCF purchased Mulberry Plantation in nearby Berkeley County, which it sold with an original façade easement and an additional land easement.²¹⁸ Another banner year followed in 1988. That year, HCF embarked on its Calhoun Street Corridor Study. The study was a response to a planned McSleepy's Inn at 68 Calhoun Street (now the location of the Charleston County Public Library) and the continuing expansion of the College of Charleston and the Medical University of South Carolina. It was also the year a long-brewing controversy came to an amenable solution. The U.S. General Services Administration (GSA) determined in 1980 that an annex to the Federal Courthouse needed to be constructed. They decided the ideal location was the park adjacent to the Post Office Building on the corner of Meeting and Broad Streets. The Preservation Society ran a letter writing campaign, pleading with its members to write the states two senators and the Executive Director of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.²¹⁹ After years of wrangling, a sketch done on a napkin by HCF's Joseph McGee during a meeting with Judge Solomon Blatt led to the compromise. This quick design was of a building with a generous setback from Meeting Street, which retained the look and feel of a traditional Charleston garden.²²⁰

A battle over a King Street development shed light on the differing tactics of Charleston's two major preservation organizations. Mayor Joe Riley welcomed the 1977 plan

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 124–143.

²¹⁹ Henry F. Cauthen, "Letter to Preservation Society of Charleston Members from Henry F. Cauthen, Executive Director," August 3, 1983, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Associations--Preservation Society, Charleston County Public Library.

²²⁰ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*, 88–91.

for a new hotel, mall, and convention center with the hopes the project would revitalize King Street. The original plan called for part of the development to sit on an area previously cleared for a parking lot. The rest of the property had a series of historic buildings, of which the developer was planning to retain the façades alone.²²¹ The design was of a ten-story tower featuring more than 400 rooms, a high-end department store and other shops, and a parking garage.²²² Historic Charleston Foundation took a neutral stance on the concept of a development on the site. They made a series of suggestions about the planned design including a significant height reduction and the preservation of the most important buildings in their entirety. The Preservation Society of Charleston, by contrast, joined the Charlestown Neighborhood Association, the Harleston Neighborhood Association, and a newly-formed group, Save Historic Charleston Fund, to file a lawsuit against the project. In an open letter published in *Preservation Progress*, society president William McIntosh, III gave the reason they felt the need to sue:

We suggested the parking garage, the main cause of demolition, be placed on the south side of Market Street on now nearly vacant land. We have had no official reply. We expressed concern about the demolition of buildings on King Street. We have had no official reply. We have protested the demolition of buildings on Meeting Street. We have had no official reply. We even went to Washington to meet with the developer and architects and made suggestions. We have had no official reply. As far as I know to this date, not one of our ideas or suggestions has been used or even seriously considered...‘Our voice has been restricted in our own City Council chambers, where two of our Councilmen have been disqualified to speak or vote.’²²³

²²¹ Ibid., 93–105.

²²² Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 59.

²²³ William McIntosh, III, “McIntosh Ends Second Term, President’s Report,” *Preservation Progress*, 1977, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Associations--Preservation Society, Charleston County Public Library.

The Preservation Society and neighborhood groups did not oppose development *per se*, but they feared the destruction of so much historic fabric. On the other hand, Save Historic Charleston Fund opposed any development whatsoever. The fight became increasingly histrionic as the groups sought national attention for their cause. Turning the publicity machine against Save Historic Charleston Fund was another new group, Downtown Residents for Charleston Center. This group turned to a tried-and-true technique, raising the specter of a low-rent motel (with its attendant low-rent clientele) taking the place of the larger, high-end development. Already supported by the local papers and city officials, and working to accommodate the alternative preferred by HCF, the approval and construction of the project proceeded in due course. Save Historic Charleston Fund folded in 1983, shortly after the developer won the right to build. The Preservation Society of Charleston has embraced the threat of lawsuit as a means to fight projects, most recently Clemson University's proposed Spaulding Paolozzi Center and the Sergeant Jasper re-design, which the members do not think are right for Charleston.²²⁴ The original estimate for Charleston Place was \$40 million but the project ended up costing \$85 million. Loans from the City of Charleston to the developers have, as of 2015, yet to be paid.²²⁵ In 1987, the Preservation Society presented Carolopolis awards to Mayor Riley and Charleston Place developer Taubman Co.'s Claude Auger.²²⁶

Charleston Place was not the only project HCF focused on in the 1970s and 1980s. Responding to criticism of the displacement evident in the wake of the Ansonborough

²²⁴ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*, 93–105.

²²⁵ Estes, *Charleston in Black and White*, 60.

²²⁶ "Carolopolis Awards given," *The News and Courier*, January 15, 1987, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Associations--Preservation Society, Charleston County Public Library.

project, Historic Charleston Foundation set itself to the task of promoting restoration while helping low- and middle-income Charlestonians. Concentrating on Wraggborough and Radcliffeborough neighborhoods, the organization first used its revolving fund to purchase large houses that they hope would act as an anchor for the community. They found more difficulty locating the smaller houses that African Americans in the area were more able to afford. Considering it an ideal spot to build a cluster of affordable housing units, the organization purchased a large interior lot between Judith and Chapel Streets near the Aiken-Rhett house. The project fell apart and the lot sold to a private developer. They, in turn, built a cluster of market-price housing units following much the same plan. Undeterred and following a new vision, Historic Charleston Foundation launched the Home Ownership Project in 1977. The targets were smaller rental houses in a neighborhood. Purchasing, rehabilitating (usually creating two units), and selling them to owners who also put in sweat equity, the effort was intended to provide a means for low- and moderate-income residents to become homeowners. The purpose of creating two units was to provide a rental income for the homeowner. The program funds came from Housing and Urban Development (HUD) money in the form of a Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) administered by the city. Department of the Interior funds managed by the state of South Carolina, and private money from HCF's revolving fund covered the remainder. The city conducted its first extensive survey of the upper boroughs (south of the Crosstown and above Calhoun Street) in 1985, though a joint effort between the city and HCF to list several of these neighborhoods on the national register was abandoned after a strongly negative reaction by the community. Neighbors feared that listing would essentially advertise their

community to speculators, which would lead to gentrification. The program ended when the funding from HUD dried up in the mid-1980s.²²⁷

When interviewed in 1988, then-president of the Ansonborough Neighborhood Association, Howard Drew, acknowledged that his neighborhood had lost something in its ongoing gentrification.²²⁸ Historic Charleston Foundation recommitted to the cause, starting a separate non-profit in 1987, Charleston Heritage Housing, Inc. The sole focus of this organization was to be the rehabilitation of properties without displacement. With seed money and technical support from HCF, the organization (whose name changed to Charleston Affordable Housing in 1990) operated in the upper boroughs into the twenty-first century. Historic Charleston Foundation sold or donated a series of properties to Charleston Affordable Housing in the Eastside community's Hampstead area and provided labor from its craft trades program.²²⁹ Unfortunately, Charleston Affordable Housing declared bankruptcy in 2009 after an investment in a York County project failed and sent the organization into a legal and financial crisis.²³⁰

The calculus of affordable housing underwent a complete change due to the destruction wrought by Hurricane Hugo in 1989. Inherited properties that were under or uninsured were home to many low-income families. Unscrupulous contractors swooped in and performed shoddy work or absconded with payments without performing any work at all. All over Charleston, reconstruction projects bloomed. Historic Charleston Foundation was

²²⁷ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*, 106, 120-121.

²²⁸ Howard Drew, "In the Neighborhood," *The News and Courier*, July 21, 1988, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

²²⁹ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*, 118-119.

²³⁰ John McDermott, "Charleston Affordable Housing Still on Hold," *The Post and Courier*, April 13, 2009, postandcourier.com.

involved in the renovation of the Charleston County Courthouse, Powder Magazine, Aiken-Rhett House, and the Missroon House. The last property would become the new headquarters of the organization in 1996, just before 50th anniversary celebrations began.²³¹ Historic Charleston also returned to direct involvement in neighborhood revitalization programs in the aftermath of Hugo. In 1991, the Foundation launched its Neighborhood Impact Initiative, which focused on the Elliottborough neighborhood just south of the Crosstown. The first property purchase under this program took place in 1993. HCF's Benjamin Wilson led the initial phase of the program. He, along with Director of Preservation Jonathan Poston, toured the Elliottborough neighborhood and identified 40 "target properties". Their goal was to purchase, renovate, and re-sell the houses to inspire the restoration of more buildings.²³² To mitigate gentrification, buyers would have to be first-time homeowners who were low- to moderate-income. There was a special preference for buyers who had lived in Elliottborough or another nearby neighborhood for at least ten years.²³³ Through the Neighborhood Impact Initiative, Historic Charleston Foundation first renovated three houses before it joined with the Episcopal Diocese's Community Housing Development Organization with the plan to renovate nine more. The partnership began in 1997 and dissolved in 2000.²³⁴ In 1994, the Preservation Society enacted a new program

²³¹ Weyeneth, *Historic Preservation for a Living City*, 197–198.

²³² "Historic Charleston Foundation: The Neighborhood Impact Initiative, October 1997," October 1997, NII Elliottborough Box 1 of 3, Folder: General Info 1, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²³³ "Historic Charleston Foundation, Revolving Fund, Home Ownership Program, Guidelines and Procedures," n.d., NII Elliottborough Box 1 of 3, Folder: General Info 2, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²³⁴ Rev. Skilton, "Rev. Skilton to Historic Charleston Foundation," September 23, 1997, NII Elliottborough Box 2, Home Fund 2, Folder: Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation; Dr. Carter Hudgins, "Carter Hudgins Letter to Rev. Skilton," November 24, 1997, NII Elliottborough Box 2 Homefund 4 of 5, Folder: Correspondence & Misc., Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation; Philip H. Dufford, "Dufford Young Architects to Guerry

where volunteers would repair the homes of elderly members of the community who could not otherwise afford the repair work.²³⁵ In 2012, they launched a program to purchase, rehabilitate, and sell properties as a measure to address demolition by neglect.²³⁶

In 2014, Historic Charleston Foundation brought in consultants to help re-focus their revolving fund programs. The newest iteration, the Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative, focuses on the North Central neighborhood. HCF is concentrating particular attention on helping current residents stay in their homes. They believe this will mitigate gentrification, keeping the median income of the area more affordable for the whole neighborhood.²³⁷ Preservation in Charleston continues to play an important role in city affairs. A showdown over the proposed contemporary design for the Spaulding Paolozzi Center along with the re-development of the Sergeant Jasper apartments highlighted the need for a new approval process—or a reconsideration of the Board of Architectural Review. A conference in 2015 with Andres Duany, famous new-urbanist city planner, led to a series of recommendations for handling growth, new construction, and preservation in the city. Cruise ships, tourists, parking, and flooding are also on the agenda. With a new administration in office, the city is poised for change.

Glover,” April 4, 2000, Property Files, Box 84, Folder: Porter’s Gen., Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²³⁵ “The Preservation Society of Charleston (Infographic).”

²³⁶ Tyrone Richardson, “Society Launches Home Revitalization Effort,” *Post and Courier*, December 19, 2012, sec. B, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Associations--Preservation Society, Charleston County Public Library.

²³⁷ Winslow Hastie and April Wood, “The Evolving Revolving Fund: Historic Charleston Foundation Revamps Its Pioneering Program,” *ForumJournal* 29, no. 1 (Fall 2014): 20, <https://www.historiccharleston.org/hcf/files/4e/4e9dd6f2-445c-41f6-be5b-84b674d898c0.pdf>; April Wood, Historic Charleston Foundation’s Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative, In Person with Author, November 24, 2015.

Elliottborough and the Neighborhood Impact Initiative (1991-2002)

Laid out in the 1770s, the streets of Elliottborough take their name from colonial-era planter and Provincial Congress member Col. Barnard Elliott.²³⁸ Idiosyncratic spelling and pronunciations of the neighborhood's name exist. These include "Elliotborough" (which appears on area street signs) and "Elliottsborough".²³⁹ HCF has always used Elliottborough, as will this thesis. The original residents of the neighborhood were a mix of Irish and German immigrants, free people of color, Jews, and native-born whites.²⁴⁰ This mixed-race community thrived in the early twentieth century with many small businesses, corner grocers, doctors, lawyers, synagogues, and churches. White flight in the 1940s still left a vibrant and predominantly African American community. Things began to change in 1967 when the Crosstown Expressway cut a swath through the neighborhood, amputating its northernmost reaches, including its public schools.²⁴¹ Members of the African American community who could afford it, including most of its professional class, moved to the suburbs, even if they maintained their businesses downtown. Drug activity among a segment of the inhabitants created fear in the greater part of the community.²⁴² Disinvestment in the area led to a number of abandoned properties, deteriorated roads and buildings, and concern

²³⁸ Ron Menchaca, "Pressure Points," *Post and Courier*, October 12, 2000, Final edition, sec. Downtown, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; Sean C. Davis, "One Block at a Time: Will Redevelopment Shred the Fabric of the Elliottborough Neighborhood?," *Charleston City Paper*, May 17, 2000, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; Robert and Company, "Area Character Appraisal Cannonborough-Elliottborough" (Atlanta, August 2009), <http://www.charleston-sc.gov/DocumentCenter/View/1639>, 11.

²³⁹ Adam Ferrell, "How Did 'S' Beome Part of Elliottborough?," *Post and Courier*, February 20, 2001, Final edition, sec. Downtown, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library.

²⁴⁰ Robert and Company, "ACA Cannonborough-Elliottborough," 12.

²⁴¹ Vicki Davis Williams and Julia-Ellen Craft Davis (Elliottborough Residents), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, January 30, 2016; Robert and Company, "ACA Cannonborough-Elliottborough," 10.

²⁴² Interview with lifelong resident of Elliottborough, Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, February 4, 2016.

among many that the neighborhood was in danger of further decline and from gentrification pressures already evident in the 1990s.

The Neighborhood Impact Initiative: Phase One

To help address both of these issues, in 1991 HCF launched the Neighborhood Impact Initiative. This program was a reworking of its popular 1978 Home Ownership Program.²⁴³ Responding to criticism that their previous programs had led to gentrification, and aligning their agenda to that of the federal housing grant programs, HCF designed its initiative to rehabilitate area buildings while preventing gentrification. As its anti-gentrification measure, HCF relied on bringing in the right buyers for the renovated homes. The buyers would either have to be first time homebuyers of low- to moderate-income or long-term (ten or more years) residents of Elliottborough (or one of the nearby neighborhoods). In 1992, according to HCF, this meant a single buyer could not earn more than \$23,700 with a family of four capped at \$33,900. Another condition of purchase was a credit check.²⁴⁴

In order to finance its programs, Historic Charleston Foundation launched a capital campaign in 1992. The money raised went into both its regular revolving fund and a separate revolving fund for the Neighborhood Impact Initiative. In 1993, they purchased the first

²⁴³ “Historic Charleston Foundation: The Neighborhood Impact Initiative, October 1997,” October 1997, NII Elliottborough Box 1 of 3, Folder: General Info 1, Historic Charleston Foundation Archive.

²⁴⁴ “Historic Charleston Foundation, Revolving Fund, Home Ownership Program, Guidelines and Procedures,” n.d., NII Elliottborough Box 1 of 3, Folder: General Info 2, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

property under the initiative, 33 Bogard Street. While renovating that property, HCF also acquired the vacant lots at 15 and 17 Porter's Court. The organization planned to design and build model infill housing for the community on the two lots. Jonathan Poston, Director of Development for HCF at that time, thought that developing a major project on the court was a good plan:

Porter's Court was really awful. The court itself was blocked by a twelve foot mound of garbage. Liquor bottles, beer bottles, [and] worse... The majority of the houses were, I don't want to say abandoned, but a lot of them didn't even have active meters. We tended to avoid houses, as much as we could, that had active meters because we didn't want to displace tenants. But we did sometimes because they would be absentee-owned houses in very bad condition. Those tenants were living in real[ly] bad circumstances.²⁴⁵

By 1995, the rehabilitation of 33 Bogard Street was completed and the property sold. In that same year, HCF planned and began work on 25 Sires Street.²⁴⁶ Purchased in December of 1994, architect Amanda Herbert created the design and scope of work for the property while Ben Wilson, head of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative, oversaw day-to-day work on the property and the Preservation Building Crafts Program. The major project for the student trainees in the summer of 1995 was to re-build the front porch while professionals demolished a poorly-constructed addition in anticipation of major construction. Wilson oversaw the project until the end of August 1995, when he left HCF to

²⁴⁵ Jonathan Poston, Jonathan Poston (HCF Director of Development), Interview with Author by Telephone, November 4, 2015.

²⁴⁶ "Historic Charleston Foundation: The Neighborhood Impact Initiative, October 1997."

pursue other opportunities.²⁴⁷ One of the last things Wilson did in his role with HCF was to contract with DeCosta Construction Company for sill repairs and raise the building.²⁴⁸

After Wilson's departure, the architect stepped in to guide the project while his replacement, Sean Houlihan, settled in. In November of 1995, DeCosta Construction received the contract for major renovations at 25 Sires Street.²⁴⁹ In December of that year, when Herbert needed to sign off on work completed so the contractor could receive payment, she hesitated. She noted that they were seeking payment for work whose completion was on hold until other parts of the project were completed.²⁵⁰ It appears the contractors were dismissed from the project since Houlihan began 1996 by generating an estimate to complete the work at the property.²⁵¹ Finding a new contractor took some time, but he finally signed a contract with Alvin Richardson Construction in July of that year. HCF, seemingly eager to avoid a repeat of the experience with the first contractor, used a

²⁴⁷ Jonathan Poston and Ben Wilson, "Memo from Jonathan Poston and Ben Wilson to Carter Hudgins," June 26, 1995, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 25 Sires, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁴⁸ Jimmie Cobbs, "DeCosta Construction Company, Inc. Estimate for Work at 25 Sires Street," August 31, 1995, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 25 Sires, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

Two of the interview subjects featured in this thesis are direct descendants of H.A. DeCosta. The company was sold in 1989 and the family had no involvement with the business by this time.

²⁴⁹ Jimmie Cobbs, "DeCosta Construction Company, Inc. Estimate for Expanded Scope of Work at 25 Sires Street," November 20, 1995, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 25 Sires, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁵⁰ Amanda G. Herbert, "Amanda Herbert Memo to Sean Houlihan and Jonathan Poston," December 18, 1995, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 25 Sires, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁵¹ Sean Houlihan, "Sean Houlihan Memo to Kristy Varn, Carter Hudgins, Jon Poston, and Amanda Herbert," January 16, 1996, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 25 Sires, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

There is no record to indicate why the contractor was dismissed, whether over the payment issues or another cause.

formal AIA contract when hiring Richardson.²⁵² Work proceeded smoothly, and the Sires Street property went on the market the following year, selling in 1998.²⁵³

As HCF worked on its properties, the Right Reverend Edward L. Salmon, Jr., Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina, visited Calvary Episcopal Church on Line Street and was appalled at the state of the housing in the neighborhood surrounding the church. He called together a group of nine men from the church, leaders of the congregation, and tasked them with doing something about the situation. He appointed Lonnie Hamilton, a Jazz musician and Charleston County Councilman, to chair the committee. The committee organized into a Community Housing Development Organization (CHDO), a non-profit entity chartered to provide affordable housing and thus qualified to receive federal HUD funds. Though their 1996 application was unsuccessful, the Bishop ordered the group to apply again in 1997.²⁵⁴ Meanwhile, HCF had been searching for partners to participate in their Neighborhood Impact Initiative. In 1996, the organization submitted a proposed 1.6 million dollar partnership between itself, the city, the Charleston Bank Consortium, and two private businesses to rehabilitate or construct 19 affordable housing units in Elliottborough with a special emphasis on Porter's Court.²⁵⁵ Though that

²⁵² American Institute of Architects (AIA) contracts contain standard legal language that protects both client and architect and provides a framework for conflict resolution.

²⁵³ "Abbreviated Form of Agreement Between Owner and Contractor For Construction Projects of Limited Scope Where the Basis of Payment Is a Stipulated Sum (AIA Document A107)," July 2, 1996, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 25 Sires, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁵⁴ "Real Property Record, 25 Sires Street," Online, Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance, accessed December 15, 2015, prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600803088.

²⁵⁵ Lonnie Hamilton and Frank Rupp, Frank Rupp and Lonnie Hamilton (Director and Former Director, Episcopal Diocese CHDO), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, December 9, 2015.

²⁵⁶ "Business Plan, Porter's Court, Charleston, South Carolina," 1996, Box #6-e-004, City of Charleston Public Records Office.

partnership did not come about, the city did recommend a partnership with itself and Charleston Affordable Housing.²⁵⁶ HCF did utilize some revolving fund money to purchase properties that it deeded to Charleston Affordable Housing, but these properties were in the East Side neighborhood and outside the scope of this research. HCF also applied for State HOME funds to continue to finance its Neighborhood Impact Initiative.

In September of 1997, the Right Reverend William J. Skilton, Suffragan Bishop of South Carolina, reached out to Dr. Carter Hudgins, Director of Historic Charleston Foundation. Rev. Skilton was aware that HCF's application and that of the CHDO were both competing for the HOME fund grant. The likely result of this competition would be that neither would receive the grant. His letter then proposed that the two organizations create a joint application.²⁵⁷ Jonathan Poston, already looking for partners that could help finance the renovations, was certainly interested:

They had the charter. We didn't have a charter. They had access to funds that we couldn't have, by virtue of being a CHDO. They were willing to go along with our preservation ideas and concepts. That we liked the way they would approach it and the way they would be screening applicants to buy the houses and all that. We decided that they were more set up to do that as a CHDO than we were. We were always more about trying to just save the buildings but we had tried to save them in a context of anti-gentrification [and] limiting displacement.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Patricia Crawford, "Patricia Crawford Letter to Carter Hudgins," April 24, 1997, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁵⁷ Rev. Skilton, "Rev. Skilton to Historic Charleston Foundation," September 23, 1997, NII Elliottborough Box 2, Home Fund 2, Folder: Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁵⁸ Jonathan Poston, Jonathan Poston (HCF Director of Development), Interview with Author by Telephone, November 4, 2015.

Internal discussions centered on figuring out each group's responsibilities and minimizing HCF's financial exposure.²⁵⁹ By the end of November 1997, Hudgins replied with an outline of HCF's responsibilities to the partnership.²⁶⁰ As the two organizations and the city celebrated the CHDO's receipt of a \$200,000 HOME fund grant, they also worked towards formalizing their partnership.²⁶¹ Patricia Crawford, Director of the City of Charleston's Housing and Community Development Department, called for a meeting in January of 1998 to clarify coordination of the joint program, the responsibilities of each party, the financial commitments from each organization, marketing, and the plans for spending the HOME funds money.²⁶² An organization receiving money from the HOME fund grants program must find matching donations in the same amount. To this end, Hamilton reached out to Wachovia bank and received a \$15,000 commitment. HCF agreed to contribute \$35,000 while the City of Charleston would provide a Community Development Block Grant of \$150,000.²⁶³

²⁵⁹ Kristy Varn, "Financial Concerns- Porters Court Project (Printed Email)," October 9, 1997, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund 4 of 5, Corresp & Misc., Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation; Scott Lane, "Memo from Scott Lane (Director of Development) to Carter Hudgins, Kristy Varn, Sean Houlihan, and Jonathan Poston," October 10, 1997, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund 4 of 5, Corresp & Misc., Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁶⁰ Dr. Carter Hudgins, "Carter Hudgins Letter to Rev. Skilton," November 24, 1997, NII Elliottborough Box 2 Homefund 4 of 5, Folder: Correspondence & Misc., Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁶¹ David M. Leopard, "HOME Investment Partnerships Program Community Housing Development Organization (CHDO) Program Grant Award" (South Carolina State Housing Finance and Development Authority, December 4, 1997), Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Misc. Porters Court Docs, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁶² Patricia Crawford, "Patricia Crawford Letter to Carter Hudgins," December 16, 1997, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁶³ Hamilton and Rupp, Frank Rupp and Lonnie Hamilton (Director and Former Director, Episcopal Diocese CHDO).

The Neighborhood Impact Initiative: Phase Two

As 1998 began, the partnership came together. A few members of the CHDO attended the state's Implementation Workshop in order to learn all rules and regulations tied to the HOME fund grant.²⁶⁴ The two organizations formalized their partnership with a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for a two year program to renovate or construct nine houses.²⁶⁵ That same day, February 20, 1998, Rev. Skilton sent nineteen people letters announcing the partnership and expressing his hopes for success.²⁶⁶ HCF quickly set about acquiring properties for the program and commenced design work with Dufford Young Architects. At this time, Houlihan admitted to the architects, "I know I need to work on providing good work scopes."²⁶⁷ The young Houlihan would indeed be relied on to do solid work as the designs for 3 Porter's Court got underway. A non-AIA contract signed between Houlihan on behalf of HCF and Dufford Young Architects officially started the project.²⁶⁸

In a bid to be open to the community, the CHDO sent a letter to ministers from other Elliottborough churches in March of 1998. These letters invited them and any

²⁶⁴ "HOME Program Handbook," January 7, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁶⁵ Historic Charleston Foundation and Episcopal Diocese Community Housing Development Organization, "Memorandum of Understanding," February 20, 1998, Box: 84- Property Files, Folder: Porter's General, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

A copy of the MOU is reprinted in Appendix B.

²⁶⁶ Skilton, Rev., "Rev. Skilton Letter Announcing Partnership," February 20, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁶⁷ Sean Houlihan, "Houlihan Fax Coversheet to Dufford Young Architects," March 11, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 3 Porters Ct., Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁶⁸ John L. Young, "Contract between Dufford Young Architects and HCF," April 3, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 3 Porters Ct., Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

interested members of their congregations to attend CHDO Board meetings.²⁶⁹ It is unclear if any follow-up to the letter ever took place, or what, if anything, the ministers did with the invitation. The first setbacks began in mid-year. The South Carolina Housing Program refused to accept the work write up and specifications for 3 Porter's Court generated by Houlihan. The write up contained a consistent error, listing "repair/replace" on a single line item, easily remedied but causing a small delay.²⁷⁰ Unfortunately, this was to be just the first of several delays caused by 3 Porter's Court. Two properties, 113 Line Street and 3 Porter's Court, needed lawsuits to clear their titles.²⁷¹ These delays proved problematic. The HOME program required at least one project be under construction by June 30, 1998.²⁷² Having developed drawings and the scope of work for 3 Porter's Court, the lack of a clear title precluded undertaking any work. Beginning renovations before clearing a title is ill-advised as that work (and money) is lost should the title go to another claimant. By mid-June, HCF had acquired and prepared deed transfers (with preservation covenants) for numbers 6, 8, and 10 Porter's Court and 27 Rose Lane, but did not have plans in place for their rehabilitation. In mid-July, both Houlihan and Hamilton sent notification letters to Valerie Williams, Housing Initiatives Director with the State Housing Finance and Development Authority, explaining the delay caused by waiting for a clear title.²⁷³ Williams granted them a

²⁶⁹ Lonnie Hamilton, "Lonnie Hamilton Letter to Rev. Kenneth J. Edmondson, Rev. William C. Gadson, Rev. Theodore R. Lewis, and Rev. James Tolbert," May 12, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund 4 of 5, Corresp & Misc., Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁷⁰ Richard Clark, "Richard Clark Letter to Sean Houlihan," June 9, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁷¹ Jonathan Poston, "Memo from Jonathan Poston to Carter Hudgins," June 17, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁷² "HOME Program Handbook."

²⁷³ Sean Houlihan, "Sean Houlihan Letter to Valerie Williams," July 28, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic

40 day extension and advised that Houlihan should begin developing another project to avoid further delays.²⁷⁴ Hamilton followed up with a formal request from the CHDO to HCF to begin architectural work for another building. He also wrote, “It is clear by the attached letter from Mrs. Valarie [sic] Williams that the feeling is that you do not need to wait until all parcels received [sic] a clear deed or title for construction to commence.”²⁷⁵ While true that clear deeds for all nine properties did not need to be in hand before construction could begin, Hamilton seems to conflate this to mean construction could begin on a property without a clear title. This letter reveals an aspect to the relationship between the two organizations that would be crucial in the end. Hamilton, on behalf of the CHDO, does not appear to fully trust HCF, especially on matters that contradict his beliefs or opinions. He also tends to address his concerns not to Houlihan (Director of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative), but to Hudgins, Director of Historic Charleston Foundation.

August proved to be a busy month. On the fifth, Hamilton applied for a “Good Samaritan Grant” from the Sisters of Charity Foundation of South Carolina.²⁷⁶ The CHDO received this grant and the organization paid for a sign announcing the revitalization of

Charleston Foundation; Lonnie Hamilton, “Lonnie Hamilton Letter to Valerie Williams,” July 28, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁷⁴ Valerie Williams, “Valerie Williams Letter to Lonnie Hamilton,” July 29, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁷⁵ Lonnie Hamilton, “Lonnie Hamilton Letter to Carter Hudgins,” August 4, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁷⁶ Lonnie Hamilton, “Lonnie Hamilton Letter to Sisters of Charity Foundation of S.C.,” August 5, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

Porter's Court with the money. In a letter encouraging the CHDO to hire support staff and pursue further bank loans, Crawford also recommended that the CHDO host a monthly meeting where HCF could provide updates on the construction work.²⁷⁷ Her advice aimed to help the CHDO become a full-fledged organization during this slightly sheltered period of the partnership. Crawford also coordinated a charrette for the end of August.²⁷⁸ She additionally wanted to set up a meeting for the CHDO Board with Mayor Riley beforehand.²⁷⁹ The charrette focused on the final vision for Porter's Court and ended up twice delayed.

August also saw the rise of tensions between the two organizations. The CHDO was frustrated that their extended deadline was fast approaching and nothing seemed to be happening. HCF was trying to clear the title to 3 Porter's Court, and Kristy Varn, HCF CFO, informed Hamilton that the process might take until October. He insisted construction work on one of the other properties had to commence before then. Varn once again explained that the designs and scope of work prepared for 3 Porter's Court could not simply be transferred to one of the other properties and that each building would require its own plans, scope of work, and construction estimate. The CHDO Board had not signed a contract with the architects, meaning this design process could not even begin.²⁸⁰ The two

²⁷⁷ Patricia Crawford, "Patricia Crawford Letter to Lonnie Hamilton," August 7, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁷⁸ A charrette is an architectural meeting where multiple stakeholders come together to formulate a design direction for a project, especially by expressing and coming to a compromise on areas of disagreement.

²⁷⁹ Patricia Crawford, "Patricia Crawford Letter to CHDO," August 12, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁸⁰ Kristy Varn, "Kristy Varn Email to Jonathan Poston, Sean Houlihan, and Carter Hudgins," August 18, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

organizations went back and forth, the CHDO eager, even desperate to start construction, HCF explaining the multiple reasons for the delay, nonplussed by deadlines.²⁸¹ September's update from HCF boasted of the six properties signed over to the CHDO with clear titles, the architects commencing the design process on the other properties, and a re-scheduled charrette.²⁸² The CHDO's frustration with HCF is apparent in a letter sent to Williams by Hamilton. As he writes, missing the mid-August deadline was for "reasons beyond the control of the CHDO Board." He then refers her to Houlihan for an explanation of the delay.²⁸³ The tension continued into the October CHDO Board meeting. Poston, who attended the meeting with Houlihan, seemed taken aback by the Board's frustration.²⁸⁴ It all came to a head when Williams informed the CHDO that, should construction not be underway as of October 26, 1998, their HOME fund grant would be rescinded.²⁸⁵

Though Dufford Young Architects still had no signed contract with the CHDO, they did prepare all the necessary documentation for 27 Rose Lane to begin construction by the deadline. The CHDO advertised for an administrator in November of 1998, eventually

²⁸¹ Dr. Carter Hudgins, "Carter Hudgins Letter to Lonnie Hamilton," August 18, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁸² Sean Houlihan, "Sean Houlihan Letter to Lonnie Hamilton," September 11, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund 4 of 5, Corresp & Misc., Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁸³ Lonnie Hamilton, "Lonnie Hamilton Letter to Valerie Williams," September 16, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Home Fund 2, Correspondence/Other Documentation, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁸⁴ Jonathan Poston, "Jonathan Poston Memo to Sean Houlihan, Kristy Varn, and Carter Hudgins," October 1, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund 5 of 5, CHDO Meetings, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁸⁵ Valerie Williams, "Valerie Williams Letter to Lonnie Hamilton," October 5, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund 4 of 5, Corresp & Misc., Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

hiring Guerry Glover of Johns Island.²⁸⁶ Active construction did not prove a panacea to relations between the two organizations. The structure at 27 Rose Lane was significantly out of plumb. In January of 1999, Hamilton ordered work to stop on the property, citing this unaddressed issue and concerns about the quality of the work taking place.²⁸⁷ CHDO Board member and contractor Demi Howard volunteered his help and oversaw the efforts of a group of volunteers on January 30, 1999 as they elevated the house and righted as much of the lean as possible. Hudgins conceded that the volunteer effort had helped the lean and agreed that installing a continuous footing at the site was wise. He came to Houlihan's defense after Hamilton questioned his competency. Houlihan, Hudgins pointed out, had just delivered a rehabilitated 258 Ashley Avenue to HCF's satisfaction. He also suggested utilizing the Oversight Committee meetings to discuss differences of opinion about renovation work.²⁸⁸ The response from Hamilton was without equivocation. In his opinion, Howard, not Houlihan, was running the project. He rejected the idea of commandeering the Oversight Committee meetings. In his view, the "integrity" of those in charge would ensure properly executed work. He also questioned Houlihan's expanded role on the project,

²⁸⁶ Lonnie Hamilton, "Lonnie Hamilton Letter to Patricia Crawford," November 17, 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁸⁷ Lonnie Hamilton, "Lonnie Hamilton Letter to HCF," January 8, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Memo of Und., Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁸⁸ Dr. Carter Hudgins, "Carter Hudgins Letter to Lonnie Hamilton," February 8, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

worrying about him performing the construction on the site in addition to managing the project.²⁸⁹

As foundation work continued on 27 Rose Lane, Hudgins asked Houlihan to generate a revised timetable and budget taking into account the changes in the scope of work caused by elevating the house and new foundation.²⁹⁰ At the same time, the CHDO asked him for an update on the project that they could include in the required quarterly report to the state.²⁹¹ Houlihan responded with a memo describing what he understood to be the changes to the scope of work and advising them that he would provide a budget shortly.²⁹² That the changes the CHDO required for the property would have serious ramifications on the budget seemed to come as a surprise to them. Presumably, bringing in volunteers to perform the physical labor of elevating the house was their way to mitigate any additional costs. Unfortunately, not only was the foundation a completely new expense to the project, but the carpentry work performed while the house was out of plumb needed to be removed and redone. Hamilton reached out to Richard Clark, Housing Program Specialist with the South Carolina State Housing Finance and Development Authority, who informed him that the HOME program had some provisions for unforeseen incidents. He also informed

²⁸⁹ Lonnie Hamilton, "Lonnie Hamilton Letter to Carter Hudgins," February 12, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁹⁰ Dr. Carter Hudgins, "Carter Hudgins Email to Jonathan Poston," March 22, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁹¹ Lonnie Hamilton, "Lonnie Hamilton Letter to Sean Houlihan," March 27, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Memo of Und., Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁹² Sean Houlihan, "Sean Houlihan Memo to CHDO Board," March 29, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

Hamilton that the CHDO would need to request a Change Order with specific figures from their contractor and that the contractor should have either a bond or a fund set aside to accommodate these costs.²⁹³

Houlihan for his part had worked the budget and specifications and informed the board that he had managed to get the total cost down to \$19,302.²⁹⁴ Hamilton responded by calling for an emergency meeting of all parties.²⁹⁵ No record of this meeting or any further actions appears to exist until August. In a letter on the sixth of August, CHDO Vice-Chairman Walter Smalls requested that construction take place at 27 Rose Lane within ten days of the receipt of the letter. If not, according to Smalls, HCF would be in default.²⁹⁶ It is unclear why this letter came from Smalls and not Hamilton, who normally handled all correspondence on behalf of the CHDO. In his reply, Hudgins pointed out that the cause of the delay was the foundation work and waiting for a Change Order the CHDO Board to execute for the work.²⁹⁷

Tensions flared yet again towards the end of 1999. A spreadsheet prepared on October 19, 1999 showed the costs for architectural services between April of 1998 and

²⁹³ Lonnie Hamilton, "Lonnie Hamilton Letter to Sean Houlihan," April 26, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁹⁴ Houlihan, "Sean Houlihan Memo to CHDO Board."

²⁹⁵ Lonnie Hamilton, "Lonnie Hamilton Memo to CHDO Board and Partners," May 18, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁹⁶ Walter Smalls, "Walter Smalls Letter to HCF," August 6, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

From the content of the letter, it appears he meant the organization would be in breach of contract.

²⁹⁷ Dr. Carter Hudgins, "Carter Hudgins Letter to Walter Smalls," August 11, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

April of 1999. A handwritten (unsigned and undated) note on the archival copy of this spreadsheet states that it was given to Guerry Glover, manager for the CHDO.²⁹⁸ The title of this spreadsheet reads, “Architects Fees Reimbursement.” Other than that, there is no indication as to the purpose of the document or what Glover was told about it.²⁹⁹ Found in another folder of the archive is a letter from Kristy Varn, Chief Financial Officer of HCF, on October 26, 1999. This letter requested reimbursement for architectural work the organization had covered on behalf of the program.³⁰⁰ Whether the letter originally accompanied the spreadsheet, becoming separated somewhere in the archiving process, is impossible to ascertain. What is clear, though, is that reimbursement was not forthcoming. In December of that year, Varn sent a follow-up letter requesting reimbursement.³⁰¹ Following a telephone conversation with Glover, Hudgins wrote a carefully worded letter to the CHDO. It again called for the reimbursement of the fees for architectural services. “To date, all payments for the purchase, survey and legal fees associated with each property have been reimbursed through the CDBG grant,” he reminded the CHDO Board.³⁰² The following day, the Board held its regular monthly meeting. The Board was close to finalizing a contract with Dufford Young Architects to oversee the construction phase of the Porter’s Court project. Houlihan presented an update on progress at 27 Rose Lane, which met with

²⁹⁸ The archive in question is the Margareta Childs Archive at Historic Charleston Foundation.

