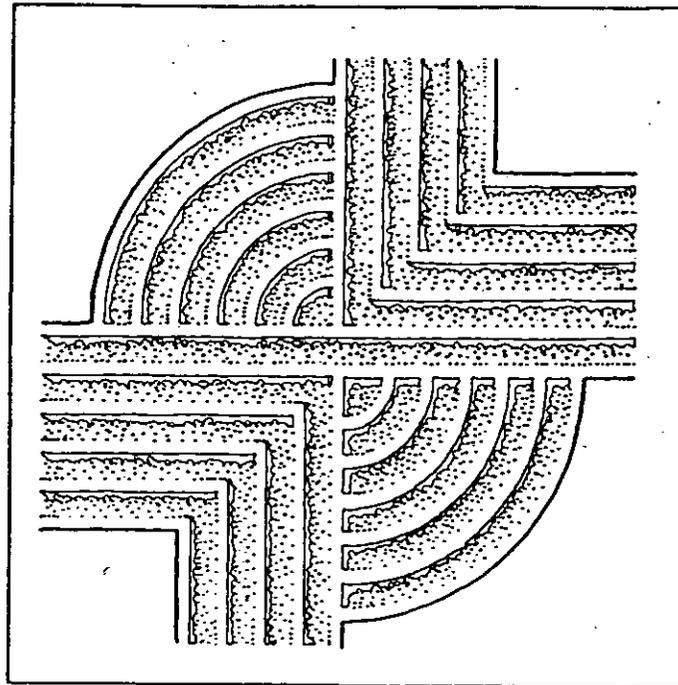


ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY OF  
THE GREENVILLE COUNTY REDEVELOPMENT  
AUTHORITY PROPERTY, CITY OF GREENVILLE,  
SOUTH CAROLINA



**RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 90**

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY OF THE  
GREENVILLE COUNTY REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY PROPERTY,  
CITY OF GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Prepared For:

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Greenville, South Carolina 29601

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Chicora Research Contribution 90

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## Introduction

Chicora Foundation was requested to submit a technical and budgetary proposal for "an archaeological reconnaissance level survey" of a 16 acre tract of land situated in the northwest section of Greenville City. Specifically, the study was to address:

- the project background, natural setting and environment resources, definitions, and assessment basis,
- description of investigative techniques, including literature review appropriate for a reconnaissance level investigation,
- an assessment of the project's potential impact on any identified cultural resources, and
- recommendations regarding the integrity and National Register eligibility of any identified sites (scope of work dated July 29, 1992).

Chicora Foundation provided the Greenville County Redevelopment Authority with a technical and budgetary proposal, specifying the tasks involved in a reconnaissance level study, on August 4. The proposed work would consist of:

- a review of the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology site files,
- coordination with the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office for any National Register sites or previous architectural surveys in the immediate area,
- an evaluation of historical records and resources available for use on the project,
- an identification of cartographic records, especially those which might assist in reconstructing the land-use history of the region,
- a brief historical overview of the project area, adequate to judge the historical importance of the area and any archaeological resources encountered,
- a pedestrian survey of the project area, with particular attention to open ground areas, including erosional zones, bald spots, road cuts, ditch banks, and similar areas,
- limited shovel testing throughout the project area at a 200 foot interval, with more intensive shovel testing in selected areas,
- architectural recordation of any standing structures at least 50 years old, and
- a professional assessment of the probable significance of any identified sites and the probable impact to the sites by the proposed project, as suitable for a reconnaissance investigation.

This proposal was accepted by Greenville County Redevelopment Authority on

August 18. The historical and land use research was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley on Thursday, August 27. The resources of the Thomas Cooper Map Repository and the South Caroliniana Library were used. In addition, we were very fortunate to obtain the assistance of Ms. Ann McCuen, Chairperson of the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission. She provided a number of local references and a partial title search for the project area. Ms. Natalie Adams examined the site files of the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.

