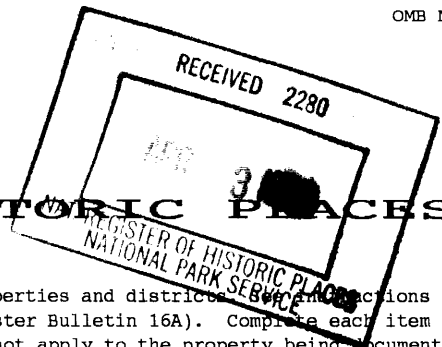


**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
REGISTRATION FORM**



This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Mays, Benjamin, Birthplace
other names/site number _____

2. Location

street & number 1/10 mi. NW of jct. US 178 and Scott Ferry Road not for publication _____
city or town Epworth vicinity x
state South Carolina code SC county Greenwood code 047 zip code 29666

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this X nomination _____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property X meets _____ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant x nationally _____ statewide _____ locally.
(____ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Mary W. Edmonds 3/26/98
Signature of certifying official Date

Mary W. Edmonds, Deputy SHPO, S.C. Department of Archives & History, Columbia, S.C.
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property _____ meets _____ does not meet the National Register criteria.
(____ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting or other official Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register _____ See continuation sheet.
- _____ determined eligible for the National Register _____
- _____ See continuation sheet.
- _____ determined not eligible for the National Register _____
- _____ removed from the National Register _____

M. J. M. [Signature] 5/18/98

other (explain): _____
for _____ Signature of Keeper Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property (Check as many boxes as apply)	Category of Property (Check only one box)	Number of Resources within Property	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> private	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> building(s)	Contributing	Noncontributing
<input type="checkbox"/> public-local	<input type="checkbox"/> district	<u> 1 </u>	<input type="checkbox"/> buildings
<input type="checkbox"/> public-State	<input type="checkbox"/> site	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> sites
<input type="checkbox"/> public-Federal	<input type="checkbox"/> structure	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> structures
	<input type="checkbox"/> object	<u> 1 </u>	<input type="checkbox"/> objects
			<input type="checkbox"/> Total

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register: 0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: DOMESTIC Sub: single dwelling

Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: VACANT/NOT IN USE Sub: _____

7. Description

Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions)	Materials (Enter categories from instructions)
_____	foundation <u>BRICK, CONCRETE</u>
_____	roof <u>METAL</u>
_____	walls <u>WOOD; Weatherboard</u>
	other <u>Chimney: Brick</u>
	<u>Porch: Wood</u>

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B** removed from its original location.
- C** a birthplace or a grave.
- D** a cemetery.
- E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F** a commemorative property.
- G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

ETHNIC HERITAGE: Black

EDUCATION

Significant Dates

1894

Significant Person

(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Mays, Benjamin Elijah

Cultural Affiliation

Period of Significance

1894-1900

Architect/Builder

Unknown

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS)

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary Location of Additional Data

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Name of repository: Mary G. Lehman

10. Geographical Data

Acreeage of Property less than one acre

UTM References

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

	Zone	Easting	Northing	Zone	Easting	Northing
1	<u>17</u>	<u>406180</u>	<u>3769320</u>	3	_____	_____
2	_____	_____	_____	4	_____	_____
	<u>See continuation sheet.</u>					

Verbal Boundary Description

(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification

(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Mary G. Lehman

organization University of South Carolina date May 15, 1997

street & number 1017 Laurens St., Apt. 1 telephone 803-254-5934

city or town Columbia state SC zip code 29201

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.