²⁹⁹ “Reimbursement Spreadsheet,” October 19, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Memo of Und., Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

³⁰⁰ Kristy Varn, “Kristy Varn Letter to Guerry Glover,” October 26, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

³⁰¹ Kristy Varn, “Kristy Varn Letter to Guerry Glover,” December 2, 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

³⁰² Dr. Carter Hudgins, “Carter Hudgins Letter to Guerry Glover,” January 5, 2000, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

approbation. Hudgins' letter was not. Hamilton claimed to be "flabbergasted" that HCF and Dufford Young Architects would do so much work on the Porter's Court properties without a formal contract.³⁰³ He also claimed that HCF had not contributed its promised \$35,000 for the program and that the organization may have been in violation of HOME program rules and the scope of the MOU by acting as contractor to (and not just supervising) the Rose Lane project. He then informed Poston and Houlihan that payment and a reply would be forthcoming.³⁰⁴

One month later, as Rose Lane approached completion, the Marketing Committee met to discuss its plans. One of the major points in the conversation was the question of whether or not the CHDO Board was aware that the properties were to sell at a loss.³⁰⁵ HCF established this tactic to retain affordability at the very start of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative, that the CHDO Board may not have been fully aware of it is puzzling. At the Board's March meeting, an announcement revealed Houlihan would leave HCF at the end of the Rose Lane project to move to Boston with his family.³⁰⁶ According to the terms of the MOU, the official partnership between the two organizations ended in February 2000. Accordingly, HCF's role in the rehabilitations on Porter's Court was limited to ensuring its

³⁰³ It is unclear what, if any, role the CHDO played in the selection and initial contract with Dufford Young Architects in April 1998. There was, though, at least tacit acceptance of their work by the Board. The record does show that as early as August 1998 Hamilton was receiving reminder of the need to sign a formal contract with the architects. It appears that, responding to the Board's ardent calls for a project to be ready for construction, HCF chose to continue under the existing contract, likely expecting that the CHDO Board would eventually sign a formal contract.

³⁰⁴ Sean Houlihan, "Sean Houlihan Memo to Jonathan Poston, Kristy Varn, and Carter Hudgins," January 7, 2000, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

³⁰⁵ "CHDO Marketing Meeting Minutes," February 2, 2000, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 2, Corresp. & Misc. docs, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

³⁰⁶ "CHDO Board Meeting Minutes," March 2, 2000, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund 5 of 5, CHDO Meetings, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

covenants' enforcement. Dufford Young Architects, who generated the construction documents for the renovations, reached out to the CHDO Board expressing their desire to remain involved.³⁰⁷ The Board chose instead to have Glover oversee this work. In May, HCF provided Glover with a breakdown of the costs covered by their \$35,000 contribution to the Elliottborough project from Neighborhood Impact Initiative funds. They included an accounting of Houlihan's time on the project, his total salary being \$34,762. For cleanup and stabilization costs, they spent \$5,702 and an additional \$12,700 on carpentry at Rose Lane.³⁰⁸

In the years after the conclusion of their formal partnership with HCF, the CHDO has continued its efforts in Elliottborough. In addition to completing construction on the properties purchased with HCF on Porter's Court, they acquired several other properties in the area. They also collaborated with the city on another major improvement at Porter's Court, the burial of overhead wires and repaving of the road surface.³⁰⁹ The CHDO reached out to HCF in 2001 to inquire after the unimproved lots at 15 and 17 Porter's Court.³¹⁰ In 2003 HCF donated them as a single deed to the CHDO, which has plans to build one house on the two lots.³¹¹ HCF used funds in its regular revolving fund to purchase larger properties in the neighborhood, which it later sold with covenants to others who took on

³⁰⁷ Philip H. Dufford, "Dufford Young Architects to Guerry Glover," April 4, 2000, Property Files, Box 84, Folder: Porter's Gen., Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

³⁰⁸ "HCF Invoice to CHDO," May 25, 2000, Accountant's Digital Database: Porter's Court Financials, HOME Fund Analysis 99-1, HCF Grant Expenses, Sheet 6, Sheet 7, Historic Charleston Foundation.

³⁰⁹ John Ransom and Anne Stanley, "Committee of Ways and Means Report, CPR Committee And/or Council Agenda, Item #8, Parks Department," November 12, 2002, Folder: Ways and Means November 12, 2002, City of Charleston Public Records Office.

³¹⁰ Guerry Glover, "Guerry Glover Letter to Jonathan Poston," February 16, 2001, Box: 84- Property Files, Folder: Porter's General, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

³¹¹ Edward K. Pritchard, "Edward K. Pritchard, III Letter to James H. Suddeth, III," June 16, 2003, Box: 84- Property Files, Folder: Porter's General, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

the rehabilitation.³¹² As for the Neighborhood Impact Initiative, it never officially ended but having spent all of its capital, the program entered a period of dormancy. In all, between 2003 and 2014, HCF utilized its regular revolving fund to rehabilitate only five properties. By 2014, the organization felt the need to revamp the revolving fund once again.³¹³ With a grant from the 1772 Foundation, consultants from Boston and Providence came to Charleston and studied the program. Their report led to the restructuring of the revolving fund, dividing it into two parts. The first, The Endangered Properties Fund, provides for the purchase individual houses of architectural merit at risk of inappropriate development throughout the peninsula. The second, The Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative, focuses on the North Central neighborhood.³¹⁴ HCF has moved more deliberately in this area, hosting a series of community meetings in the summer of 2015 to get feedback from those most likely to face displacement from the gentrification of the neighborhood.³¹⁵ Regardless of the tensions that arose during the partnership between HCF and the CHDO, the passage of time has rendered those disputes all but forgotten.³¹⁶ The two organizations view the

³¹² April Wood, "Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative," *Historic Charleston Foundation*, 2015, <https://www.historiccharleston.org/Preservation/How/Neighborhood-Revitalization-Initiative.aspx>; Caroline Fossi, "Elliottborough Rising," *Post and Courier*, May 6, 2006, sec. B, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library.

³¹³ Winslow Hastie and April Wood, "The Evolving Revolving Fund: Historic Charleston Foundation Revamps Its Pioneering Program," *ForumJournal* 29, no. 1 (Fall 2014): 20, <https://www.historiccharleston.org/hcf/files/4e/4e9dd6f2-445c-41f6-be5b-84b674d898c0.pdf>.

³¹⁴ April Wood, April Wood (Manager of Easements & Technical Outreach, HCF), In Person with Author, November 24, 2015.

The full report from CZB consultants has recently been posted to the HCF website and is available at: <https://www.historiccharleston.org/hcf/files/b6/b6a57f11-96f5-4b1f-9bb7-c5ae9e825b2d.pdf>. Though not consulted as a part of this thesis, it is interesting to note the similarities between their findings and recommendations and those developed in the course of this research.

³¹⁵ Ibid; Hastie and Wood, "The Evolving Revolving Fund: Historic Charleston Foundation Revamps Its Pioneering Program."

³¹⁶ Hamilton and Rupp, Frank Rupp and Lonnie Hamilton (Director and Former Director, Episcopal Diocese CHDO); Angela Hare and Walter Smalls, Angela Hare and Walter Smalls (Elliottborough Residents/Former Vice-Chairman, Episcopal Diocese CHDO), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, February 9, 2016.

Porter's Court partnership as a success, celebrating the completion of construction with a ribbon-cutting event in 2003.³¹⁷

³¹⁷ "Porter's Court Dedication (Printout of PowerPoint Slideshow Notes)," January 2003, Box #25-c-008 Folder: Porters Court Reception, January 2003, City of Charleston Public Records Office.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

A mixed-methods approach to the study of this program means several different methodologies are utilized. Each element studied, the demographics, the financial data, and the social, have unique needs to elicit the best data. Individual development of the methods for each source of data aim to prevent results from one element creating bias in the others. The methodology presents the resources used for each element and the manner of deployment. There is also some discussion of how the results are presented in Chapter Three.

The first section, demographic data, utilizes primarily decennial census figures from 1970 to 2010. The specific data assessed focuses on the composition of the population by race, age, and financial status. Additionally, evaluation of the population of the College of Charleston seeks insight on its impact on the neighborhood. Following that section is the methodology for the financial data. The primary resources for this section are the archives at Historic Charleston Foundation and the City Records Office. These sources are parsed for budgets and actual expenses related to the program. Considering the value of the properties is a measure of the impact of the program. Finally, the means by which interviews with eleven members of the Elliottborough community were secured is presented. This process, slow and reliant on personal contact, is most valuable to the overall analysis.

Demographics

The demographics for this study came primarily from a review of U.S. census data. The Neighborhood Impact Initiative ran from 1992 to 2000. Census figures for the three decennial census years prior to the start of the program and the two subsequent censuses comprise the sample set in this study. The selected range gives a baseline for neighborhood trajectory prior to the program and in the decades thereafter. The 1970 and 1980 census figures are available to the city block level. Accessing the census block data from these two years at the Charleston County Public Library in the South Carolina Room began to establish the parameters of the demographic data for this study. The subject area falls into census tract ten of the city of Charleston. To aid the interpretation of these figures and place them in context, information from Census Tract 9 (East Side) and 11 (West Side) are included for population and median income. These two tracts are adjacent to Tract 10 and had similar ethnographic and socioeconomic makeup at the start of the study period.³¹⁸

To provide consistent analysis throughout the range of census years, the categories from the 1970 census have served as the basis for comparison. These categories

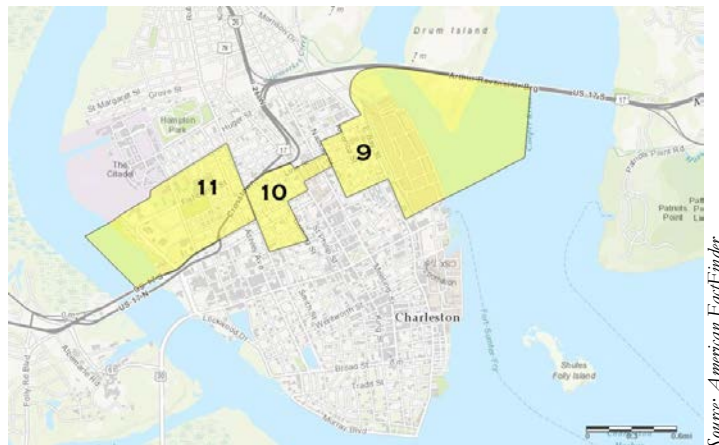


Figure 2.1- Census Tract Map

Source: American FactFinder

³¹⁸ “Charleston, SC 1970 Block Statistics- U.S. Census of Housing Issued Sept. 1971,” Census Block Statistics, U.S. Census (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 1971), South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library; “1980 Census of Population and Housing Block Statistics, Charleston-North Charleston, S.C. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area,” U.S. Census Block Statistics, U.S. Census (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 1981), South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

are: 1) total population, 2) African American population, 3) population under 18 years of age, 4) population over 65 years of age (62 in 1970), 5) number of owner-occupied units, 6) number of renter-occupied units, 7) average value of owner-occupied units, 8) average rental rate, 9) median household income, 10) one-person households, and 11) number of units in a structure.³¹⁹ In addition, unit vacancies, which became available with the 1990 census, came under consideration.

Accounting for the effects of inflation over time, conversion of dollar amounts utilized Alan Eliassen's historical currency calculator available online.³²⁰ This calculator utilizes Eliassen's Frink computer language to calculate inflation using consumer price index data.³²¹ All dollar amounts are in constant 2016 form and rounded to the nearest dollar. In this manner, a straightforward comparison is possible.

The census in 1990 did not provide a block-by-block breakdown of data. Accessed at the College of Charleston's Addlestone Library, this census offers statistics to the census tract level.³²² The subject neighborhood continues to be located within census tract ten, though it is important to note that the tract takes in parts of Cannonborough as well as the King Street commercial corridor. These two areas are beyond the boundaries of the Elliottborough neighborhood as defined by Historic Charleston Foundation in its

³¹⁹ The number of owner-occupied and renter-occupied units does not generally equal the total number of units in the neighborhood as some respondents failed to specify the occupancy of each unit.

³²⁰ Alan Eliassen, *Historical Currency Conversions*, English, accessed November 3, 2014, <http://futureboy.homeip.net/fsp/dollar.fsp>.

³²¹ *Frink*, Emerging Languages Camp (Portland, OR: Confreaks.TV, 2010), <http://confreaks.tv/presenters/alan-eliasen>.

³²² BCD Council of Governments, "1990 Census General Population & Housing Data by Census Tract: Census Planning Information Report #1," U.S. Census Analysis (Charleston, SC: Berkeley-Charleston-Dorchester Council of Governments, January 1991), South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

Neighborhood Impact Initiative but, as it is the only information available in the 1990 census, it is set as the standard area for comparison for all census years. The 2000 and 2010 censuses divide tract ten into two parts, 1 and 2. Part 1 is the northern area of the tract and part two accounts for the rest. The figures for both parts, added together, represent the tract as a whole.

The amount of data available from the 2000 and 2010 censuses is exponentially greater than any previous census. All of it is accessible online via American Fact Finder.³²³ The search parameter narrowed the data down to all city of Charleston census tracts, the smallest unit available. Searches within this data set called up the various categories listed previously. As much as possible, figures are from each census Summary Report 1, which

<i>2000 Value of Owner-Occupied Units (dollars)</i>		
<u>Range</u>	<u>Units</u>	<u>Total</u>
50,000-59,999	7	350,000
60,000-69,999	8	480,000
70,000-79,999	8	560,000
80,000-89,999	9	720,000
90,000-99,999	9	810,000
100,000-124,999	36	3,600,000
125,000-149,999	0	0
150,000-174,999	8	1,200,000
175,000-199,999	8	1,400,000
200,000-249,999	8	1,600,000
250,000-299,999	21	5,250,000
Sum Total	122	15,970,000
Tract 10 Average		130,902
2016 Dollars		180,417

Figure 2.2- Calculation of Average Value

represents 100 percent of the population. Certain figures, however, including median income for blacks and whites and median contract rent, are only available from Summary Report 3. This report uses a representative sample of the population to extrapolate its figures. Average value of owner-occupied units and average rents in both the 2000 and 2010 census appear as the

³²³ “Census 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1)- 100% Data,” Block Statistics, Summary File (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), Online, American FactFinder, <http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/searchresults.xhtml>; “Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3)- Sample,” Block Statistics, Summary File (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), Online, American FactFinder, <http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/searchresults.xhtml>; “2010 Census Summary File 1,” Block Statistics, Summary File (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010), Online, American FactFinder, <http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/searchresults.xhtml>.

number of units falling within a certain price range. In order to obtain a single number for comparison, the lower figure in each range stood for the range (e.g. \$150,000- \$174,999= \$150,000). This figure, multiplied by the number of units falling in that range, gave the total value of the range. The totals from each range, when added together and divided by the total number of units in the sample produced the median figure. Comparison to classified ads in the Post and Courier from the time confirm their representative accuracy.

Median household income, the most important figure in the determination of affordability, also came from the census. In the three census tracts, median household income from 1970, 1980, and 1990 are only available for black households. The white population at this time was under 200 total persons. The census used a cutoff of 400 persons in order to establish statistical significance when breaking down data in terms of race. Therefore, no median household income for white households in the tracts is available until the 2000 census. All three tracts also show a significant spike in median income in 1990. For insight into this aberration, a report on the financial impact of Hurricane Hugo proved helpful.³²⁴

To gauge affordability for renters, the median household figure for blacks and, once available, whites divided by twelve provided the median monthly income. According to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, “Families who pay more than 30 percent of their income for housing are considered cost burdened and may have difficulty

³²⁴ Paulo Guimaraes, Frank L. Hefner, and Douglas P. Woodward, “Wealth and Income Effects of Natural Distasters: An Economic Analysis of Hurricane Hugo” (Meetings of the Southern Regional Science Association, Charleston, SC, 1992), 24, <http://moore.sc.edu/UserFiles/moore/Documents/Division%20of%20Research/hurricane.pdf>.

affording necessities such as food, clothing, transportation and medical care.”³²⁵ This is the standard used to gauge affordability. It is important to note that a significant portion of the community earns less than this monthly median income, and such affordability measures represent those who earn the average or more.

In order to obtain a sense of the specific community the Neighborhood Impact Initiative attempted to reach, moderate- to low-income earners, the overall median household income established the threshold for those two categories. HUD assigns clear definitions for the two categories. A household earning 81-95 percent of the median income of an area classifies as moderate-income. A household earning 51-80 percent of the median income of an area classifies as low-income. Establishing the baseline threshold for the two categories used the lower percentage of each range. The Initiative did not seek to assist those who fall into the very low-income (31-50 percent of median) or extremely low-income (less than 30 percent of median) levels because these populations tend to qualify for other assistance programs such as Section 8 vouchers or public housing.³²⁶ As such, they do not fall into the scope of this analysis.

Finally, the census data revealed the number of units per structure. This information gives a sense of the housing stock available in the community. In addition, records from the College of Charleston’s Office of Institutional Research, Planning, and Information Management show the number of students enrolled full-time at the institution and how

³²⁵ “Affordable Housing,” Government Agency, *HUDportal*, (2016), http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/comm_planning/affordablehousing/.

³²⁶ “HUD’s Public Housing Program,” Government Agency, *HUDportal*, (2016), http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/topics/rental_assistance/phprog.

many rooms the college provides to accommodate those students.³²⁷ Pressure from the needs of student housing frequently arises in discussions about all the nearby downtown neighborhoods, therefore these numbers go towards understanding just what kind of impact the College may have. Unfortunately, the Medical University of South Carolina did not provide access to this information. To present the gathered data, a series of graphs allow the visualization of the information. Combined with a narrative description, the trends and patterns in the data provide the basis for analysis.

Financial Data

Bringing together the financial details of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative required diligent compilation of records located in different archives and online databases. Generous access to these archives came with the caveat that, in all cases, the records are unorganized. In addition, few records have dates, which made assembling them in an organized manner a complicated endeavor. HCF archive contains boxes and folders in which the records of the program are stored. Their accountant also provided the digital spreadsheets that were maintained at the time of the program. The City of Charleston

³²⁷ Institutional Research, “College of Charleston Fall 1989 Statistics (CHE and IPEDS),” Office of Institutional Research, Planning, and Information Management Website, College of Charleston, accessed January 20, 2016, irp.cofc.edu/docs/census-data/fall1989.pdf; Institutional Research, “College of Charleston Fall 1999 Statistics (CHE and IFEDS),” October 29, 1999, Office of Institutional Research, Planning, and Information Management Website, College of Charleston, irp.cofc.edu/docs/census-data/fall1999.pdf; Institutional Research, “College of Charleston Fall 2009 Statistics (CHE and IPEDS),” October 30, 2009, Office of Institutional Research, Planning, and Information Management Website, College of Charleston, irp.cofc.edu/docs/census-data/fall2009.pdf; Institutional Research, “Residence Hall Occupancy 1981 to 2015,” January 19, 2016, Office of Institutional Research, Planning, and Information Management Website, College of Charleston, http://reporting.irp.cofc.edu/cgi-bin/default/broker.exe?_PROGRAM=prfbgms.residence.sas&SERVICE=default&DEBUG=0&sem=7&year1=1981&year2=2015.

Records Management Office (CRMO), while not an archive in the academic sense, is the repository of paperwork and photographs from the various city agencies. A review of their records was useful. They also indicated that there were active records from the City's Department of Housing and Community Development that were stored within the repository but required a Freedom of Information Act Request to access. The Episcopal Diocese's Community Housing Development Organization (CHDO) gave these records to the city as fiduciary of HUD funds. Once the Legal Department cleared the request and approved the release of the records, they proved invaluable to completing the picture of the financial aspects of this program.

A series of tables in the Results chapter are used to present the financial information gathered from these archives. The first table (Figure 3.11) is a 1996 breakdown of funding sources for a proposed partnership to renovate Porter's Court.³²⁸ The partner organizations in this proposal were Historic Charleston Foundation, the City of Charleston, the Charleston Parks Consortium, Old South Realty, and Concept Homes of the Carolinas. The second table (Figure 3.12) is a budget prepared for this proposed partnership.³²⁹ After the city recommended that HCF and the CHDO join forces, the two organizations drafted a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) laying out each organization's respective roles and responsibilities.³³⁰ The third table (Figure 3.13) is a breakdown presented as part of the MOU that showed the different sources of financial support for the Porter's Court project.

³²⁸ "Business Plan, Porter's Court, Charleston, South Carolina," 1996, Box #6-e-004, City of Charleston Public Records Office.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ Historic Charleston Foundation and Episcopal Diocese Community Housing Development Organization, "Memorandum of Understanding," February 20, 1998, Box: 84- Property Files, Folder: Porter's General, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

The fourth table (Figure 3.14) is a budget for the project created by HCF, likely before the writing of the MOU, as it does not include HCF's financial contribution to the program.³³¹

Much of the search for financial information was for the creation of the fifth table (Figure 3.15). This table presents the pre-project and/or pre-construction budget for those properties that had one available along with the actual expenses, final sale price, and profit or loss on the program properties.³³² The sixth table (Figure 3.16) presents a comparison of

³³¹ David M. Leopard, "HOME Investment Partnerships Program Community Housing Development Organization (CHDO) Program Grant Award" (South Carolina State Housing Finance and Development Authority, December 4, 1997), Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Misc. Porters Court Docs, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

³³² From the Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation:
"Planning Budget," May 2, 1997, Folder: Porters General; Jonathan Poston, "Memo from Jonathan Poston to Area Projects and Executive Committees," October 12, 1993, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 33 Bogard; Jonathan Poston, "Memo from Jonathan Poston to Area Projects Committee and Executive Committee," September 24, 1993, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 33 Bogard; Joanna G. Drake, "Real Estate Appraisal Report on Property Located at: 25 Sires Street, Charleston, SC 29401" (Attaway Thompson & Associates, Inc., October 14, 1996), Property Files, 25 Sires Street; Stephen C. Attaway, "Real Estate Appraisal Report on Property Located at: 6 Porters Court, Charleston, SC 29403" (Attaway Thompson McCall & Associates, Inc., February 28, 1998), Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 6 Porters Ct.; Stephen C. Attaway, "Real Estate Appraisal on Property Located at: 8 Porters Court, Charleston, SC 29403" (Attaway Thompson McCall & Associates, Inc., February 20, 1998), Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 8 Porters Ct.; Stephen C. Attaway, "Real Estate Appraisal Report on Property Located at: 10 Porters Court, Charleston, SC 29403" (Attaway Thompson McCall & Associates, Inc., February 18, 1998), Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 10 Porters Ct.; Stephen C. Attaway, "Real Estate Appraisal on Property Located at: 12 Porters Court, Charleston, SC 29403" (Attaway Thompson McCall & Associates, Inc., February 5, 1998), Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 12 Porters Ct.; Stephen C. Attaway, "Real Estate Appraisal Report on Property Located at: 13 Porters Court, Charleston, SC 29403" (Attaway Thompson McCall & Associates, Inc., February 28, 1998), Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 13 Porters Ct.; William D. Storen, "Title to Real Estate, 3 Porter's Court," April 18, 1997, Property Files, Box 84, Folder: Porter's Gen.; John E. Romanosky, Jr., "Settlement Statement, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development," April 14, 1998, Property Files, Box 84, Folder: Porter's Gen.; Elizabeth Guckenberger, "Chain-of-Title Record, 15 Porter's Court," July 10, 1996, Property Files, Box 84, Folder: Porter's Gen.; Elizabeth Guckenberger, "Chain-of-Title Record, 17 Porter's Court," July 10, 1996, Property Files, Box 84, Folder: Porter's Gen.; Amanda G. Herbert, "Memo from Amanda Griffith Herbert to Jonathan H. Poston, Kristy Varn, Carter Hudgins, Ben Wilson, and M.E. Van Dyke," July 19, 1995, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 33 Bogard; Sean Houlihan, "Scope of Work: 3 Porters Court," September 1998, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 3 Porters Ct.; "3 Porters Court, House Restoration Costs," n.d., Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund 3 Property Info; "6 Porters Court, House Restoration Costs," n.d., Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund 3 Property Info; "8 Porters Court, House Restoration Costs," n.d., Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund 3 Property Info; "10 Porters Court, House Restoration Costs," n.d., Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund 3 Property Info; "12 Porters Court, House Restoration Costs," n.d., Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund 3 Property Info; "HOME Program Quarterly Report, Q1, 1999," 1999, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 2, Folder: Homefund Notebook 1; "HCF Estimate, 6 Porters Court (Construction Cost Estimates)," n.d., Property Files, Box 84, Folder: Porter's Gen.;

budget to actual costs for one particular house, 33 Bogard Street. This property has the most complete record of both pre-construction and post-construction numbers.³³³ The final table (Figure 3.17) in this section is a comparison of the sale price of the renovated properties to their current market value. Conversion of the sales prices to 2016 dollars utilized the online Eliassen currency calculator.³³⁴ The market value comes from the online records of the Charleston County Tax Assessor's Office.³³⁵ Very few of the program properties have re-

From Historic Charleston Foundation's Accountant's Digital Database:

"Porters Court Financials NII" (Excel File), September 30, 1997; "Porters Court Financials NII, 98 Anal (Excel File)," ; "Porters Court Financials NII, 02 Anal" (Excel File); "HOME Funding Analysis 99-1, Sheet 1" (Excel File), October 21, 1999; "HOME Funding Analysis 99-1, Sheet 4," December 31, 1999;

From the City of Charleston Public Records Office:

"HOME Fund Application: Comparison of Projected Costs and Contract Offer," March 12, 1998, Box #25-c-008 Folder: Porter's Court; "CHDO Cost Analysis," 2002, Box #25-c-008 Folder: Porter's Court; "Untitled Document (CHDO Profit/Loss Breakdown)," n.d., Box #25-c-008 Folder: Porter's Court;

From the Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance online, accessed 12/15/ 2015:

"Real Property Record, 33 Bogard Street,"

prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600803148; "Real Property Record, 113 Line Street," prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600803186; "Real Property Record, 2 Ashe Street," prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600803189; "Real Property Record, 27 Rose Lane," prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600801127; "Real Property Record, 258 Ashley Avenue," prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600704012; "Real Property Record, 25 Sires Street," prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600803088; "Real Property Record, 3 Porter's Court," prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600801146; "Real Property Record, 6 Porter's Court," prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600801133; "Real Property Record, 8 Porter's Court,"

prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600801134; "Real Property Record, 10 Porter's Court," prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600801135; "Real Property Record, 12 Porter's Court," prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600801136; "Real Property Record, 17 Porter's Court," prcweb.charlestoncounty.org/mainAssessor.asp?parcelid=4600801139.

Other online records, accessed 01/31/2016:

"Real Property Records Overview," Government Agency, *Charleston County Assessor*, (2015), <http://sc-charleston-county.governmentmax.com/svc/>.

³³³ Jonathan Poston, "Memo from Jonathan Poston to Area Projects Committee and Executive Committee," September 24, 1993, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 33 Bogard, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation; "Analysis- 33 Bogard," February 10, 1995, 33, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 33 Bogard, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation; Jonathan Poston, "Jonathan Poston Letter to Dan Elswick, S.C. Department of Archives & History," December 22, 1994, Box: NII Elliottborough Box 1, Folder: 33 Bogard, Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

³³⁴ Alan Eliassen, *Historical Currency Conversions*, English, accessed November 3, 2014, <http://futureboy.homeip.net/fsp/dollar.fsp>.

³³⁵ "Real Property Records Overview," Government Agency, *Charleston County Assessor*, (2015), <http://sc-charleston-county.governmentmax.com/svc/>.

sold since the end of the program. As such, the County's assessment is the most accurate estimate available.

By compiling the financial information contained in disparate repositories and presenting them in a series of clear and organized tables, an analysis of this data is possible. Looking at the program as a whole and examining the details of one of the properties leads to a deeper understanding of the handling of the finances. So often in the conversation about preservation and gentrification, money stands as a prohibitive factor to equity. Examining the objective facts of this program will allow for a nuanced look at the realities of the implementation of such programs.

Interviews

Obtaining interviews with long-time residents of Elliottborough was a priority in this research. The observations that these members of the community made, backed by decades of place memory, is a rich resource. It was anticipated that gaining access to this cadre of mostly elderly African Americans as an outsider to the community would be challenging. By connecting with various sources and allotting several months to the process of seeking out the right contacts, a small but representative sample of the community consented to an interview.

A review of newspaper articles written around the time of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative uncovered the Rev. Dr. Sidney Davis. As minister of Zion-Olivet Presbyterian Church, Rev. Davis was interviewed at the time on multiple occasions regarding the changes

in the neighborhood and the changes of gentrification in Elliottborough.³³⁶ His insights are particularly pertinent, as the church building, which served as Zion-Olivet's home for decades (131 Cannon Street) went on the market in 2015 and the congregation has relocated to a shared building in North Charleston. Rev. Davis' interview took place in this new location on December 14, 2015.³³⁷

A brief conversation with Dr. Carter Hudgins uncovered the name of Rossie Colter. She is a real estate agent who ran an agency (Montez Realty, now a part of Luxury Simplified Real Estate) in the Elliottborough area. Colter is an HCF volunteer and was the one who located the purchaser of the first property completed under the Neighborhood Impact Initiative. She is also one of the driving forces behind the Phillip Simmons Foundation and museum in the East Side neighborhood.³³⁸ It was at the museum that her interview took place.³³⁹ Colter provided the names and contact information for Judge Daniel Martin, Jr. and Judge Richard E. Fields.

Judge Martin's father, Judge Daniel Martin, Sr., ran his practice from an office on Morris Street.³⁴⁰ Having completed his advanced degree at the University of South Carolina

³³⁶ Sean C. Davis, "One Block at a Time: Will Redevelopment Shred the Fabric of the Elliottborough Neighborhood?," *Charleston City Paper*, May 17, 2000, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; Adam Ferrell, "How Did 'S' Beome Part of Elliottborough?," *Post and Courier*, February 20, 2001, Final edition, sec. Downtown, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library; Ron Menchaca, "Pressure Points," *Post and Courier*, October 12, 2000, Final edition, sec. Downtown, South Carolina Room, Vertical Files, Charleston County Public Library.

³³⁷ Rev. Dr. Sidney Davis, Rev. Dr. Sidney Davis (Minister, Congregation formerly located in Elliottborough and Former President of Cannonborough-Elliottborough Neighborhood Association), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, December 14, 2015.

³³⁸ Philip Simmons is a well-known African American blacksmith in the Charleston community. For further information, visit the Philip Simmons Foundation's website at www.philipsimmons.us.

³³⁹ Rossie Colter, Rossie Colter (Realtor, Montez Realty), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, December 14, 2015.

³⁴⁰ Morris Street is part of Radcliffeborough, although these labels were not in use in the community until the late 1980s or early 1990s.

School of Law in 1989, Judge Martin returned to the city and went into practice with his father. He took over running the practice and is currently (2016) a Family Court Judge on South Carolina's Ninth Circuit. His interview took place in his chambers at the Charleston County Courthouse.³⁴¹

Judge Richard E. Fields is a native of Elliottborough, growing up on Ackerman Court in the late 1920s and early 1930s. He received his law degree in 1947 and returned to the Charleston area in 1949, settling into a home on Bogard Street that he purchased with the aid of his father in 1948. Fields served as a judge in both Family Court and in the South Carolina Circuit Courts. He moved with his family in the 1980s to West Ashley and retired from the courts in 1992, although he still practices as an attorney. Judge Field's interview took place at his home office in West Ashley.³⁴²

At the January 18, 2016 meeting of the Cannonborough/Elliottborough Neighborhood Association an announcement, seeking participants for this research, produced several leads. Gerard Moran, an airline pilot and investor in several downtown Charleston properties attended the meeting. He and his friend, George Holt, proprietor of New World Byzantine, a design/build firm located in Charleston, sat for an interview at Moran's Elliottborough home. The two have lived and undertaken various projects in downtown Charleston for over thirty years.³⁴³

³⁴¹ Daniel E. Martin, Judge Daniel E. Martin, Jr. (Lawyer, Practice located in Elliottborough), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, January 15, 2016.

³⁴² Richard E. Fields, Judge Richard E. Fields (Lawyer, Practice located in Elliottborough), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, January 16, 2016.

³⁴³ Gerard Moran and George Holt, Gerard Moran and George Holt (Developers and Elliottborough Residents), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, January 22, 2016.

Also in attendance at the January 18 meeting was Vicki Davis Williams. Both Davis Williams and her sister, Julia-Ellen Craft Davis, have deep ties to the neighborhood. Their grandfather, Herbert A. DeCosta, Sr., was a well-known and well-regarded African American architect and contractor. DeCosta and his son, Herbert A. DeCosta, Jr., played a significant role in Historic Charleston Foundation's Ansonborough rehabilitations.³⁴⁴ His business, H.A. DeCosta Company, was located in Elliottborough. It operated under H.A. DeCosta, Jr. after his father's death in 1960, and he ran it until his retirement in 1989. H.A. DeCosta, Sr. purchased the family's Elliottborough home in the 1930s. Though both sisters attended schools and developed professional careers outside of Charleston, their frequent visits to Charleston, first to visit their grandparents and later their mother (Bernice Craft DeCosta Davis) at the family home are useful to this study. Julia-Ellen Craft Davis moved into the Elliottborough home in the early 2000's, while Vicki Davis Williams and her husband returned permanently just a few years ago. The Davis sister's interview took place at the family home.³⁴⁵ They also provided contact information for various other long-time Elliottborough residents. Vicki Davis Williams reached out to a few to ascertain their interest in participating in the research. This was invaluable to obtaining interviews with the final three subjects.

Reaching out on behalf of this research, Davis Williams vouched for its integrity. Through this effort a long-term resident of the community, who has requested anonymity to protect her privacy, accepted an interview request. Her home, where the interview took

³⁴⁴ Uncle of Vicki Davis Williams and Julia-Ellen Davis.

³⁴⁵ Julia-Ellen Craft Davis, Vicki Davis Williams and Julia-Ellen Craft Davis (Elliottborough Residents), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, January 30, 2016.

place, is near the northern border of the neighborhood. Her family moved to the street in the 1920s and, after receiving her education out of state, she and her husband moved to her present home in the 1950s.³⁴⁶ The final two subjects, Angela Hare and Walter Smalls are also life-long residents of the neighborhood. Hare grew up near the western boundary of the neighborhood, and her experiences reflect this. Smalls has lived throughout the neighborhood and in the West Side area. He also served as Vice-Chairman of the CHDO. Smalls has a reputation as the neighborhood historian, and he has a subtle and studied view of Elliottborough's past, present, and future.³⁴⁷

All respondents answered a series of questions that elicited their memories of the community at various points in the past.³⁴⁸ Follow-up questions followed based on their responses. As a repository of place memory stretching into the 1930s, after seeking permission, transcripts of six of the interviews are included in Appendix A.

³⁴⁶ Interview with lifelong resident of Elliottborough, Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, February 4, 2016.

³⁴⁷ Angela Hare and Walter Smalls, Angela Hare and Walter Smalls (Elliottborough Residents/Former Vice-Chairman, Episcopal Diocese CHDO), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, February 9, 2016.

³⁴⁸ The questions are presented at the start of Appendix A.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

The data gathered following the specific methodologies presented in Chapter Two is presented in this chapter. The first section, demographic data, takes the form of a series of charts. This visualization of the data in this manner aids in identifying trends and the scale of rise or decline in population by race, age, and financial status. The second section presents the financial data as a series of tables. Budgets and anticipated sources of funding for both a proposed partnership that did not come to fruition and the HCF/CHDO partnership give insight into the thought process of Historic Charleston Foundation as it prepared to embark on rehabilitation projects. Comparison of the pre-construction figures to the actual expenses reveals how accurate the budgets were, which affects the ability of the program to meet its goals. A full breakdown of the anticipated and actual expenses for one of the projects shows where the organization underestimated or overestimated costs and capacity to execute work themselves. Finally, the current value of the properties goes towards understanding the impact of the program on the targeted community, and on the individual homeowners as well. The last section presents the trends and topics that arose in the interviews with community members. Primarily a narrative, there are some tables included as well. The section presents the changes in the community over time and the internal and external factors identified by the interview subjects that produced these changes. The current and future prospects and concerns for the neighborhood expressed by these subjects are categorized as well.

Demographics

Demographic information from the decennial census is important to this analysis. Each census presents similar statistical information in a unique manner, requiring careful compilation of the data. To ensure that trends are truly representative, the data comes from the smallest possible geographic area available in the census records. Likewise, all dollar figures presented are in 2016 dollars to account for inflation over the decades of the study period.

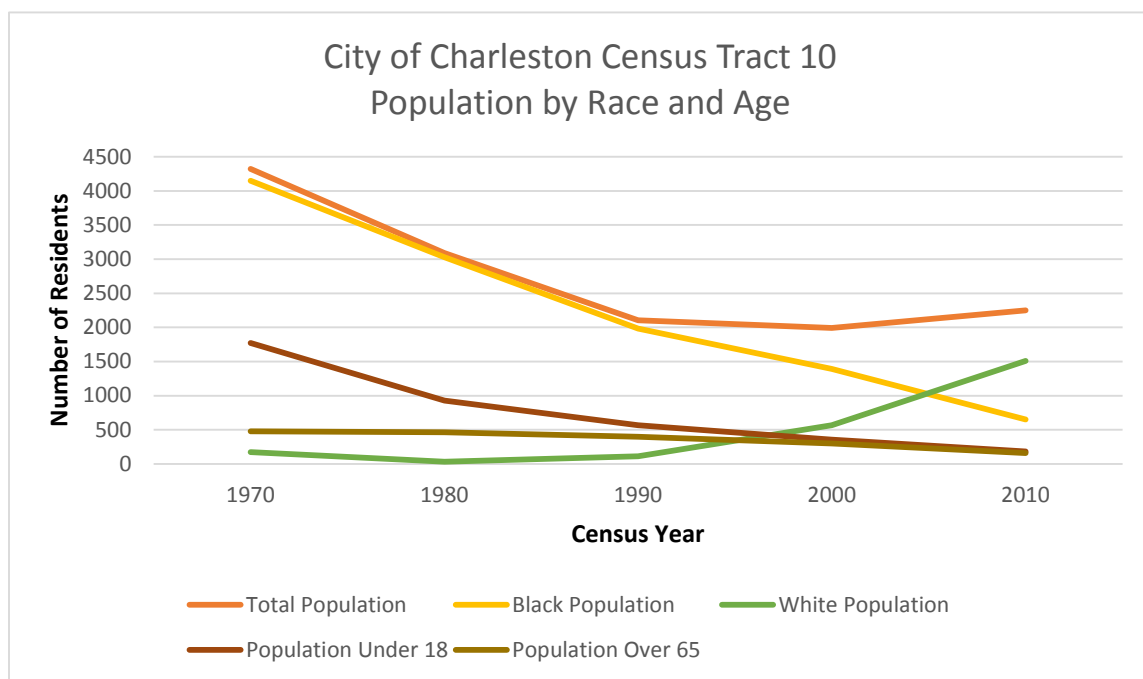


Figure 3.4- Census Tract 10 Population by Race and Age

The population of the whole of peninsular Charleston has trended down since the end of World War II. Census Tract 10, in which Elliottborough is located, shows a similar overall trend. The total population began to recover numbers from the lowest point in 2000, though the figure is still historically low. The African American population has continued its precipitous (84 percent) decline throughout the entire study period while the Caucasian

population has led the increase in the overall area. The total white population overtook the total black population in the mid-2000s. The neighborhood has also seen a significant loss in the number of children and a smaller but still declining number of elderly residents.