A letter was hand delivered to the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office on August 27, requesting information on National Register sites and previous architectural surveys. Although no response has yet to be received regarding this inquiry, a previous letter from the South Carolina Department of Archives and History implies that there are no structural surveys or National Register sites in the project area. The letter goes on to state:

this site has been identified as the location of a turn of the century mill village that was demolished around 1938. The lack of serious ground disturbance since this demolition occurred indicates that there is a strong probability that intact archaeological deposits are present on this site (letter from Mr. Ian Hill, S.C. Department of Archives and History to Ms. Lynn Pry, Greenville County Redevelopment Authority, dated July 23, 1992).

This letter also recommends that the Authority conduct a "reconnaissance level survey of the tract."

The field investigations were undertaken by Ms. Natalie Adams on Tuesday, September 1, 1992. The laboratory processing of the resulting collections, curation preparations, and report production have taken place at Chicora Foundation's offices in Columbia on September 2-3, 1992.

It is important to clearly indicate that this study involves only a reconnaissance investigation of the 16 acres. No intensive investigation has been undertaken by Chicora Foundation and the methodology of this reconnaissance investigation was designed and implemented to address the specific questions posed by the Greenville County Redevelopment Authority, based on the recommendations of the S.C. Department of Archives and History's letter of July 23, 1992. More generally, it was designed to allow an assessment of the likelihood that ground disturbing activities in the project area might impact archaeological resources.

#### Project Area

The project area is located in the northeastern portion of the city of Greenville, just east of Old Buncombe Road (Figure 1). The property is bounded to the east by a railroad track. The southern boundary falls halfway between Knight and Buff Streets. The western edge is bounded by private property and the Earle/Stone family cemetery. The northern boundary is irregular, following Morris Street from the western boundary where it turns north in the vicinity of Wright Street. It then turns east to Davis Street and follows the road north to Neely Street where it turns east again to the railroad tracks. Several paved roads run through the tract including Buff Street, Sizemore Street, Morris Street, Church Street, and an old road bed which follows the railroad tracks (Figure 2). In addition, sidewalks, driveway lead-ins, and cement stairs from the street to the sidewalks exists throughout the project area.

Vegetation within the project area consists of thick knee-high grass. Apparently the tract is occasionally mowed since no other undergrowth exists. Trees are relatively sparse and appear to have been planted as shade or ornamental trees perhaps 50 to 100 years ago. Kudzu is found in the extreme northern portion of the property, and there is relatively dense vegetation in the