Additional items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name William C. and Margaret J. Griffith

street & number 7710 Highway 178 telephone _____

city or town Ninety Six state SC zip code 29666

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**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
CONTINUATION SHEET**

Section 7 Page 1

Benjamin Mays Birthplace
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Narrative Description

The Benjamin Mays Birthplace is a one-story, L-shaped tenant farmer's house, located on Highway 178 in Greenwood County, South Carolina. The earliest record of the house is its association with Mays' birth in March 1894. The house sits on a 246-acre farmstead in the vicinity of Epworth. The dwelling is a wooden-framed building with a worn, unpainted and undecorated weatherboard exterior, supported by a brick and cement block pier foundation. A one-story porch with a shed roof of raised seam metal is supported by wooden posts and extends partially across the structure's facade. A raised seam metal gable roof covers the house. The house has two brick chimneys, one central to the front section, one interior to the rear extension. The house is recognized with a state historical marker on a paved shoulder off the highway. Although it is currently vacant and showing evidence of deterioration, the structure is intact and has not been moved from its location since the time of Mays' birth.

The northeast (front) elevation of the house faces Highway 178. The front porch has plank board flooring and its roof is supported by four plain, unpainted wooden posts. There are two door openings covered with boards. These plain, wooden-framed openings give no evidence of the type or style of doors that were used. The front facade has one double-hung window between the doors with a 6/6 pane configuration and plain wooden sashes. A majority of the panes are intact.

The northwest elevation of the house has one central window, also double-hung with 6/6 pane configuration. Its lower section is covered with a cloth shade attached to the outside. Weatherboard covers the remainder of this end of the L-shaped structure.

The southwest elevation of the house, or the rear and backyard of the "L," could not be accessed for evaluation.¹

The southeastern elevation shows the abutment of the back extension to the main section. The weatherboards of the back extension match those of the main section; the back extension also has a raised seam metal roof. There are three window openings, all boarded over so that their original size and configuration are impossible to detect. Two windows appear on the back extension, while one is centrally located in the middle of the main section, directly opposite the window on the northwest elevation. A ventilation hole, possibly for a stove pipe, appears slightly south of the middle window. There is a small, interior brick chimney on the southern end of the back extension. This extension appears to be contemporary with the main section in material and construction method.

A historic photograph of the dwelling house taken from Mays' autobiography, *Born to Rebel* shows the house when it was still occupied.² The photograph documents very little change to the house's exterior. Boxed wooden steps lead up to the porch in front of each door, and a sandy curved driveway winds in front of the house. The two doors are shown open, or possibly covered by a screen. No more information is yielded about the original door appearance. The single double-hung window is unchanged. No shutters are

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shown on any window in the house. The most significant difference is existence of a wooden shingled roof rather than its current covering of seam metal. The roofs shape, however, is unchanged.

The photograph also shows the northwest elevation with its central window and 6/6 pane configuration. A utility meter and power lines run along the elevation's side. Wooden plank stairs leading to the southwest elevation and a covered back wooden extension are partially visible in the photograph. Several small structures and an oil drum are visible in the southwestern, or back, yard of the house. Although their purpose cannot be determined, it is evident that the yard was a utilitarian household space.

Mays remembered his birthplace as a four-room house with no indoor plumbing.³ Although the historic photograph is undated, it is possible to assume the building has undergone little change since his birth in the late 1890s. Descriptions of comparable buildings of this period also indicate that the extant structure and photograph reflect the home of a slightly above-average income rural family. In an section of nearby Abbeville, South Carolina called the "Promised Land" by black families who were allowed to purchase property there, houses similar to Mays' were common. "The average dwelling consisted of four rooms, with a brick chimney and glass windows, and in addition most of the homes had screens in the windows."⁴ But the structure shows no sign of ever being painted, and it is unknown when utilities and indoor plumbing were installed. The structure also has similar architectural characteristics of the "double-pen" layout with two front doors, a central chimney and wooden framing with weatherboard, a style attributed to slave and early tenant homes across the South.⁵ However, since the interior of the house could not be examined, it is not known whether the house was a true duplex in the tradition of the double-pen. The house may therefore be a vernacular combination of layouts and styles, with moderately large spaces and quality materials.