Comparing the population data from Census Tract 10 (Elliottborough-Cannonborough) with those from Census Tract 9 (East Side) and Census Tract 11 (West Side) show the similarities and differences in these congruent tracts. All three tracts show the overall decline in population, slowed by the

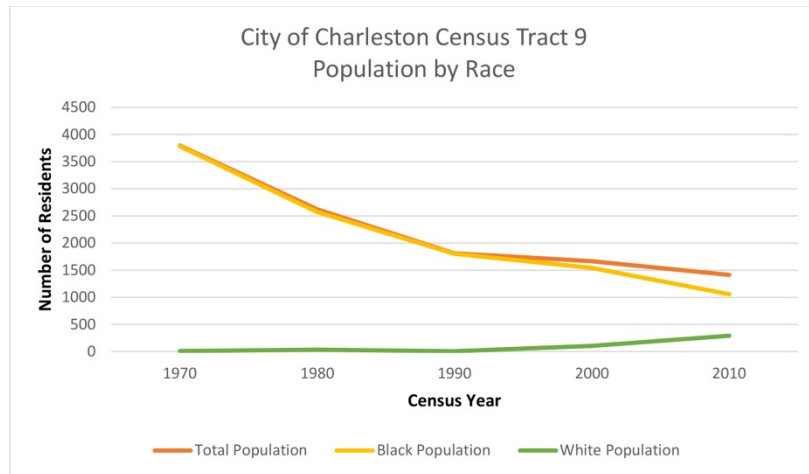


Figure 3.2- Census Tract 9 Population by Race

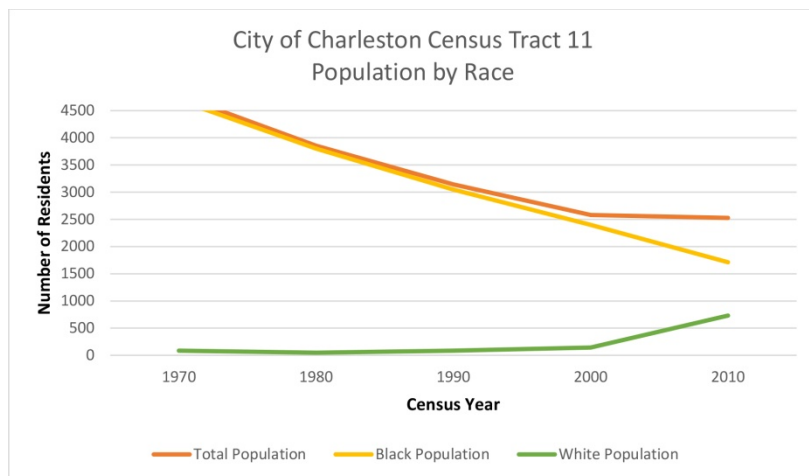


Figure 3.3- Census Tract 11 Population by Race

increasing number of white residents in the latter period. Tract 9, where residents rejected National Register listing fearing gentrification, had only a very moderate increase in white residents. Tract 11 has witnessed a similar sharp increase in white residents as the study area, although it begins about a decade later. Tract 11 is located primarily north of the Crosstown

and south of Hampton Park Terrace. In neither tract have the number of white residents overtaken the total number of black residents, although trends indicate this is likely to happen in Tract 11 around 2015 and in Tract 9 early in the 2020s.

The Neighborhood Impact Initiative aimed to help those whose income placed them in the moderate- to low-income category. These are categories defined by HUD and represent a specified range of incomes below the median. Moderate-income earners are those who earn between 81-95 percent of the median for a given area. Low-income earners are those who earn between 51-80 percent of the median for a given area.

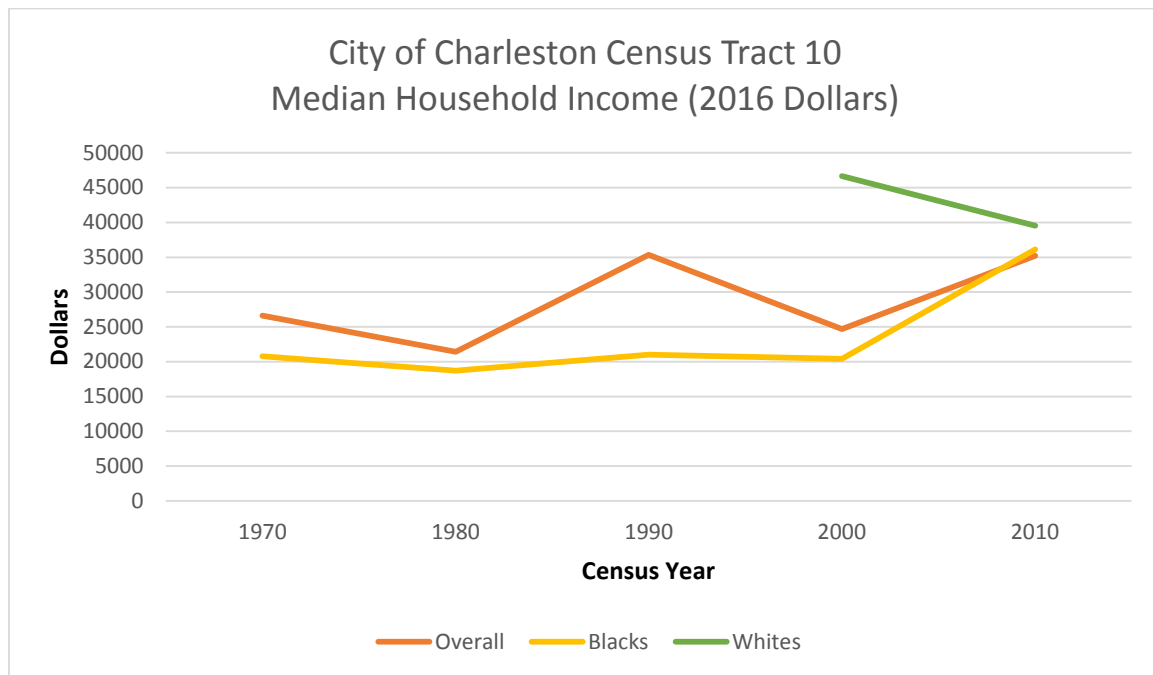


Figure 3.4- Census Tract 10 Median Household Income

In the period from 1970 to 1990, when the population was more than 90 percent African American, the median income for census tract 10 was only moderately above that of

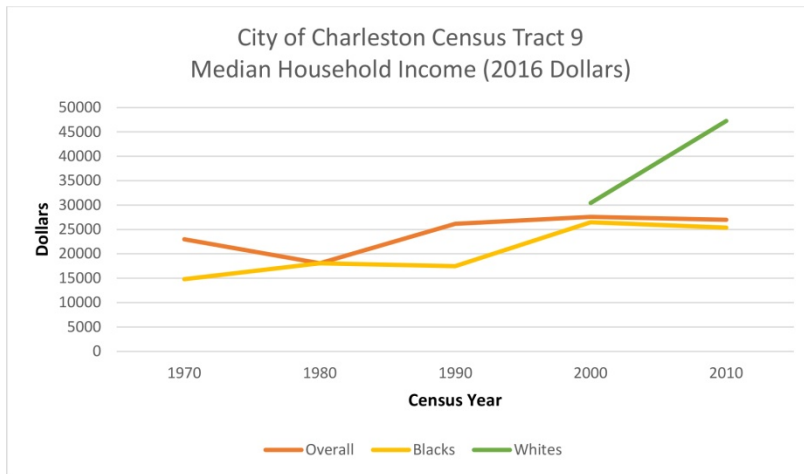


Figure 3.5- Census Tract 9 Median Household Income

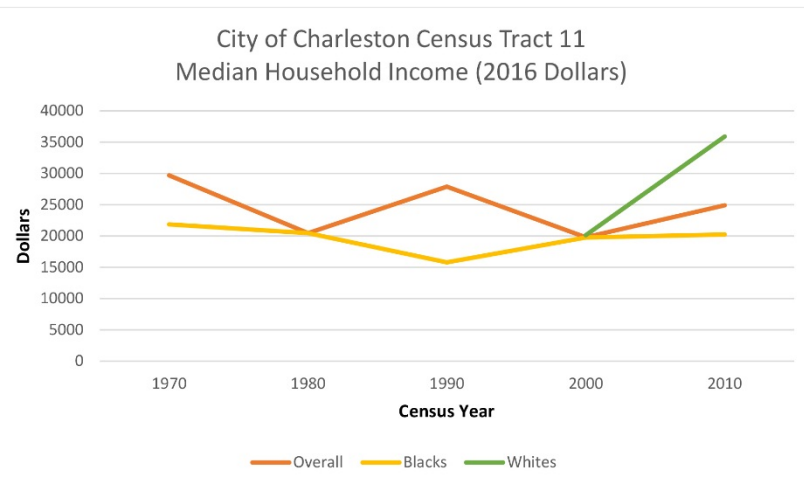


Figure 3.6- Census Tract 11 Median Household Income

the African American community. After 1980, the median continued to rise reaching a high point in 1990, while the income for African Americans was stagnant until 2000 when it began to climb once again. As such, the median income of African Americans fell into the low-income level for the tract from the early 1980s to 2000. At that point, the community's median

income rose significantly, rising through the moderate range and topping the median for the tract by the late 2000's. This rise may imply that the poorest blacks in the community are leaving and new black residents are higher earners as well. It is possible these new residents are the children or grandchildren of current or former residents who having studied and pursued prosperous careers elsewhere are returning to Charleston for their retirement.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁹ An example of this are the Davis sisters. See Appendix A for the transcript of their interview.

Census tracts 9 and 11 follow a similar pattern. The data charts do not reflect the nationwide recession of the 1980s because the measurement points come from the decennial census. Therefore, the major influx of capital after Hurricane Hugo makes the whole decade look like a continuous rise.³⁵⁰ Even so, it is undeniable that the second worst recession since the Great Depression affected Charleston just as much as it did the rest of the country. The high point of median income in 1990 is then, in fact, a spike related to recovery activity. The clean-up and construction boom after the storm surged in the last quarter of 1989 and buoyed the economy in the first few years of the 1990s. Few workers in any of the census tracts listed construction as their industry, although it is possible that some people picked up work on a part-time basis. It is also possible that the few whites in the community took work in construction and likely earned more for such work. Support for this theory of white employment comes from the census tracts themselves. Census tract 9, with the lowest total number of white residents, also experienced the smallest impact from the 1990 spike.

Owner-occupied housing in Census Tract 10 during the 1970s and 1980s held a low, but steady value. Starting in the 1980s, property value began to increase slowly, rising over the \$100,000 mark in the mid-1980s. This regular climb continued throughout the 1990s and into the year 2000. Values crossed the \$150,000 mark in the late 1990s. After the year 2000, the value of properties began a precipitous climb. This led to a doubling in value in the single decade between 2000 (\$166,749 average value) and 2010 (\$325,824 average value).

³⁵⁰ Paulo Guimaraes, Frank L. Hefner, and Douglas P. Woodward, "Wealth and Income Effects of Natural Distasters: An Economic Analysis of Hurricane Hugo" (Meetings of the Southern Regional Science Association, Charleston, SC, 1992), 24, <http://moore.sc.edu/UserFiles/moore/Documents/Division%20of%20Research/hurricane.pdf>.

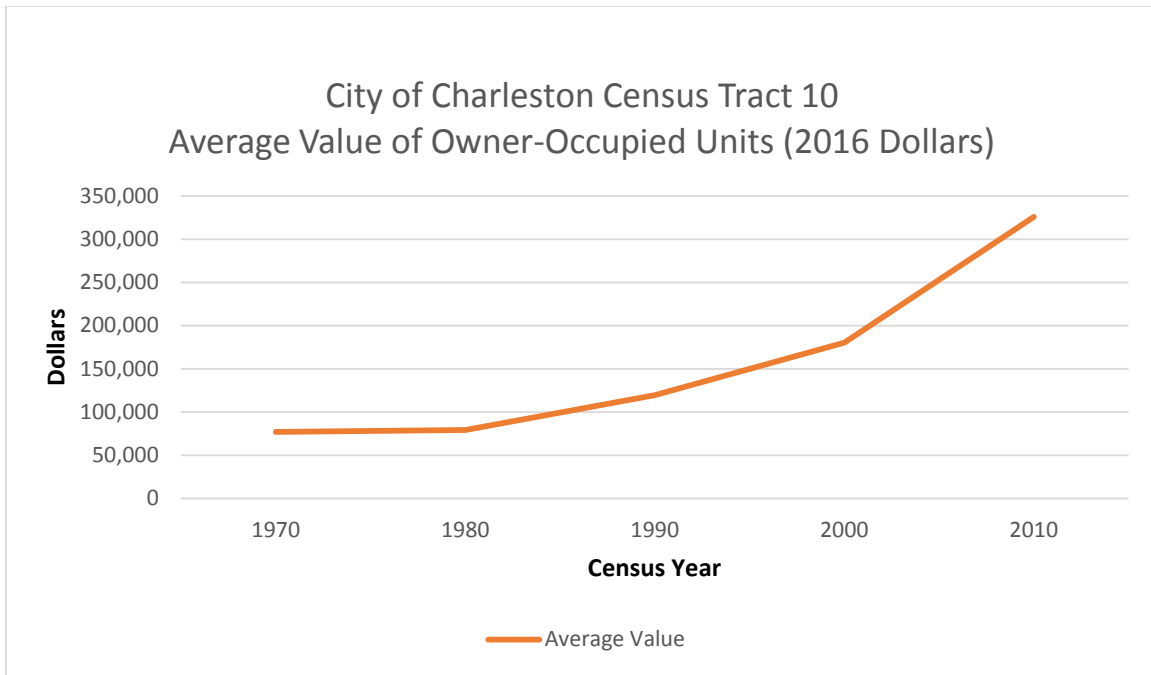


Figure 3.7- Census Tract 10 Value of Owner-Occupied Units

Average rental rates during the study period also trend generally higher. Interestingly, the pace of increase in rental rates slowed starting in 2000. Median household income is a standard measure used in calculations of area affordability. The census figures for median income are available for the whole study period for African Americans. White residents during most of the study period numbered under 200 persons. The U.S. Census Bureau established a threshold of 400 persons for statistical significance prior to 2000. Therefore, median income for white households only became available starting with the 2000 census. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has established that the affordability of a particular monthly rate is one that comes in under 30 percent of the household income each month. Dividing the median household income by twelve provided the monthly median income. Calculating 30 percent of that figure established the maximum amount of money per month that a household should spend on rent. In the early years of the study

period, and into the early 1990s, the rental rate for the neighborhood is below this 30 percent threshold of affordability for African Americans. Starting in the mid-1990s, an African-American household earning the median would find rental rates in the neighborhood to be above the threshold. In 2010, after a period of very moderate increase in rental rates, a significant increase in income among the African Americans in the area once again brought rental rates to the threshold of affordability. The median income of whites in the tract makes the area's rental rates fall below their 30 percent affordability threshold in the limited period available.

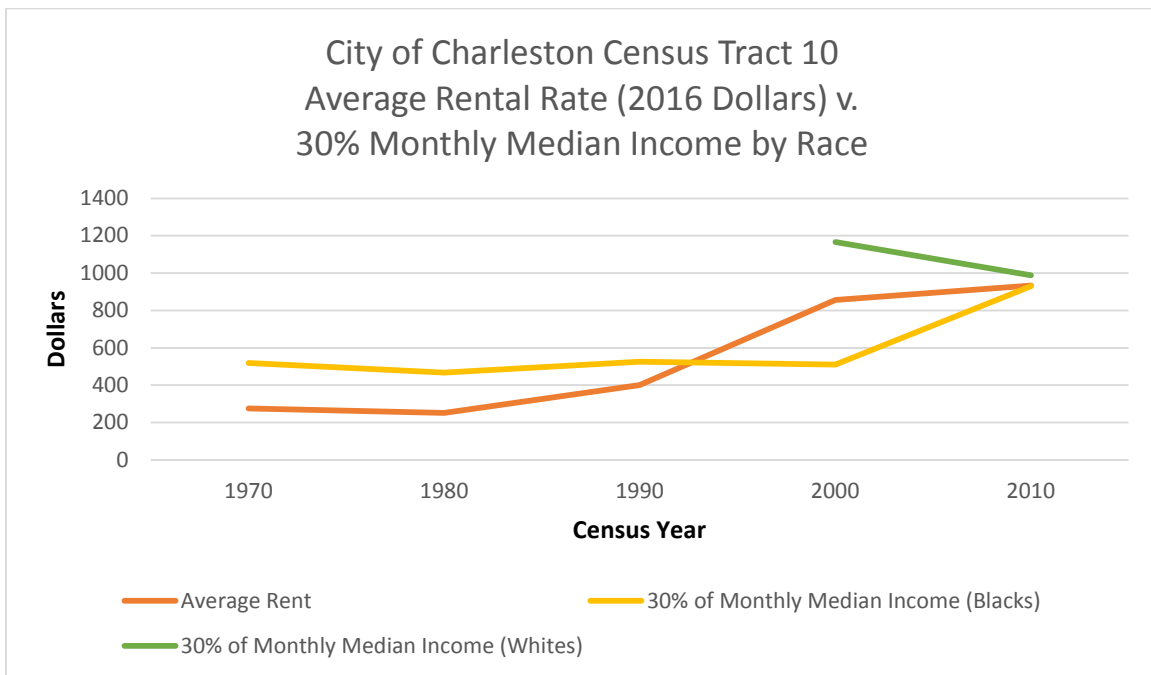


Figure 3.8- Census Tract 10 Affordability of Rent

The number of units in a structure has generally declined throughout the study period, although, after 2000, there has been a slight increase that has returned the total number of units to 1980 numbers. The number of structures with more than ten units, which would be purpose-built apartment buildings, has been minimal. There has been a very

slight increase in the number of such buildings, but it remains statistically insignificant. The number of single unit structures, which declined nominally until 1990 began to increase and picked up speed after 2000.

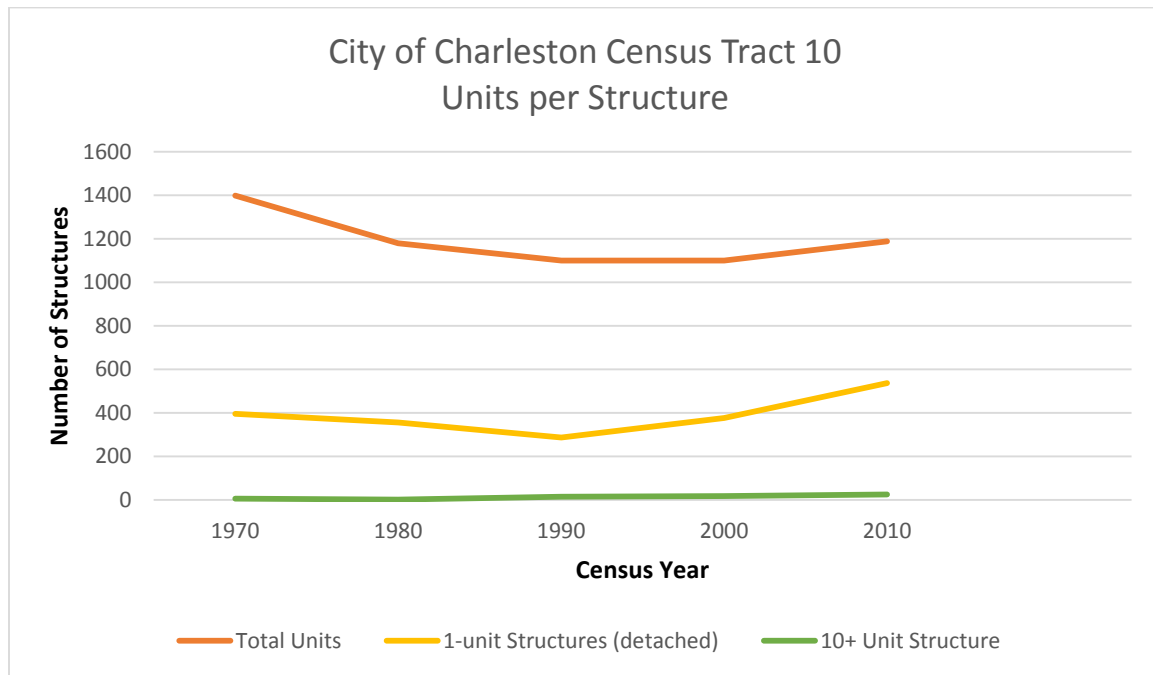


Figure 3.9- Census Tract 10 Units per Structure

College of Charleston figures reveal the serious lack of student housing provided by the institution. In 1989 (the first year available), the school provided housing for about 35 percent of its full-time population. Between 1989 and 1999, the total number of students rose very quickly, especially as the increase coincided with the return of many white residents to the heart of downtown. By 1999, the College had housing available for less than 25 percent of its full-time population. The College has made a concerted effort since 2000 to increase the number of residential units available on campus, but this has only provided housing for 35 percent of the total- a net neutral from 1989. Yet, the total number of students has increased significantly, requiring more total units to house the other 65 percent.

Of course, not all of these students live downtown, since some students live at home with parents who already have homes downtown or off the peninsula, and no one neighborhood absorbs all of the students requiring housing. Then again, as neighborhoods to the south of the college have become more expensive, the neighborhoods to the north have borne the increased demand.

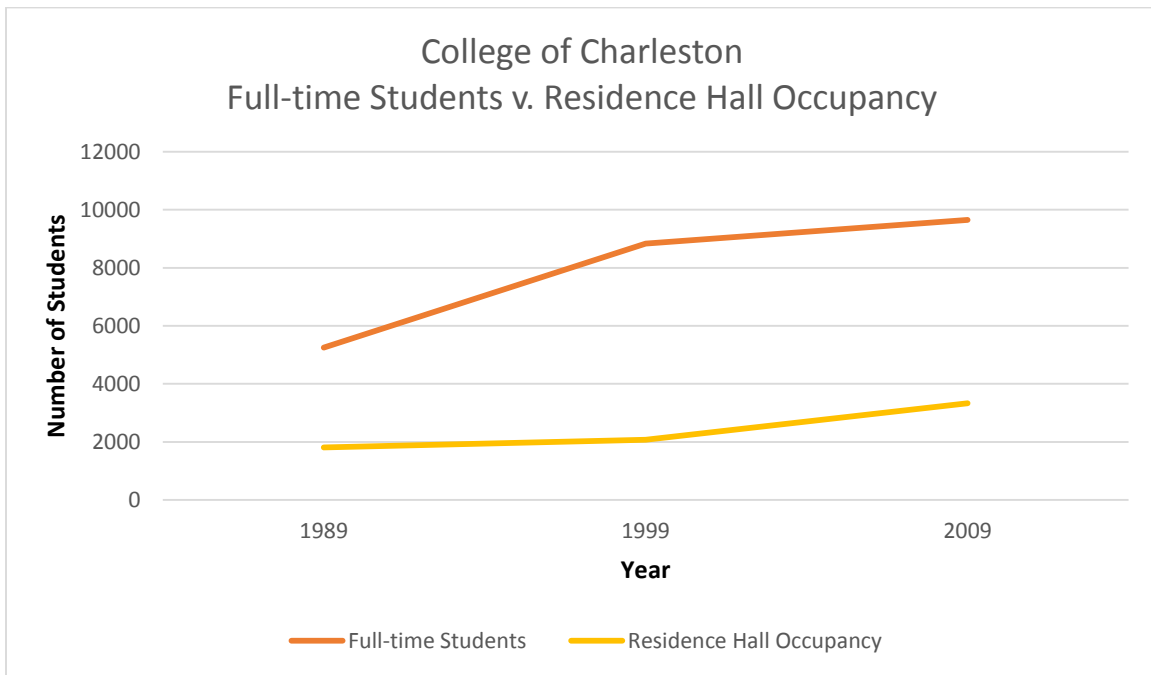


Figure 3.10- Population and Accommodations, College of Charleston

The demographic data from Census Tract 10 shows the changes in the Elliottborough area between 1970 and 2010. The general decline in population and income that characterized the early period began to reverse around the time of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative and continued for the remainder of the study period. The ethnic makeup of the community has made a dramatic change from predominantly African American to predominantly Caucasian in that same time.

Financial Data

Studying the Neighborhood Impact Initiative relies on a thorough review of the financial records of the project. Preserving buildings that are in an advanced state of disrepair can be very expensive. For many, this sets up a choice; preservation or anti-gentrification. Looking at the financial figures from this program allows the facts to reveal if this is a false dichotomy.

Phase One's proposed partnership presentation by HCF listed a series of sources to utilized to cover expenses. A review by City of Charleston staff indicated that the program would be eligible for just over \$100,000 in Community Development Block Grants (CDBG). Funding of the project relied heavily on the Charleston Bank Consortium to provide up-front financing for the acquisition of properties, the construction work, and the guarantee of purchasers. The organization anticipated that the sale of the properties would pay back much of this outlay. Even so, HCF, the City of Charleston, and the Consortium would each need to provide a certain amount of money without repayment.

AMOUNT	SOURCE
\$108,000	Community Development Block Grants (CDBG), State HOME funds
\$1,069,200	Sale of 16 Houses (\$66,825 average price)
\$159,500	Local Banks/Bank Consortium
Unlisted	Historic Charleston Foundation, CDBG, Bank Consortium
\$1,336,700+	Total

Figure 3.11- Elliottborough Partnership Proposed Funding

The same proposal included a general budget for the project. Of the nineteen properties mentioned in the text, the budget called for the purchase or condemnation of sixteen. It is unclear if one of the organizations already held three properties, or if one or the other total number of properties is a typographical error. To contextualize the scale of this

project, there are approximately 500 properties in Elliottborough, the majority of which are either residential or mixed residential/commercial use. Of particular note in this budget is the inclusion of a contingency budget of \$25,000 and the estimated construction costs for the program of the 1.6 million dollars.

BUDGET	ITEM
\$30,000	Architecture & Engineering
\$159,500	Acquisition of 16 properties
\$13,000	Clean up
\$30,000	Demolition of 5 houses (@ \$6,000/ea)
\$25,000	New paving of street and new drainage
\$6,000	Appraisals
\$32,000	Legal (title clearing)
\$10,000	Security/permanent fence, block, stucco & wrought iron
\$5,000	Landscaping
\$7,500	Advertising
\$25,000	Contingency
\$7,500	Development Fee
\$1,600,000	Construction costs
\$1,950,500	Total

Figure 3.12- Elliottborough Partnership Proposed Budget

One year later, Historic Charleston Foundation entered into Phase Two of the project by its partnership with the Episcopal Diocese's Community Housing Development Organization. The project scope of this partnership was smaller, nine houses to rehabilitate or build. The funding sources for these nine projects are clearer; a grant from the state (HOME fund) with matching funds via a grant from the City of Charleston (CDBG), Neighborhood Impact Initiative funds from HCF, and a small grant from Wachovia bank.

AMOUNT	SOURCE
\$200,000	South Carolina State HOME Funds*
\$150,000	Community Development Block Grant
\$35,000	Historic Charleston Foundation Neighborhood Impact Initiative Fund
\$15,000	Wachovia Bank Grant
\$400,000	Total

Figure 3.13- HCF/CHDO Partnership Funding

*Required matching funds

In a separate document, HCF presented a budget for the program. The organization did not include its \$35,000 contribution in this budget. As the document is undated, it may predate the MOU between the two organizations. Interestingly, the acquisition budget for properties is slightly higher than the 1996 effort. The anticipated expenses for operating the program is \$1,853 more than the grants the organizations expected to receive. The HOME fund grant from the state, the largest single source of funding, had a requirement that the recipient organization raise matching funds equal to the grant. HCF's \$35,000 pledge was able to serve two purposes, completing the required match and getting the operating budget into the black. Also included in this budget were anticipated construction costs of \$593,500. Most, though not all, of this funding would come from a bank loan. Unlike the 1996 budget, there is no contingency fund worked into this estimate.

BUDGET	ITEM
\$165,000	Acquisition Fund for 9 properties
\$48,250	Stabilization of 9 properties
\$31,500	Marketing
\$27,000	Development (Architectural Services)
\$55,278	Origination Fees, etc. for Construction Loan
\$39,825	Impact Fees (Sewer/Water)
\$366,853	Total
\$365,000	Amount of Grants**
<i>\$1,853</i>	<i>Amount Over Grant Funds**</i>
\$593,500	Construction/Rehabilitation for 9 properties
\$500,000	Anticipated Construction Loan
<i>\$93,5000</i>	<i>Amount Over Loan Funds</i>
\$960,353	Total Budget Construction and Program Administration
\$865,000	Total Grant + Loan Funds
<i>\$95,353</i>	<i>Amount Over Total Funds</i>

Figure 3.14 HCF/CHDO Partnership Budget

**This initial budget did not include Historic Charleston Foundation's \$35,000 contribution to the program

Taking a closer look at the thirteen properties renovated under the two phases of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative will allow a comparison of these anticipated costs and the actual expenses required by the properties. The organizations paid for the appraisal of six properties before approaching the owners with purchase offers. In all but one of these properties, the price they ended up paying was higher than the appraised value. HCF anticipated from the very start that they would be taking a loss on each property in order to make the properties affordable to their target group of buyers. Even so, the first property renovated in phase one, 33 Bogard Street, went over budget much more than they had expected. In the end, this \$115,183 loss was the largest of any properties in the program. A city grant for job training and a grant from the South Carolina Department of Archives and History offset \$13,500 of this loss. The Neighborhood Impact Initiative's budget, \$200,000 HCF had raised in a capital campaign, absorbed the rest of this loss.

The other properties in phase one of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative were much less problematic. HCF sold 2 Ashe Street without a major renovation and the organization made a small profit. The loss on the 258 Ashley Avenue rehabilitation was significantly less than the Bogard Street project (\$36,482). Renovation costs for the 25 Sires Street house were not located, which has prevented a determination of the profit or loss on the project.

Phase Two of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative, the partnership with the CHDO, resulted in the acquisition of nine properties. Only the rehabilitation of 27 Rose Lane occurred during the two year partnership agreed to in the MOU. HCF projected a loss on this property of \$2,255. In the end, the loss was over \$33,000. As the partnership ended, the CHDO took over managing the rehabilitation of the remaining properties while HCF's

Property	Purchase Price	Date	Total Acq. Cost	Rehab Cost	Total Cost	Sale Price	Date	Profit
33 Bogard Street*	23,000			86,810	92,355/110,855	80,000		-12,355
<i>Appraisal</i>	24,445	Oct-93		169,207	193,652	78,469	Sep-95	-115,183
2 Ashe Street*								
<i>Appraisal</i>	3,500	Nov-96				25,000	Sep-97	21,500
258 Ashley Avenue*								
<i>Appraisal</i>	1,400	Oct-95	2,678	121,104	123,782	90,000	Apr-98	-36,482
25 Sires Street*								
<i>Appraisal</i>	18,652+9,063 65,000	Dec-94	24,445			69,000	Aug-98	-----
27 Rose Lane				112,380				-2,255
<i>Appraisal</i>	1,464/20,000	Mar-98	20,135	112,980	133,115	100,000	Aug-00	-33,115
3 Porter's Court^	700/1,500		8,300	65,000/95,000	103,300	80,000		-23,300
<i>Appraisal</i>	1,800	Apr-97	9,544	129,600	139,144	87,200	Nov-00	-51,944
6 Porter's Court^	23,200			65,000	109,067	128,000		
<i>Appraisal</i>	25,000	Jul-98	27,418	92,986	120,404	95,200	Nov-00	-25,204
8 Porter's Court^	23,000					129,000		
<i>Appraisal</i>	20,000	Jul-98	20,135	111,896	132,031	133,000	Mar-01	969
10 Porter's Court^†	10,000/12,500		16,500	65,000/95,000	100,367	80,000		-31,500
<i>Appraisal</i>	9,000	Dec-99		111,850	120,850	127,000	Sep-02	6,150
12 Porter's Court^	23,000							
<i>Appraisal</i>	25,000	Jul-98	27,418	95,746	123,164	128,000	Jun-02	4,837
13 Porter's Court^						130,000		
<i>Appraisal</i>	15,000	Oct-98	12,351	95,000	107,351	1,000	Apr-02	-7,351
15/17 Porter's Court^	129+125	Apr-95	254					-----
<i>Appraisal</i>	25,000			65,000				
113 Line Street^	10,000	May-98	10,544	4,459	14,459	52,000	Apr-03	37,540
<i>Appraisal</i>								
Budgeted	Actual	Appraisal						

Figure 3.15- Neighborhood Impact Initiative Property Budgeted and Actual Expenses

*Property Completed without the CHDO ^Property begun as joint effort, finished by CHDO alone †Diocese purchase

involvement was limited to the standard check-in it performs on covenanted properties. HCF provided the CHDO with the construction specifications, floor plan, and elevations the remaining properties required.³⁵¹ The CHDO lost less money on each property as they became more experienced and even turned a small profit on the last few projects while generally selling below the final appraised value.

Item	Budgeted Amount	Actual Amount	Over/Under Budget
In-house Labor*	31,220	60,158	+28,938
Fringe Benefits*	-----	6,304	+6,304
Architect	10,000	5,963	-4,037
Carpentry Sub	-----	4,449	+4,449
Plumbing Sub	5,000	4,285	-715
Electrical Sub	3,800	2,350	-1,450
HVAC Sub	5,000	2,000	-3,000
Roofing Sub	-----	2,089	+2,089
Painting Sub	6,000	4,450	-1,550
Insulation/Sheetrock/Plaster Sub	900	3,395	+2,495
Utilities	-----	417	+417
Insurance	1,000	1,185	+185
Taxes	600	593	-7
Signage	150	148	-2
Other	-----	5,187	+5,187
Materials	-----	22,612	+22,612
Cost to Complete**	-----	43,622	+43,622
Total	63,670	169,207	+105,537^

*Costs associated with Building Trades Program **Expenditures until 02/10/95 ^HCF received grants of \$13,500 towards this project

Figure 3.16- 33 Bogard Budgeted and Actual Expenses (1995 Dollars)

Of all the study properties the first one rehabilitated, 33 Bogard Street, has the best record of both pre-construction budgets and final expenses. Comparing the two, certain

³⁵¹ Philip H. Dufford, "Dufford Young Architects to Guerry Glover," April 4, 2000, Property Files, Box 84, Folder: Porter's Gen., Margaretta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

flaws become clear. A few expense categories were not included as in the budgeting process. The carpentry and roofing subcontractors were unexpected expenses as the budget assumed the Crafts Training Program would perform those tasks. The original line item also had no line item for utilities, materials, or a contingency fund for miscellaneous expenses. It is likely that the budget for certain subs was supposed to cover the required materials. Even so, the money spent on material is significantly more than what the budget anticipated.

Finally, measuring the impact of the program on the financial programs of the property owners has some bearing on the discussion of gentrification as a socioeconomic process. Comparing the adjusted sale price of each renovated property to the County Assessor's estimate of market value shows that most of the properties have increased in value. The properties on Porter's Court, a dead-end, narrow street, have not increased in value as significantly as those on the major roads. That being said, 3 Porter's Court is an outlier in this regard. The tax assessment valuation for 8 Porter's Court is given as the same as the 2001 sale price for the property. This is either an error or an unknown tax abatement has been granted to the homeowner. Some of these properties have increased in value by over 100 percent, an astonishing rate of return in a brief fifteen years.

By organizing the financial information gleaned from multiple sources in a series of tables, certain facts about the financial aspects of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative become evident. This clarity will also allow for an in-depth analysis of the way the program functioned.

Property	Interior Space	Sale Price (2016 dollars)	Value as of 1/28/2016	Percent Increase
258 Ashley Avenue	1,597 sq.ft.	\$130,590	\$304,600	133%
33 Bogard Street	1,752 sq.ft.	\$121,798	\$208,000	71%
3 Porter's Court	1,284 sq.ft.	\$119,773	\$252,200	111%
6 Porter's Court	1,380 sq.ft.	\$130,762	\$216,800	66%
8 Porter's Court	1,152 sq.ft.	\$177,661	-----*	---
10 Porter's Court	1,264 sq.ft.	\$166,998	\$246,400	48%
12 Porter's Court	956 sq.ft.	\$168,312	\$217,300	29%
13 Porter's Court	1,112 sq.ft.	\$144,644	-----*	---
27 Rose Lane	1,413	\$137,355	\$291,100	111%
25 Sires Street	1,060 sq.ft.	\$100,119	\$285,100	185%

Figure 3.17- 2015 Property Values

*Tax assessment does not give a market value for 2015

Interviews

With a program like the Neighborhood Impact Initiative, the lived experience of the community is one of the most important measures of effect. Reaching out to residents of the neighborhood is the only way to obtain this information. Though no two interview subjects have precisely the same recollections, there are certain themes that emerge.

Of the eleven community members interviewed, six resided for some or most of their lives in Elliottborough. Of the non-resident group, three were intimately involved with the community through their roles as professionals. The other two adopted the neighborhood as their primary residence about 25 years ago. The six long-term residents have some interesting similarities. Five of the six currently reside within a block of their original home residence, including three who still own their grandparent's home. Among these six, four were educated in private African American Schools or parochial

institutions.³⁵² In this group of six, those who indicated holding advanced degrees did so from institutions located outside of Charleston, some as far as New York. The current residents live throughout the neighborhood. One lives in the north central part of the area, two live on the eastern periphery, two live on the southern border of the neighborhood, and the last two live on the western edge.

Long-term Resident	Currently Reside in Elliottborough	Live on the same block as their grandparent	Own grandparent's home
Judge Fields			
Long-term resident	X	X	
Vicki Davis Williams	X	X	X
Julia-Ellen Craft Davis	X	X	X
Angela Hare	X	X	X
Walter Smalls	X		

Figure 3.18- Long-term Resident Similarity of Housing Patterns

Those respondents who directly addressed the makeup of Elliottborough prior to the 1960s recall an integrated neighborhood with African Americans, Germans, Greeks, Jews, and Protestants (Episcopal, Presbyterian, and African Methodist Episcopal being the most common). Several mention knowing all their neighbors and the safety of the area. Businesses mentioned include corner grocers, the Brooks and St. James Motels, U.S. Post Office, barbershops, doctors, dentists, attorneys, gasoline stations, a car dealership, schools and multiple places of worship. Colter, the real estate agent, recalls that many families lived above their businesses at one time. Judge Martin explained that Spring, Morris, and Cannon Streets were the location of a major portion of the African American businesses in the

³⁵² Julia-Ellen Craft Davis and Vicki Davis Williams, a generation younger than the rest of the long-term residents, attended public schools in Charleston briefly before leaving the area with their mother. Both returned permanently to the city as adults.

neighborhood. Two subjects specifically connected the end of World War II with white families moving away. Two respondents cite the 1967 Crosstown Expressway project as the catalyst for a second wave of families leaving the neighborhood. Some owners sold their houses and moved away while others left and turned their properties into rentals. Those who could afford it moved out of the area, Judge Martin explained, even if they continued to operate a business in the area.