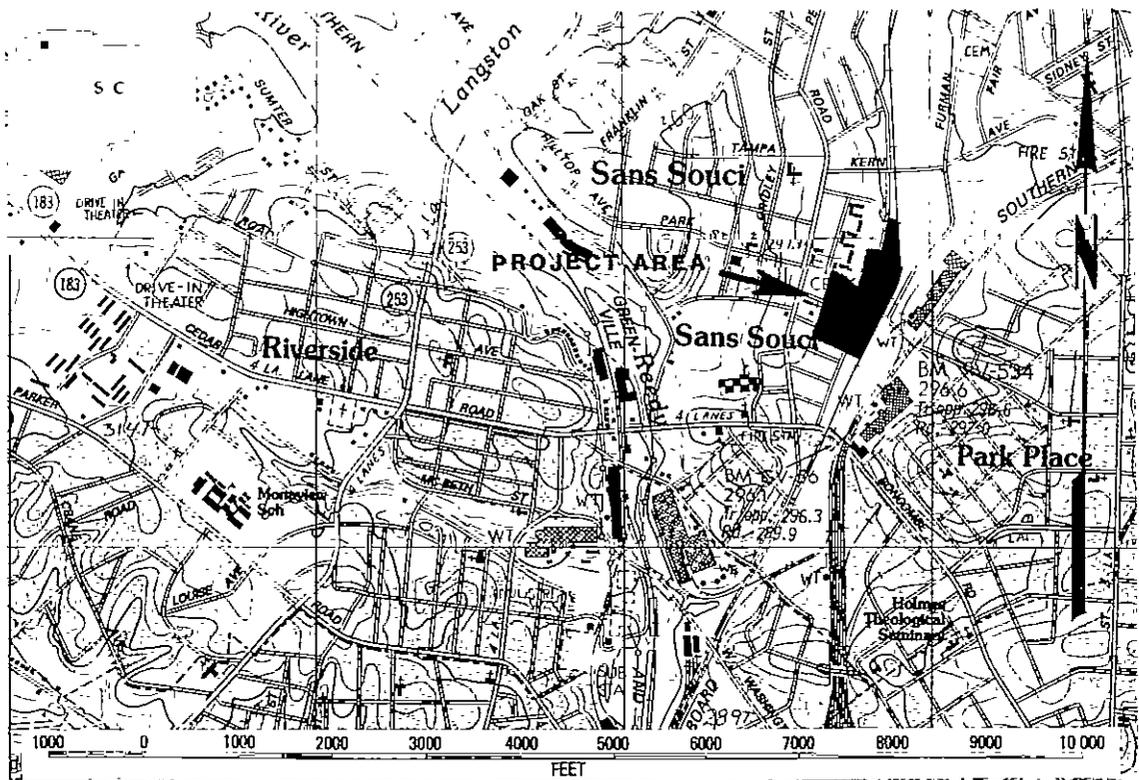


Figure 1. Location of project area on 1983 Greenville and Paris Mountain Quadrangle Maps.

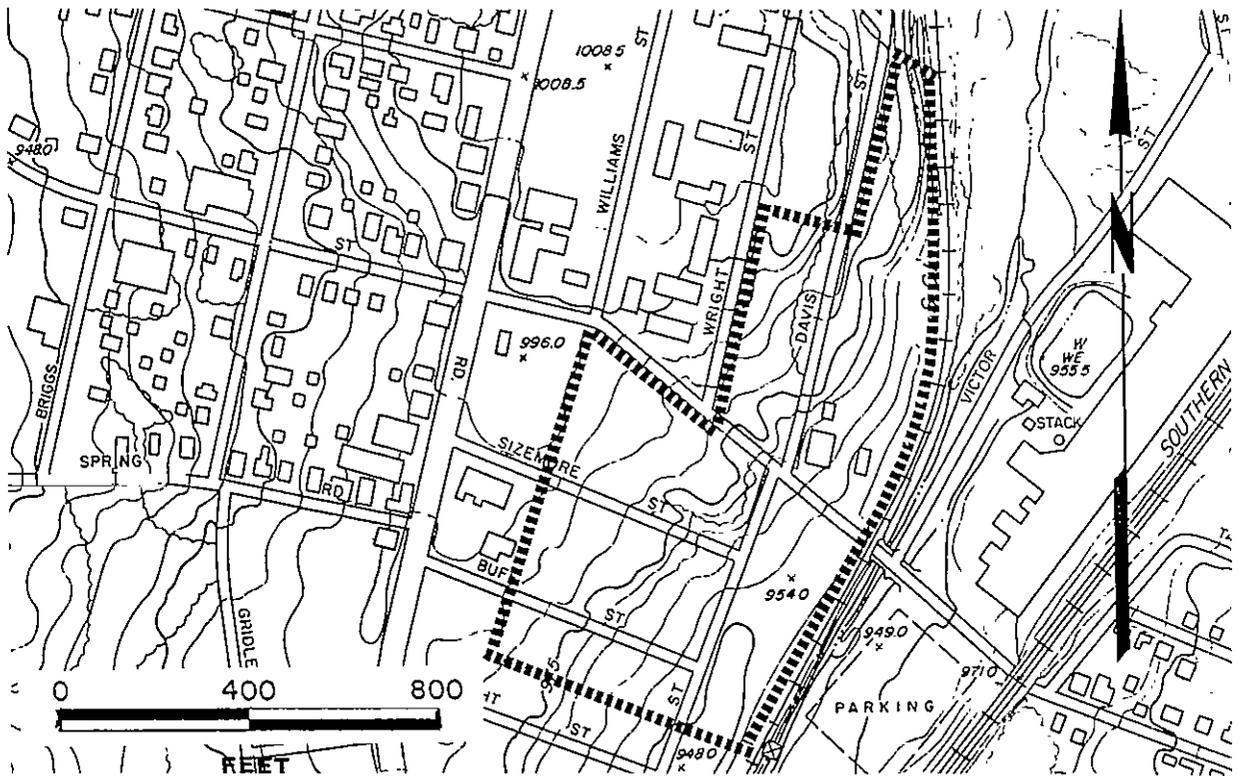


Figure 2. Location of study area showing street names and railroad.

area of the railroad tracks.