Although in obvious disrepair, the house frame and roof are intact and appear stable. The building has undergone few significant exterior modifications or modernizations, in keeping with the photograph Mays chose of his birthplace for his autobiography. The house's form and materials are consistent with vernacular style buildings of the rural, post-Civil War South. The house is still surrounded by farmland and wooded areas, and the few visible structures belong to an area once occupied by the landowner from whom the Mays family rented. This landscape is consistent with that of Mays' childhood, and it contributes to the integrity of the building. The Benjamin Mays Birthplace remains an intact and significant record of his life.

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Narrative Statement of Significance

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, a much honored educator, civil rights advocate, and mentor to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was born near Epworth, South Carolina in a small wooden frame house. This building is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under criterion "B." In his autobiography, *Born to Rebel*, Dr. Mays explained that he was influenced greatly by his early years in this house. Here, between 1894 and 1900, Mays witnessed the violent Phoenix Riot that killed at least seven blacks, and he began his education in a one-room schoolhouse down the road. Mays helped his family farm the forty to sixty acres that they rented along with the house from the white property owners.

These experiences encouraged Mays to pursue further education for himself and to advocate and facilitate the education of other young blacks. Thus the property has significance on the state level in the areas of black ethnic heritage, education, and agriculture. Criterion Consideration "C" is relevant here because no other extant building is so closely associated with Mays' life. The events which occurred at this property greatly affected Mays' future years, and his family's life in the building is representative of many black Americans in the South after Reconstruction.

When Mays was born in 1894, his father Hezekiah and mother Lavinia were cotton farmers, renting a house and farm from Dr. Thomas Chiles and his wife, Elizabeth.⁶ Both of Mays' parents had been born into slavery. Mays was their last of eight children, living in a society that had already retreated from the few rights it had granted blacks after the Civil War. The family of nine lived in the four-room house located in Greenwood County on Highway 178 between Saluda and Greenwood, just south of Ninety Six. Mays fondly remembered the house for its situation so close to the highway, as it proved a sociable spot for travelers. Both black and whites drank well water out of the family dipper or gourd. Although after 1900 the family would move to another farm a mile down the road owned by William Mays (no relation), it was on the Chiles' residence that Mays witnessed the violence of the Phoenix Riot on November 8, 1898.⁷

The Phoenix Riot was reported to be one of the bloodiest racial riots in Greenwood County. Thomas P. Tolbert, whose relative was a Republican congressional candidate from the third district, protested the disenfranchisement of blacks, believing that they would have voted Republican. Tolbert allegedly asked blacks to sign a paper and to drop it in a ballot box, stating that they had been denied the right to register to vote, and if they had not, they would have voted for R. R. Tolbert. Tolbert was confronted by a white man, resulting in a violent brawl during which the white man was killed and Tolbert wounded. Mobs formed to take revenge on Tolbert and all blacks living near Phoenix, a town ten miles from Greenwood, South Carolina.⁸

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The exact number of blacks murdered in the following days has never been determined because the violence occurred through such a widespread rural area. By the time of Mays' birth, lynching was a permitted crime through much of the South. In 1894, 192 people were lynched in the United States. Between 1882 and 1946, there were 159 lynchings in South Carolina alone. It was one of these violent mobs that passed Mays' house on the highway in 1898 and made his father salute and bow at gun point. Mays referred to this as his earliest memory. It was this incident, and the continued violence against blacks in Epworth that drove him to leave the state, and especially, the life of a renting tenant farmer.⁹

Although Mays stated in his autobiography that his family was slightly more prosperous because his father owned some capital, the family was never able to achieve complete financial independence. Mays explained that his family rented the land they farmed, but owned their own livestock, wagons and tools, making them renters instead of the more common arrangement of sharecroppers. The family rented between forty and sixty acres for their cotton crop, which every family member helped plant and harvest. Mays' father paid two bales of cotton per twenty acres farmed. A bale could weigh five hundred pounds, but Mays said he could pick almost 425 pounds himself in one day.¹⁰ The difference between a renter and a sharecropper was significant because while the sharecropper received wages from the landlord, the renter paid the landlord a fee for the use of the property.¹¹ Nevertheless, the Mays family remained in a cycle of debt largely due to their dependence on the agricultural calendar and the small number of acres they could farm without hired help. The family had to annually borrow against the next year's crop.¹²