The decreasing number of owner occupied properties opened the door to an influx of drug activity. Nine of the eleven total subjects identified drug activity as detrimental to the community. Judge Fields claims there were no drugs, none that he was aware. Drug activity did not enter the conversation with Colter. Of those who were willing to discuss the drug problems there was a consensus that the activity took place only in certain places and was not a community-wide issue. Several identified vacant properties and dead end streets as the places most likely to host drug activity. Developers Moran and Holt describe the dealers as outsiders, men from other areas who came to the neighborhood to sell. The clientele, they claim, were primarily white college students. The property across from their first purchase in the neighborhood was particularly bad, they say. As Moran put it, the drug house was so problematic that, “everyone pretty much thought we were nuts when we first came here. Including myself...on occasion.”³⁵³ It’s clear that the community felt hostage to the drug element. They mention that older residents were scared, while others moved out of the neighborhood and only came in to attend church and visit their social clubs. One long-term

³⁵³ George Holt and Gerard Moran, George Holt and Gerard Moran (Developers and Elliottborough Residents), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, January 22, 2016.

resident explained that she felt so unsafe that she installed a modern lock on her street-facing door in this era, replacing an old-fashioned lock operated by a generic skeleton key.

The real estate agent, Colter, and developers Holt and Moran claimed that, even in the early 1990s, the area was attracting a number of developers. Unlike Holt and Moran, who moved into houses they rehabilitated in the neighborhood, most of these developers purchased to rent or simply to hold the property until the value rose and they could sell for a generous profit. The two men expressed frustration with those who put no money into their properties, abetting the drug problem by leaving vacant houses, and later profited based on the improvements those within the community engendered. The clean-up of the area is a credit to the residents of Elliottborough. The Davis sister's mother, Bernice DeCosta Davis, was a driving force behind city and NAACP efforts to clear out the drug dealers. The Episcopal Diocese CHDO's work on Porter's Court also received praise from Moran and Holt and another long-term resident who wasn't aware of who had performed the work in that area.

The Neighborhood Impact Initiative did not register with nine of the eleven respondents. HCF approached Rossie Colter to help find buyers, Walter Smalls was on the Board of the CHDO, and Rev. Davis became involved with drafting the guidelines, although he says no one reached out to him.³⁵⁴ Neither Davis sister lived in the neighborhood at the time, but they do not recall their mother, who was a highly active resident, ever mentioning

³⁵⁴ As explained in the Background chapter's history of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative, Rev. Davis was one of four area ministers who received a letter from the CHDO inviting them to attend meetings. There is no confirmation that he ever received this letter and no indication as to the timing of his participation in the drafting of the guidelines (whether before or after the letter).

such a program. Hare was living in North Charleston at the time of the program and received no notice. As mentioned above, Moran and Holt were aware of the CHDO's work on Porter's Court but were genuinely surprised to discover HCF had a role in the project.

Subject	Knew of HCF participation	Did not know of HCF participation
Rossie Colter	X	
Rev. Davis	X	
Judge Martin		X
Judge Fields		X
George Holt		X
Gerard Moran		X
Vicki Davis Williams		X
Julia-Ellen Craft Davis		X
Long-term resident		X
Angela Hare		X
Walter Smalls	X	

3.19- Community Member Awareness of Neighborhood Impact Initiative and HCF's Role

Reaching the greater portion of the Elliottborough neighborhood in the mid- to late-1990s would have required considerable effort. The community had no neighborhood association or other similar all-resident gathering. Many attended church, but, as Walter Smalls explained, people who attended one church rarely mingled with those who attended another church. Each person knew their immediate neighbors and a handful of church friends throughout the area; beyond that thought, the other people living in Elliottborough were unfamiliar to them.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁵ The Elliottborough "neighborhood" is a modern conceit. It first appears on area street signs in the 1990s.

Discussion of the changes in the area since the late 1990s by members of the community tends to focus on a few common themes. The rising number of college students, parking, traffic, and flooding problems receive frequent mention. A long-time resident whose property is the furthest north of all the subjects says that she has not seen any permanent white residents in her area, only college students who come in and out each year. Further south, the contractors describe that they experienced a wave of college students several years ago, but the last several years have brought higher rents, which has pushed those students further north, replacing them with richer college students and young professionals. In general, the respondents agree that the neighborhood has improved since the 1990s. They use terms like “vibrant” and “renaissance” to describe these changes. The four oldest respondents, while acknowledging that many African Americans are priced out of the neighborhood; they do not see a problem. They have seen the neighborhood change several times, and most experience this as another incarnation of the neighborhood. This group denounces increasing the density of the neighborhood, especially a proposed project to double the occupancy of an existing apartment building. The six others see some problems with the gentrification of the neighborhood. Four specifically mentioned the loss of affordable housing. The two others fear super gentrification like that seen South of Broad where extremely wealthy people own many of the houses and only spend a week or two in the city in a given year. To them, this has led to the death of that part of town. Rev. Davis

also uses death as a metaphor. He fears Charleston caters only to tourists at its own peril. In his words, “a city without families will die. A city without churches will die.”³⁵⁶

³⁵⁶ Rev. Dr. Sidney Davis, Rev. Dr. Sidney Davis (Minister, Congregation formerly located in Elliottborough and Former President of Cannonborough-Elliottborough Neighborhood Association), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, December 14, 2015.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

This chapter describes the data presented in Chapter Three. It provides interpretation of the statistical significance of the data. Discussion as to why certain information may be unclear or appear incorrect is also included. This may be context from the history of the neighborhood, a certain program, or the method of data collection itself. The first section, demographics, parses the trends in the neighborhood's population by race, age and financial status. The second section reviews the financial data highlighting particularly areas where the anticipated costs and the actual expenses failed to align and exploring some possible reasons for the shortfall. The final section, the interviews, are examined for the overall themes and specific thoughts or concerns presented by the interview subjects. These issues include the changes in the community over time, the external factors that impacted the neighborhood, internal factors that affected how these changes were absorbed in the area, and thoughts on the present and future concerns for Elliottborough.

Demographics

The demographics of Elliottborough make a compelling argument that the neighborhood has gentrified. Socially and economically, the current residents are very dissimilar to those who lived in the area at the start of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative.

What was once a large, almost exclusively black population in the 1970s and 80s has declined in numbers dramatically. The first decade of population loss coincides with the sharpest drop-off in number of children under the age of 18. This indicates that families with children were abandoning the area. Historically, this period starting in the 1970s coincides with the start of integration. Likely, those who could afford it pursued this new opportunity to move out to the suburbs where homes and yards were both larger. The oldest members of the community stayed more or less in place. The 1980s continued both of these trends.

Neighborhood rents throughout the 1970s and 1980s closely follow the median income of the community. The struggles of the general economy in the 1970s reflect in the stagnant rents of the period. As the overall economy improved in the 1980s, and more specifically as affirmative action policies improved the prospects of African Americans, rents kept pace. Both of these trends are also apparent in the value of owner-occupied units in the 1970s and 80s.

Though the neighborhood lost over 200 housing units between 1970 and 1980, the number of single-unit structures did not significantly decline. There are several plausible explanations for this. One is the restoration to single-family use of structures that once held multiple units. Another is that a greater number of multi-unit structures were demolished. Yet another possibility is the expansion of commercial activity into former residential buildings.

The decade between 1990 and 2000 holds the first evidence of the neighborhood's gentrification. As the number of African Americans continued to fall, their median income also plummeted. The number of people over the age of 65, long-term community members

and stewards of the culture, begin to drop off as well.³⁵⁷ Although this group was never very large, they serve an important role in community stability. At the same time, the number of white residents rapidly climbed. Rents rose to mirror this increase, which, along with the continued drop of the number of children in the neighborhood, indicate that these white residents are younger and more affluent than the pre-existing residents are. Part of the increase is likely due to growing demand for housing from students at the College of Charleston and the Medical University of South Carolina. Young professionals desiring the benefits of urban living also contributed to the trend. This rise in the rental rate meant that even the median-income earners in the remaining African American community could not afford market-rate rents. The Neighborhood Impact Initiative set out to help those in the low- and moderate-income range. In this era, the black community's median income placed them first in the moderate- and later the low-income range, the first time such a disparity is evident. By the late 1990s, the median-income of the black community in Elliottborough fell further, dropping down into the very low-income range. The total number of housing units in this decade remained the same as the preceding decade. Yet, the number of one-unit structures increased steadily. This is likely a combination of new construction and the conversion of subdivided or commercial structures into residential units.

The neighborhood continued in much the same way between 2000 and 2010. The value of owner-occupied houses doubled in this period. The number of African American residents fell to an all-time low. Around 2005, the total number of white residents topped

³⁵⁷ Renee McCoy, "African American Elders, Cultural Traditions, and the Family Reunion," *Generations*, Fall 2011, <http://www.asaging.org/blog/african-american-elders-cultural-traditions-and-family-reunion>.

the total number of black residents and by 2010, 67 percent of the neighborhood was white. The median income of this group placed them in a higher income bracket than black residents and decidedly higher than the average rental rate. This rate increased only slightly in the period, finding its limits within the market. A rebound in the median income of blacks means that, as of 2010, neighborhood rents were once again affordable for a median-income earner.

The demographic data from Elliottborough reveals a textbook example of gentrification. The white community that now dominates the area is significantly more affluent than the blacks they have replaced. Furthermore, they have benefitted from the bulk of the increase in property values. This increase is partially attributable to the rehabilitation of the buildings. The major force driving the rise in values is the newfound desirability to the white community of the Elliottborough area.

Financial Data

Reviewing the financial records relating to the Neighborhood Impact Initiative reveals how crucial finances were to the program's goals. Raising \$200,000 for the initiative, the organization certainly felt that the time was right for moving ahead with its first project in the neighborhood. The significant cost overruns on the property at 33 Bogard Street might have given some reason to terminate the program, but HCF forged ahead. As Figure 3.16 shows, the reliance on the Preservation Building Crafts Program proved problematic. Together, the students and their teacher were not equipped to take on the amount of work

required while keeping to the timeframe of the training program. Not only did the labor cost double the budgeted amount, but also their inability to complete some of the work required contracting professionals, a further unexpected expense. In addition, not budgeting for materials or contingency expenses was a costly oversight.

Realizing that spending more than half of its project funds on a single property would not be sustainable, HCF made some changes. Among these changes was to seek partners who could contribute to the financing for the rehabilitation work. Reaching out with the proposal in 1996, the organization sought to bring on major support from the city, the Bank Consortium, and private businesses. Though this proposed partnership did not come to fruition, studying the figures HCF provided is insightful. The organization planned to rely heavily on Community Housing Block Grants and the Bank Consortium loans and grants for the bulk of the financing. They presented an ambitious plan to build or renovate 16-19 properties with just under \$85,000 allocated for each property. The proposed budget included a small contingency fund as well.

HCF began to rehabilitate the properties at 258 Ashley Avenue and 25 Sires Street while exploring partnership options. Joining forces with the Episcopal Diocese's CHDO created an opportunity to rehabilitate nine additional properties. Grants of \$365,000 (almost double the amount the organization had raised on its own) and a \$500,000 loan from Wachovia guided the budget estimates for the program. The first part of the budget, accounting for the money from the grants, would cover the costs of acquiring and preparing the properties for construction. Even though the budget calls for slightly more money than was granted, the organization overlooked one line item. This was an operating fund for the

CHDO itself. As a brand-new non-profit, everything from basic office supplies to conference travel expenses had to come from grant funds. Perhaps HCF assumed the Episcopal Diocese would cover these expenses although nothing in the records indicates a discussion of the matter ever took place. The Diocese provided space for meetings and initially accounting services as well. Both are crucial to the success of any organization. The second part of the budget, for construction, set a budget of about \$66,000 per property. Considering rehabilitation costs on 33 Bogard and 258 Ashley Avenue were each more than double that amount, this budget seems optimistic at best. Having not yet purchased the nine properties for the project, they had no way of knowing how much work each property would require, making this already optimistic number even less realistic. Even so, this brought estimated construction costs to almost \$100,000 more than the anticipated loan from the bank. It is puzzling that this document does not address the shortfall, nor is it discussed at any other point in the available records. Additionally, this budget lacks a contingency budget.

The impact of the oversights in the budget process is evident when looking at the totality of the project. The acquisition budget established by HCF covered the cost of purchase and closing costs. It does not, however, cover the costs of appraisals or the legal fees involved in closing several complicated titles. The rehabilitation costs, averaging \$107,000 per property, came in significantly above the \$65,000 budget or even a later budget of \$95,000.³⁵⁸ The CHDO was able to minimize losses and even turn a profit on a few

³⁵⁸ Of the properties that were completely renovated by or with the CHDO.

properties both by controlling costs and by asking for a higher sale price on finished properties.

In the years since the last house on Porter's Court sold, property values in the area have increased significantly. All but one of the properties rehabilitated under the aegis of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative have increased in value, some by over 100 percent. In general, the properties on Porter's Court have not increased in value as dramatically as those located elsewhere. This likely has to do with the relative difficulty of reaching the street, requiring a sharp turn off a one-way street into the very narrow court. This issue with the location may somewhat change as there is new construction taking place in 2016 on the lots across from the project properties.

Interviews

Soliciting memories from members of the Elliottborough community brings a different perspective to that provided by the quantitative data. The personal observations add context and clarify observations drawn from the demographic and financial records. The subjects represent several generations, occupations, and life experiences even as they share a high level of education and achievement, which ties the cohort together.

The Elliottborough of the early twentieth century was an integrated community where business brought blacks and whites into constant interactions. Housing patterns in the time before extensive car ownership followed the needs of daily life. For this reason, many business owners lived above or beside their commercial property and the entire community

could walk to stores, doctors, school, and worship. The end of World War II brought about major changes. As whites left the peninsula for the suburbs, a wave of black residents moved in to take advantage of Cold War jobs. The 1967 construction of the Crosstown Expressway acted as a catalyst for many of the wealthier African Americans to leave the area as well. Job losses and a poor economic outlook, along with increasing numbers of vacant properties and the layout of area streets made it susceptible to rising drug activity. “It wasn’t that bad,” explained Rev. Davis, “it was bad, but it wasn’t that bad.”³⁵⁹ Drug activity was concentrated in certain pockets and most in the community got along by avoiding those areas.

As the Neighborhood Impact Initiative began, the community itself had begun asserting itself, fighting for the resources needed to remove the drug dealers and physically retaking the empty lots and vacant structures through volunteer clean-up events. Most of the community never heard of the Initiative and Historic Charleston Foundation remained a distant entity, not a vital partner in the flourish of Elliottborough. The CHDO’s work, on the other hand, did register with at least some of the neighborhood.

No one wants to see Elliottborough return to the days of disinvestment, crime, and drug use. The students are a source of annoyance at times, but generally well tolerated. Increasing traffic, parking, and flooding are the biggest problems for most. Additionally, there are concerns about falling levels of housing affordability in the community, although consensus on the scale of the problem and possible solutions is not evident.

³⁵⁹ Rev. Dr. Sidney Davis, Rev. Dr. Sidney Davis (Minister, Congregation formerly located in Elliottborough and Former President of Cannonborough-Elliottborough Neighborhood Association), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, December 14, 2015.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In reviewing the history, demographics, financial data, and social aspects of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative, a series of conclusions regarding the program have become clear. The purpose of this section is not to blame any specific person or organization; it is simply an identification of areas of weakness in the program. The distance of time has revealed these areas, although some may have had indications at the time. Noting these deficiencies is necessary in order to develop recommendations for future programs while helping the participants avoid these same problems. This chapter begins with an examination of programs in the United States that have fallen under the general umbrella of anti-gentrification. Categorizing these efforts and listing their strengths and weaknesses contextualizes the Neighborhood Impact Initiative in the greater anti-gentrification movement. The section that follows presents the conclusions that arose as the analysis proceeded. As the primary organization under study, the majority of these conclusions relate to Historic Charleston Foundation. There are also some conclusions regarding the CHDO's role in the program. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the last section presents recommendations for the future. This section includes ideas for Historic Charleston Foundation, the CHDO, the College of Charleston, MUSC, and the City of Charleston. Anti-gentrification, much like preservation, is an ongoing concern. As such, the recommendations address both short-term and long-term needs.

In the recommendations section, nomenclature is important in clearly presenting goals for housing. The term “affordable housing” does not appear in the recommendations. This term has a very specific definition, 30 percent of the median-income for a neighborhood. As this analysis shows, this rate leaves a large number of people uncovered, particularly as wealthier people drive up the median-income rate while income for a large segment of the population remains stagnant. Borrowing a term from Walter Smalls, this thesis refers to the housing needs of this segment of the population as “workforce housing”.³⁶⁰ These workers: food and beverage employees, janitors, hospital aides, bus drivers, and many others, have borne the burden of rising rents for decades. In order for neighborhoods to be truly diverse socioeconomically, meeting the housing needs of this segment of the population is of utmost importance.

Anti-gentrification Efforts

Attempts to prevent the displacement caused by gentrification have been taking place in affected communities for many decades. These efforts, falling under the banner of anti-gentrification, take many forms. Although there are international programs, this discussion focuses on urban examples from the United States for their relatively similar historical context to that of the study area.

Grass-roots protests and marches are the most visible anti-gentrification effort. Perhaps one of the best known is the 1988-1991 efforts in Tompkins Square Park in New

³⁶⁰ Angela Hare and Walter Smalls, Angela Hare and Walter Smalls (Elliottborough Residents/Former Vice-Chairman, Episcopal Diocese CHDO), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, February 9, 2016.

York City. The occupation of the park, concerts, small-scale riots, and mixture of people from many backgrounds is clearly a precedent setting event, inspiring similar protests nationally. In the end, the unfocused nature of the protest (anti-gentrification being only one of many demands) accomplished very little in the way of tangible results.³⁶¹ Other efforts in this category tend to take the form of a list of demands by a group of stakeholders. Many of these lists contain vague notions with an emphasis on what the protesters do not want, rather than what they do.³⁶² Often this lack of a concrete set of actionable demands leads to the sidestepping or co-opting of these groups' valid desires as politicians and power-players generate "solutions" that only superficially address displacement.³⁶³

Conferences and articles are the second (and largest) form of anti-gentrification effort. In both the academic and popular press, the debate rages on.³⁶⁴ While an intellectual debate on such a complex issue is important, the discourse is often reductive; simplifying what should be a nuanced conversation to a binary argument. Those who believe gentrification is an inevitable part of the urban life cycle, and those who worry about the equity of displacing the urban poor after decades of disinvestment but generally see no solutions, end up locked in an intractable and unproductive cycle. Likewise, conferences, panels, and summits often result in experts pontificating and residents expressing frustration or resignation, with no action emerging from all the exhaustive talking. In one particularly

³⁶¹ Cathy Moran Hajo, "East Village: A Decade of Protest," New York University, *The Greenwich Village Digital Archive*, accessed February 2, 2016, <http://gvh.aphdigital.org/exhibits/show/eastvillageprotest/timeline>.

³⁶² "Student Coalition on Expansion and Gentrification," University Blog, *Columbia.edu*, (2007), <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/cssn/expansion>.

³⁶³ Nigel Chiwaya, "3 Years Later, Uptown Groups Still Waiting for Funds Promised by Columbia," *DNAinfo New York*, June 16, 2014, <https://www.dnainfo.com/new-york/20140616/inwood/3-years-later-uptown-groups-still-waiting-for-funds-promised-by-Columbia>.

³⁶⁴ See the Literature Review, page 3 for further details.

egregious example, San Antonio, Texas hosted not one or two, but three distinct gentrification conferences on June 23, 2014.³⁶⁵

Arising from many of the conferences and programs on gentrification are city governments' (including Charleston) anti-gentrification plans.³⁶⁶ While invariably long documents, these plans are actually statements of goals and visions for the future. Too often, these plans arise from committees with representatives of all manner of academic backgrounds and very little feedback from affected communities. They are often ineffective where they lack actionable programs, and the political will to enact the sort of wide-ranging programs that might make an impact for fear of taking on powerful development interests and angering constituents who might view such programs as a step towards socialism.

On firmer footing are community-based anti-gentrification plans. Relying on the active participation of existing residents in communities experiencing gentrification pressures, these plans identify the actual needs of a particular community at a specific point in time. In this way, actions arising from this type of plan provide the most immediate

³⁶⁵ Robert Rivard, "Gentrification: 'Angriest Issue in Urban America,'" Professional Blog, *Rivard Report: Urban. Independent. All About San Antonio*, (June 24, 2014), <http://therivardreport.com/gentrification-angriest-issue-urban-america/>.

³⁶⁶ "Albuquerque, New Mexico Five Year Consolidated Plan and Workforce Housing Plan, January 1, 2008- December 30, 2012" (City of Albuquerque, Department of Family and Community Services, 2008), <https://www.cabq.gov/family/documents/ConsolidatedWorkforceHousingPlan20082012final.pdf>; Brad Schmidt, "Fighting Portland's Gentrification Problem: City Releases \$20 Million Housing Plan," *The Oregonian/OregonLive*, January 27, 2015, http://www.oregonlive.com/portland/index.ssf/2015/01/fighting_portlands_gentrificat.html; City of Charleston Department of Housing and Community Development, "City of Charleston, South Carolina, 2000-2005 Consolidated Plan," n.d., Box #6-e-004, City of Charleston Public Records Office; Training & Development Associates, Inc. and City of Charleston Department of Housing and Community Development, "City of Charleston, South Carolina, 2005-2010 Consolidated Plan," April 2005, Box #6-e-004, City of Charleston Public Records Office.

impact on the prevention of displacement.³⁶⁷ The downside to these programs is their reliance on buy-in from local government that goes beyond approbation and leads to the financial and political capital expenditure to implement, or at least facilitate the implementation, of the community-generated recommendations.

Generalized anti-gentrification plans are not the only response from local governments. There are a plethora of government programs with anti-gentrification goals. These programs invariably focus on just one of the factors that leads to gentrification. Programs include those that provide tax relief for long-term residents, develop affordable housing, establish inclusionary zoning,³⁶⁸ or negotiated agreements with developers of major projects for jobs or housing offsets to aid communities impacted by development-related displacement.³⁶⁹ The progressiveness and effectiveness of these programs receives frequent celebration at their initiation. In reality, the programs are often too complicated or poorly designed to reach those in the low-income brackets, the elderly, and those on fixed income, which the programs ostensibly aim to help. Most of these programs target home-owners,

³⁶⁷ Ricardo Bañuelos et al., “Not in Cully: Anti-Displacement Strategies for the Cully Neighborhood,” Community Anti-gentrification Plan (Portland, OR: Portland State University, June 2013), https://www.pdx.edu/usp/sites/www.pdx.edu.usp/files/A_LivingCully_PrinterFriendly_0.pdf; “Development Without Displacement” (Philadelphia Coalition for Affordable Communities, Spring 2015), http://phillyaffordablecommunities.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/DWD_Report.pdf; Chester Hartman et al., *Displacement: How to Fight It* (San Francisco: National Housing Law Project, 1982).

³⁶⁸ Inclusionary zoning consists of voluntary or mandatory provisions for affordable housing in all new-build projects often with an option of paying a fee in lieu of constructing actual units.

³⁶⁹ Diane K. Levy, Jennifer Corney, and Sandra Padilla, “In the Face of Gentrification: Case Studies of Local Efforts to Mitigate Displacement” (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute: Metropolitan Housing and Communities Policy Center, 2006), http://webarchive.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411294_gentrification.pdf.

leaving already vulnerable renters unprotected. In fact, these programs can inadvertently provide incentive to speculators, accelerating the gentrification of a neighborhood.³⁷⁰

The Neighborhood Impact Initiative, though not a government program, shares much with the single-cause programs enacted by many governments. The top-down approach, focus on homeownership, and lack of community relationship ultimately led to the difficulty the organization experienced in finding qualified buyers. Its reliance on housing as the solution to gentrification limited its possible impact before the purchase of the first property.

The final form of anti-gentrification program is the comprehensive public-private partnership. This type of program begins with a community-based coalition of organizations that regularly seeks input from the neighborhood and leverages other non-profit, local, and federal government programs to meet the needs expressed by the residents. This coalition, under the distinct control of the community, provides for the preservation of historic building stock, construction of new affordable units, and community economic and social

³⁷⁰ MasterBlaster, “So What’s This Thing About Gentrification Relief And What’s Inside It?,” Professional Blog, *Philadelinquency*, (June 25, 2013), <http://www.philadelinquency.com/2013/06/25/so-whats-this-thing-about-gentrification-relief-and-whats-inside-it/>.

The Beall’s Hill Neighborhood Revitalization effort is one example of this style of program. Although not presented as an anti-gentrification measure, concerns over the possibility of gentrification have led the program to assist pre-existing homeowners. These have included loans for façade improvements and increasing energy efficiency. At the same time, HUD-certified affordable housing units are a part of the revitalization plan. While the efforts are laudable, workforce housing is not a part of the plan. Though the area is currently (2016) affordable to workforce families, history indicates this will not be the case without a concerted effort to acquire such units before housing prices escalate further.

Phillip Ramati, “One of the Great Successes’: Beall’s Hill Project a Turnaround in Progress,” *The Telegraph*, 2013, <http://media.macon.com/static/media/projects/Blight/BeallsHill/sinclair.jquery/Blight/>; “Grantee Spotlight: Mercer University Partners to Revitalize Beall’s Hill Neighborhood,” *Partners in Progress eNewsletter*, May 2015, HUD, https://www.huduser.gov/portal/oup/newsletter_05182015_1.html; “Community Engagement: Beall’s Hill Neighborhood Revitalization Project,” Institutional, *Mercer University*, (2016), <https://community.mercer.edu/partnerships/beall/>.

development. This development takes the form of workforce training, studies, new constructions, and support for small local businesses. It is constantly adapting to the changing realities in the neighborhood. Examples of this type of program are very rare. The Manchester Citizens Corporation (MCC) formed in the 1970s to rehabilitate historic buildings in Pittsburgh's Manchester neighborhood. It expanded its scope to include infill construction, HOPE VI redevelopments, lobbying, and social services. The existing residents of the community have benefitted from the revitalization with very little displacement.³⁷¹ Forty years of successfully providing support for its community is proof of concept that it is possible to rehabilitate a historic area without displacing residents. Of course, these decades of success can be undone because gentrification pressures are unrelenting. Should the MCC become complacent, Manchester will surely go the way of many other urban communities. Preventing gentrification, much like preservation, is an ongoing process and not a one-time event.

Protecting low- and moderate-income residents of inner city communities from displacement is a long-term concern. Many approaches continue to be attempted. These include protests and marches, conferences and articles, government anti-gentrification plans, community-based anti-gentrification plans, single-cause government programs, and comprehensive public-private partnerships. The success of these efforts varies widely in the short-term, and most fail in the long-term. The reasons for failing vary. Some lack the participation of the local community, while others fail to gain buy-in from government

³⁷¹ Stephanie R. Ryberg, "Preservation at the Grassroots: Pittsburgh's Manchester and Cincinnati's Mt. Auburn Neighborhoods," *Journal of Planning History* 10, no. 2 (2011): 139–63.

agencies. Still more focus myopically on one of the causes of gentrification and fail to provide the social support that has proven vital to a successful campaign.

Conclusions

Analyzing Historic Charleston Foundation's Elliottborough Neighborhood Impact Initiative has revealed insights into how the program worked. Some parts of the initiative worked well, but others did not. Recounting these deficiencies, four general topics emerge: mission, mechanics, financial, and social dimensions. Presenting the areas of underperformance is necessary in order to inform recommendations for avoiding the same pitfalls in future anti-gentrification programs.

Mission

The lack of clear goals is the first thing that becomes apparent in the analysis. The mission statement was vague, never defining what anti-gentrification meant to Historic Charleston Foundation. Lacking a focus, the organization had nothing to guide the decision-making process. Had the organization defined what Elliottborough would look like if gentrification were successfully avoided, each choice could have been measured against that vision to gauge if it took the program closer to accomplishing that vision or not. Related to this same issue was a lack of metrics to define success. For example, if anti-gentrification meant that those who purchased rehabilitated properties would retain the houses for at least fifteen years, the fact that nine of the original eleven purchasers still own their properties

would prove the program very successful in this regard. However, the only guide to a metric is the very name of the program, which implies a neighborhood-wide anti-gentrification effect. By this metric, the program did not succeed.

The odds against success on a neighborhood level were high from the start. This is due to the scale of the program, its focus, and the facts on the ground. The Neighborhood Impact Initiative was involved with the rehabilitation of eleven properties. In a neighborhood of 500, this is less than one percent. It is unlikely that such a small program could hold back the forces of gentrification. The one factor that the program addressed, houses for first-time homeowners, does not provide support for those most vulnerable in a gentrifying area, the low- and moderate-income renters. Unlike the college students that now make up the large portion of the renting population in Elliottborough, these renters tended to be families and long-term renters. In fact, the situation in the neighborhood, where developers had already entered the market, implies that the main support first-time buyers needed was that of financial institutions. Some of these developers purchased properties to rent to college students (who pay per room, yielding a higher return); others bought to rehabilitate and “flip”, and a small number purchased anticipating the day they could sell at a profit. In addition to this, the program was so little known that any positives arising from the rehabilitations went mostly unattributed. In terms of neighborhood impact, the program promised too much and delivered too little.

Looking into why the program structure did not efficiently reach the most vulnerable segment of the population, it becomes evident that the organization performed no research in the preparatory period. It would have been wise to seek out other anti-gentrification

programs elsewhere. By the time of this program, Pittsburgh's Manchester neighborhood program was in use as a model in other communities. They also missed the opportunity to gather the knowledge the community had of its own problems and needs. Reaching out and actively listening to the neighbors would not only have uncovered the insufficient quantity of quality rental units in the area, it would also have led to greater buy-in from the community. With neighbors invested in the program, HCF would have found it much less difficult to find qualified participants. Even if the organization had chosen to pursue rehabilitations for sale to the renting segment of the community, communicating with them would have revealed that the income and credit check requirements excluded a large portion of the desired participants. There were very few moderate-income earners in the neighborhood at this time. The majority of the community, renter or owner, fell into the low- to very-low income range. It is common in low-income households for a negative event (job loss, injury or illness) to create a serious financial hardship, which can lead to missing payments on basic bills which lowers credit scores.³⁷² Requiring a good credit report therefore severely limited the available pool of purchasers. Misunderstanding the community also meant HCF failed to see where rehabilitation could have benefited the people already there. Many homeowners in the area inherited one or multiple properties from their families. They were, though, often unable to afford the needed repairs on these historic properties. Had HCF focused on helping these homeowners, they may have kept some from selling to speculators.

³⁷² Signe-Mary McKernan, Caroline Ratcliffe, and Katie Vinopal, "Do Assets Help Families Cope with Adverse Events?," Brief (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, November 2009), Online, <http://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/alfresco/publication-pdfs/411994-Do-Assets-Help-Families-Cope-with-Adverse-Events-.PDF>.

Mechanics

Running a construction project is an involved process usually undertaken by a team that may include architects, engineers, contractors, and sub-contractors. Historic Charleston Foundation conflated their experience as repeat clients in construction projects with experience in project management. The only person involved in the Neighborhood Impact Initiative with construction experience appears to have been Sean Houlihan. It is unclear how much project management experience he had, although certain comments and issues that arose indicate he was still somewhat inexperienced. These issues included problems developing a scope of work and overseeing the quality of work that sub-contractors performed. The purpose here is not to disparage Houlihan but to point out that, as a young contractor, he was unprepared to handle all that HCF expected of him. The organization felt he did a good job managing two simultaneous projects during Phase One of the program. He was then tasked with overseeing nine more projects without assistance or support staff. In addition, he went from answering to the organization only, to also pleasing the Episcopal Diocese's Community Housing Development Organization (CHDO). When the CHDO complained of his work, the concerns were dismissed without assessing what might be leading to them. Houlihan was not incompetent as alleged, but he was overextended and either too inexperienced or too unsure of his support within the organization to ask for help.

Many of the mistakes caused by inexperience were exacerbated by a failure to frankly assess each step of the program as it unfolded. Instead, a pat answer that seemed right was substituted for careful examination. When the first project at 33 Bogard Street ran far over-budget, the Building Trades Program became the scapegoat. In fact, even a cursory

investigation of the project expenditures would have revealed how a poor budget was a hindrance from the start. As the program struggled to find a buyer for 25 Sires Street, a potential buyer's mention of crime in the area convinced the organization that the property was not selling for that reason alone. Neighborhood residents knew that crime was concentrated in certain pockets and would not have objected for that reason to purchasing the property had they been able to qualify. Outsiders to the community feared that the whole neighborhood was a crime-ridden wasteland and hesitated to purchase. With neighbors themselves already undertaking clean-up projects and partnering with the police, the problem was not one of safety but of targeting the wrong audience. Again, when the CHDO complained of the work Houlihan was producing, a lack of insight led to the dismissal of the concerns instead of realizing how over-taxed their project manager truly was.

The unrealistic timeline added to all this. The state of South Carolina expected a brand-new nonprofit to be up and running, purchase, and begin construction on a property all within a year. There was no time built into this scheme to allow the CHDO to establish itself, train its people on the intricacies of construction, or prepare their staff to handle the copious paperwork required of a federally funded program. Furthermore, when complications arose with clearing the title of the first property, the state willfully ignored the length of time it takes to clear a title in an area where heirs' property or tax lien complications can take months, if not years, to straighten out.³⁷³ One of the main reasons the city recommended the CHDO and HCF partner on this program was the experience

³⁷³ The problems with the title in this case were related to a possible tax lien on 3 Porter's Court.

with rehabilitation projects HCF brought to the table. Yet HCF was unable to give the CHDO a clear idea of how long the development process takes before construction begins. As the experienced partner, HCF also should have encouraged the CHDO immediately begin to develop another property when the title issues first arose. By preaching patience, the organization allowed the situation to worsen until the CHDO panicked, by which time they had lost a lot of faith in their partner. Since each property would eventually need to have a plan developed for its rehabilitation, beginning this work while sorting the title to the other property would not be wasted effort. If HCF had convinced the CHDO to sign a contract with the architects for another property to enter development, the program could have begun construction immediately.

The City of Charleston, ostensibly a partner in this program, provided very little to the effort. They were distributing Community Development Block Grants funding, but there are many other ways the city could have assisted the program. HCF, for its part, did not leverage its influence with the city on behalf of the program. Some of the things the city could have provided would have cost nothing, such as expediting permits and inspections. Others would have had a minor impact on government coffers, but a large impact on the program. These include reducing permit fees, establishing a tax abatement scheme for purchasers, and a freeze on property taxes for the program properties during construction.

Financial

New construction projects are expensive. Rehabilitation of historic properties to Secretary of the Interior Standards is even more costly. Therefore, careful and accurate financial systems are crucial to the completion of projects on budget. Unfortunately, this was HCF's biggest weakness. Budgets produced by the organization were routinely overoptimistic. Basics of budgeting for a construction project, such as a healthy contingency fund, were consistently not included. For a project that entailed the rehabilitation of long-neglected historic property, this oversight was unsound. Additionally, an unrealistic estimate of renovations costs undermined the projects on more than one occasion. With evidence available from Phase One projects that renovations were costing upwards of \$90,000 per property, it is puzzling that the budget for Phase Two allocated just \$65,000 for each property.³⁷⁴ What's more, even this parsimonious sum was not fully funded by the anticipated construction loan. It is troubling that there was a clear lack of attention to this issue. There are no mentions of soliciting more funds from donors or other organizations, cutting expenses further, or even of the existence of this shortfall. Not addressing the insufficiency of anticipated funds is problematic.

In addition to circumspect budgeting practices, the program lacked a system of oversight for expenses. The accountant maintained good records, entering income and expenses but the accountant was not responsible for reconciling expenditures to the budget. This is supposed to be the responsibility of the project manager. He was inefficient in this

³⁷⁴ This is particularly confusing since the properties had not been purchased, so the extent of each renovation could not even be estimated at this point.

regard, although there are several aborted efforts in the archives that indicate his intention to do so. Documentation proved challenging for Houlihan. This was true not only of his sporadic financial tracking, but also with noting his daily tasks and hours devoted to the projects. Though he presented the CHDO with monthly reports of progress on the project, he did not similarly account for his labor. With HCF's \$35,000 contribution to the project relying so heavily on the value of his work, a monthly report of this was indispensable. This documentation would have preempted conflict over the in-kind nature of HCF's portion while validating Houlihan's role in the esteem of the CHDO Board.

Another concern is the balance of sources of funding. HCF established from the outset that, in order to meet the HUD qualifications for affordable housing, the properties would need to sell "below market value."³⁷⁵ This assumption is likely justified by the major rehabilitations required by the properties the organization purchased. A well-balanced program in the nonprofit realm aims to receive one-third of its funds from private donations, one-third from grants, and one-third from income-generating activities. HCF operated under the 509 (a) (2) statute of the federal tax code, which prohibits it from receiving more than one-third of its support from "gross investment income and unrelated [to its tax-exempt purposes] business taxable income."³⁷⁶ Preservation Services (including direct rehabilitation activities), Public Programs and Museums (both education-related) are

³⁷⁵ "Historic Charleston Foundation, Revolving Fund, Home Ownership Program, Guidelines and Procedures," n.d., NII Elliottborough Box 1 of 3, Folder: General Info 2, Margareta Childs Archives at Historic Charleston Foundation.

³⁷⁶ "Exempt Organizations Annual Reporting Requirements - Form 990, Schedules A and B: Public Charity Support Test," Government Agency, *IRS*, (August 8, 2014), <https://www.irs.gov/Charities-&-Non-Profits/Exempt-Organizations-Annual-Reporting-Requirements-Form-990,-Schedules-A-and-B:-Public-Charity-Support-Test>.

the tax-exempt purposes according to their tax filings.³⁷⁷ The Neighborhood Impact Initiative comes under the purview of preservation services. The intention of the program was to maintain a balance where 50-90 percent of the funding came from the sale of finished properties.³⁷⁸ The remaining 10-50 percent would come from the private donations in the Revolving Fund.³⁷⁹ Without grants, the program had to shift more of the burden onto this funding source as cost overruns at the first property escalated. By the time the organization gained access to a grant source via its partnership with the CHDO, its private funding had been significantly depleted. Once again, HCF did not achieve the one-third best practice balance. Furthermore, when the CHDO marketing committee expressed its concerns that the Board may not know it would “lose money” on every sale, in addition to their seeking higher sales prices, it seems clear that the strategy of selling below market value had not been accepted by the CHDO. Instead of thinking of it as losing money, the organization should have understood this as a subsidy from their grant funds.

The Building Crafts Training Program (BCTP) represents a missed opportunity for HCF. The program, which aligns perfectly with the educational goals of the organization, was hampered by unfulfilled expectations and an unclear pedagogical philosophy. HCF expected the BCTP to contribute substantially to the rehabilitation of Neighborhood Impact Initiative properties. In fact, the entire budget for the first project at 33 Bogard Street was

³⁷⁷ “Organization Profile: Historic Charleston Foundation,” Clearinghouse, *National Center for Charitable Statistics*, (2016), <http://nccsweb.urban.org/communityplatform/nccs/organization/profile/id/576000599/popup/1#programs>.