Soils are exclusively Cecil urban-land complex. Cecil soils consist of gently sloping to moderately steep soils that are well drained. These soils are complex because Urban land consists of areas that have been excavated, filled, or otherwise disturbed by man. Generally, the surface layer is dark-brown sandy loam about six inches thick overlying subsoils which extend for about 52 inches. These subsoils are primarily red clay (Camp 1975).

Elevations in the project area ranges from 950 to 995 feet above mean sea level. The highest elevations are in the western portion of the tract and slope toward the railroad tracks to the east.

#### Effective Environment

Greenville County is bounded to the north by Transylvania, Henderson, and Polk Counties, North Carolina, to the west by Pickens and Anderson Counties and the Saluda River, to the south by Anderson and Laurens Counties, and to the east by Laurens and Spartanburg Counties.

The northern quarter of Greenville County is in the Blue Ridge Mountains, while the remaining portion is in the Piedmont Plateau. The land ranges from nearly level to very steep with the highest point being White Oak Mountain at 3,297 feet above sea level. In the central portion of the county, where the project area is located, the elevation ranges from 750 to 1,050 feet (Camp 1975).

The main streams in the county flow southeastward into the South Pacolet River. The major streams that drain the county are the North, Middle, and South Saluda, Reedy, Enoree, and South and Middle Tyger Rivers. Numerous smaller streams (such as Beaverdam Creek) are found throughout the county (Camp 1975). Mills noted in 1826:

Greenville is finely watered, but has not the same advantages of navigation, with the lower district.... The stream promising the most favorable means for rectifying this deficiency, is the Reedy river, flowing through the middle of the district, and passing by the court house. It might, without great expense, be made use of, to feed a canal to communicate with Saluda river...; and by means of this river, under improvement by the state, a navigable intercourse may be had with Columbia and Charleston (Mills 1972: 573-574)

Vegetation in the Greenville County piedmont area falls within the Oak-Pine or Oak-Hickory-Pine region. Oak-Pine forests are transitional between the Oak-Hickory region to the northwest and the Southern Evergreen forest (Braun 1950). There are three phases of climax vegetation in the Piedmont upland hardwood forests of the Oak-Pine region, defined by vegetational shifts caused by variations in elevation, slope, soils, and moisture. These phases are termed Dry, Intermediate, and Rich. The Dry Phase occurs on thin rocky soils of high ridges and knolls and is dominated by post oak and blackjack oak, with sporadic occurrences of shortleaf pine, mockernut hickory, pignut hickory, pale hickory, persimmon, and black gum. The Intermediate Phase occurs primarily on broad slopes with deep soils and is dominated by white oak and post oak. The Rich Phase occurs in cool, moist ravines and north-facing slopes. It is dominated by white, black, and red oaks. Also found are beech, tulip poplar, red maple, shagbark hickory, and sweetgum (Waggoner 1975).

There are eight geologic formations in Greenville County made up of alluvium, fine-grained rocks, fine-grained to medium-grained rocks, fine-grained to coarse-grained rocks, and coarse-grained rocks. Alluvium consists of material recently deposited on flood plains. The fine-grained rocks are diabase dikes that cut across formations of granite and gneiss. The fine-grained to medium-grained rocks are biotite gneiss, biotite schist, and megmatite. The fine-grained to

coarse-grained rocks are biotite schist and hornblende gneiss. The medium-grained rocks are biotite granite gneiss and granite undivided. The coarse-grained rocks are muscovite pegmatite dikes (Camp 1975).

Climate in the region is temperate in that it is characterized by mild winters and warm summers. Mills described the climate as:

one of the most delightful in the world. The lands are well drained, and the major part sufficiently far removed from the mountains, not to be affected by the vapors; yet near enough to partake of their refreshing coolness in the summer, and protection from the cold northern blasts in winter (Mills 1972: 575).