This cycle was typical for many poor blacks living in rural South Carolina at the turn of the century. After the Civil War, owners of large plantations could not afford to pay the high taxes on their land, nor could they afford to pay labor costs of the free blacks they would need on the same scale as slaves to maintain these plantations. Most blacks were freed from slavery with no money or education. Sharecropping was the most effective way for whites to maintain ownership and profit from the land, and power over blacks. Owners continued to receive income and profit from the plantations through the tenants' labor.¹³ The sharecropper lifestyle was common especially for blacks living in Greenwood County, located in the midlands of South Carolina. In 1900, sixty-seven percent of the county's population was black, yet in 1910, only nine percent of black farmers owned even part of their land.¹⁴ Comparably, by 1900 in all southern states from Virginia to Texas, twenty-three percent of blacks were owners or part-owners of the land they farmed.¹⁵ The farm on which Mays was born is a good example of how many blacks in the South had to depend on the tenant farming system to support their families, and how agriculture was the focus of the black community's calendar in the rural South. Agriculture also affected the school calendar for the children of farmers. When Mays began school in 1900, rural schools for blacks in the South were open only three or four months of the year to allow children to help the family with the planting and harvesting of cotton. In comparison, white

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schools might be open for six months. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 had been declared unconstitutional for ten years, allowing for legal segregation of all facets of life by 1896. This also insured that rural blacks' education would be separate and inferior to that for white rural children. School attendance was not mandatory, and was often discouraged by black parents who needed the children's labor and by white society who preferred that blacks not be educated.¹⁶ Although a child labor law was passed in 1903, compulsory school attendance was not passed until two years later. In addition, laws that applied to white children did not apply to black children. In 1900, South Carolina spent \$588,414.53 on white schools, but only \$171,954.69 for black schools. In 1910, with almost sixty-six percent of the population of Greenwood County being black, seven dollars were spent on education per white child for each dollar spent on a black child. Due in great part to the leadership of Senator Ben Tillman, blacks were refused the opportunities of whites, especially in rural schools.¹⁷

Mays experienced this inequality at the age of six when his formal education began at a one-room wooden schoolhouse in Epworth, six miles from his birthplace. Mays' sister Susie had already taught him to recite the alphabet and count to one hundred. He was encouraged by his teacher Ellen Waller, who often complimented Mays in front of his parents. This gave Mays pride and a firm belief that he could achieve his goal of receiving an education beyond what the schoolhouse could offer. Mays was also encouraged by other blacks who had achieved greatness; pictures of Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and Paul Laurence Dunbar hung on his wall, and children's books about these men were some of the few the family owned. But Mays was almost twenty years old before he attended school for more than four months out of a year. Early experiences of violent racism, and early tastes of education and renown that comes with accomplishment convinced Mays that he had to leave South Carolina if he were to succeed in helping black men walk proudly and without fear: "I came to the conclusion that I could never do what I hoped to do or be what I aspired to be if I remained in the state of my birth. I had to seek a new world."¹⁸

Mays graduated from the high school of the State College of South Carolina in 1916. After spending his freshman year at Virginia Union in Richmond, he transferred to Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. Although put on academic probation because he was a transfer student, Mays graduated with honors in 1920. Shortly after, he was ordained into the ministry.¹⁹ He hoped to continue his education as a graduate student at the University of Chicago, but spent only a few semesters there before being offered a teaching position at Morehouse College in Atlanta. Mays finished his Ph.D. in religion at the University of Chicago by 1935 and became the Dean of the School of Religion at Howard University in Washington, DC. In the intervening years, he had served as the minister of Shiloh Baptist Church and the national student secretary of the