³⁷⁸ “Guidelines and Procedures.”

³⁷⁹ Though the organization continued to call it a “revolving fund”, it was not ever intended to truly revolve. A more accurate name would be a capital fund.

predicated on the labor of these trainees. When the young men were unable to deliver the expected level of work, the program was deemed an expensive failure. While paying additional subcontractors to finish the work the trainees did contribute to the cost overruns on the project, the misstep was in relying so heavily on the presumed number and types of projects the BCTP would accomplish. The needs of the trainees seem to have gone unconsidered in the development of the program. All of the participants were young. Post-program evaluations showed that most had never participated in any type of construction activity (such as a shop class) before joining the program. The program employed one carpenter as the teacher/foreman. Even as the program experienced attrition, the ratio of students to teacher was too high for much hands-on instruction. Just as some of the students were achieving a useful level of competency, the program came to an end.

Social

The interorganizational relations between HCF and the CHDO suffered due to the contentiousness that developed in the second year of the partnership. The CHDO increasingly displayed distrust in HCF, and tensions between the two groups resulted in some dramatic exchanges. One of the things that contributed to this dysfunction was the unmet expectations on the part of both organizations. HCF entered the partnership with the purpose of accessing the grant money that the CHDO was positioned to receive. It had been seeking a financial partner for over a year and its focus at the launch was not on communicating its program vision with the CHDO, but instead on ensuring its financial exposure was minimal. While the organization has a fiduciary duty to consider the

implications of any partnership, the relationship did not progress from this into collaboration between equals. HCF moved immediately into purchasing properties, submitting reimbursement requests directly to the city, and not involving the CHDO in any significant manner. Pushback from the CHDO began slowly, but increased as the project unfolded. In all but two interactions with HCF, Lonnie Hamilton represented the CHDO. For its part, HCF communications went out to the CHDO from Houlihan, Jonathan Poston, Dr. Carter Hudgins, and Kristy Varn. Whenever the CHDO felt that information had been or was being withheld, Hamilton would write directly to Hudgins. This was likely a subconscious way for Hamilton to assert their parity. Hamilton, President of the CHDO, and Hudgins Director of HCF. Each time the concerns expressed by Hamilton were set aside as being of minor importance, a conflict-avoiding tactic Hudgins employed on more than one occasion, Hamilton received it as a dismissal and an affront to their equal status in the partnership. The psychological interpretation of the subtleties of interpersonal relationships is almost impossible in the midst of the exchanges. Both parties bring their unspoken expectations and assumptions into each interaction and react in the manner in which they are accustomed.

Communication with the community was one of the tasks HCF expected the CHDO would handle. No one at the organization followed up on this to confirm if neighbor participation was occurring. For their part, the CHDO outreach efforts proved ineffective. Only one letter, sent to four area ministers, solicited community input. The board members interviewed acknowledged that there was no further outreach. It seems they felt that their group already represented the neighborhood. Perhaps they were unaware of the inherent

bias in an organization composed of well-educated professionals in a neighborhood with a large number of inhabitants who were not as educated and held lower-status jobs. It is an unfortunate reality that, among the African American interview subjects, more than once were those displaced by gentrification “othered” based on class.

Although the board had at least one member who was a contractor, they were woefully uninformed about the construction process from design to final walk-through. It seems they did not solicit the contractor’s expertise in this area. Complicating matters was a certain inattention to detail from the board. The need to clear titles before construction commences, the need to sign contracts before work begins, the need to execute a change order before the work is performed, the requirements in both time and money of a redesign, all needed several reminders before the CHDO Board took action. This is likely the result of the Bishop’s decision to appoint the board himself. Hamilton has many qualities of a natural leader but, as a professional musician with touring commitments and an active role in other non-profits, he was likely too busy to keep up with all of the demands of the CHDO as well. Finally, as a newly formed non-profit, the CHDO had a steep learning curve when it came to the mechanics of running a 501 (c) 3. The requirements that they (not the Episcopal Diocese) perform all accounting functions and file routine reports are among the things that the organization had to learn. The CHDO also had a tendency to think of the grant funds as “their” money. This led to the insistence that the sale price of each property cover the renovation costs in full and a lack of solicitation of funds from other organizations or donations from the public. Even so, after nearly twenty years, the CHDO has established

itself as a solid organization that continues the work of providing affordable housing in the community.

Recommendations

Based on the conclusions that came from analyzing the Neighborhood Impact Initiative, a set of recommendations has been developed. All relate to the central premise of the program, that historic preservation has a role to play in ensuring social justice for the workforce community that is normally displaced as a neighborhood undergoes gentrification. Recommendations are included for Historic Charleston Foundation (HCF), the Episcopal Diocese's Community Housing Development Organization (CHDO), the College of Charleston, and the City of Charleston. As evidenced by the efforts in the Manchester area of Pittsburgh, preventing displacement and developing dynamic integrated neighborhoods requires all these organizations to work in concert.

Historic Charleston Foundation

Recognizing that enacting numerous programs without clearly defining how each advances the organization's goals in an incontrovertible way to fall into mission drift. To avoid this, the organization must focus its attention on its strengths and where they can be applied to best meet the needs of the community. As a whole, HCF's strengths fall into three categories: advocacy, fundraising, and education.

HCF is poised to be an excellent advocate. Its decades of work with government officials and private philanthropists have resulted in respect for the organization's positions among these two groups. In order to help the community groups most in danger from gentrification, the organization should focus on advocating for them. This requires, first and foremost, listening to the people who live in these areas.³⁸⁰ There are three forums for engagement with the community that can be pursued simultaneously. These are large community-wide meetings, smaller focus groups, and one-on-one connections. Community meetings are, as the name implies, open-door sessions. Focus groups are composed of a more limited number of people arranged compositionally by geography, for example, a certain number of blocks, or demographically by career or social affiliation, household composition, or any number of other options. One-on-one exchanges involve those with the longest place memories and those who are most active in the community, rarely the same people. All of this takes time and effort. At each step, the organization's contact person or team need to listen much more than they speak and they must solicit the contacts needed to move on to the next forum. This process can begin with an employee that has other duties, but may eventually require the full-time focus of one person as they maintain the relationships in the community and write letters or hold meetings with the government and others who wield influence for the support the neighbors have requested.

Also falling under the advocacy category is a re-imagined role in providing preservation services. In the process of preserving a structure, the physical rehabilitation of

³⁸⁰ Two resources for HCF in this regard are Peter Senge's "The Fifth Discipline" which is a guide to creating a listening organization and "In Search of Excellence: Lessons from American's Best Run Companies" by Thomas J. Peters & Robert H. Waterman, Jr.

the building fabric is the easiest part. In Charleston, there are dozens of contractors that are competent and capable of executing high-caliber historic rehabilitations. The greatest difficulty is in finding buyers for un-renovated properties, especially large houses.³⁸¹ In recent years, on at least two separate occasions, HCF has purchased large historic properties and been forced to hold onto it for an extended period, tying up assets unnecessarily. The organization should instead focus on developing leads on people who are interested in such properties, contacting them when a home is or may be entering the market, something they often know even before the realtors do. It can help these buyers connect with an architect and contractor that can execute the work to the standards of the organization. In the realm of workforce housing, there are other roles for HCF that do not include its purchase or direct rehabilitation of properties.³⁸²

In fact, this role connects very well with the organization's educational goals as well. HCF has a strong educational program for tourists and students through its house museums. The recommendation here is to leverage the expertise of its staff to act as consultants on preservation projects in both the private and public realm. Homeowners with plans to renovate could seek out the advice of the organization before investing money in the process. This can be encouraged as a way of garnering the organization's support before encountering the Board of Architectural Review, building a case for particular design solutions that the homeowners can present.

³⁸¹ This is especially true when desiring to avoid a developer dividing a house into condo units.

³⁸² See the previous page for recommendations regarding HCF's role in workforce housing.

Additionally, HCF should consider re-launching the Building Trades Program. There is a great unmet need in Charleston for construction labor qualified to perform repairs in a historically appropriate manner. This does not refer to the advanced craftspeople that repair intricate plasterwork or decorative ironwork, but rather the crew that works with them. In order for the program to succeed, it must be an education-focused design, and not a source of cheap labor. Perhaps HCF could partner with Trident Technical College to create a certificate program. The community college would provide administrative support and access to grants and federal educational loans. HCF would arrange for the experienced instructors. Workshop training in construction basics and historic building techniques would equip the young men and women with skills to take into the job market. An internship match facilitated by HCF would help the students polish their skills and transition into this quality career. They could also help identify students of higher aptitude and shepherd them into an advanced crafts program such as the one offered by the American College of the Building Arts (ACBA). HCF has established a program very similar to the one recommended above named Building Skills Now. This effort, a partnership with the ACBA and the Greater Charleston Empowerment Corporation is a nine-week intensive training for those in certain target communities who desire to learn the building trades.³⁸³ Each session of Building Skills Now needs evaluation and adjustment as time passes to pursue the elements that work best. In time, it will become clearer whether a longer program would be more beneficial and if the

³⁸³ "Building Skills Partnership," Nonprofit Agency, *Historic Charleston Foundation*, (2016), <https://www.historiccharleston.org/Preservation/How/Neighborhood-Revitalization-Initiative/Building-Skills-Partnership.aspx>.

training should focus on providing professionals just for Charleston, or if it should grow to train students willing to pursue careers elsewhere.

HCF's financial contribution to preservation needs a new model. Just as its 1950s Revolving Fund inspired other preservation groups nationwide, the organization should look outside itself for inspiration. In particular, the financial aspects of the Providence Revolving Fund (PRF) serve as a good model. Re-imagined for HCF, this fund would provide loans to two distinct markets. The first are middle class Charlestonians seeking to rehabilitate a historic house that they occupy. Many banks require significant down payments for a loan that will cover this work. HCF could offer a loan for this down payment, or even full cost of smaller rehabilitation projects, and receive repayments at a good interest rate (PRF charges 6 percent). In this manner, the money not only revolves, it also grows. The second market is for very low-, low-, and moderate-income homeowners and prospective homeowners. Loans to homeowners can provide for the maintenance of historic properties that these Charlestonians may not otherwise be able to afford.³⁸⁴ Often, these costs are too low for a bank loan. Although the City of Charleston has two programs to assist homeowners with repairs, both require the homeowner furnish a certain portion of the cost. The Substantial Rehabilitation Program requires homeowners pay 20 percent of the costs of the rehabilitation while the Roof Replacement program requires the homeowner pay 50 percent of the costs of roof replacement, providing a low-interest loan for the other half, part of which is forgiven after five years. Both programs require a clear title, which is often

³⁸⁴ A common complaint from interview subjects is that preservation groups insist that repairs be made in materials that are too expensive for those less well-off. A loan to cover preservation-appropriate work would remove this resistance.

complicated in Charleston by Heirs' Property issues. The Center for Heirs' Property Preservation will assist homeowners in clearing a title, but there are also costs associated with the process. This is something that is not always possible for those on a fixed income or who are low-income. For others, the sum would be affordable if divided into monthly payments. HCF's role would be to help those with whom they've developed a relationship (see the first recommendation) to maneuver the bureaucracy while providing the loans that will allow them to take advantage of the programs. Loans for renters that have lived in the community for a set number of years could provide the down payment for a house. They would then be in a better position to qualify for bank financing for the remaining mortgage. The greater profits from the first market loans can support offering these loans at a very low interest rate. In both markets, forgiveness of a certain portion of the loan occurs in consideration for an easement on the property.

There are two caveats to this proposal. The first is that this function may change the tax structure for the organization. The second is that it requires a dedicated staff with some experience in the financial sector. Before embarking on this path, HCF would want to develop a formal plan if or when it might spin the revolving fund off as a separate non-profit.

Finally, the organization should use its fundraising prowess to create a fiscal grant for workforce housing. Working with a nonprofit builder (or a for profit one willing to take on some non-profit projects), the organization can be utilized as one of the several funding sources to develop this type of housing. This may be the inducement needed to convince a for-profit business to take on a non-profit project.

CHDO

At one time, Charleston had multiple housing non-profits working on the peninsula. In 2016, the CHDO is one of the few that remain.³⁸⁵ The organization has not received grant money at nearly the same level as its initial HOME fund and Community Development Block Grant in 1998. This makes it imperative that the organization seek out supplemental sources of financing to fund its mission. Perhaps HCF will be a source in the future, but the CHDO needs to seek out the resources as soon as possible.

As of March 2016, the CHDO owns several properties, including empty lots, in Elliottborough.³⁸⁶ Making a concerted effort to increase its funding would allow the group to develop these properties. There is a level of frustration within the CHDO that the last project they completed sold to an attorney. As the median-income increases, the organization will find its projects will continue to be out of reach of the workforce they hoped to serve.

Another role, which the CHDO can adopt, that would allow them to assist more people in their target group is to become a resource to help low-income homeowners obtain services offered by the city. These programs, for those unfamiliar with the bureaucratic process, can be intimidating, requiring considerable paperwork. This would be a particularly useful service for the older members of the community who may be homebound or unable to navigate for whatever reason.

³⁸⁵ Lonnie Hamilton and Frank Rupp, Frank Rupp and Lonnie Hamilton (Director and Former Director, Episcopal Diocese CHDO), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, December 9, 2015.

³⁸⁶ Angela Hare and Walter Smalls, Angela Hare and Walter Smalls (Elliottborough Residents/Formal Vice-Chairman, Episcopal Diocese CHDO), Interview with Author in Charleston, SC, February 9, 2016.

The College of Charleston must become a partner in workforce housing. The institution cannot grow continuously without serious ramifications for nearby communities. The College no longer serves primarily local students, and it must account for this in its on-campus housing policy. In fact, the College's target for out-of-state students is 37 percent of the undergraduate student body.³⁸⁸ While the current number of out-of-state students is 34 percent, it is safe to assume that all of these students will require housing.³⁸⁹ A significant portion of the in-state student body also requires housing in order to attend the institution. The College of Charleston should provide, at a minimum, accommodations for at least 50 percent of full-time underclassmen. If, as President Glenn McConnell stated, the institution intends to recruit students internationally and continue to grow, it must take into account the impact of these actions on the rest of the community.³⁹⁰ The school can create satellite student villages in the former industrial areas of the Charleston neck and/or the former Navy base. Regular shuttle service to the campus to avoid the influx of private cars is vital to the success of this proposition. This proposal may seem expensive or difficult, but it is the duty of the institution as a good neighbor.

³⁸⁷ The Medical University of South Carolina also places housing pressure on nearby neighborhoods. Without definitive data (they did not respond to a request for information), it seemed inappropriate to make specific recommendations.

³⁸⁸ Glenn McConnell (Public Speech, Stern Center Room 205, College of Charleston, March 18, 2016).

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

The City of Charleston has had anti-gentrification on its agenda since 2000. In that year, Mayor Riley created a Task Force to study the issue of gentrification. The following year, the group submitted its report. It first defined gentrification as “[t]he loss of neighborhood diversity through the displacement and exclusion of schools, churches, affordable housing and traditional neighborhood-based businesses.”³⁹¹ They pointed to several causes including inequitable access to capital and opportunity, overzealous and inequitable enforcement of city codes, government housing and tax policies, student housing needs, and racial prejudice.³⁹² In 2002, the City created its Homeownership Initiative Program (HI) under the Department of Housing and Community Development. This program’s aim was the revitalization of H, F, and I Streets, Cannonborough, Elliottborough, Westside, and Eastside neighborhoods. It assists people earning up to 120 percent of the Area Median Income who want to purchase a home.³⁹³ In addition, the Department oversees the Substantial Rehabilitation Program and the Roof Replacement program discussed earlier. While the city touts its efforts, the HI program has provided only 106 houses in eleven years, an annual average of just under ten properties.³⁹⁴ The targeted neighborhoods have indeed experienced rapid rejuvenation in the form of private

³⁹¹ City of Charleston Department of Planning and Neighborhoods, “City of Charleston, Gentrification Task Force, Report to City Council, July, 2001,” July 2001, 3, Box #6-d-018, City of Charleston Public Records Office.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 18.

³⁹³ “City of Charleston Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCD)” (City of Charleston, 2015), Online, City of Charleston Website, <http://www.charleston-sc.gov/DocumentCenter/View/103>.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

development and rising displacement.³⁹⁵ In 2015, a family of four earning up to \$62,900 a year qualifies for assistance.³⁹⁶ Though this is a worthwhile program for the middle-class, it leaves the workforce (janitors, food and beverage employees, certified nursing assistants) without support. The city has also developed a program to help its own employees purchase properties. However, there is much more the city can do to maintain economic diversity on the peninsula. The city must resist the temptation to substitute more talking for greater action. Although communication must increase, a new Task Force is unnecessary. An excellent report by Nathalie P. Voorhees of the University of Illinois at Chicago titled “Gentrification & Neighborhood Change: Helpful Tools for Communities” lays out a blueprint ready for execution.³⁹⁷ They are 1) Coalition Building, 2) “Right to Purchase” for tenants or non-profits, 3) Community Land Trusts, 4) Inclusionary Zoning, 5) Limited Equity Co-op Housing, 6) Community Benefit Agreements, 7) Rental Protections for Tenants, 8) Tax Abatement Policies, 9) Regulations Against Condo Conversions, 10) Rehabilitation & Preservation, 11) Employer Assisted Housing, 12) Affordable Housing Trust Fund, 13) Housing Levies, and 14) Addressing NIMBYism. Categories based on phase of gentrification can guide which programs are most necessary. Based on all the gentrification literature reviewed for this analysis, this report addresses all of the housing measures necessary to combat gentrification.

³⁹⁵ See Chapter Three regarding the gentrification of the Eastside (Census Tract 9) and Westside (Census Tract 11) neighborhoods. Predictions of when the two areas will fulfill the criteria for having gentrified are presented in the first section.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 10.

³⁹⁷ “Gentrification & Neighborhood Change: Helpful Tools for Communities” (University of Illinois at Chicago: College of Urban Planning & Public Affairs, Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement, March 2015), Online, [StableCommunities.org](http://stablecommunities.org/sites/all/files/images/Gentrification%20and%20Neighborhood%20Change.pdf), <http://stablecommunities.org/sites/all/files/images/Gentrification%20and%20Neighborhood%20Change.pdf>.

Pairing these efforts with the strategies presented in Appendix B of the Kirwan Institute's "Technical Memorandum on Gentrification Issues" is the only way to take on all of the elements that lead to gentrification. These include 1) Minority Contracting, 2) Real Estate Transfer Taxes, 3) Local Hiring Strategies, 4) Retention of Subsidized Housing, 5) Commercial Linkage Strategies, 6) Commercial Stabilization, 7) Community Mapping, 8) Community Development Financial Institutions, 9) Evictions Controls, 10) Infill Incentives (higher density), 11) Developer Exactions, and 12) Living Wage Provisions.³⁹⁸

Not mentioned in either but of vital importance is the development of a better system of public transportation. Greater density faces much opposition in the community not because the number of people increases, but because the number of cars does. With an excellent public transportation system, light rail, frequent bus service, shuttles, and off-peninsula park and ride available for both tourists and daily commuters, the city can achieve the dynamic status of thriving neighborhoods with equitable access for all. In 2015, the City of Charleston adopted the recommendations of its Tourism Advisory Committee. These recommendations included: evaluating remote parking for cruise ship passengers, implementing a park and ride system, improving bus stops and increasing service, securing rights to existing rail lines to develop a public transit system on the peninsula, developing an interconnected network of bicycle lanes, implementing a bike sharing program, and studying the feasibility of a trolley and bus transit system on the peninsula.³⁹⁹ It is too soon to know

³⁹⁸ Jason Reece, "Technical Memorandum of Gentrification Issues," Technical Memorandum (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University, July 28, 2004), Online, http://www.kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/reports/2004/07_2004_Gentrification%20and%20Revitalization.pdf.

³⁹⁹ "Tourism Management Plan: 2015 Plan Update" (City of Charleston, March 2015), City of Charleston Website, <http://www.charleston-sc.gov/DocumentCenter/View/7684>.

which, if any, of the tangible recommendations the city will implement. It is a good sign that a study of traffic on one local bridge (to determine the effect of closing a lane to accommodate bicyclists) has begun. The key to achieving the recommendations presented in this thesis is for the city to develop its partners in the community, residents and organizations like the CHDO and HCF, give them enough flexibility to allow them to respond to the needs within their area of expertise, and to provide the true leadership that Charleston deserves.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interview Transcripts

Of the eleven subjects interviewed, eight gave their consent to have them published in this volume. There are six interview transcripts; Angela Hare/Walter Smalls and Vicki Davis Williams/Julia-Ellen Craft Davis were together for their interviews. Every effort has been made to accurately transcribe the conversations as they took place. Ellipses (...) represent pauses in the flow of speech. Bracketed text denotes inserted contextual information. Interviews appear in alphabetical order by last name of first subject. The initials ND represent the interviewer while the subject's assigned initials appear after their name on the first page of their transcript. A series of questions guided the interviews, although follow-up questions also appear. The standard questions for Elliottborough community members are as follows:

-Did you grow up in Elliottborough? If not, what year did you move into the neighborhood?

-Where did you live?

-What was Elliottborough like when you were growing up/first moved in? What sort of commercial activities? What were the neighbors like? Was it segregated by race or religion?

-What 4-5 words would you use to describe the area in the early 1990's?

-Why do you think it was this way?

-Do you remember hearing about the Neighborhood Impact Initiative or HCF and Cavalry Church fixing up houses in the neighborhood? If not, did you hear about the renovation of Porter's Court? Did anyone talk to you or ask your opinion on the project?

-Did you attend neighborhood association meetings or any other meetings at the time? How active in the neighborhood would you say you were?

-Did you attend a church? Which?

-Do you still live in the neighborhood? If not, what would you say was the most important factor in your decision to leave?

- How would you describe the changes in the neighborhood since the late 1990's? Do you know who your neighbors are? What do you think when you are out and about?

-How would you describe the changes in the neighborhood since the late 1990's? When did you leave and where did you move?

-What is your new neighborhood like?

-Are you content that you left, or do you wish you had stayed?

-Is there anything else that you'd like to contribute?

Interview with Rossie M. Colter (RC)

Real Estate Agent

December 14, 2015

ND: Thank you for meeting with me today.

RC: Sure.

ND: And, I guess I told you a little bit about what I was doing. I'm researching the Neighborhood Impact Initiative in Elliottborough. Late 1990s-early 2000s. I'm reaching out to...I'm studying the program and I'm trying to talk to leaders from the program, so HCF and the CHDO, and I'm also trying to reach out to some members of the community. So, you're kind of my first entre into that realm. Did you live in Elliottborough? I know your business was located there.

RC: Uh-huh.⁴⁰⁰ Business was located there. I lived further uptown.

ND: Ok. And, did you ever live in that neighborhood?

RC: Uh-uh.

ND: Ok. All right.

RC: No, but I was a volunteer for Historic Charleston Foundation.

⁴⁰⁰ To allow for consistency in denoting vocal interjections Uh-huh is used throughout to indicate an affirmative response. Uh-uh indicates a negative response.

ND: Ok. What year did you set up your business there?

RC: Oh, the business was established before I even joined it.

ND: Ok.

RC: And so, it was Montez Real Estate.

ND: Ah-hah

RD: And, um. So the founder took a job at the Housing Authority, the County Housing Authority, so he had to give up the real estate business. I had...I got my license in '89? And so, and then I went... put my license with them, Montez Real Estate. And so, when he left, I inherited [laughs] whatever that was. So that was uh-huh. Ok.

ND: Ok. What else? So, can you describe what Elliottborough was like in '89-'90?

RC: Yeah, some of the older buildings...businesses were still there. You know. Some of the founding fathers, some of the...'cause...Charleston is, I guess, mainly built with a lot of corner stores. You know. So, every store had...every corner had one. Like the Brooks' who were the older, established family, owned a restaurant and a motel, a real estate business and right at Felix and Morris. And so they owned other properties in that area as well. And then across the street with that was, um, Danny, um, Martin. Judge Martin, before he was a judge, he was an attorney. He and his son. Across the street. And a lot of teachers and stuff lived in the neighborhood. There was a school there and it was taken down during the time that I was these.

ND: What was the school?

RC: Simonton. It was an older elementary school. It's where the condos are now, Morris and Jasper. And so, they built a lot of condos over there right now.

ND: How was the neighborhood as far as racial makeup in that time period, in the early- to mid-'90's.

RC: Yeah, it's a, it's a, Charleston's always been mixed. Basically. But, um, say, that there were black businesses like the Brooks' and the Martin's, that's black business. Um, Martin's also owned a salon, an apartment complex, that took, further down, just before Smith Street. Um, and then 'cause Simonton was basically a black elementary school. The schools were segregated but the [chuckles] but the living conditions were always integrated. Um, Cannon Street, you had businesses on Cannon Street. Um, until. And now it's a mixture...it's ah. A black dentists. The building is still there, and his family still operates...it's not a business anymore, but the daughter still works out of downstairs, and the upstairs is still rented out. Um, and that was, um, Pickering. Across the street from that was businesses, apartment complex. I'm not sure who owned it at one time. I know who owned it after...when they were getting ready to renovate it. That was another family. Um, so...who else was on that street? There was a service station at the corner of Felix and Cannon. And then, where... what's it called? Uhh. The restaurant that's on the corner of Coming and Cannon. That was various businesses and that was black-owned. Um, like I said it was really...a lot of black-owned businesses were in the area. And over on Morris Street, so that's Elliottsbrough/Cannonsbrough, so. But there were a lot of black businesses in there. But um, but I think it was in...racially mixed for living.

ND: And, if you could come up with maybe four to five adjectives to describe the community at that time, in the 1990s. What would you use to describe it?

RC: In '90's it was basically...evolving. Because, um, business was being sold off and so, like where Brooks' Motel and restaurant was, that's now apartment build....apartment houses, single-family housing, now. Um, the old...real estate business, the building is there but it's unoccupied. That's owned by somebody else now. And so, across the street, the Martins still have their office building there. But um, you had to co...the apartment co...you know, the condos in there. Just a whole lot of new housing.

ND: Uh-huh.

RC: And, you know, the YWCA is on Cannon Street. And so, um. And, but behind that, that's being old. And that was a park, basically. So it's...housing is...

ND: You've seen a large increase in the number of new units?

RC: Yeah.

ND: Ok.

RC: No parking. [laughs] Problem with parking. Spring Street, you know, um, the DeCosta's. On King Street, DeCosta was um, an architect, um, developer and, uh, they also lived on the street. And so, families, a lot of families lived above their businesses or next door. So. Basically, a lot of blacks lived in the neighborhood, but then you had, um, St. Patrick's Catholic Church. Across the street from that is a Jewish Cemetary, I think? So, it's a hodge-podge.

ND: Where did you live?

RC: When I first came to Charleston? I'm not a Charlestonian.

ND: Right.

RC: When I first came to Charleston I lived on Wentworth Street. Next to McAlisters. And then I moved uptown to Peachtree.

ND: uh-huh, that's in North Central?

RC: No, it's in Wagner Terrace.

ND: Wagner Terrace.

RC: North Central's on the east side of King Street. Of Rutledge.

ND: And you're still there now?

RC: Uh-uh, I live in West Ashley! [laughs] Out in the country. [laughs]

ND: So what inspired you to move?

RC: To Charleston?

ND: Well, from...first, what inspired you move to Charleston? Then from Wentworth Street up into that area of Wagner Terrace? And, ultimately what made you decide to move to West Ashley?

RC: Um, I don't know. Um, I li... Well, I came to Charleston, by way of San Francisco, 'cause I lived in San Francisco. But I'm from Orangeburg originally. So, I went home for um...I lived in Orangeburg for a year 'fore I came down here. And ah...and ah...but I had

my stuff shipped here, when I left...I knew I was coming here, but...I had a project to do in Orangeburg, so I did that. And, um, so...I worked at Spoleto, to begin with. I volunteered there. And um, for a few months to get it started. And then, one of the people there, who also was a volunteer, was moving from Wentworth to...Mount Pleasant or Sullivan's Island. And so I took her place. And then, a house became available up in Wagner Terrace, so I moved up there. [laughs] So I went from one-bedroom to three-bedroom, yeah. And um, meanwhile, I started to um, with Philip Simmons Foundation. And so, but I...originally what I, after I left Spoleto, I went to work at Kiawah. So I was over there for like, ten years, and then...I went to the city. Well, I lived here. [Her cell phone rings, she turns it off]

ND: So when you first started selling properties in the neighborhood, what kind of clientele were you working with?

RC: Um...just, anyone who came to look for a house...

ND: Who was looking in the neighborhood?

RC: Um, I'm not sure...At the time...some things were referrals. Some attorneys had clients who were looking for something and...some people moving on. 'Cause, like, I sold the Brooks' property, and that was through a referral. Um...and, ah...and that went to the people who developed...no, it's, it's, it changed hands a few times. [laughs] It went to somebody else who sold it to somebody else and that type of thing. So now, it's apart...ah, houses, and different. But it was basically people who wanted to develop in the area.

ND: So, even in the early 1990s, you were finding developers coming in?

RC: Yeah. Yeah. Young people. A lot of young kids. I'm saying young kids 'cause they were in their twenties, so they were young. And, getting their foot into...to the business. Some had experience from, they came out of families that were developers or contractors, so. But, um, there are very few people who bought homes because they wanted to live. Who bought homes because they wanted to occupy. Basically, it was developers.

ND: Who were the developers looking to sell to? Or rent to?

RC: Well, developers who did Felix and Morris Street sold to homeowners, who occupy it. Um, the people who bought some properties on Ashe Street. Basically, it was to rent them. So they're investors. So...the people who owned the corner of Felix and Cannon, they were developing them themselves to use as investment property. 'Cause it was a family. A lady with 4 children and they were all were partners. [laughs] Um...Cannon Street and Felix, that was independently owned. That was sold to a developer who put three houses on there. It was a service station at one time. There was another house...couple of houses in between on Cannon Street, basically. Those sold to investors. So it's no, one type fit all...type.

ND: You were a volunteer for Historic Charleston Foundation? Was that in their Tour of Homes events?

RC: Yeah, yeah, I did all of that....whatever it was. [laughs] I started as a docent, then I was a street, you know. Then I was a supervisor. I did all, all the jobs. Yes. It's just hard...I was in a house the other day, that's for sale now, that I was a docent in one time. A few places. Like the company I work with now...I *merged* with Luxury Simplified, and they're in a

building on Broad Street that I was a docent in. It's a inc...so as I knew the history of the house [laughs]. It's hard.

ND: Do you remember hearing about the Neighborhood Impact Initiative, or HCF, or the CHDO developing projects in Elliottborough?

RC: I think I was approached to find...there was a few houses that they had. And they asked if I could find a buyer. And, um, had a friend who had a daughter, had a couple daughters. They decided they wanted to buy a house. One was getting married, or just got married.

ND: Was it HCF that approached you, or was it the CHDO?

RC: Uh-uh, it was HCF.

ND: What did they tell you about the buyer they were looking for?

RC: Somebody who fit their rules and regulations that they had. Basically, a first-time home-buyer, whose income within that...range that they had. And so...and um, cause they were developing some properties that they purchased already. So, they had a whole crew who were coming in to do work on...so they were doing some themselves, and selling them themselves. And then, there's another home I sold later to, um, a teacher and her husband...on St. Phillip Street.

ND: You remember first-time home-buyer, a certain income range. Do you remember hearing anything specifically about people who were already in the neighborhood?

RC: Um...not particularly. I would say not particularly. So these people who, who, Charlestonians, who grew up here, who lived here. But, um....I'm trying to think. 'Cause if

they lived in the neighborhood, well, this lady, she lived uptown. In fact, she was renting from...No they, uh...I think they switched houses. [laughs] They wanted to live downtown. They lived uptown. They wanted to live downtown. But as for finding people who were in the neighborhood, they were already established and wanted to stay there or they wouldn't be able to afford it. Because, um, of their income. Even though they were doing grants. But I was working with...I had a client who was Charleston Affordable Housing and so...um, we were doing some developments there. And there were four buildings that Historic Charleston Foundation gave to Charleston Affordable Housing to develop, and so.

ND: You don't happen to remember those?

RC: Uh-huh, I sure do. So they were on the Eastside. The ones that they...the historic ones were on the Eastside. One was 32 Mary, 20/18 Amhearst, across the street from where I am now, [laughs], 72 Nassau, and next door at the corner of Nassau and Columbus and that was 93 Columbus. 93 Columbus was demolished and rebuilt. But the others were renovated.

ND: They also had their own guidelines as far as low-income?

RC: Uh-huh, they were for affordable housing. And so, and...they was since sold to City Housing Authority, purchased them.

ND: All of them?

RC: Those four. Uh-huh. And so they're still in City Housing. And those guidelines.

ND: Those would be for people with, maybe, Section 8 benefits?

RC: Oh, they could do that with Charleston Affordable Housing. Yeah. If you was Section 8 or income that fell within the guidelines of the state.

ND: So, Charleston Housing Authority was re-developing them and then they were renting them out?

RC: No.

ND: No.

RC: Charleston Affordable Housing.

ND: Sorry.

RC: Charleston Affordable Housing. They were given by Historic Charleston to develop. 'Cause they would...were basically, um...in disrepair. You know, almost in disrepair. And so they renovated them.

ND: Then, Charleston Affordable Housing rented them out for a while?

RC: Uh-huh.

ND: Ok. Then recently, they were given...

RC: They were sold to the City Housing Authority. Yes. Charleston Affordable Housing went out of business.

ND: Yes. I remember reading that. You had a business in the neighborhood. Were you active in any of the neighborhood association groups or anything like that? [she shakes her head] No. [she laughs]

RC: I ah, when I left Kiawah, I started my own little business. It was called “Assistance”.

And so, between the developing, because I bought the properties for Charleston Affordable Housing when they bought the properties on the Eastside...and so, doing that and trying to do my little business. [laughs] And that was doing whatever people hired me to do basically...and so, I worked with the College of Charleston. I have a contract with them in Continuing Ed. And so, many business people around town hired me to help in their offices and that. That’s how I got involved with Simmons because two of the Board Members were clients and so...[laughs]

ND: So you’ve always had two things going? Real estate on one side and then, whatever?

RC: Now, well, I guess I don’t have my little business anymore. I volunteer for Simmons. So now, you know, we’re probably at the point where we need to hire a director and such. But we have a Board. It grew more than what we started out to do. It started out to develop the grounds around his church.

ND: Where is his church?

RC: St. John’s Reformed Episcopal, right across from the Gaillard. Anson and George.

ND: Is there anything else about Elliottborough that you think I should know? Or about housing in general in Charleston? Or affordability?

RC: Affordability is another story, ‘cause it’s gotten out of hand. Students coming. The closer you get to the campus, the more it’s gotten unaffordable. [chuckles] For a lot of people. After Charleston... College of Charleston became integrated, I’ll put it that way, then it was open to more students coming from everywhere and it grew. And for a school

that was one block square, now it's a quarter of the city, I'd put it that way, probably. But kids come from everywhere. And then you had families who had children who were coming to school back to back. You know, four years and they're going to have another one come in. So they would buy a house, when the first student came in. And they would find roommates, so they would rent out the bedrooms and that paid the mortgage. So the student went to school, basically...lived, you know, basically free. And uh, all you had was tuition to pay...probably paid for that too. But ah, you had a lot of that being done. And so, as downtown came back to life, 'cause one time, I was here before Charleston Place, that was a gardening and gun club and a bunch of warehouses down there...the town was almost a ghost town. When you look at it now you see a metropolitan place. And uh, it's back, you know, back to life. And so people started buying places, renovating. And then we had Hugo, who did a lot of demolishing. And, people bought the properties...that was the low end at that time. And then, they just begin to...as they begin to sell, they raised the prices of properties. So each time they sell, it gets to be more and more. So now, below the Crosstown...is expensive. But a lot of renovation's been done and so the houses are really being put back, because you can't tear down anything. [laughs] You can't tear down too many things around here so they, they're done, they've done some very good jobs. I've seen some sloppy things too, but they've done very good jobs renovating.

ND: When you first came here, you'd mentioned the College of Charleston being one block. It wasn't that small back then, was it?

RC: No, 60s, 60s, 60s it changed. 60...60...probably 68.

ND: So that period when integration was happening, the school was expanding?

RC: Yeah it was after Ted Stern. Ted Stern became President he had a lot of view or conception of what the college could be. And, he found the right people to work with. And, you know, College of Charleston is very good. So they could expand the curriculum, the whole thing. At one time, they were talking about one university. [laughs] But...the dormitories, they bought up the properties to do dormitories. You can't just go tearing down houses to make dormitories. It has to be something that could not be repaired or an empty lot. Now I'm trying to remember what some of these places were. We had the corner of Vanderhorst...which is apartments...I mean dormitories. It had the frat houses and stuff cause they're a whole row of houses on Wentworth Street. And frat houses and sorority houses on Coming Street between Wentworth and Calhoun. But the houses are still there, still frat houses. But they moved the houses.

ND: Does the College own those?

RC: No, the fraternities.⁴⁰¹ Families that moved out and fraternities bought them. They could buy them at that point...they weren't at the price point they are now. Fraternities couldn't afford to buy them now, can't afford to sell them. [laughs] But, what they could not demolish according to the rules of the city, they could renovate. It may be...

ND: Ok. I think that's all. Thank you for speaking with me today.

⁴⁰¹ In fact, the College of Charleston owns the majority of the Greek houses.

Julia-Ellen Craft Davis (J-ED) & Vicki Davis Williams (VW)

Elliottborough Residents

January 30, 2016

ND: So, my thesis is a study of a program that Historic Charleston Foundation and the Episcopal Diocese Community Housing Development Organization did in Elliottborough in the 1990s.

VW: Say that again, start over, because start...

ND: Ok. Historic Charleston Foundation, (VW: Ok.) which is a preservation organization here in town, started in the 1940s. And then the Episcopal Diocese started a separate non-profit that is called a Community Housing Development Organization.

VW: Ummm

ND: Community Housing Development Organizations are tasked with serving people who fall into low- and moderate-income ranges in communities.

VW: Hm-hmm

ND: Providing housing for them. HCF has been known for doing renovation work in the past, and they came into Elliottborough as a partner, as the experts on old buildings and on doing renovations. And the goal of their program, the Neighborhood Impact Initiative that I'm studying was to stabilize certain buildings in the neighborhood and to use this stabilization as an anti-gentrification measure. So I'm studying the program to see where it

was successful, where it wasn't successful, what they could have done better, where things can grow. With the future idea of helping neighborhoods like Elliottborough was in the early 1990s be able to grow and be able to bring in new people without displacing the residents who've been there for a long time.

VW: Hm-hmmm.

ND: So it's a very delicate balancing act.

VW: Hm-hmmm

ND: It is not a black and white issue, at all. So, it's a very interesting kind of study that I'm doing.