Snowfalls occur every winter, but significant amounts come only once every two or three years. Winter temperatures fall to 20°F or less on six days of the year. Summers are warm and long and have an average of 56 days when the temperature rises to 90°F or higher. Because of the elevation, the maximum temperature seldom reaches 100°F. Precipitation is evenly distributed throughout the year. The average year produces about 70 days with one-tenth inch or more of rain. Annual rainfall varies from a high of 67 inches in 1929 to less than 32 inches in 1938. Normal annual precipitation is about 48 inches (Camp 1975).

#### Brief Prehistoric and Historic Synopsis

Regrettably little archaeological research has been conducted in Greenville County. In fact, of the 81 studies for Greenville listed by Derting et al. (1991), 74 or 91% are relatively minor surveys related to highway or sewer construction. Thirty three, or 45%, of these were written by one of the authors of this study (Michael Trinkley). The only research pertinent to this project is a brief study of Pelham Mills (Drucker et al. 1987) and a brief survey in the south part of Greenville City looking for evidence of The State Military Works. It is of particular regret that there has been no effort to more intensively explore the urban archaeology of Greenville, since this city is a particularly good representative of the mixture of nineteenth century upcountry rural and city forces.

The Paleo-Indian period, lasting from 12,000 to 8,000 B.C., is evidenced by basally thinned, side-notched projectile points; fluted, lanceolate projectile points; side scrapers; end scrapers; and drills (Coe 1964; Michie 1977). The Paleo-Indian occupation, while widespread, does not appear to have been intensive. Points usually associated with this period include the Clovis and several variants, Suwannee, Simpson, and Dalton (Goodyear et al. 1989:36-38). At least two Paleo-Indian points have been found in the Greenville County area, both in the northwestern corner of the county (Goodyear et al. 1989:33).

Unfortunately, little is known about Paleo-Indian subsistence strategies, settlement systems, or social organization. Generally, archaeologists agree that the Paleo-Indian groups were at a band level of society, were nomadic, and were both hunters and foragers. While population density, based on the isolated finds, is thought to have been low, Walthall suggests that toward the end of the period, "there was an increase in population density and in territoriality and that a number of new resource areas were beginning to be exploited" (Walthall 1980:30).

The Archaic period, which dates from 8000 to 2000 B.C., does not form a sharp break with the Paleo-Indian period, but is a slow transition characterized by a modern climate and an increase in the diversity of material culture. The chronology established by Coe (1964) for the North Carolina Piedmont may be applied with little modification to the Greenville County area. Archaic period assemblages, characterized by corner-notched, side-notched, and broad stemmed projectile points, are common in the vicinity, although they rarely are found in good, well-preserved contexts.

The Woodland period begins, by definition, with the introduction of fired clay pottery about 2000 B.C. along the South Carolina coast and much later in the Carolina Piedmont, about 500 B.C. It should be noted that many researchers call the period from about 2500 to 1000 B.C. the Late Archaic because of a perceived continuation of the Archaic lifestyle in spite of the manufacture of pottery. Regardless of terminology, the period from 2000 to 500 B.C. was a period of tremendous change. Much of the information development from the investigations of Richard B. Russell Reservoir is applicable to the Greenville area (see Anderson and Joseph 1988).

The subsistence economy during this early period was based primarily on deer hunting and fishing, with supplemental inclusions of small mammals, birds, reptiles, and shellfish. Various calculations of the probable yield of deer, fish, and other food sources identified from some coastal sites indicate that sedentary life was not only possible, but probable. Further inland it seems likely that many Native American groups continued the previous established patterns of band mobility. These frequent moves would allow the groups to take advantage of various seasonal resources, such as shad and sturgeon in the spring, nut masts in the fall, and turkeys during the winter.

The South Appalachian Mississippian period, from about A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1640 is the most elaborate level of culture attained by the native inhabitants and is followed by cultural disintegration brought about largely by European disease. The period is characterized by complicated stamped pottery, complex social organization, agriculture, and the construction of temple mounds and ceremonial centers. The Etowah, Savannah, and Lamar phases characterize this period from about A.D. 1200 to 1500.

The protohistoric and historic Native American remains most often associated with Greenville County, however, are those of the Cherokee. Pottery includes the Pigeon, Connestee, and Pisgah series associated with the gradual, in situ development of the Cherokee culture (Holden 1966, Egloff 1967, Moore 1986). The Cherokee archaeology of Greenville is briefly discussed by Beuschel (1976) and Harmon (1986).