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Young Men's Christian Association in Atlanta while teaching at Morehouse and held the position of Executive Secretary of the Tampa Urban League when he and his wife moved to Florida. Later, in 1937, Mays traveled to Mysore, India as a member of the American delegation to the World Conference of the YMCA.²⁰

It was as President of Morehouse College that Mays achieved his widest scope of influence in civil rights and education. Mays became president in 1940, just as the school was suffering from a drop in admissions due to the Depression and World War II draft. One of Mays' solutions was to allow high school juniors to enter Morehouse a year early. Also as President, Mays established a Phi Beta Kappa chapter, increased the number of faculty holding Ph. D.'s to fifty percent, and increased both enrollment and the endowment. In his later years at Morehouse, Mays served as the President of the United Negro College Fund, and was chosen to attend the funeral of Pope John XXIII with Vice President Lyndon Johnson.²¹

Mays had a profound affect on the civil rights of black Americans, not only for his own struggles, but also for his mentoring of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. King, a student who had benefited from Mays' policy of early admission, enrolled at Morehouse in 1944 at the beginning of Mays' presidency. Mays and King became well acquainted in conferences following Mays' Tuesday morning addresses to the students.²² King was influenced to pursue a career as a minister by both Mays and Professor of Religion George Kelsey: "Both were ministers, both deeply religious . . . and yet both were learned men, aware of all the trends of modern thinking. I could see in their lives an ideal of what I wanted a minister to be."²³ Mays supported King's activism and philosophy of non-violence, even though he encouraged King to become a professor at Morehouse and leave the public sphere.²⁴ During the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1956, Mays supported King's difficult decision to return to the city for certain arrest. Against his father's wishes, King stated his intention: "In the moment of silence that followed I heard my father break into tears. I looked at Dr. Mays, one of the great influences in my life. Perhaps he heard my unspoken plea. At any rate, he was soon defending my position strongly."²⁵ Mays gave the eulogy at King's funeral at Morehouse on April 9, 1968, honoring King for all he had accomplished: "He was not ahead of his time. No man is ahead of his time. Every man is within his star, each in his time."²⁶ In his years of retirement from Morehouse, Mays continued to be involved in the struggle for educational opportunity for blacks. He was elected to a seat on the Atlanta Board of Education, and in 1970, just as desegregation was expanded, he was elected president of the board. Mays held that position for twelve years. He was also a member of the Advisory Council of the Peace Corps and the National Commission for UNESCO.²⁷

Although the majority of Mays' accomplishments were achieved outside the state of South Carolina, Mays returned to his home state in November 1981 to attend a ceremony honoring his birthplace. One tenth of a mile from the house, the crossroads of Highway 178 and Scott Ferry Road was named "Mays Crossroads," and a granite marker was erected by order of the South Carolina General Assembly. Coretta Scott King and other friends and dignitaries from the state attended. The event marked a healing for Mays. Though at the ceremony he

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recalled the Phoenix Riots that had occurred there more than eighty years ago almost to the date, Mays also declared, "I am happy, I am glad, in fact I am extremely proud that my native state has done so much to honor Benjamin Mays, son of the soil, son of the farm, son of slaves."²⁸ Mays acknowledged that his early beginnings in Greenwood County had a dramatic effect on his life, and the state recognized the accomplishments of the Greenwood County native. The previous year, a portrait of Mays was hung in the State House in Columbia, only the second portrait of a black South Carolinian.²⁹ Mays died on March 28, 1984. In 1995, Greenwood County erected a historical marker approved by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History in front of his birthplace.

Mays' birthplace remains as stark physical evidence of his early life and is a reminder of the struggle he experienced and the restrictions placed on him because of his race. On this property, the significant events of the Phoenix Riot, early school accomplishments, and exhaustive farm labor impacted and inspired Mays to oppose racism and to advocate equality in education. No other building survives that is so closely associated with Mays' life.³⁰ The Benjamin Mays birthplace also provides visible testimony to the agricultural significance of the tenant farming system and its social and economic limitations of the many blacks and whites who labored in the period after Reconstruction. The building serves as a physical document of the humble beginnings of a man who influenced the educational policy and the social history of the United States in his later positions of power.