VW: It's interesting that she used that term, "black and white issue", 'cause, in some instances, a black and white issue...[laughs]

ND: Well, and in Charleston in particular, it is, it does tend to come down that way. I spent basically my entire fall semester writing a history of race relations in Charleston (KW: Wow) and then writing a history of Historic Preservation in Charleston.

KW: I would love to read that, (to J-ED) wouldn't you?

ND: Well, it will be online, Clemson puts all of our theses available online. I will definitely email you once it's available.

KW: Yes, definitely do that, I would love to.

J-ED: That must be how a student interviewed...did a thesis on Herbert DeCosta, and that's available online.

ND: Uh-huh.

KW: Ooooh.

J-ED: He was able to get that grant out from Gail Margaret.

KW: So does that include his...the things that he did?

J-ED: Includes the ones that were...yeah ...before, ah...

KW: Uh-huh.

J-ED: Basically, it did.

KW: Ok.

J-ED: I'm sure he didn't get everything but he got a lot.

KW: Ok. (To ND) Have you heard of Herbert A. DeCosta?

ND: Uh-uh.

KW: Ok. In terms of preservation?

ND: Uh-uh.

KW: Ok. All right. We'll tell you some...

J-ED: Why don't we get started...

ND: Ok, no problem.

[The sisters signed their consent forms at this point]

KW: Julia-Ellen, do you know who she should talk to?

J-ED: There's a bunch of people...

KW: No, around the corner. What's her name? She's 97 years old. Still sharp as a tack. I've drawn...

[KW exists briefly to attend to an errand]

ND: I am meeting with Vicki Davis Williams.

KW: Yes.

ND: And Julia-Ellen Davis.

J-ED: Yes.

ND: And you're sisters.

KW: Yes.

ND: And you both grew up here in Elliottborough.

KW: Yes.

(Simultaneously)

J-ED: Yes. This is our family home. Our grandparents bought this house around 1936.

ND: Fabulous. It's a gorgeous house. It's beautifully maintained as well.

KW: We had a...as Julia-Ellen said, our grandparents bought the house around 1936 and our mother and her brother grew up in this house. From the time they were...

J-ED: About eleven. Ten/eleven.

KW: Yeah, ten or eleven years old. My sister and I, with my mother, moved back to Charleston in about 1954 and lived in this house.

J-ED: With our grandmother...uh grandparents, they were here.

KW: With our grandparents.

J-ED: So we came, our mother came back home, because she got divorced and brought us.

KW: Yeah. So we lived here until about 1962. And then, but, my mother came back. So, the house has been in the family.

J-ED: It's always been in the family.

KW: Always been in the fam...

J-ED: So, basically, when I came back in 2005, and I've been here since. And she came back, what two years ago?

KW: We came back in 2014, so two years ago. '14. Yeah, so. With my husband.

J-ED: So, they're on the second floor, which has been renovated to some degree. So, it's upstairs, they are and we're down here.

KW: Right, but we're open.

J-ED: So, we're still...living in the house.

ND: It's still a single-family residence...

KW: Yes.

ND: you've just accommodated yourselves...

KW: Right.

ND: to have a little of...

J-ED: Uh-huh.

ND: your own space.

KW: Right.

ND: That's awesome.

KW: Right, exactly.

ND: Great, well, that answers my first two questions, did you grow up in the area and where did you live. So, that's great. What was Elliottborough like when you were children growing up here? Or when you came back in the sixties [sic]? What do you remember about it?

J-ED: Well, there were more African Americans living here.

KW: Yeah.

J-ED: It was integrated. Across the street instead of...where there's the vegetable bin. We didn't have...that was a gas station.

KW: Further down on the corner was a corner store. But it was, an African American...there were more African Americans, that we remember. But we are told that, prior to that time, that it was really an integrated neighborhood.

ND: With Jews and Germans.

J-ED: Uh-huh.

KW: Right, exactly. So, where Cannon Street restaurant is, that used to be an auto repair shop. That was...

J-ED: For a long time.

KW: For a long time. It...for a long time.

J-ED: And then, our grandfather had a construction company office next door...and I think next to him may have been a barbershop for a while? Then, next to that was a doctor's office for our relative, Herbert Seabrook. So, he had his doctor's office up there.

KW: Like, we did have, we had some friends, two or three doors down. You know, the Passant's. And then...

[KW takes a phone call and steps outside]

J-ED: A long time family friend...our grandmother was friends with their grandmother. So, a lot of the people around here were friendly with our family. So, our grandfather, when he bought this house, bought the land, from a straight shoot all the way to Cannon. So, behind us, all that was our property...our grandparent's property. Anyway, our grandmother, was probably in her 80s, she divided it so that the back lot was my uncle's property. And then she had this house, which my mother was at this point had moved back and was living with her. So the understanding was, when she [grandmother] passed, it could stay, it would be my mom's property. So then my uncle died and then just before his wife, she knew she was terminally ill, just before she passed, she sold the back property. So, we actually went all the way from Spring to Cannon. And, my grandfather owned, when he bought this, he also owned, at some point, he owned, 95 Spring, 93 Spring, 91 Spring, and 87 Spring.

ND: You said he was a contractor?

J-ED: Yes, he did a lot of contracting work. A lot of work was done for downtown. My uncle moved back around 1949, after he finished his...becoming an engineer. He joined the business until my grandfather passed, and so Herbert DeCosta, Jr. did a lot of the renovation for Ansonborough on behalf of the Historic Charleston Foundation.

[KW re-enters]

So a lot of the homes in Ansonborough, as well as the buildings for College of Charleston, were done by Herbert DeCosta, Jr. And Senior while he was alive.

KW: And South of Broad. A lot of their renovation/restoration work.

J-ED: Yeah, uh-huh.

KW: So, in 1990s. So, let me think here. I'll tell you that in the 1990s, very...My recollection anyway, in some period in there, was that Roses [sic] Lane, Sires, right over here...um, there was a lot of drug activity in that area. And at some point, I don't know exactly when, with the help of Congressman [Jim] Clyburn and the City Department...Police Department...

J-ED: And the...

KW: And probably the NAACP...

J-ED: And the mayor...because...

KW: And the mayor...

J-ED: Our mother was...

KW: Got that curtailed. Got that, you know, wiped out. I think it took a period of time. I don't know.

J-ED: So Bernice DeCosta Davis, our mother, was, like a secretary in the Neighborhood Association. And they were very active trying to fight what was happening. And they went down to the city quite often, to meet with the Mayor. To get help.

KW: Uh-huh. So...prior to 1990, when we lived here as little girls, I don't recall...we weren't aware that, 'cause, you know, we were children...young... [laughs] I'm not aware of that. We would walk home from school, from Rhett oftentimes when our mother didn't pick us up.

J-ED: When she ran late.

KW: Right, right.

J-ED: The NAACP had their office next door...with a break in when. Where, they were there in at least two different periods.

ND: Next door here?

KW: Yeah.

J-ED: Yeah.

ND: They're still in this neighborhood?

J-ED: No. They're over there by the Eastside.

KW: Eastside.

J-ED: Over by Columbus.

ND: Oh, ok. [extended pause] What four or five words would you use to describe the area in the early 1990s?

J-ED: What kind of word?

ND: What four or five words?

KW: Well, we would come back and visit...You think about how old you were at the time, you know...and the kids. I think it was a little rough! [laughs] A little rough. Rough neighborhood with...

J-ED: We wouldn't want to be walking around here at twelve, one o'clock at night.

KW: No.

J-ED: Right now, we see a lot of College of Charleston students walking around all different hours. And, we would not have done that in the 1990s. And, actually, if we were in college right now...we wouldn't do that now.

KW: Right.

J-ED: Because it's not totally converted.

KW: I mean, it's interesting. I will say two things. I think it was a rough neighborhood. I think that...with the crime and what have you. Because of the work that our grandfather and our uncle did in the city...employing some of the people in the neighborhood, they were, I think they watched over my grandmother and my mother. I think they looked out for them because even now, my husband and I will still see people and they'll say, "oh, I used to work for your grandfather" or "I used to work for your uncle." But back at the time that it was a

rough neighborhood, but it was also a neighborhood where there was a lot of traffic. Do you know when the Crosstown was?

ND: It was in the early 60s.⁴⁰²

KW: It was in the 60s. So before the Crosstown, there was Spring Street, which was the local [Highway] 17. So, the Crosstown took some of that...took a lot of the traffic away. At that time, we were coming back to visit our grandmother. Mom moved back in, about in 1980. Late 70s or early 80. So, she was here with my grandmother.

J-ED: I saw this as home. You know, we had lived in North Carolina and I went to college in Boston and New York.

KW: And I lived in D.C.

J-ED: So, I've lived a lot of places, but this for me was coming home. You know, 'cause we had grown up here. Our family was here. We had family, our cousins lived in the city. So I just saw this as coming home. Because, when we sold the house in North Carolina, it was not the emotional attachment.

KW: Uh-huh.

J-ED: Because, it was just a place we were living. This was more than just a place we were living.

KW: Uh-huh.

⁴⁰² It was actually 1967.

J-ED: This was home. We had a lot of friends here.

KW: Yeah, friends and home. But, in terms of the neighborhood that's, you know, description, that's why...

J-ED: Yeah...even when we were...

KW: We were...insulated.

J-ED: When we were...

KW: I think you could say we were insulated.

J-ED: When we were growing up as children, and we came back as teenagers and whatever, we didn't do much outside this house unless we were getting in a car and going to see somebody.

KW: Uh-huh.

J-ED: We didn't...we never walked the neighborhood.

KW: There wasn't...

J-ED: We weren't...

KW: Yeah, for us it wasn't a walkable neighborhood...because there wasn't anything here to walk to.

J-ED: Right.

KW: You know there wasn't, the restaurants, there was nothing to walk to.

J-ED: Yeah, I mean, we may have walked down the street two doors...

KW: We walked from school.

J-ED: Yeah, we walked to school...and then we wal...

KW: No, no. Mom always took us to school and we would walk back.

J-ED: Yeah, ok. But, between here and school, but, besides the school thing. And we had church, nearby, which was on Thomas Street. And that was always by car. We got there. And then we had our uncle living down the street...that was the house just on this side of this center thing.

KW: Yeah, two doors down.

J-ED: And we would walk there, but there was no need to walk. There was no need to see anyone that wasn't just two doors down.

KW: uh-huh.

J-ED: So we had...

KW: So, 1990. I don't know.

J-ED: You're just focusing on the 1990s?

ND: Oh, no. All of it, really. 1990s is just when the program started, so I'm just trying to gauge the difference between the different decades. Understanding how things changed from when you guys were young walking home from school through to the present day.

KW: Yeah, 'cause we would walk from school and we were not afraid.

J-ED: We were not afraid.

KW: And we were walking home from Simonton, which was on the corner of Morris and Jasper was bordering on one side of it and Smith was on the other. So that, and we did that...for me, I did that for two years.

J-ED: Yeah.

KW: Occasionally, we walked home from Rhett and that was safe too.

J-ED: Yeah.

ND: That was quite a distance.

J-ED: Uh-huh.

KW: Yeah, it was. We didn't do it often, but we did do it.

J-ED: Right.

KW: You know, sometimes.

J-ED: Right.

KW: But, yeah, it wasn't like we were walking by ourselves.

J-ED: There were always friends.

KW: When we walked from Simonton, there was always a group of us.

J-ED: Right. There was a gang of us. [laughs]

KW: You know, everyone would kind of peel off...they were going down that street...

J-ED: Right.

KW: We would say goodbye. We would say goodbye to our friends at Spring and Rutledge.

J-ED: Yeah, Rutledge. Then we'd walk down that one long block.

KW: We just walked down Spring and that was it. We felt safe.

J-ED: Uh-huh.

ND: What was the name of that school again? Simonton?

J-ED: Yes. Simonton

KW: Simonton. S-I-M-O-N-T-O-N.

J-ED: It was the first African American public school in Charleston.⁴⁰³

KW: Was it?

J-ED: Uh-huh. And then some point, Burke...

KW: High School?

J-ED: No, school. School, period. It was public. And at some point...

KW: Public, that's the difference.

J-ED: And at some point, Burke opened up. The high school part went over to Burke. And then we just had...

⁴⁰³ One of four ordered by City Council to be built in 1856, Charles H. Simonton was the first to be designated for African American students.

KW: 'Cause Simonton was the middle school. 'Cause when we went there, it was a middle school.

J-ED: Right. I was there for two years. Then, I'm thinking, you were there for one year, Vicki?

VW: Uh-huh.

J-ED: Then we moved away to Greensboro around that time.

KW: Right.

J-ED: And, what happened, what I think was interesting. Um, Simonton, in the time I was there, I guess there was a seventh grade. We had a lot of kids there from the Eastside as well as the Westside. See, we were Westside. And Eastside was over there East of, you know, Meeting Street. And then they opened up a school...Johnson C. Smith I think that's what it's called.⁴⁰⁴ And that's where a lot of kids started going to school there. But there was always a...you know, edginess between the Eastside and the Westside part of this town. Because...that was a long time ago. [laughs] But, our friends would talk about it. Ray Huff would talk about it. James Gadsden, who later on became Ambassador to Iceland, talked about it. And also Brown.

KW: 'Cause he was on the Eastside? Gadsden?

J-ED: Uh-huh. And he, and his...

⁴⁰⁴ Johnson C. Smith is the name of a University in the Charlotte area. The former high school on Charleston's Eastside was called Charles A. Brown. It is now the site of Trident Technical College.

KW: 'Cause he went to Burke. Oh, no he didn't.

J-ED: His history teacher was Clyburn. Clyburn taught at Johnson C. Smith.⁴⁰⁵ I think that's what the school's called. It's also a colle...that's the name of that.

ND: Is that the one that ...

J-ED: It's now part of the campus...

ND: The Trident Tech Campus.

J-ED: The Palmer Campus, yes.

ND: That's what I thought. I've talked to people who grew up on the Eastside and what they've told me is that Westside had the doctors, the lawyers, the engineers and so it was a bit of a class distinction between the two.

J-ED: You know, it's interesting because I'm on the board of the Preservation Society and we're doing a study about Morris Street Business District, which was over there on Morris Street. And, that's where they had their offices. But some of those people lived on the Eastside. Some of those doctors lived on the Eastside. But yeah, we did have some of those people over here.

KW: There were more projects on the Eastside.

J-ED: Uh-huh. Many of them are not there anymore.

⁴⁰⁵ See note 5.

KW: There's been a definite, concerted effort to change the look of Charleston. It's not by accident that this is how it looks now. And my friend, Millicent Brown, who was about to integrate the high schools, in Charleston, her father was the President of the NAACP.

J-ED: NAACP.

KW: And they had a home on Ashley Avenue.

J-ED: Uh-huh, uh-huh.

KW: They had to move out of their home...

J-ED: Uh-huh.

KW: Because the Crosstown was coming there.

J-ED: And took their home.

KW: And took their home. But, because of their family having property on, I think...

J-ED: James Island.

KW: They were ok.

J-ED: Uh-huh.

KW: But, if you look at how I-26 comes from North Charleston into the city, you see how it has a sharp right? That sharp right is right where her home was on Ashley Avenue.

J-ED: Uh-huh. It went through the black community.

KW: If it hadn't made such a sharp right, it would have hit Spring Street. It would have.

ND: I'm wondering if you've seen photographs...let's see if I can find them now. These are photographs that Historic Charleston Foundation acquired from the Department of Transportation that have employees showing the path of the Crosstown. They actually are denoting the path of the highway with their bodies. They did that a lot, use their arms to show the path of the road.

KW: Do you have one from Ashley Avenue?

ND: You know, they're all available online from the Lowcountry Digital Library.

KW: Ok.

KW: Yeah, I mean, the Line Street, the Bogard Street...especially Bogard Street...

J-ED: The house that the Brown's had, was like, double the width of our steps going up. And they had a front porch...

KW: It was like, it was almost like a, it was elevated, with the steps leading up.

J-ED: Yes, it was a very elegant...

KW: It didn't look like that. [indicates the image on the computer screen]

ND: Right, if there's an image of it, it would be on the Lowcountry Digital Library.

KW: All right, we'll have to look at that.

ND: All right, let's get back to the questions a little bit more. What do you think caused the neighborhood to decline in that period after you guys left and into the 1990s?

KW: I would probably say unemployment. Lack of training. I think that's generally what happens. If there is...when there is white flight, then African Americans come in, maybe to rent, and the houses aren't kept up. So there's a deterioration...continues in the neighborhood. And then, drugs come in and then...more people leave.

J-ED: Yeah, I think that possibly some of these homes ended up being owned by people left the area and they didn't really live here, they may have rented when they left, and so you have homes that weren't being maintained. And we had a house right here on the corner here...

KW: [laughs] Oh, jeeze.

J-ED: Right where the plaza is...

KW: Across the street from Cannon Green.

J-ED: You see that house?

KW: It's been boarded up, for decades. Decades...and the owner, I was told, they think the owner is the person who owns a restaurant on Rutledge. I have it on my list to find out...and to make inquiry with the city.

ND: That's easy to find out. That's public record.

KW: Because, in my mind, why would the city allow an owner to keep a house in such disrepair? I don't think...

J-ED: We do have some other homes that are actually in worse condition than that. I think, on Bogard Street. Maybe on Line Street. They're literal...Maybe it's on the other side of

Ashley also. Which, I mean, homes on that side, or that area there, there could fall down, they look so bad.

ND: And you think it's mostly absentee landlords?

J-ED: I have no idea.

KW: We have no idea. And I don't want to speculate. This lady does not want to sell. The lady who owns this house across from Cannon Green. That's, literally falling apart. I guess they keep putting certain pieces together. She does not want to sell.

ND: Any idea why?

KW: We don't know why.

J-ED: Well, I suspect they're waiting to see if they can get more money. You see, the value is going up on our houses, it's not going down. They might be trying to get more money, see how high someone will go.

ND: Do you happen to know the little one across the street here, that half number [address]. Do you what that was?

KW: That's been a barbershop.

J-ED: Uh-huh.

KW: The little green one?

ND: Uh-huh.

KW: And we know who owns that. It used to be a barbershop. It is now a storage unit for someone in the neighborhood who does odd jobs, painting and what have you. And I don't...and he might have owned the house behind it, I'm not sure.

J-ED: He did.

KW: He did?

J-ED: Yeah, and that house was falling apart. And so, one day, a very tall ladder was leaning against the house, that was kind of reaching the second floor. And it wasn't long after that that it fell down.

KW: [chuckles]

ND: Very interesting.

KW: 'Cause that was a barbershop.

ND: Well, and there's a small structure, about the same size, down the street. It's a barbershop, so I thought...but didn't know for sure.

J-ED: And next door to that is a beauty salon right now.

KW: Beauty salon.

J-ED: But there was a Pentecostal-type church in there when we were kids. This was before the 90s.

KW: Where was this?

J-ED: Remember, we'd come home and go, "there they go again"? It'd be a Friday night.

And then, before that, there was an office for an African American doctor in there.

KW: In what? What's the beauty salon?

J-ED: Yeah.

KW: So the one on the corner, that's a little pop-up, used to be a little grocery store. 'Cause my grandfather smoked cigarettes and I would go get his cigarettes.

J-ED: The one that's right here.

KW: Right up at the corner.

J-ED: He had you go get the cigarettes?

KE: Uh-huh.

ND: Different era.

[all laugh]

J-ED: He smoked Camels and d...

KW: Camels, unfiltered, cigarettes. Anyway. So, you know, we have some memories. Some neighbors around the corner and what have you. But mostly, if we were going anywhere, it's by car.

ND: I think you mentioned that you used to go to church when you visited in the area? On Thomas Street?

KW: St. Marks.

J-ED: Episcopal Church.

KW: The Episcopal Church.

J-ED: Their first service was in 1865. Our grandmother's great-grandfather, I think, was on the first Vestry. B.K. Kinlaw.

KW: Our great, great, great...

J-ED: I'm just talking about her...she's talking about three "greats" for us. So, Benjamin Kinlaw, which they called B.K. Kinlaw. He and his brother, Richman Kinlaw were on the first Vestry. Because he was active in the church.

KW: Uh-huh, they started the church.

J-ED: Our grandparents...

KW: For African Americans.

J-ED: Right.

ND: Do you still attend there?

KW: Yes.

J-ED: My sister does.

KW: I do.

J-ED: But, ah...I still call it my home church, even though I don't go. Because it's really great...we have great history there. Like, do you remember earlier, Ray Huff?

ND: Uh-huh.

J-ED: He grew up...his mother...that was his church. And his mother goes there now, when she's able. And Millicent Brown, that's her church. That's where she goes. That's where she got confirmed. She doesn't go much to church now, but that's where her sister goes. Her mother was there when she was living in Charleston.

ND: You both left, with your mother, and you moved to Greensboro. Then, from there, you went to college and you had your careers in D.C. and...Boston?

J-ED: I went to college in Boston. I went to Grad School the following...after I graduated, to New York. Then I got married and moved to Africa after three and half years, then I came back to Washington and at some point I moved to Florida. In 2005, I came here.

ND: And, what brought you back here?

J-ED: Our mother needed...family. Needed us...one of us, at least, to be close by. So I came back when a job opened up that I...

KW: She was deteriorating...

J-ED: That I was willing to take.

ND: And, so it seems that you had the more...

KW: I had the family in the D.C. area. So, you know, where I went to school. And came back here, as I said, in 2014. Got married for the second time and we just felt that we needed to come back and, sort of help tend to the family's properties. Especially with the changes that are going on in the neighborhood. Do some upgrading and what have you. So we came back.

ND: Let's talk about those changes. What changes have you seen in the last decade [to J-ED] that you've been back. [To KW] I'm sure you've been visiting more in the last decade...

KW: Oh yeah, yeah. Well, I mean, very distinctive, the neighborhood is more white than black. Lots and lots of college students. The owner of these two buildings [signals next door], has a bunch of college students. Well, he says they're "young professionals", I'm not sure, but he runs a tight ship. So, in the past couple of years, they haven't had the parties that they've had in the past. But, you do get some of the loud...when they're walking down the street, making noises and what have you. But, I think the other is...developers. Young families. But I see more developers coming in and redoing houses. Gutting houses and redoing them.

J-ED: They're also taking properties that had deep lots. They're buying the houses with deep lots and putting more houses on the deep lot.

KW: Yeah, houses behind houses on deep lots.

J-ED: So homes that were off of St. Philip's Street where they cross Cannon...you can go behind that area there...

KW: There's a development.

J-ED: You could not get a fire truck back there. I don't know how they got permission to build so tightly. So tight. But, you know, here, Bogard...around Bogard, just over here. They're getting ready to build...they may have done it by now...they're getting ready to build a development that's very close. I think there used to be a neighborhood garden. And they're putting something in there.

KW: I mean, the neighborhoods that were deteriorating are now being...they have a facelift. What I don't know is how many families are moving in, versus people renovating houses for rental to college students, graduate school students, what have you. In my mind, it doesn't lend itself to a true residential neighborhood and so I question the thinking behind all that.

ND: So, you feel there are more transient residents, which diminishes the community feel, maybe?

KW: Uh-huh. Maybe. Yeah, but I don't know if those on Bogard Street. If those are...[to J-ED] I'm thinking you know, more so than me. Whether those are young professionals? Are they young families? Families with young children? Or, are they college students?

J-ED: I think it's a combination on Bogard...well, on Line, maybe not as much, but Bogard and Percy Street, I think it's been renovated by a combination of people who maybe didn't have to spend as much as if they'd done, you know, like this house. They got something like a starter home, renovate it, sell it and move on to something a little bit bigger. I see that happen with so many of the young families. On that street, people are [unintelligible] they have come on to that street, and there's like, you know, a gallery, and art gallery that's opened up. So I think that people are trying to find opportunities and they're coming to this neighborhood because it's cheaper than going South of Broad.

KW: You know one of the good things is that we can walk to wonderful restaurants. That's just, outstanding. We love that.

J-ED: Percy and Bogard is a very nice restaurant. A chef who came from another place took that spot.

KW: Is it Trattoria Luca?⁴⁰⁶

J-ED: And then...

KW: There's Cannon Green. You know, the list goes on. Tapio, Hominy Grill...the list goes on. The concern I have is that, where do the...you know, this area is getting priced out for African Americans who don't have the deep pocketbooks to renovate. And also not to pay some of the increased taxes. When the properties are assessed and the taxes go up. That is an issue for a lot of African American families. In addition to that...is it the Preservation Society, Julia-Ellen...you know, the Board of...the BAR?⁴⁰⁷ That requires you to replace...for example, roofs. Copper roofs.

J-ED: BAR. That's the BAR.

KW: You have to replace your copper roof, with a copper roof. And that's impossible. Or something else, I was told the other day. Rolled wire, or something like that. I was told the other day that that is very expensive and difficult to get.⁴⁰⁸ [laughs] So they stay in homes that leak? I don't know what they do. I really don't know what they do. But...

J-ED: I think something's probably going to have to happen to change that ruling because, everybody knows that what is being mandated is really going to be very common [unintelligible]. Not only that you have the money, but that you can find somebody to do it.

KW: To do it.

⁴⁰⁶ The restaurant on this corner is actually Elliottborough Mini Bar. Trattoria Luca is on the corner of Bogard and Ashe.

⁴⁰⁷ Board of Architectural Review.

⁴⁰⁸ The reference here is likely a standing seam terne metal roof.

J-ED: I really think, there's going to have to be a change. Especially about the roofs. We've seen the work on some of these houses that are being renovated, and they're not being replaced with the same roof they had. So, I just question how they're getting around it.

ND: Are you seeing asphalt shingle? Are you seeing different kinds of material?

KW: Are you seeing more metal, you mean?

J-ED: We're not seeing...you know, a lot of these homes probably have what we have right now. That rolled tin roof...

KW: They had...that's what they had.

J-ED: When I see them replacing what they're doing, they're not putting that up now. A lot of people I don't know how they're getting around it. But they're finding ways around it. They're not putting up new, rolled tin roofs.

KW: Don't know. That, to me, the taxes and the other, that the big issue for families that have been in the neighborhood for a long time.

J-ED: There are studies that have shown how the population has shifted in Charleston.

KW: Uh-huh.

J-ED: It shows you, here's the map of where the African Americans live now versus like ten, twenty years ago. Huge difference. They're not there. There aren't as many as there used to be. Now you have over here, not the Cannonborough area, but now you have this new area that's going to be developed at the very end of Spring Street and Lockwood, which is now the Westin or Weston, that's going to be serving more technical/medical. So you're going to

have homes...residential as well as businesses, and that's going to be blocking out, it's not going to block people's houses so much, but eventually that project might be in danger.

KW: Uh-huh.

ND: You're talking about Gadsden Green [public housing complex] over there?

J-ED: Uh-huh.

KW: Uh-huh. Back by Burke, back where Burke is.

ND: So, what would you say to people...because what you are describing is basically the definition of gentrification...when one cultural and socioeconomic group is replaced by another cultural and socioeconomic group...greater socioeconomic group, and that is the definition that we're working with. What would you then say to people who say, "well, this is just the Market determining these things."?

KW: I think it was the plan. It's a plan that many people are not aware of.

J-ED: It was a fifty-year plan. Because, when the Crosstown came through...it cut neighborhoods in half. It reminds me of Georgetown, in the Washington D.C. area. That area was...

KW: It's happening all over the country.

J-ED: That's just an example, Georgetown. Not the only example.

KW: Fourteenth Street. So you know what I'm talking about? Fourteenth and U [in D.C.]?

ND: Uh-huh.

J-ED: So there's a lot of areas in D.C. that use to be one way and now they're not. And, sure it's nice to see new things, but you think about those families and those retired people. Why do they have to be kicked out of their homes, just because they can't afford the property tax? It think something should be done to help so that they don't have to pay...like if they've lived somewhere for fifty years or thirty years, they pay at a different level. Instead of kicking them out. Something is very wrong about that. I think it's very good to have diversity. Ok. And you're losing diversity in Charleston. You had Fraiser...our Black churches and our Black schools are closing.

KW: Closing.

J-ED: So, Fraiser Elementary over there on the Eastside. Rhett. And Simonton, for sure. That's where it really began, Simonton got knocked down.

KW: Knocked down.

J-ED: And I'm sure there's other schools that I just can't remember right now. But these are schools that are no longer there. And so then, you also have churches. They got that church on Spring Street right next to Rutledge and Ashley that they tried to sell it [Plymouth United Church of Christ]. Not only did it get bought, they knocked the building down! And there's another church for sale here between...

KW: On Cannon.

J-ED: It's on Cannon between Spring and Cannon, very close to President Street. [Mount Zion-Olivet Presbyterian Church] That's for sale, and we'll see what happens with that. Those are just two churches.

KW: Somewhere...oh, over on Smith Street. [Shiloh AME] They're making that con...they're making that apartments.

J-ED: Yeah, the church...

KW: They talked about that in the meeting. [Cannonborough/Elliottborough Neighborhood Association Meeting, January 2016]

J-ED: You're talking about Smith over near Morris and Cannon...so that's three churches. And they're not the only ones. Those are Black churches. So, it's not...

KW: Don't know what the answers are...

J-ED: So now you're going to have those children who go to Mitchell Elementary and go to Burke...they're not going to have the experience of diversity. They're going to see African Americans as people who are domestics. And that's not a very good thing. They'll grow up in fear of people they aren't used to. That's not good for our community or our country. It's a problem that is known. It has been discussed. Maybe now is the time for it to be looked at seriously with the new Mayor. We had a wonderful Mayor in Mayor Riley, but maybe now with the new Mayor, there will be some new consideration to this.

ND: So, Mayor Riley had a gentrification Task Force in the early 2000s and they produced a report and made recommendation that were incorporated into the 2000-2005 and the 2005-2010 Comprehensive Plan.

J-ED: And those are studies.

ND: Well, they did a study and these are recommendations. But the issue has been looked at. Just wanted to put that out there.

J-ED: It's not hard to know...

KW: How do you get that information? Is it online?

ND: When you see my thesis, it's cited in there. I talk about it.

J-ED: So, I think, diversity is being lost and that's important to have in our neighborhoods. Because otherwise, children don't grow up with that.

KW: Well, it really is, what I see is segregated cities all over again. You know? They were segregated, and then the schools were integrated, and now it's, they're neighborhood schools, so they're segregated again. So, somebody really needs to take a look at it.

J-ED: The problems that we have in our society probably are the result of people not having grown up in diverse neighborhoods. People are in fear. People are in fear when they see somebody different from them.

ND: Now this neighborhood at one time was very diverse as far as socioeconomically, but it was very homogeneous in that it was a predominantly African American area. Do you think socioeconomic diversity is as important as racial diversity? More important? Less important? What are your thoughts on that?

J-ED: You know, everyone always wants to know that their home is going to increase in value. So the question is, how can you do that and still make it possible for those on a fixed income. So, I think there's a movement right now to have mixed-income areas. So, we have

big homes and small homes and so, that's one way people get around having something that's very expensive.

KW: You know, there's also apartments going up, and I think they have to have a certain number of apartments that are affordable.

J-ED: It would be nice to have...it would be nice to have a neighborhood that has had a mix of homes and businesses. I think that's how it's always been. So, I think that's ok. Our grandfather had his business...

KW: You had the barbershops and the doctor's offices. Now all the doctor's offices are in complexes.

J-ED: So, the combination of residences and business...that mixture is ok. You know, I think it's more so on Spring than Cannon, but it's ok. I think it would be a shame for someone to go and build an apartment complex in the middle of all these houses. That's crazy. And the zoning, I think, prohibits that. That was an option at one time, but they got rid of that. So you can have hostels over near the...

KW: President.

J-ED: President. Which is not really a hotel.

ND: Right, they have the "Not so Hostel" over there.

J-ED: Yeah. I wouldn't want to see an apartment complex, because I really love these old buildings. They're being renovated, at least on the exterior, so it looks similar to how it looked when it was built.

KW: The lady next door, she took her building and...this was back when we were in high school...and she added to the front of it to make a floral shop. And it was unfortunate.

ND: Has that been reverse?

J-ED: No, there's a new owner, so they made it apartments. But that same lady who built the florist shop built this concrete block back here, these apartments.

KW: 'Cause, you know, the lots are so deep.

J-ED: So, we...this lot could do the same. And we haven't done that.

ND: Yes, I noticed that you have an outbuilding out back, but without that there's more than enough room for another building, if you were thinking that way.

J-ED: That outbuilding, on the Sanborn map, has an "x" on it. And the "x's" mean, like a horse shed. So, we don't have any more information than that. That was built...it was probably there when my grandfather bought the house.

ND: So the outbuildings are probably older than the house, which isn't uncommon in Charleston.

J-ED: Yes, so it's as old as the house. Maybe older than the house.

KW: And our grandfather used it for lumber. For his company.

J-ED: Yeah, that whole area back there used to be used for the construction company. So the moment the company sold, all that came to a stop. [DeCosta, Jr. sold the business in the 1980s]

KW: Uh-huh, but there's still lumber there! [they both laugh]

J-ED: There's still a little left...

KW: There's still some left on the second floor...the attic she calls it. Up some steps, and then the second floor. I've never been up there. [To J-ED] Have you?

J-ED: I've been up there, but not all the way in because...there might be rodents up there and things.

KW: Uh-huh.

ND: That's my kind of place!

J-ED: Yeah, and they kept...back in those days...when they were working on a job, they would take anything that was no longer needed and bring it home. They would be taking, for example, wood that has nails still on it. As well as other stuff like...bricks. So, some of that lumber has nails sticking out. So, it's not really safe to go up there. It really is not. Have to be very careful.

KW: Uh-huh. Yeah.

ND: Well, you guys have been wonderful.

KW: Well, you got some information, I think.

ND: Is there anything else you think I should know?

KW: No but, like I said, I think we'd really like for you to talk to these other people. They will have a wealth of...more, more information...

ND: Thank you very much.

Rev. Dr. Sidney E. Davis (RSD)

Minister, Zion-Olivet Presbyterian

December 14, 2015

[Rev. Davis was preparing breakfast for his staff as the interview took place]

ND: I think I talked to you on the phone a little about what I'm doing.

RSD: Uh-huh.

ND: I am doing my thesis on the Neighborhood Impact Initiative in Elliottborough in the late 1990s-2000s.

RSD: Uh-huh

ND: Which was sponsored by Historic Charleston Foundation, and they were working with the CHDO over at Calvary.

RSD: Yes.

ND: So, I obviously have been talking to the people who ran both programs, but I am also wanting to talk to people who are not part of either organization.

RSD: Uh-huh.

ND: And I have your name because I found several newspaper articles where they interviewed you...

RSD: Right.

ND: In that time period. And I thought maybe you'd be able to shed some insights.

RSD: Ok. I can do that.

ND: Fabulous. I have a series of questions prepared.

RSD: Ok, I'm going to flip this in and stop doing that...

ND: No problem.

RSD: You know, you should never have a man cook! [laughs] I cook out of necessity. So, what kind of questions did you have in mind?

ND: Sure, I'm wondering if you grew up in Elliottborough?

RSD: No, I'm not from here, I'm from North Carolina.

ND: When did you move to the neighborhood?

RSD: My church was in the neighborhood.

ND: But you never lived there?

RSD: I never physically lived in the neighborhood. But the church was located there. And Elliottborough was one neighborhood and Cannonborough was the other one and we were in Cannonborough and then we merged the two and became Cannonborough-Elliottborough.

ND: When did you come to pastor the church?

RSD: 1992.

ND: 1992?

RSD: Uh-huh

ND: And where did you live?

RSD: I lived West of the Ashley.

ND: What was Elliottborough like when you first got there?

RSD: Huhm...

ND: What kind of commercial activities?

RSD: It wasn't a lot of commercial activities going on, it was in transition. The neighborhood was about 70% minority. It was maybe 10-15% student and then the rest, broken down that way. So, demographically, it was totally different than the way it is now.

ND: What would you describe it like now?

RSD: Probably about 15%...20% minority and about 20...40% student, College of Charleston, ND

ND: If you were to use four to five words to describe Elliottborough in the early 1990s when you first came to the neighborhood, what would you use?

RSD: Four or five. Impoverished, potential, diverse and, I think those are three I would use, I wouldn't use four.

ND: Ok. Why was it that way?

RSD: Well, one...Charleston. When I say "impoverished" in the sense that there were not a lot of jobs. The jobs that were here were designed mostly for people working in the

visitation industry. So that was there. Potential, I use that because it had potential to change. You know. We were trying to bring in a different kind of industry, different kind of base to grow from. Diverse because, just that. It was a diverse neighborhood. A cross-section of, I would say, poverty and middle-income, mostly middle-income families.

ND: Do you remember hearing about the Neighborhood Impact Initiative when it first started? HCF or Cavalry doing any work?

RSD: I worked with Cavalry. We worked with the CHDO at Cavalry on Porter's Court. And to make sure that when those homes were built, that people could move in. But we didn't want, what they would call now "flipping", where people would come in, stay, and leave and make a profit. If you were going to come in, you were going to come in and lay some roots. So we worked with the CHDO to assure that there were certain guidelines. In order to make sure that people were coming and staying. Not just use the funds and then escape. [laughs]

ND: Right. Did anybody from the neighborhood come to you to talk about the project? Maybe talk to you about how they could get into those houses on Porter's Court?

RSD: No.

ND: No?

RSD: No.

ND: Ok.

RSD: One, the price range was a little...we were trying to look at making things affordable and Rev. Dungee, myself, always had a problem with their definition of affordable housing.

What they considered to be affordable was not affordable to the people who was in the neighborhood. So that, that was always a bone of contention.

ND: What would you have described as more affordable?

RSD: Uh, something that was maybe between eighty and ninety-five thousand.

ND: What was the argument against that? What would he come back with when you were having those conversations?

RSD: It would depend on who you were talking to. [laughs] Basically, the Mayor and others were saying “according to HUD”, they would bring that argument in. HUD and this and that. This would be considered affordable and our argument was, yes, if you’re making x amount of dollars, but the average person downtown Charleston is making between twenty and thirty-thousand dollars and that’s to a family. So, we couldn’t see how they could be afforded a chance to purchase the homes. And just to meet the requirements to purchase the homes put them at a disadvantage.

ND: I saw that your original building over there is up for sale now...

RSD: No, it’s sold.

ND: It’s sold.

RSD: It’s sold.

ND: Ok. What was the impetus behind selling that building?

RSD: One, we’re land-locked. Two, we couldn’t grow. We’re a growing church and we couldn’t...I just want to say the historic society and everything blocked everything we were

trying to do so we could stay.⁴⁰⁹ So, they, they were not friendly towards us. And left us really no other choice but to leave. And that's why other churches are leaving.

ND: Which "historic society" do you mean? Do you mean Historic Foundati...

RSD: I mean all of 'em. They, all of 'em. [laughs] We were trying to tear down the house across the street and we couldn't get that done. They wanted us to restore it and we tried to explain that we couldn't do that. "Well, just sell it." That was the attitude. They would not help, they didn't care.

ND: Was this for more parking?