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Endnotes

¹The current owner of the property, William Griffith, did not respond to a request for access. The property is separated from the highway by a metal gate and wire fence.

²Benjamin E. Mays, Born to Rebel (New York: Charlest Scribner's Sons, 1971), 149. The photograph is undated, but is shown with the caption, "The author's birthplace (many years after)." Therefore, the photograph was taken between his birthdate of 1894 and 1971 when the autobiography was published.

³Benjamin E. Mays, Born to Rebel (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), 2nd ed., 5, 34.

⁴Carol K. Rothrock Blesser, Promised Land: The History of the South Carolina Land Commission, 1869-1890 (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 150.

⁵John Michael Vlack, Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 157-160.

⁶In fact, it is Elizabeth Chiles' name that appears on the property deed. Mays spelled their last name "Childs." Deed Book 17, p.215, Clerk of Courts for Common Pleas, Greenwood County Courthouse, Greenwood, SC.

⁷Mays, Born to Rebel (1986), 1-7, 11, 34. Mays does not specify in his autobiography when the family moved. He started school in 1900, however, and stated that it was six miles from his first home, and seven from the Mays farm. Therefore, the move must have occurred after 1900, when Mays was six years old.

⁸"Riot in a Hotbed of Republicanism," The State (Columbia, SC), November 9, 1898, 1.

⁹Mays, Born to Rebel (1986), 1, 335-337.

¹⁰Ibid., 5-9.

¹¹Gilbert C. Fite, Cotton Fields No More: Southern Agriculture, 1865-1900 (Lexington, KY: The University of Kentucky Press, 1984), 4-5.

¹²Mays, Born to Rebel (1986), 5-6.

¹³Jay R. Mandle, "Sharecropping and the Plantation Economy in the United States South," in Sharecropping and Sharecroppers T. J. Byres, ed. (London: Frank Cass and Company, Limited, 1983), 120-128.

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¹⁴Mays, Born to Rebel (1986), 4. Mays extrapolated these figures from data recorded by the US Bureau of the Census, Negro Population in the United States: 1780-1915, 746.

¹⁵Fite, Cotton Fields No More, 20.

¹⁶Ibid., 39-46.

¹⁷Louis R. Harlan, Seperate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States 1901-1915 (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 171, 205-207.

¹⁸Mays, Born to Rebel (1986), 11-12, 38, 49.

¹⁹Ibid., 50-57.

²⁰Tom Bennett, "Dr. Mays: leader in education, rights," Atlanta Constituion, March 29, 1984, A1-8.

²¹Ibid., A8.

²²Stephen B. Oates, Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1982), 23.

²³Clayborne Carson, ed., The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr., 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 2, citing King in William Peters, "Our Weapon is Love," Redbook, August 1956, 72.

²⁴Oates, Let the Trumpet Sound, 47.

²⁵Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1958), 145.

²⁶Mays, Born to Rebel (1986), Appendix C, "Eulogy at the Funeral Services of Martin Luther King Jr.," 357.

²⁷Bennett, "Dr. Mays," A8.

²⁸Orville Vernon Burton, forward to Born to Rebel, by Benjamin E. Mays (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), xlvii.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Mary W. Edmonds, letter to Molly Harts, 5 December 1995, files of the State Historic Preservation Office, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina. The home in which Mays resided as President of Morehouse was demolished.

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Primary Sources:

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National Park Service

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The following information is the same for each of the photographs:

Name of Property: Benjamin Mays Birthplace
Location: Greenwood County, South Carolina

Name of Photographer: Mary Lehman
Date of Photographs: 20 January 1997
Location of Original
Negatives: Mary Lehman, Columbia, S.C.

1. Facade, looking SW
2. SE and NE Elevations, looking N
3. NW Elevation, looking S
4. Facade and NW Elevations, looking S