RSD: The idea was to tear it down and make it into a little park. Yes, there would be some parking, but there would be some trees and a place for people to come sit down. 'Cause you're right by MUSC and it, it wasn't anything the neighborhood provided that for anybody. But, everything had to be "restored" a certain way.

ND: Now, what about your congregants? Do you have a lot of people who used to walk to church?

RSD: We had numbers downtown but most of my members had left the neighborhood.

ND: Ok. When?

⁴⁰⁹ In what would become a common occurrence, Historic Charleston Foundation, The Preservation Society of Charleston, and the City's Board of Architectural Review (BAR) have been conflated in this case. While the two preservation groups may argue against a proposed project, only the BAR has the authority to block any construction.

RSD: Since 1992, let see...I would say in the last fifteen years, most of the people have moved out of downtown. Only have seven families left downtown.

ND: From a high of...what?

RSD: I would say...we would have, majority of the church was downtown at one time. We had three-hundred some members so...I would say about two-hundred.

ND: Why do you think they're leaving? Or what have they told you?

RSD: Ok, there's a variety. One's affordability. Two, if you try to make repairs to the house, that's going to cost you a lot of money. Some people were renting. So they were forced out because the person who bought the house, instead of renting the whole house, they rented just the rooms to different students and that forced them out. Affordability, that's the best way I can put it. People just can't afford to live downtown.

ND: Did the job situation ever improve?

RSD: No. Not downtown. If anything, it's probably gotten worse.

ND: So, a lot was made in press at the time of the program about how drug-infested and dangerous Elliottborough was at the time. How do you...what's your impression of that?

RSD: It was not...it was not that bad. It was bad, but it wasn't that bad. But, sometimes you use the press to also help you achieve an end. Ok? So, the pre...let me put it like this. The Post and Courier was used very well because some of the people who were writing that actually bought some of the homes in the neighborhood and they had their own agenda

about what they wanted the neighborhood to look like. So, quite naturally, they used their influence...

ND: What do you think they wanted the neighborhood to look like?

RSD: Well, let's see...we have more bars. We have little restaurants in every little corner. They're changing the streets to two-way. They changed the schools to charter. So, I'm thinking that they did not want a diverse community.

ND: Do you think that was an active thought in their minds? Or do you think it was more a matter of, "we want to be surrounded by more people like us" and that just happens to look a certain way?

RSD: No. That's by design. Even if you want to just say, "well, we just want to have people like us", it's still a design. Because you exclude people and you're not making it possible for anyone else to come in and live in a comfortable way.

ND: Of the large number of parishioners who've left downtown, where would you say most of them have moved to?

RSD: North Charleston. North Charleston, Moncks Corner, Goose Creek, Dorchester County, Summerville, and...Ravenel.

ND: Were most of them renters would you say? Or did you have a split between renters and owners?

RSD: Split. Split. Most of them owned their own homes. In Elliottborough, I only have three people left. When I was the President [of the Neighborhood Association] on Ashe

Street, from Spring to Line Street, that was a very diverse neighborhood. Now, you only have three persons there. And those are original [laughs] people.

ND: Uh-huh. Would you say the people that have moved have a similar standard of living as they had before? A lower standard of living? Higher standard of living?

RSD: I would say about the same. They just don't have the aggravation. [laughs] Living in the city is a pain some times. Because, in that area, when I was the Neighborhood President and we started out and said, "ok, if you're going to come into the neighborhood and do something to a home, you have to have x amount of parking spaces", off-street parking. Since I left, they changed that. Now, you have more on-street parking. People are driving SUV's down Ashe Street, down Bogard Street. You can hardly get through those areas now. Because they don't have to have off-street parking.

ND: Some of these cities that you're telling me about, I think of them as more rural. Do you find that most of your parishioners have moved to more rural areas?

RSD: I wouldn't consider them rural. They would have been considered rural in 1992. Those areas are fast-growing and that's more suburban.

ND: Ok.

RSD: Up in Summerville, you have more shopping centers. You actually have no reason to come downtown if you live in those areas now. Even in North Charleston, the same thing could be said. So, virtually what happened is that they're changing downtown to the point where, they intended to do one thing, but I don't think they realized, they unintentional

consequence is they're going to kill it. The very thing they want to have, it's...they're going to kill it.

ND: Explain that.

RSD: Ok, you're pushing people out. You're making it not affordable for people to be there. These other cities are more warm and welcoming to people. So, if I go to Summerville and I can do all the shopping that I need to do and have all the activities that I need to do, why would I go downtown to Charleston? If I have a family and we cannot live in that area, why would I want to go into that area? They are putting up hotels. They are making everything for "the visitor" but it's not made for people... families to live. And a city without families will die. A city without churches will die. And what are they doing? They're pushing the churches...I mean, we're leaving, and I know of four or five other congregations. When you're trying to build a community, what is it that you look for that grows that community? You look for a school. You look for a church. Those are part of the fabric, the institutions, and you're killing two of the best institutions that you have.

ND: Did you know any of the advisory board members?

RSD: Yes. Blanch Carrillo was very strong on neighborhood. She kept me on my toes. Bernice DeCosta was very good for history and she also had a good sense of trying to keep things diverse. She was a very good person. Most of them have passed away. Walter Smalls...he's the guy. Talk to him all the time. Most of those people were...they were in their late 70s.

ND: This is the advisory board that the CHDO chose to represent the neighborhood.

Knowing these people...

RSD: Well, those were mostly members of Cavalry. That's where you get that from. You would have myself, Rev. Dungee and...I can't remember his name...because we part of the Enterprise Community. That community over...we had nineteen communities and that was one of our communities. So, they had the CHDO but we also had input from the Enterprise Community. Empowerment. That's what it was first called, Empowerment Zone under Clinton and when Bush came in, they changed it to Enterprise Community.

ND: Is there anything else you think I should know about what's becoming or become of Elliottborough?

RSD: Like I said, compare what you had, which was a diverse neighborhood. You're going to find that it's actually shrinking, more students, you're not going to find a lot of families there. I think that the intention was to develop that community to be diverse and to stop gentrification...the actual reality of the results of our efforts was to kill the neighborhood we were trying to save. Part of that I put on the Board of Architectural Review, a lot of that I put on the preservation societies because they were very stringent and not...not realizing the people you have in these communities, who love the community, who love the city. I think they were treated very badly. That's why most people have a bad attitude...a negative view of preservation. [laughs]

ND: Do you think if the preservation groups had been able to provide more support?

I think if they had come out and been more involved with the people and not...I don't know who they were talking to, I suspect their own development friends and having their own dream about what they wanted. But they, they did not take into account the consequences that you're imposing on somebody else. And that's where the business came. I'll give you an example. I had a lady who had house and she was trying to put windows in. She put the windows in and they came by and said, "You can't have these kind of windows, they have to have...they didn't ask, "Do you have the money?" They didn't ask, "Can we be of any assistance?" No. It's always, "This is the way we want it to be. And you have to do it this way. If you can't do it this way, then you don't need to be here." That's why I said, "You can't say it wasn't done intentionally". I believe they did it intentionally but they tried to play it, "Oh, we didn't know it was going to be like that." They knew exactly what they were doing. What I wanted to do in Elliottborough was to offer people a chance not to move, not to leave. Offer them a chance to mingle and to learn each other. And that's the only bitter thing I can say is, the intent was, that neighborhood to change and to grow and to be better. But to be better in the sense that we would all be there to share it. And, the unintentional consequence is that it started to work and the very people I was trying to help got pushed out. But, in the end, it'll change in about five year. What goes around comes around. You know, people will get tired of being downtown, they'll say, "we don't want to be downtown." A lot of people bought homes so that their children could go to school here, the kids are going to grow up. They're not going to want to keep that house. They're not going to want to keep those condominiums down on King Street, and then, very slowly, because the economic...things could change again. I won't be here to see it. [laughs] But, that will happen. So is that helpful?

ND: Yes. I think you answered everything. Thank you.

Judge Richard E. Fields (JRF)
Practice located in Elliottborough
January 16, 2016

JRF: All right, let's go.

ND: I'm studying a program that took place in the 1990s in Elliottborough.

JRF: What's Elliottborough?

ND: Elliottborough is the area...HCF defined it as the area north of Spring Street, South of the Crosstown.

JRF: North of Spring Street?

ND: Uh-huh. We're doing some of Coming Street, Spring Street...it goes all the way over to Ashley Avenue. We've got Bogard Street in there and, in particular, I'm looking into some work that was done on Porter's Court, which is off of Bogard Street. Have you heard of Porter's Court?

JRF: Oh yeah, I used to live on Bogard Street.

ND: Ok. Fabulous.

JRF: '34.

ND: 1934, you lived on Bogard?

JRF: Yeah.

ND: Ok. Did you grow up there?

JRF: No, no, no, no.

ND: Ok. How did you come into the neighborhood?

JRF: I purchased 34 Bogard Street...on about 1948.

ND: Wow.

JRF: I finished law school in 1947 and I purchased that house for my mother and father when I returned home and began the practice of law. I purchased it in '48 and came home in '49. They lived in the house about a year before I came back home.

ND: Did you grow up in the area? In Charleston?

JRF: I grew up about two blocks from there, off of St. Philip's Street. Ackerman Court.

ND: Ok.

JRF: St. Philip Street between Spring and...and...and Line had several alleys and courts and I grew up on a court called Ackerman's Court.

ND: So this would have been probably the late '20's- early '30's?

JRF: Yeah. Uh-huh.

ND: If you graduated from law school...

JRF: Yeah, in the thirties. I grew up on Ackerman's Court in about the thirties. Late twenties and, through about...the thirties...and I left in 1940. I finished high school in 1940. So I left Ackerman Court and went to West Virginia to go to college. In 1940.

ND: What was it like when you were growing up in the neighborhood?

JRF: Wonderful. Nobody ever told me that I was poor. Or that my family was poor. My mother never worked out of the home. My father worked for the railroad, but it was really the Union Station Company, which was owned by the railroad. And then he was the principal supporter of the family. And, uh, the neighborhood was very good. Everybody knew everybody. There were several courts or alleys in that long block between Spring Street, Rodger's Alley, on the east side of Bogard Street...on the east side of St Philip's Street. And then, about fifty yards down St. Philip's Street, on the west side of St. Philip's Street was Bogard Street. And then, down to Line Street. And that was an excellent area to grow up in. Everybody knew everybody. Everybody was respectful of everybody. In those days, police officers didn't ride in cars, they walked what you call a "beat". And so, police officers were assigned to a particular beat, which included that area, knew practically all of the families in that particular area. At one point in time, there were several white families in that particular block. And there was a Greek family on the corner of Bogard and St. Phi...no. No, Jewish. Jewish family that owned the grocery store on the corner of Bogard and St. Philip's Street. And another Jewish family, further down the block, the Goldberg family, they owned a junkyard, which was about three blocks...east of St. Philip's Street across from King Street. Between King and Meeting Street. So...and there was a feed store in that area also. Right across the street from the...on the west side of St. Philip's Street. Seebeck, and it was right there on alley...corner of an alley, which was named Seebeck Alley. It was a grand area. We enjoyed growing up there.

ND: Were there African American beat cops, or were they all white?

JRF: All white cops at that time.

ND: That's what I thought.

JRF: But, being assigned to that particular beat over a period of time, he would know all the families. And all the boys. And very seldom arrested any boy for minor things. He'd take them home to their daddy. Of course, he knew them all. But then, later on, when they got into cars...that became different. Because the police officers didn't hardly know anybody.

ND: What about when you came back in the late 1940s? What was the neighborhood like?

JRF: Well, I left the neighborhood in 1940 to go to college. I finished college in 1944 and went to law school. I finished law school in 1947. I remained in Washington, District of Columbia, until 1949. Working to get enough money to open my law office in Charleston. I passed the bar in nineteen-hundred and forty-eight and I bought the house on Bogard Street in nineteen-hundred and forty...I had a very successful college life and law school life. When I finished college in 1944, I had twelve hundred and fifty dollars in a bank in Charleston, West Virginia. And when I finished law school, Howard, in 19...47, I had thirty-five hundred dollars. And that's how I bought my house that cost seven thousand dollars and we put up three thou...we put up three thousand dollars. I put up fifteen-hundred dollars and my father put up fifteen-hundred dollars. But the house was in my name, so it was my house. And we got four thousand dollars from North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. And that's how we...we bought that house.

ND: How long were you...how long did you own that house? How long did you live there?

JRF: Bought that house in 1947 and we moved over here [West Ashley]...built my office...in 1961. I think we moved over here sometime...I think about 198...about '80?

ND: Did you sell at that time?

JRF: Yeah, uh-huh.

ND: Why did you move over here from being downtown?

JRF: I guess it became live-able for us. A lot of people began moving into the suburbs. The suburbs became a popular way of living. I had...I bought my home...in the '40's. I built my office in '61. I think I moved over here about the '70's...I guess, call American success that I sought.

ND: Where was your office located?

JRF: Spring Street. 65 Spring Street.

ND: How long did you have the office? Were you living here and still working...

JRF: I still have it.

ND: Ok. Are you retired, or are you still working?

JRF: I'm...still working. [laughs]

ND: I like it! I may never retire myself, so I understand that.

JRF: [laughs] I'm still working. You can see I'm, a little bit here.

ND: So, you remember the neighborhood in the 1990's?

JRF: I remember what neighborhood?

ND: The Elliottborough area, where your office was located?

JRF: Yeah, yeah, because, I didn't build this office [in West Ashley] until about five years ago. So, between 1961 when I built my office on Spring Street and...this is what, 2016?

ND: Uh-huh.

JRF: Until about 2012 when I built this building, I was there every day. And, of course...well, no. I wasn't there every day. I'm sorry. I built the office in 1961...but in 1980...in 1980...I became a Circuit Judge. And so, I traveled. So I wasn't there every day. But, I retired in 1992, and I went back to my office on a Monday and was there until I built this. So...except for the span of time when I was a Circuit Judge...I was there. But I own property in that area and so I still have some...I own a good bit of property around my office. So I have some touch at...some touch with...exclusive development.

ND: So, what do you remember of the area in the 1990s?

JRF: Well, that's a broad question. What do I remember...in what regard?

ND: Well, you described the earlier period when you were growing up, people knew each other and were friendly. You had your beat cops who were walking the beat. How would you say it compared to that memory of the neighborhood.

JRF: Oh, Spring Street?

ND: Yeah, Spring Street, that whole area.

JRF: It did become a bit more commercial than residential. [long pause] I think that's the biggest change. There weren't that many people living on Spring Street. I'd say between Coming and Ashley Avenue, there were more businesses. Yeah. It...traffic was heavier. The

street had become more commercial. Most of the families who lived there by that time had...passed on or their properties were transferred out. It was a...it became a different area.

ND: How so?

JRF: That particular street.

ND: Was it just because of the commercialization?

JRF: I don't think Bogard Street became that much. Coming Street changed quite a bit.

ND: For the same reason?

JRF: From residential to more commercial. Bogard Street remained probably more residential. Cannon Street probably became a little bit more commercial than residential. In the areas of...'round the '40's, '50's, '60's, and '70's...some parts of the '80's, Cannon Street for the most part, was more residential.

ND: So, it seems like mostly the east-west streets became more commercial districts, but the north-south streets were able to retain more of their residential nature?

JRF: How do you describe that?

ND: So, what you're saying is the east-west streets, the ones that would go across the peninsula, were the ones that became more commercial, whereas the ones that were running up and down, north and south, were more residential?

JRF: No. No...No, they became commercial too. 'Cause from Calhoun Street, all the way up to the Crosstown...very commercial. When, in the '40's, before the I...before the

Crosstown, it was all residential. All of that, residential. Expansion of the College, you know, changed that area quite a bit. Coming and Spring Street...on the northwest corner was a huge, white, Methodist church.⁴¹⁰ That just went out of business. It's toxinogen and homes. That whole block, from Coming Street to Percy Street, across...when I built my office on Spring Street...on the south side of Spring Street, facing me were two houses next door to the church. They were destroyed and this huge apartment complex, no...not apartment complex at that time. The church used it as a parking lot. Pardon me.

ND: What would you say to the characterization that there was a lot of drug activity in the neighborhood in the 1990s?

JRF: I wouldn't know. [long pause] I saw no incidence of that. In Elliottborough. I don't think so. I don't think there was any...there might have been some drug use, but I don't think there was...that wouldn't have been considered a "drug area"...in my opinion.

ND: Uh-huh. What about the cleanliness in the neighborhood streets and lots that were empty? Did they accumulate a lot of garbage?

JRF: No, not really. Not really, no. Everybody kept their property...businesses kept their property very...not really.

ND: Do you remember hearing about the Historic Charleston Foundation or maybe the Calvary Church?

JRF: Who is that?

⁴¹⁰ This former church building now holds the local Karpeles Manuscript Library.

ND: Which one? The Historic Charleston Foundation?

JRF: Do I remember what about it?

ND: I haven't gotten to that part. Do you remember hearing about them or Calvary Church...

JRF: Calvary Church.

ND: Fixing up Porter's Court or fixing up houses in the neighborhood in general?

JRF: Calvary Episcopal Church?

ND: Uh-huh.

JRF: Fixing up houses?

ND: Uh-huh.

JRF: In Porter's Court?

ND: Uh-huh.

JRF: No!

ND: No? Ok.

JRF: Do you have information that Calvary Church?

ND: Uh-huh.

JRF: Fixed up houses on Porter Court...or on Bogard Street?

ND: Uh-huh. Yeah, in the late 1990s they started a separate non-profit called a Community Housing Development Organization and through that, they fixed up a couple of properties.

JRF: I was not aware of that.

ND: Ok. That helps me know who did and didn't know what was going on there. Were you someone who attended neighborhood meetings, or community meetings of any kind?

JRF: No.

ND: No? Ok, how well do you feel that you knew the neighbors? You were a businessman in the community, obviously...

JRF: No. Well, depends upon...who you consider...what period of time we're talking about.

ND: I'm still talking about the 1990s.

JRF: No. No, I was in and out of the...after I retired...when I retired....I retired in 1992. I had very little touch with the community at the time. After '92 until I built this office over here, I had little touch with...neighbors. I didn't live there, I had a business. I own property over there.

ND: Are these rental or commercial buildings?

JRF: I had rental property.

ND: Ok, so then you will know the answer to my next question. What have you seen as changes in the neighborhood in the last ten to fifteen years?

JRF: Like I said, more commercial. The person that I sold the bulk of my real estate to operates a...what do you call it? Rental. A rental thing. Overnight...

ND: Like a bed and breakfast?

JRF: Bed and Breakfast thing. So, a lot of transients coming in and out of over there. So, you don't have that family thing they had. They sure had years ago...they don't have that. You know...you use the word gen...your project paper...gentrification. You know, that's a word that I never heard of until a young man on the Eastside, I just saw him last week...down at the Gaillard Auditorium...caused quite a furor over on the Eastside with his civil rights activities. And...[unintelligible] at the College of Charleston. You would probably call an activist. And using the word gentrification. I never had heard of that word, gentrification. That young man, I call him young 'cause he's younger than I am, he's a contracted. And he repeatedly says...he said this...probably day before yesterday. "You know, there's not two-hundred families, black families, in Charleston that own property." I don't know that that's true. There's not that many black property owners in Charleston. And, there's just not that much family living in Charleston. Like it was when I grew up. King Street has changed. Meeting Street has changed completely...Downtown's changed. I would describe...what do you...gentrification, what does that mean to you?

ND: The definition that I'm using is when one cultural group is...

JRF: One what?

ND: One cultural group is superseded by another. It usually has to do with socioeconomics and ethnicity or race.

JRF: In the '40s, white people began leaving the city and moving into the suburbs. And areas which were predominantly white began to change to predominantly black. Now, the white people are moving back. The price of property is...has been raised to such an extent that many blacks can't afford to buy. And...so that's what they call gentrification? That's just something that happens over a period of time. I a former housekeeper of mine who I remain very close to and with, has a son buying a home, had to go to Summerville to buy a home because he can get much more for his money in Summerville than he can here. That's just America. That's just the way America is. It's constant changing. I don't know, is it good or bad? I don't know. As long as...you're not keeping somebody out. Many years ago, maybe twenty something years ago, my roommate in college, who went to law school in Cleveland at the same time I went to law school in D.C., had moved to an area in Cleveland called "Shaker's Heights" and he was so proud. "I'm in Shaker's...I'm in deep Shaker's". 'Cause when we were in college, we couldn't even go into Shaker's Heights. You know...I have a thin, I have never attended an event in Hampton Park. I'm not comfort...I drive through Hampton Park. I won't walk in Hampton Park. Because, when I was a boy, I couldn't even go into Hampton Park. As long as...one, the dominant group is not keeping the lesser group out...it is just America. What was wrong, what was bad, was...I couldn't go in. If I can go in...that's America, you know. Uh-huh.

Angela Hare (AH) & Walter Smalls (WS)

Elliottborough Residents

February 9, 2016

[Unprompted, AH shared some background on her properties]

AH: That one over there [next door] is my grandmother's house, so it was 1930-something... 1920-something-something. And then, this one I bought back in 1985, so, back when I was working. Now I'm retired.

ND: I have a series of questions that I've asked everyone, and I'm going to ask you as well. I also have a couple extra questions I'd like to ask you [WS] because of your membership in the CHDO. The first thing I'd like to ask is if you grew up in Elliottborough? If not, what year did you move into the neighborhood? You [AH] said your parents grew up here?

AH: Yes, I grew up. Sixty-six years.

WS: Oh, when did I leave Elliottborough?

ND: Were you born here? In Elliottborough?

WS: Yep. I was born on Line Street.

ND: Ok.

WS: We lived in this area until about '40...'46...in that period...then we moved to up...[to AH] your memory's probably a bit more fresh...the area around Race Street...how do your records refer to that?

ND: That's still Westside.

AH: Court Street, Right?

WS: Yeah.

AH: That's called Maranda Holmes now.

WS: Yeah.

ND: Yeah, Maranda Holmes. Uh-huh.

WS: Yeah. We moved to that...number seven Court Street. Now Maranda Holmes.

ND: So, when did you come back to the Elliottborough area?

WS: Oh, essentially, when I moved from there, I moved down into Elliottborough.

ND: Ok.

WS: That was 188...I was on Coming Street in Elliottborough.

ND: What year, do you...

WS: Just north of...1950. Just north of Morris.

ND: So, a brief venture outside of this particular neighborhood. Not that far. It was all connected, wasn't it? At that time? [to AH] Did you ever move anywhere else, or have you always lived here?

AH: Yes, I moved to...in 2002, to North Charleston. And I moved back home in 2007.

ND: Did you rent out the house that you owned when you were in North Charleston?

AH: Yes.

ND: Yes, because you said you bought it in '80...

AH: I think it was '85, because...something like that.

WS: I think it was somewhere in that period of time.

AH: Uh-huh. 'Cause I grew up at...Ashley Avenue.⁴¹¹ When I left [my grandmother's house], I moved to North Charleston. And when I left North Charleston, I moved here.

ND: What was Elliottborough like when you were growing up?

WS: When I grew up it was...this portion was a great neighborhood. The Crosstown displaced a whole lot of people out of this area. What else can I tell you about the area? We had no problems. It surprisingly...back in those days of totally segregated. Some of us went to private schools, some went to public schools.

ND: Which did you attend?

WS: I attended Immaculate Conception, which was a Catholic school. In my early, early years, I went to a Presbyterian school. I would say, elementary school. I left there in the second grade, went over to Immaculate Conception, which is Catholic and I eventually got

⁴¹¹ In the interest of privacy, Ms. Hare's address number is not included.

to the Avery Institute. The seventh grade. I stayed until I graduated. I think Angela went to Immaculate Conception all her life.

AH: Yeah.

WS: Oh, incidentally, put this in your notes, although we attended those institutions, we're both Episcopalians. By birth. [laughs]

ND: What about when you entered your early adult years? What was the neighborhood like then?

WS: Oh, just as I just described it. Our next door neighbors, or the neighbor across the street, they all came home as one group. It was a totally integrated neighborhood, it was not like it is now. And, of course, over a period of time, we had a grocery store on just about every other corner. They lived in the neighborhood, they lived above their stores. This neighborhood was, I think, a very unique neighborhood because you had a mixture of different ethnic groups. You had Germans, Jews, Negroes, and one or two others that you really couldn't determine.

ND: When did that start to change? When did the Germans and the Jews start exiting?

WS: Well, that didn't change, really...a real vivid point was maybe after the Second [World] War. [to AH] Wouldn't you say?

AH: Ah, I don't...

WS: That's right, you weren't here.⁴¹² [laughs] Yeah, maybe, there...maybe right after the Second [World] War. There started to be a slight different...or a slight change in these neighborhoods.

AH: It was...when I grew up, it was the corner stores. And once the corner stores left, that's when we really was segregated.

WS: Yeah.

AH: Yeah.

WS: Yeah. That is true.

AH: Yeah. Uh-huh.

ND: How interesting.

AH: [to WS] What was the corner store over there? Greek?

WS: All right. There was a Greek over there on this ah...

AH: Bogard and Ashley...

WS: Yeah. Southwest corner. There was another one on the corner of Spring...

AH: And Ashley.

WA: And Ashley. And over here on Bogard...on Bogard and Rutledge. Was an entire German family. In fact, along Bogard Street was a mixture of Negroes and Germans. On Rutledge Avenue, just north of Bogard, there were also a different mixture. 'Cause you had

⁴¹² Ms. Hare and Mr. Smalls and good friends, she is one generation younger than he.

some of the richest people in this area. But, some of the richest in the Charleston vicinity at the time, the Pearlstien's, they lived right there on the corner. A big...some kind of distribution business, I can't remember right now.

AH: Oil. Was it oil?

WS: Huh?

AH: Oil?

WS: Nah, they were big...I can't remember exactly, whether it was groceries, or oil, or distribution, or things of that nature.⁴¹³ Little entrepreneurs. Hair dressers. One, two, three, you had three Greek grocery stores further up this area.

AH: [she whispers to him] Spring and Ashley.

WS: Oh, yeah. On this corner. On the corner of Spring and Ashley, was a pharmacy. And that was operated by the Seignious family, they were a prominent family in the Charleston area. They also had another drug store on the corner of President and Spring.

ND: So the one on Spring and Ashley was operated by a...what type of family?

WS: Seignious. The family name. Seignious. S-E-I-G-N-I-O-U-S, I think. Seignious. They lived right by the...do you know where the...that flower shop?

⁴¹³ Pearlstine Distributors began as a general store in 1865. By 2012, when the family sold the business, it was the distributor of Anheuser-Busch beers for much of South Carolina.

John McDermott, "Charleston's Pearlstine Distributors Being Sold after 147 Years of Family Ownership," *The Post and Courier*, November 10, 2012, Online, <http://www.postandcourier.com/article/20121110/PC05/121119964>.

ND: Tiger Lily?

AH: Tiger Lily.

WS: Tiger Lily?

ND: Uh-huh.

WS: All right. Tiger Lily [131 Spring Street]. The house on back of where Tiger Lily is [223 Ashley Avenue], that's where the Seignious family lived. That's still standing.

AH: That gas station used to be on the corner, too.

WS: Yeah. There were gasoline stations.

AH: [whispering]

WS: [whispering] We're talking about the plan, over here, on President, the Crosstown, and everything. Don't know if your research has uncovered anything about the Dart Hall Library?

ND: I'm aware of the Dart Library.⁴¹⁴

WS: You are aware of it?

ND: Uh-huh. I worked for the library for a little while.

WS: Oh! Ok, well, maybe in your reading or something you knew they were located here on the corner of Kracke and Bogard Street. There's an available photo of that structure

⁴¹⁴ The present-day John L. Dart library, part of the Charleston County Public Library system, is located at 1067 King Street. The Dart-Hall Library, as the branch was known, was located on the corner of Bogard and Kracke Streets until 1968.

available somewhere. Well, this area...we've always had a flooding problem on heavy rains or heavy tides, but it never came up to where it is now. Now it's up here on Ashley Avenue. When we were little kids, it did not come up past the Dart library, which was on the corner of Kracke and Bogard. It didn't stay as long as it stays. I don't know if it's the fact that maybe...construction, I guess, connected that which is called Septima Clark Expressway with something. I don't know if that had something to do with it. Or what. You see, a lot of this stuff was from, I would venture to say, from Spring, Bogard, President, and a portion of Line. All of that was marshes, then slowly, over time, they started filling it. Over where the swimming pool is. Fishburne across from Burke high school, all of that was marshland.

ND: Marshland like you would see in...

WS: Like if you would on in, let's see what's the nearest place that I can think...because, you can see, it's all gone now.

ND: Uh-huh.

WS: Like, when you cross...they don't call it Chesnut Street, it's now...

AH: Hagood.

WS: Hagood Drive.

AH: Hagood Avenue.

WS: Hagood Avenue?

AH: Uh-huh.

WS: Hagood Avenue did not have...did not exist where it is now. All of that was marshy area. The city play...the city stadium. The current Citadel parking lot. All of those areas were...that was marshland. But over time, you see, development and extensions of streets.

ND: What kind of impact would you say that flooding has had on the neighborhood?

WS: Well, the flooding...the current flooding has impacted the neighborhood tremendously. Because now, it stays up after the storm. And that's so baffling to me. 'Cause I remember [unintelligible] used to live by the playground and the water never came beyond Kracke Street. So, it's not only a drainage problem, but it's a displacement of the natural environment. And so, they more or less, develop that part right down in that area that's now Arby's and they also now have a big City parking garage...that was nothing but water. Where the MUSC towers are built? That was nothing but water. It was those that really contributed to the expansion. That, "you're going to progress, you gotta have growth." But then, as a result, you displace so many people.

ND: What about you [AH], what are your memories of the neighborhood when you were growing up?

AH: My memories? Just going to the corner stores. Playing around in the neighborhood. It has changed a lot.

WS: See, by the time she came along, a lot of the changes was already starting to take place.

AH: Yeah, but, when I grew up there was no Crosstown. I've forgotten when it was they did the Crosstown.

ND: '67.

AH: '67. It was '67?

ND: Uh-huh.

AH: Ok, '67. That was the biggest change, that I remember, in the neighborhood was the Septima Clark Expressway.

ND: What do you remember about that change? Do you remember the actual construction?

AH: Ah, yes. The change was really...traffic. Ashley Avenue itself was basically, less traffic. And now, it's one of the main arteries to get to the Expressway.

ND: Is that a good thing? Is that not a good this?

AH: Yeah, with the city growing the way it has, that's a good thing. Yeah. But the Medical University expanding and all the...hospital area expanding, you have to get the people out the city, so that's one of the main arteries.

ND: Ok. What are four to five words you would use to describe the area in the early 1990s?

WS: The internet?

ND: The area...in the 1990s.

WS: Oh, oh, oh, oh, oh. In the nineteen-what?

ND: 1990s. Early 1990s.

WS: [laughing] I've been in and out of Charleston so much then. I can really remember then, gosh, so much changes.

AH: Uh-huh. You want four words?

ND: Four to five words, yeah.

AH: Four to five words. To describe Charleston in the 1990s.

ND: Yeah, or this neighborhood.

AH: This neighborhood.

ND: Yeah.

WS: One, it became more crowded. And that's still an upward trend. Because there...there was a church, over here on Spring, razed [Plymouth United Church of Christ]. Extremely large lot. And, the proposal...and that's one of the arteries currently carrying traffic out of the city westward...this is going to take place, I don't think it'll ever make it to the [unintelligible] grand mess...but, be that as it may...but the influx of new construction. They're only using, I think, nine spaces. It's not properly utilized.⁴¹⁵ That's just my personal opinion. Surely, if you have a large lot and you want the best reward, as much as possible, the best would be, what that site should be...the individual is to think, "how is this going to impact these various neighborhoods?" I don't think any of the investors keep that part of it in mind. You know? There's an idea of, "I got so many square feet to build, how can I utilize every inch?" It's overcrowded. This small...that's just my personal opinion.

⁴¹⁵ As of March 2016, the developers are proposing several buildings on the lot, fourteen two-bedroom townhouse units. The developers are seeking a zoning overlay which would allow short-term rentals such as Air B'n'B. For the entire complex, the developers are proposing nine parking spaces tucked at the rear of the property.

Mary McFadden Wilson, "Cannonborough/Elliotborough Neighborhood Association, 16 February 2016 Meeting Minutes," February 19, 2016, <http://cannonboroughelliottborough.tumblr.com/>.

AH: Going back to the 1990s. We have more now rental properties. A lot of people now moving out and investors moving in. So there are more rental properties.

WS: I didn't think much about that. That is true.

AH: Uh-huh.

WS: See, we had a lot more family-owned structures that housed families. As opposed to now, it's all geared towards rentals. So you're losing that neighborhood continuity.

AH: The expansion of the College of Charleston has brought more students in. And, that way, they need more rental properties...the investment.

WS: I don't know what you...if you read the Charleston Post and Courier. I think, most recently there's a discussion, the colliding of old Charleston neighborhood. Where they have, it think there's a, six-floor building, maybe six-story building. There are one-bedroom units in that building and they want to go in there and reconstruct that structure and bring it up to...the occupancy be something like a hundred-plus people.⁴¹⁶ So, you're looking at possibly an influx, not just of people, but an influx of traffic. An existing project. Nowhere to park. Of course, the planners have a lot to do with it. They're close, I guess. They got city council don't follow rules. [laughs] I don't think they've got nothing in front of them other than what the tax base is going to be.

ND: Some people have talked about drug activity in the neighborhood in the 1990s. Maybe some vacant lots that had a lot of different kind of garbage left over from that kind of trade.

⁴¹⁶ Here he refers to 61 Vanderhorst Street, a five-story apartment complex where the developers plan to turn small one-bedroom apartments into two-bedroom units by eliminating the living room. The complex has a limited number of off-street parking spaces.

What was your experience with that? Were you aware of what was going on? How did that make you feel, being that it was in your neighborhood that it was going on?

WS: I can tell you...

AH: Yeah, he can tell you about that side, I don't know as much.

WS: This area was somewhat spared of a lot of that. If there was any at all, it was done in such a controlled fashion, that you were not aware of it. Now when you get down in the very southern end of Elliottborough, what is now referred to as Elliottborough, that's the border of Morris Street? There were several vacant lots along that, there were other structures that contributed to drug trafficking. Now, when I say, "these structures contributed to it", they were in such a state of disrepair, that you couldn't get people to move in and rent those units, so they'd decline to the level where they invited illegal activities. At one time, it was a pretty thriving area. From King all the way to Rutledge. Then of course, as Charleston...there are many little alleyways and things like that. You get back up in some of these areas and they did what they wanted to do. But now, that's been sort of cleaned up. They don't have that problem.

ND: This is fascinating to me about this part of the neighborhood. What do you think protected this part of the neighborhood from that kind of invasion?

WS: What particularly?

ND: Uh-huh.

WS: Homeownership!

AH: Uh-huh.

WS: Along in here, for example, in this part of what is now, what? Cannonborough?

AH: Uh-huh.

WS: Pretty much everyone, I would say, from above the Crosstown to Cannon, were property owners. And they resided in these parcels. And they were proud people, proud property owners, they kept their properties up. We had pockets all over Charleston that those who wanted to deal in illegal activities...there was a place, somewhere for them to go. But, what reduced, in some areas, what reduced was the owners of the property stayed on the property themselves. They kept up the properties. There are very few, very few buildings, you would find in Elliottborough and Cannonborough that were not owner-occupied. And if they were not owner-occupied, it was family-occupied. And that's what passed down from one generation to the other.

ND: Ok, this question is for you [AH], because you [WS] were involved. Do you remember hearing about the Neighborhood Impact Initiative or the work of the CHDO? Were you guys friends already at that time?

AH: I really didn't. Really didn't get into that, probably until when I was back here.

WS: Yeah.

AH: Uh-huh. About 2007.

ND: That would make sense, if you were living in North Charleston.

AH: Yeah.

ND: Was there a Neighborhood Association prior to the start of Calvary's cleaning up in the neighborhood and everything like that? Were there Neighborhood Association meetings at that time?

WS: No. These Neighborhood Associations popped up...

AH: We used to have one in Mount Zion...

WS: Your neighborhood. See, but what really happened with the Neighborhood Associations...this is something that was done, what? Did folks tell you about where?

ND: It might be in my records...

WS: It's somewhere in the records. Let's see. I don't know if it started when I was gone.

AH: It's when lots of people started coming in.

WS: Oh, well, I know, with the influx of new people coming in. New ideas and everything. I think that's when a lot of these neighborhood organizations started coming to be.

AH: It depends on when you mean it got started.

WS: Yeah, 'cause there was Elliottborough. Then it was Cannonborough.

ND: And they joined together.

WS: Yeah. That came into being because the folks in Cannonborough had some kind of disagreement with the President of the organization at the time and the same thing occurred in Elliottborough. The bit that I got out of it...it was really just a matter of people. So eventually, Reverend Davis who was Presbyterian minister volunteered that he would try to

hold the two units together. That's how it started in Cannonborough/Elliottborough. It's been that way ever since.

ND: Was there any way, before those community associations started, to communicate amongst all the neighbors? [to AH] Like, you live here. Was there any way you were in communication with anyone who lived on St. Philip's Street? Or was that only if you knew somebody?

AH: Only if you knew someone.

WS: Yeah, for example, I think...I think Angela knows _____. I know _____.⁴¹⁷ And that's a result of certain local families, I think, attending certain religious denominations. And then, a lot of that happened because of marrying from one denomination to another. For example, my mother was Presbyterian. My father was Episcopalian. You'll find a lot of that in this general area. That's what kept a lot of people in contact.

ND: Did you attend a church? Either of you?

WS: Yep.

AH: Yeah.

WS: She was baptized in the church that she attends.

AH: St. Mark's Episcopal Church.

⁴¹⁷ This person was interviewed, but requested no information be published, including their name. The name has been redacted from this interview to honor those wishes.

WS: I was baptized in the church where I attend. My sisters were baptized in that church but then they followed my mother to the Presbyterian Church, which is...see, all my mother's family was Presbyterian.

ND: What church is that?

WS: It used to be on Cannon Street. Mount Zion. Originally, it was down here on Calhoun. Your history would reflect that. It was on Calhoun Street. Then, over the years, they moved and they joined in with Olivet, which was another Presbyterian church down on Beufain Street. And they formed one unit. Of course, now, I was baptized and attend Calvary. Angela was baptized and attends St. Mark's. My son was baptized in Calvary, but is a member at St. Mark's because his mother was a member of St. Mark's.

ND: That's interesting. That's really, really interesting.

WS: And that's what happens around families in this general area.

AH: Not that many left.

WS: Huh?

AH: There's not that many left.

WS: There aren't. They all... 'cause when we go to church now...she and I alternate. One Sunday we go to St. Mark's. One Sunday we go to Calvary. But there aren't very many families that grew up in these two...especially in these two churches.

ND: So that system has started to come apart?

WS: Right. And, not only that but many years ago, you obtained a certain level of education...locally. Unless you either had a trade or a degree in a certain area, employment was...you had to leave home in order to make a decent living. You know, everybody can't be a schoolteacher. [laughs] There were many schoolteachers.

AH: A lot of them died out.

WS: Yeah. Over a period of time.

ND: So it seems to me that, talking to people who grew up in the neighborhood before the 1960s, that it's their children and their grandchildren who have encountered that. They've had to move away in order to make a living. They have children living in Atlanta or Charlotte, areas like that. Is that when you started to notice it, in the '70s and '80s..."we have to move to make a better life for ourselves"?

WS: Yeah, it's...that's what happened. Also, you have to remember, this was a pretty congenial city. All over. But, over time a lot of changes took place. And the more educated the various groups became, in order to really have a living...you had to either leave Charleston and come back in later years or, once you leave and you establish yourself somewhere else, there was no reason to return.

ND: Why is that? Why wasn't Charleston offering those opportunities? Was it too small? Was this left-over from fights over integration?

WS: I don't think integration played that big a role. Integration did make it a lot easier for a certain element of the total population. Not only by race but by status. However, with the amount of education one receives, in order to gain gainful employment, you had to leave.

Now it's just the reverse. If you look into, I would say the field of education and medicine and look at those folks that's currently down at MUSC, some of them down at Roper St. Francis, have the same opportunity that they were striving for when I was a youngster and a young boy growing up here. Because now, some doors are open but with the reverse population trend, it appears to be less.

ND: Both of you do still live in the neighborhood?

AH: Yes.

ND: How would you describe the changes in the neighborhood...we've already done a little bit of this but...how would you describe the changes in the neighborhood since the late 1990s? Do you feel like you know who the neighbors are? And what do you feel or think when you walk around the neighborhood?

AH: Well in this neighborhood, it has changed a lot. I think there's only three fa...three original families that's in this neighborhood now. We have a lot of rental properties. And it's just, really changed. Like, now we're getting a lot of little restaurants.

WS: Too many! [both laugh]

AH: Yeah, we have no problem finding a place to eat. Our parking is terrible. If you don't have a yard to park in you're really...in bad shape.

WS: Yeah, it also depends the street you live on.

AH: Yes.

WS: Because, right now, on Coming Street...it's always been limited parking. But it's worse because you can't even get in and out...if you have a way of getting off the street, it's dangerous to try to get back on the street. It presents a problem because these are considered...I guess you can refer to them as arteries? Out of the city? Because they all lead out of the city. You have a street like East Bay, Meeting, and King, and Rutledge Avenue into the city. Along with Cannon, and some others too. Those are the arteries bringing traffic in. Now, when you exit the city, that's a different story. I guess that's an engineering problem. But with all the trucks, structures, the way the city has been sold...it's not hurting some of the property owners. It's hurting those folks who are looking to rent a place. They have to look outside this area. They can't...a lot of families can't afford. When you've got a single bedroom that rents for above \$800 a month and you're sharing your kitchen or your other facilities...that's kind of hard. Furthermore, a lot of these structures are on lots that cannot accommodate vehicles.

ND: So where you used to have, maybe a family who rented a whole house, the pressure now is that each individual bedroom is being rented and the family can no longer afford the total rent of the house.

WS: Well, yes and no. Yes, if there's a family itself in a house and they're in a position where they can pay the rental rate, then they will stay intact. However, if they ever move then it refers into a single individual perhaps for each room. As a result, each person brings in a vehicle. For example, this lot that Angela has here, her mother's lot, it would no longer look like this. You can just look right next door. There's enough space and room to put another structure back there and that's another thing that's really overcrowding the peninsula. Except

in a lot of controlled neighborhoods, and when I say “controlled neighborhoods” I’m referring to a strong Neighborhood Association that actually look into that type of concern.

ND: Now I have some specific questions for you [WS] regarding your work with the CHDO. Were you appointed to the CHDO or were you elected to your position? I know at one point you were serving as its Vice-President, how did that come about?

WS: Well it started, the CHDO organization...Bishop Salmon, I think was the Bishop at the time, and he charged Lonnie [Hamilton] with doing something in the neighborhood where the church is located. We had no idea of what he expected or what he wanted. And Lonnie, when we had a meeting, Lonnie was selected as Chairperson and we took off. We had no money. We had no property or anything. We tried to obtain some of that along with help from the City and State. Eventually, there was a blighted area, in our assigned area, the area that we had decided to work and the Pres...Historic Charleston had a structure in that area as well so they went in and they were starting to clean up the entire site.⁴¹⁸ We had then expanded our Board ‘cause we had a contractor that the Bishop solicited his assistance. We had a banker that came on board. We had to get our own charter from the State ‘cause we were, at that time, working not only with the City but we were working also with the State of South Carolina. And, it took off from that point. Once we completed the cleanup of that blighted area now called...well it’s not just now called...it’s always been called Porter’s Court, and acquired the other portion of it, which was Rose Lane...when I was a little boy Rose Lane itself was inhabited by a majority of Negroes. But they were a different element of people. And time turned over and all, and an undesirable group started

⁴¹⁸ At this point, HCF owned two lots on Porter's Court.

moving in. So property values started to decline and everything. So those folks moved to other locations. We obtained a couple of parcels in Rose Lane that we did some work on.⁴¹⁹ One we built one of our first new houses. Another one we renovated completely. Then we were working in what is now Porter's Court. And we completely renovated that entire Court.⁴²⁰ There has to be a history that should be available somewhere of the people that lived in Porter's Court. So I'm very proud of what we did there. But now we're just kind of moving along. Because we're...I personally feel we are constrained by the City. Although there's a lot of available activities, some spaces that need housing, but the level of qualification is different from when we started. And if you cannot meet it, then you're out in the cold.

ND: How so?

WS: For example...here's a good example I can share with you. We completed a new house on Fishburne Street. We completed a new one on the end of Race. Those structures went to people that the average citizen would look at and say, "you don't really need it, you can move into a different neighborhood." 'Cause one was a lawyer, one was a schoolteacher. However, the minimum qualifications is high enough now that their income level, for them...in that particular bracket. So you see, what happens there, a person that's not in that income bracket, they're knocked out. But that's just the way the government is structured. You're hoping that you're working to help the person that really needs the help. Of course,

⁴¹⁹ This work came after the end of the Neighborhood Impact Initiative and was a partnership between the City and the CHDO directly.

⁴²⁰ He is likely referring here to the work on the streetscape. The CHDO once again partnered with the City to bury overhead lines, repave the street, add new lighting, and so forth.

I'm not saying that a schoolteacher...my sisters are both schoolteachers! I have aunts that were school teachers but the way we look at things today is different from the reality of it. We're constructing housing for those moderate-income groups...but what is the income level? Where do you cut it off? See, I realize that teachers with certain degrees and everything their income is a little bit more than say the girl that's out there, or the man that's out there as a checker or a cargo...or maybe sometimes they make more than a schoolteacher, I don't know. But, if it's all based on income...and then the other things is that each person that qualifies has to have a good credit reference and one little...one little thing can create a problem for them. And then we go back to the education. You try to keep yourself...clean. That's the only term that I can think of. Don't get a bad mark on your credit purchase.

ND: What measures did the CHDO take to reach out to the larger Elliottborough community? Were there meetings open to everyone? How did you communicate with people that you didn't necessarily know?

WS: Are you asking how we got people to apply for?

ND: Apply for? Or attend meetings, things like that. How did you reach out to people that you didn't personally know?

WS: Well we worked in conjunction with those that we came in contact with through...and also through the City itself. The City had an available list of applicants who was looking for

housing and then the Homeownership Initiative Program.⁴²¹ And those are the individuals that we had to select from or they would select us and be properly qualified.

ND: First they were qualified to become homeowners through that program, and then there would be a connection made?

WS: They would be eligible for the purchase of whatever we had available.

ND: What was the hope for the rehabilitation that you guys started over there in the Porter's Court area?

WS: To maintain a balance in population. Right now, um, we need a workforce. When I say a workforce, I don't mean top-level workers. I'm talking about the little...the person who's down there on the borderline and he's trying to create a comfortable living for his family or her family. However, if they don't have housing close to where they work it impedes a lot of progress. They aren't able to have their children go to a school near their home. They may live miles away from their place of employment, which creates a hardship in my estimation with all of these transportation to get to and from work. And those are some of the hardships that a lot of folks face. See, when we first started a lot of folks were able to walk down the peninsula to MUSC, walk to City employment, even those people who worked in the Sanitation Departments because it wasn't that far away to get to work. But now, with all of the displacement that's been taking place, you don't have a sufficient workforce on this peninsula area to accommodate the need. There's no housing available.

⁴²¹ This is the program from the City of Charleston that began in 2002, not the program by Historic Charleston Foundation that preceded the Neighborhood Impact Initiative.

ND: And in your experience, when those people lived here and could walk to their jobs at MUSC, jobs at the City, jobs in the Sanitation Department, were they homeowners or renters?

WS: Well, a lot of them were renters because they had to be. But then some elevated themselves to the point where they were in a position to purchase a home and they did so. For example, when we completed renovating Porter's Court there was a young man that lived on Coming Street, he was paying more rent for a small apartment than his payments that he qualified for on his home on Porter's Court. He had a decent job. The location of Porter's Court put him close to a decent bus line. He was able to walk from his house to the bus line and get to work. Those are the kinds of people we were trying to supply housing to. So if they had children, the children were then able to obtain the schooling within the district. You know, some people with kids they gotta get out there. They either gotta wait for a school bus...they leave in the dark, they come home in the dark. How do you expect them to learn? Children, when we were in school, and I lived right up there on Kennedy Street, we walked from there to Bull Street. That was no big deal. They had bus services and they had other means of getting to and from work...I mean school, but then, it didn't faze us to walk to school! Then when we came home, you see we were around neighbors that we knew...we were around people that we grew up around. But that's all changed. Sometimes, you don't even know the person living right next to you. And it's unfortunate.

ND: How was the experience of working with HCF?

WS: Working with them as such wasn't a problem for me. Way in the back of my little head, I just have a knack for preservation. I didn't have a problem; in fact, we never had a problem

working with them. They were quite cooperative as far as the CHDO was concerned. I think that their goal was the same as ours. I was very comfortable with our association with them. 'Cause we took over Porter's Court. That was their initial project. And they were in the process of doing some other work in Elliottborough at the time. And this is prior to our connection with Cannonborough. So we had no problems with them, they were...we worked together quite well.

ND: What about working with the City? How is that relationship?

WS: Early on it was fine. It's still a good relationship. I can understand that the City has pressures put on them that they have to consider and adjust to and that thing is passed down to subordinates, which is what we are now. I would say a subordinate to the City. Sometimes it's frustrating to sit in a meeting and hear, "we can't go but so far. We can't go but so fast because there's this restriction." But, when you actually stop and think...as long as you're subordinate to a higher position you really have to really try to adjust and work with them. And I think that's the position we are in with them right now, 'cause we haven't done anything...in months. In my opinion...and we got people that's qualified, sitting there waiting! But, the bureaucracy is such [chuckles] you can't go as fast as you want to. And that's unfortunate. The CHDO, we own one lot on Porter's Court, that I know of. We have one lot on Porter's Court. On the other side of that old historic cottage and we have two...that we can build on.

ND: Are there any plans to build on that?

WS: We plan to. I missed out last Board meeting. I haven't spoken to Frank [Rupp], our current President since our last Board meeting. I don't know what steps we've completed. Frank could better answer that. We hope to build on those three parcels and then that'll provide housing.

ND: The same thing, it'll be a partnership with the city, so there'll be qualified buyers...

WS: Yeah.

ND: Is there anything else that either of you think I should know about Elliottborough? This neighborhood? What it's like being here?

WS: Well, all I can say is the part of Elliottborough where I am now, that has changed dramatically. And, there's no room for improvement. [laughs] But that's a very old part of Charleston, there are one or two lots that are very large, with frame structures still in existence. It's pretty well kept.

ND: Would you say the change, besides the parking [laughs]...would you say the change is a positive? Or is it a negative?

WS: Well, it's been positive to a certain degree. What's happened, the school that she [AH] graduated from has been converted into a senior citizens building. And, that doesn't present a problem. Fortunately. For the neighborhood or the community. It eliminated a possible blight because it could have become an ordinary apartment structure. Or a...from visiting other places and being in other places a site that large that's full of uncontrolled, because you can't always control...would have been really disastrous in that neighborhood. The whole neighborhood has improved dramatically. The biggest problem is traffic and parking. The

problem around here is we just don't have a lot of available off-street parking spaces. And that's because, I think, of the age of the city, the type of structures that were constructed.

Have you been on Morris Street at all?

ND: Uh-huh.

WS: If you notice, from one end of Morris to the other they're all shallow lots. They're narrow and that's a problem. Some portions of coming Street are not as bad. And some of the other streets can accommodate some off-street parking but...that's one of the biggest problems, I think. Cannonborough's a little better off. We have quite a few areas where you can get off the street. Although, they're beginning to have an on-street problem with parking. That's just the way the city's growing. How do you avoid it? We've been taking away the marshlands to try to accommodate buildings. The more we build, the more people come. And we have to accom...well we don't have to accommodate them but, for the economy, we would want that to happen.

AH: Uh-huh.

WS: So how do we live with it?

AH: Uh-huh.

ND: What do you think of the changes in the community where it used to be predominantly African American and representative of all social...all socioeconomic classes to what it is today, which is more affluent and definitely more white?

WS: That's really difficult for me to answer. Simply because, in my early years in this general area we had such a blend in these neighborhoods. I had family members who lived below

Calhoun. When I was a boy, our church was below Calhoun. We had no designated areas that were saved...oh, this is predominately a certain group. We lived all over, all over. That's now been changed and it's not hurting anything, it's just displacing people. What can you do about that? It's difficult to say because, once that starts to take place, you've got a movement of individuals...you're going to lose some things. You've got to have a replacement for what you lose. A good example, upper King. Before the movement was started above Calhoun upper King was beginning to start to die. It was revitalized right now. Because they have, what? They have a propo...one, two, three proposed hotels coming in that general area. We got what the economy now refer to as workforce housing...when I was growing up, it was apartment housing. You've got one, two [unintelligible] on the boards. Surely, this is a tourist town. And that's what's keeping the town alive. But then you have to have adequate housing to accommodate the people to be in the workforce to support that activity. And that we don't have. We don't have...I don't want to call them poor...the individuals that would supply that force have to live so far away from where they're going that we don't have no means of transportation. If you don't own an automobile in Charleston or some kind of motor vehicle that can get you from one point to the other, you know, what're you going to do? You have no way of getting to and from work. And they need these people. What is the solution for that? We have public housing. Is it adequate? No. Because it's all occupied. I don't think any phase of public housing in Charleston has any vacancies. But it's not enough to accommodate the people that build our workforce. [long pause] I don't know if that's the answer you were looking for, or not?

ND: There is no right answer. But I appreciate your response. All right. I thank you both for meeting with me.

WS: I hope we were contributors and not detractors! [laughs]

ND: Very much contributing!

Judge Daniel E. Martin, Jr. (JDM)

Practice located in Elliottborough

January 15, 2016

ND: If you don't mind, I have a couple of questions.

JDM: Sure.

ND: You didn't actually grow up in Elliottborough?

JDM: No, I grew up in Wagener Terrace.

ND: Ok, but your father started a practice in that area, what time period?

JDM: I believe it was 1974. He has been located at number 61 Morris Street since that time.

We also own a corporation that has various rental units on the peninsula. One of which is located on Morris Street. It has eight rooms.

ND: You joined his firm, or you started your own firm?

JDM: I joined his firm in 1989.

ND: Ok. So, Wagener Terrace is undergoing some of the same processes that Elliottborough has been through.

JDM: Uh-huh. The entire peninsula is.

ND: When you first...I'm sure you visited your father at his firm when you were younger, then you went away to school and you came back to the area in the late 1980s. What was that area like? What do you recall about being in Elliottborough?

JDM: Charleston has a lot of these single homes in that neighborhood as well as further south. Certainly a lot in that neighborhood pretty much going all the way up to the Crosstown. It was pretty cohesive. Most of the neighbors knew each other. More older people seemed to occupy the buildings in and around my office at that time than younger people. We didn't see the next generation taking over the ownership of those buildings so, I think as people got older, they probably changed hands. As a young person I can remember well before my father even started his practice there, there were two brothers, Albert and Benny Brooks, who owned on that block a restaurant called Brooks' Restaurant. A hotel called Brooks' Hotel, a pool hall, and a real estate agency. Spring Street, Cannon Street, and Morris Street were sort of the central business streets in the black community. So along those streets you found the doctors, the dentists, the lawyers, the morticians, insurance agents...agencies, real estate agencies that were black-owned and operated within those three main arteries of the city. And, growing up that was pretty much what I saw I went to school at Mitchell. I went to school at what was then called Sacred Heart, it's now Charleston Catholic School. That's located on King Street near Huger. So, would walk from school to go to my dad's office. This was back in the mid 1970s and much along the way primarily what you saw was a community of primarily African Americans. The post office was on St. Philip's Street at that time. The Reed House, which was owned by the AME Church, was between the post office and the corner of Morris and St. Philip's. You had within close

proximity, several black churches. You had Morris Brown AME Church, Morris Street Baptist, then you had Shiloh AME on Smith Street. All those churches are still there. But I would venture to say that most people who attend those churches no longer live in the neighborhood. But, we had small black businesses along that area. There was a school called Simonton School that I can recall at that point in time it was either abandoned or about to be torn down in the mid-1970s. But all around that area were homes lived in primarily by black people.

ND: What four to five words would you use to describe the neighborhood?

JDM: At that time?

ND: Yeah.

JDM: Well, close-knit. A hyphenated word. Well-traveled in terms of street participation. You saw a lot of people on the street, a lot of foot traffic on the street. Safe. What else? Clean. And a lot of professionals in that area so, I guess I would use the term business-oriented.

ND: You work in the legal profession so... a lot of people in the late 1990s in the newspapers and other reports, talked about lots of drug use in the area and lots of crime areas that were blocked off by so much junk having collected in the middle of the street. How much should I accept that view of the neighborhood? I'm talking about towards the latter part of the 1990s.

JDM: Now, when you say neighborhood, you're talking about Elliottborough. Do you mean Morris Street to the Crosstown?

ND: Yes, basically.

JDM: Were there drugs in certain parts of that? Probably so. But I can almost tell you exactly where those drugs were and it was not prevalent amongst the entire neighborhood. Now I believe that what happened is as people started leaving the community and it ...understand...I guess you probably already know the history of Charleston, the demographics of Charleston, going back even before the Civil War. Blacks, free and slave were pretty immersed throughout the entire peninsula and gentrification that's happened in the last 20 years...gentrification's been going back probably a hundred years. You know, in terms of displacing people who are middle class, or lower-middle class, and just working class people from those communities that couldn't afford to...as real estate values become higher, people end up getting displaced. But most blacks in Charleston, I think, occupied at least a half if not two-thirds of the peninsula north of Calhoun Street from many, many years. And, some of that was because there were discriminatory policies outside of those areas that prevented them moving into new suburban communities. And when those policies started changing, law started to change. And people, black and white, were able to access resources to allow them to move beyond communities that were just restricted to their families. They looked at other options. And some blacks moved out willingly. Some were looking for more grass. They moved to places where it was closer for them to work. They had other reasons for moving. But, as people were moved out, some buildings were not...money was not being put back into some of these buildings. You had working class people who never had enough money to actually maintain some of these buildings. So, I think that created a void...particularly not far from where my office was, which was where

Dereefe Park is right now and lower Felix Street, you did have some drug peddling going on. Violence? No. I never found it to be unsafe to walk anywhere in that neighborhood. Were there some drug dealers out there? Probably selling drugs? Yeah, I think that is true. But, I think it was concentrated in one particular area. I think people knew where it was. People, who were coming in to buy those drugs, some of them people who were not of that community. And I think that was true of various parts of the city of Charleston. I think you could go on some college campuses and find more drugs being dealt there than anywhere else but that justified people coming in and saying, “we’re going to remove those people from this environment all together.” Yeah. Is drug use something that happens...drug selling? Yeah. Everywhere in America and that neighborhood was no different. But I didn’t find it to be a community that had a problem with drug dealers or violence going on. Trash in the street? Never. I don’t know where you got that. Was there some litter? Yeah. Is there still litter there now that there’s more college kids? Yeah, probably more. I can tell you when I go on Morris Street now, I used to see Schlitz Malt Liquor bottles here and there, now I see Bud Light and [laughs] all the brands that maybe young black men don’t tend to drink. But litter? Yeah. Yeah. It’s still there.

ND: Do you remember hearing about HCF being involved in the neighborhood or possibly the Episcopal Diocese renovating houses in that area? This would be in ’98 or so?

JDM: I think I read something once or twice in the paper, but I didn’t see much outreach going on. Not that I saw. I’ll tell you, I was a real estate attorney. Dealing with loan closings and no one ever engaged me to say, “We want you to assist with trying to help this family get this home so they can stay in their neighborhood.” And I did hundreds of closing. I can

think of maybe once or twice...I probably did do a closing that involved some matching funds from the State for some people of color on the peninsula, maybe once or twice. But, in terms of an overall outreach where everyone was aware that there was an effort to try to keep people in that community, I didn't see that.

ND: Do you know where Porter's Court is?

JDM: I do.

ND: Did you ever hear about anything specifically happening in Porter's Court? Renovation work?

JDM: Yeah. Yeah, I believe I actually did a closing for an actor. I believe, it think it was...might have been a [Unintelligible] Jones, who was buying some property on Porter's Court. And that was my first awareness of Porter's Court off of Bogard Street. And I had never heard of Porter's Court before I'd been employed to assist with a closing in some capacity. And when I found out about it, I saw that there was a whole community being planned back there that I knew nothing about. But, that's as far as I knew about it.

ND: Did you or your family...you attended church up where you live I presume?

JDM: I attend Mother Emmanuel, up on Calhoun Street.

ND: Did you ever attend neighborhood meetings? Neighborhood Association Meetings? That sort of thing?

JDM: In Wagener Terrace. Not in Elliottborough.

ND: You feel that your work dealing with real estate in the area had you pretty well plugged in to the neighborhood?

JDM: Not so much the real estate, not the real estate part of my practice, but the fact that I was there every day all day long and knew a lot of the people who lived there. And, represented a lot of the people who lived in that community. Velda Scott who lived on Morris Street. Lois Simms who's right there on Morris Street. Mammie Rice who's on Morris Street. Quite a few people who needed legal work in the neighborhood would come to me. So, I was well familiar with the area.

ND: Is your office still located?

JDM: It is. Still there.

ND: Would you say...let's just state the obvious. A lot of businesses in the area have left.

JDM: Oh, yeah.

ND: What would you say the main pressure was on their decision to leave? Do you think most of them closed because people were older and just didn't want to have a business anymore? Or...

JDM: Well, actually, a lot of those businesses lost their clientele because of integration. Charleston, like most southern cities, was a city that had businesses that catered primarily to blacks and those that catered to everyone else. Where blacks were unable to compete in trying to get whites to patronize their businesses, they created businesses within their own community. And those businesses were primarily located in Elliottborough. And, after integration, when blacks were able to obtain services beyond just in their community, that of

course expanded the field. Some businesses couldn't survive integration so some businesses were in decline. Now some businesses, for instance, Dorothy's Funeral Home, where they're still there because they're still primarily patronized by people of color. And to some extent, our law office, to some extent, was probably 85-90% patronized by people of color. But other businesses found it harder to compete and so those businesses started to slowly go away. For instance, you had Brooks' Motel owned by the Brooks brothers right on the corner Felix and Morris, right across the street from my office. Well, when blacks were denied the right to stay in white hotels in other parts of the city, about the only place they could go was a place like Brooks' Motel. And...I think the Saint James Hotel was on Spring Street some years ago, that closed probably in the mid-'60s...but Brooks' Motel was still a motel until, I think, the early '90s. Between '91 and '93 it was still operating, but it was a shell of its former self. They may have had one or two cars in the parking lot the entire time I was there and I don't think that was people who were traveling looking for a place to stay. So, that may explain...that was not going to be a profitable business. So as a result it was sold and demolished and now its housing for people, I think as investment housing for...students.

ND: How would you describe the changes in the neighborhood since the late 1990s?

JDM: In terms of what it looked like before and what it looks like now?

ND: Uh-huh.

JDM: Very few African Americans. Mainly college students. Many of whom have dogs who relieve themselves on the sidewalk and no one picks up after them. Where I often have to

watch where I walk after I get out of my car and make my way to the front door back there at my office. I could tell change was about to come when the streetlights suddenly became more bright and the police presence became a lot more visible. So it was obvious to me that there were plans in place that did not necessarily include the people who had been living there all those years. It's more vibrant because you have a young population. Traffic is terrible. On-street parking is now limited. There was a time when I could park my car on-street and my clients. My building has been essentially made obsolete because I don't have off-street parking because all that parking has now been reconfigured to accommodate the new tenants that live there. Flooding is worse if not as bad as it was before with all the storm run-off. So when it floods my street floods very badly. But that was always a condition of that street it's probably just not gotten any better. Dereef Park is a disappointment because that was a park set aside for the community, named after a person of color, and it was allowed by the City to be obtained by a developer and...I don't think the neighborhood had any real input in whether that should have been done. It removed green space that was put there for the community. And, I think that did a disservice to the person whose name the park was given and the people who live in the neighborhood. You got the Cannon Street YMCA, which I was on that Board. They've struggled to survive because most of the people who went there over the years were people in the community and that is no longer the case. Which is sad because it's the oldest YMCA that began as a YMCA for people of color and has continued to be so in the country. It struggles because most of the people who used to go there don't go there anymore. So it's been a fight just to keep the lights on in that building for years. I don't know how that story's going to end. The United Order of Tents of Spring Street is struggling to keep their building. I don't think their membership is what it

used to be. Because, once again, the people who used to live right around these institutions, they aren't there anymore. And then on the other side of that is that as people build new houses and new condos, it increases the taxes on everybody else. So people on fixed incomes, you know it's just a matter of time until they have to sell or lease out their property just to be able to keep it. Most of those people are probably going to end up just selling their property because they cannot afford to live there. To the people who are indigenous to the community, it's been rather devastating. But to the people who are moving in, they probably love it.

ND: That's all the questions I have. Is there anything else that you think I should know?

JDM: Not really.

ND: I'm going to thank you. I would like to include a transcript of all of my interviews with community members.

JDM: Ok.

ND: As an appendix to my thesis. Just to be able to have it available for future historians to be able to look and...I'm interviewing some people who are significantly older than you...

JDM: Ok.

ND: and might not be around to be interviewed in person. So, as long as you're ok with that?

JDM: I'm fine with that, yeah.

ND: Fabulous. Thank you so much.

JDM: You're welcome.

[As the audio file was being exported from the recording software, JDM began to tell a story. The transcript picks up once the secondary recording device was activated.]

ND: I always have a second recording device with me.

JDM: Ah, all right. All right! I've got a good friend and I was talking to him not long ago about a situation where he was in front of his house on Thomas Street. He was on the phone and this guy who lives across the street from him, walked up to him and looked at him in his face and was staring at him with a very menacing look. As if to intimate him, as if to say, "why are you over here? I'm about to call the police." He just, the guy was just in his face. My friend had to say, "look. You have to understand something. You rent where you're living. I own where I live. I've lived here for the past fifty years. We're supposed to be neighbors; you don't need to be coming into my face like that. You don't know me like that." The guy apologized, but it was one of those situations. I've had situations where a police officer came in my office, saw me walk into my office and came in there, but tried to pretend like he was looking for another address. Apparently thinking, "Why is this black person walking into this building at this late hour of the day." Dressed as I was, I was casually dressed. I wasn't in my business attire at the time. And I could tell he was making up the address because the address doesn't exist! [laughs] But he walked out, it didn't go beyond that. But I...yeah, I've a lot of those small interactions like that. As people move into the neighborhood they question the right of the people who've lived there, who've worked there for so many years, to even still be there. It's very, very disappointing to see that. Some of it's ignorance. They don't know their neighbors and don't want to know their neighbors. They

figure it's just a matter of time before the neighbors won't even be there anymore. So far that's a winning strategy. It is what it is. [long pause] Unfortunately.

[Tangential conversation not transcribed for brevity]

What really disappointed me in the way the transition took place is that you never, ever saw a “For Sale” sign in front of anybody’s house. Now why is that important? Well, if you list a property with an agent, that agent has an interest in making sure that the property is listed and sold for fair market value or an appraised value that is likely to be attained. If property’s changing hands without that. That meant that, that process has been averted, the owner of that property is relying on representations made by the person who wants to buy it. You don’t really know what the true, fair market value of that property really is or what it might be in five-ten year, whether it might be more advantageous to sell it then rather than now. And so, people are being exploited and their lack of knowledge is being taken advantage of because people who know what the property’s going to be worth five-ten years down the road know that they should get it now. So, when you’re struggling to maintain an older house that needs so many repairs. It’s drafty; the electric bill is very, very high because they don’t have the proper insulation. It’s costing you more money every day just to maintain the house and someone offers you \$75,000 to \$100,000 today. Then they’re going take and renovate...put another \$50,000 in it, then sell it for \$350,000 ten years down the road, then you’re exploiting the people in not allowing them to have the full knowledge of what’s going on. So, when I see a house that sold without a “For Sale” sign, then I know that’s a house that somebody got, basically, swindled out of. And the whole neighborhood changed like that. I never saw a “For Sale” sign. And when I do see a “For Sale” sign, it’s from somebody

who already bought it, made their money on it, and is about to cash in on their investment.

That's how I saw it and I think it's still going on.

[Tangential conversation not transcribed for brevity]

My father, his company owns a property on Morris Street. All the tenants are working class to lower working class people and he has been, for the last ten or fifteen years, bombarded with offers to sell. And the reason he hasn't sold is not that he doesn't understand that he can make a lot of money off of it but because he knows when he does that, those people and people like them will never be able to live in that building. Won't be able to buy back onto that street. So he has not sold. And that's fortunate because he doesn't need the money.

Now, if you look at someone who's in the position where they need the money, they're going to sell. But when they sell, they'll never be able to buy back into that community. My question is why can't the community be made good for everyone and let them stay there? Than to transform it into something better; but make it better once they're all gone? Not that you have to have the nicest house to have a nice community. A lot of those communities didn't look like that in the '50s and '60s. A lot of what happened happened after everyone abandoned those communities and went to the suburbs. You know, which affected the tax base. Services could get concentrated in other parts of the city, but not in that? There was no investment in these areas. So, yes they went there. And then they had discriminatory policies with lending so people couldn't access...if you don't have good jobs, how are you going to have money? Banks and...no. It's a vicious cycle.

APPENDIX B

Memorandum of Understanding

20 February 1998

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING
between
THE EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF SOUTH CAROLINA
and
HISTORIC CHARLESTON FOUNDATION

This Memorandum of Understanding, jointly executed by the Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina and Historic Charleston Foundation for the purposes of undertaking the rehabilitation of up to nine historic houses located in Elliottborough, a historic neighborhood located in the City of Charleston, South Carolina, addresses the responsibilities that the Diocese and the Foundation have mutually agreed they will address, jointly and independently, to insure the successful completion of the project which is being underwritten, in part, by CDBG funds from the City of Charleston and South Carolina State HOME funds.

The Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina is a state Community Housing Development Organization (CHDO), so designated by the South Carolina Housing Finance and Development Authority in 1993, and is the successful applicant for a \$200,000 grant in State HOME funds which are designated for the acquisition and rehabilitation of as many as nine houses in the Elliottborough neighborhood. This grant is to be matched with \$150,000 CDBG funds from the City of Charleston, \$35,000 from Historic Charleston Foundation's Neighborhood Impact Initiative, and \$15,000 granted to the Diocese and its housing programs from Wachovia.

The Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina has established a combined governing Board made up of residents from the Elliottborough Community and members of Calvary Episcopal Church located in this community and has empowered this Board with the responsibility of administering the South Carolina State HOME Fund grant. This board has been authorized as the Episcopal Diocese's CHDO representatives to work with Historic Charleston Foundation and the City of Charleston Housing and Community Development Department to achieve the successful rehabilitation of nine pre-selected houses for sale to low income homebuyers as part of the cooperative effort to stabilize the neighborhood and prevent further decay of houses in the area.

The Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina through its representative Board agrees that during the two years it will take to rehabilitate the nine houses it will:

First, insure that the State HOME grant is administered according to the requirements and schedule prescribed by the granting agency.

Second, assume responsibility for timely filing of all required reports.

Third, acquire, with assistance from the City of Charleston and Historic Charleston Foundation, the nine houses to be rehabilitated.

Fourth, insure that during rehabilitation all properties are properly insured.

Fifth, secure construction financing for each rehabilitation which may include private funds in addition to State HOME Funds.

Sixth, participate actively in marketing of each completed rehabilitation.

Historic Charleston Foundation agrees that during the two year grant period it will:

First, act as construction manager for the project.

Second, prepare scopes of work and construction schedules for each rehabilitation project pursuant to SC State Housing Construction Standards.

Third, solicit bids from subcontractors and negotiate on behalf of the Diocese through its representative Board contracts for services for all aspects of each rehabilitation and submit the contracts to the Board for signature according to guidelines of CDBG and SC State Housing Finance and Development Authority.

Fourth, inspect work on each rehabilitation while it is in progress and insure that proper quality is achieved within budget and on schedule.

Fifth, participate in the acquisition of the subject houses.

Sixth, assist the Episcopal Diocese, through its representative Board, in identifying options for construction financing.

Seventh, participate jointly with the representative Board of the Diocese in implementing the project's marketing plan.

Eighth, will submit in a timely fashion requests for payment and provide appropriate documentation that requests for payment are appropriate and tied to completion of work.

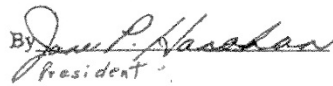
Historic Charleston Foundation will have no financial obligation above the \$35,000 grant from its Neighborhood Impact Initiative it will contribute to the project toward matching the SC State HOME grant.

The Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina and Historic Charleston Foundation recognize that the successful completion of the complicated task they have agreed to undertake depends on their enthusiastic endorsement of the goals set for the project and by appending their signatures indicate their commitment to the task.

Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina

By 

Historic Charleston Foundation

By 
President

RESOLUTION

Whereas at a duly called meeting with Bishop William J. Skilton, Suffragan Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina, the following document was authorized for the Episcopal Community Housing Development Organization Board created February 19, 1998.

Now, therefore, with the authority invested in the Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina, the following rules, regulations, provisions and directions will be adhered to:

- Name:** The name of the organization shall be the Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina Community Housing Development Organization, hereinafter referred to as the CHDO Board.
- Purpose:** The purpose of the CHDO Board is to provide administrative management oversight and monitoring of funds received from the South Carolina State Housing Finance and Development Authority and any other source for restoring and/or building housing units in the designated target area. Additionally, the CHDO Board shall see that all state construction policies are followed as mandated.
- Duration:** The CHDO Board shall continue to operate in perpetuity or until the same is dissolved as hereinafter provided.
- Composition:** The CHDO Board shall consist of 17 voting members but no more than 19 voting members who shall be appointed by the Bishop of the Diocese or his designee, after being recommended from Calvary Episcopal Church or the community being served. All vacancies of the Board shall be filled by the Bishop of the Diocese of South Carolina or his designee.
- The term of office shall be for four years. The term of each member shall be staggered so that all terms will not conclude at the same time.
- Officers:** The CHDO Board shall elect from among its members a Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer. The officers shall be elected for a term of two years and shall be elected in January. The duties of officers are as follows:
- Chairman:** It shall be the duty of the Chairman to preside at all meetings of the Board and the Executive Committee. The Chairman shall delegate specific areas of responsibility to the Vice Chairman. The Chairman shall also appoint committees, as needed.
- Vice Chairman:**
It shall be the duty of the Vice Chairman to assist the Chairman or to act in the absence of the Chairman.
- Secretary:** It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep a record of all meetings, membership, correspondences and all Executive Board meetings.
- Assistant Secretary:**
It shall be the duty of the Assistant Secretary to act in the absence of the Secretary.
- Treasurer:** It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to keep a voucher system of all bills to be paid by the Board. All vouchers shall be signed by the Treasurer and the Chairman or the Vice Chairman prior to payment by the Diocesan Financial Officer.

Executive Committee:

The Executive Committee shall consist of all the officers of the CHDO Board and shall act for the Board between meetings. All actions the Executive Committee must be approved by the CHDO Board during its next meeting.

Monitoring Committee:

A Monitoring Committee, consisting of three members of the CHDO Board, shall be appointed by the Chairman. It shall be the duty of the Monitoring Committee to monitor the progress of all construction work and make a report to the CHDO Board prior to the issuance of vouchers.

Voting:

A simple majority of those present is required to approve any business that comes before the Board.

Quorum:

At least eight voting members must be present to conduct official business at all Board meetings.

Dissolution:

The CHDO Board serves at the pleasure of the Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of South Carolina.

Amendments:

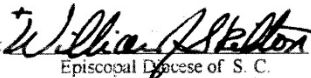
These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting of the CHDO Board provided that each member be given at least two weeks notice in advance of the proposed amendment. There must be a two-third majority of those present and voting to approve the change.

Robert's Rules of Order:

Except as otherwise provided by these By-Laws, the latest edition of *Robert's Rules of Order* shall govern the interpretation of these rules and the procedures to be followed.

Done, and duly adopted and approved this fifth day of March 1998 by a majority vote at a meeting of the CHDO Board of the Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina.

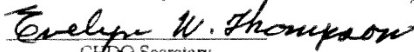
Signed by:


Episcopal Diocese of S. C.

Signed by:


Chairman, CHDO Board

Witness:


CHDO Secretary

APPENDIX C

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Several images used in this thesis do not require a rights release. Photographs from the Historic American Buildings Survey and the South Carolina Department of Transportation are in the public domain. The Memorandum of Understanding and Sanborn Maps are used under fair-use standards for educational purposes only. Releases for all other images follow.

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Last Modified: December 17, 2015

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Generally speaking, as long as you're following our [Terms of Service](#) and you're [attributing properly](#), we're cool with your using our maps and imagery; in fact, we love seeing all of the creative applications of Google Maps, Google Earth and Street View! But we know you're looking for more specifics to ensure you're using our maps and imagery correctly.

As you dive into the information below, we suggest starting with the general guidelines at the top, as these will apply to all projects. Then feel free to click directly to the section that applies to you.

Below, you'll find information on:

- [General guidelines](#)
- [Uses in print](#)
- [Uses in television and film](#)
- [Uses on the web and in applications](#)
- [Uses in advertisements](#)
- [Using Street View imagery](#)
- [Use of trademarks](#)

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Note that we cannot provide high-resolution or vector screen captures of Google Maps; however, you may use [Google Earth Pro](#) to save and print high-resolution JPEGs of satellite imagery. Images in Google Earth Pro can be exported up to 4,800 pixels wide. Grab a free [Google](#)

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