Historical accounts of the territory encompassing the Piedmont began with the DeSoto expedition in 1540 (Swanton 1946). This area, referred to as the "Up Country" or "Back Country" interchangeably, was recognized by the Indians and the early settlers to be the hunting grounds of the Lower Cherokee (Logan 1859:6). In these early years the principal source of interaction between the European settlers and the Cherokee involved a loosely organized trading network (see also Harmon 1986).

After the establishment of South Carolina as a British province in 1670, organization and delineation into more manageable territorial units began. In 1685, the Proprietors sectioned the new province into four counties, although present Greenville County was set aside as Indian or Cherokee land. While a further refinement of boundaries in 1769 saw the creation of the Ninety Six District, it was not until the last decade of the eighteenth century that Greenville District was recognized.

The 1755 treaty between the Cherokee and Governor James Glen ceded nearly half of the territory of present South Carolina to the whites (Mills 1972:604). An early and sparse influx of settlers from the north was composed mainly of cattlemen and Indian traders. These semi-permanent settlements were concentrated along the streams and rivers where land was both productive and easily cleared. Cattlemen constructed temporary "cowpens" and planted small sections of corn, grains, and produce for home consumption. Mills (1972:571-572) reports that one of the earliest settlers of Greenville was Richard Pearis or Paris. Pearis operated a trading post and grist mill on the Reedy River overlooking a 15-foot fall, near the present Citizens and Southern Bank on Camperdown Way in downtown Greenville (see also Building Conservation Technology 1981).

After the initial settlements of the 1750s the white population of the Up Country did not increase significantly until 1761, with the expulsion of the Native American population at the end of the Cherokee War. This created a second wave of immigration and settlement, spearheaded by farmers from the northern colonies of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. These settlers developed a self-sufficient economy based on planting flax, tobacco, corn, wheat, and oats, and raising cattle and hogs for their own use. Slaves were relatively uncommon until the early 1800s.

In this early period of European settlement there was little connection with the legal authorities on the coast (i.e., Charleston), leaving the Up Country largely autonomous. This led to the emergence of the Regulator Movement of the 1760s, a vigilante organization which attempted to maintain order and provide security through a system of courts and offices (Racine 1980:13). By the eve of the Revolution, two-thirds of the South Carolina population lived in the Up Country (Racine 1980:14).

By the onset of the American Revolution, the population of the Carolina Up Country was quite diverse in its ethnic, religious, and political backgrounds. These differences seemed to localize the hostilities between Whigs and Tories living side by side. Pearis, an avid Tory, lost his mill and home to Whig sympathizers, although the county saw relatively few skirmishes.

Though the end of the Revolutionary War brought few changes to the life of the Up Country farmers, a solid framework of social and political organization was beginning to emerge. In 1797 Lemuel J. Alston offered a 400 acre site for the Greenville County court house and the formal organization of the area began to be recognizable. The original village, called Pleasantburg, was largely an unsuccessful speculative venture on Alston's part. Embarrassed by the failed real estate venture and a political defeat, Alston sold his 11,000 acre holdings to Vardy McBee and left the area (Building Conservation Technology 1981:11). Virtually all of Greenville can be traced back to McBee's ownership during the early nineteenth century.

By 1826 Greenville was a thriving, if small, town:

the village of Greenville . . . is beautifully situated on a plane, gently undulating. The Reedy river placidly leaves its southern borders previous to precipitating itself in a beautiful cascade, over an immense body of rocks [the site of Pearis' earlier mill]. The village is regularly laid out in squares, and is rapidly improving. It is the resort of much company in the summer, and several respectable and wealthy families have located themselves here on account of the salubrity of the climate. These have induced a degree of improvement, which promises to make Greenville one of the most considerable villages in the state. . . . The number of houses is about 70 . . . (Mills 1972:572-573; Figure 3).

The town continued to grow through the nineteenth century, having 500 residents in 1834 and about 1500 by 1850. The 1850s represented a decade of change. Furman University opened in 1851, the first railroad through Greenville was built in 1853, and during this time the South's largest carriage and wagon plant was constructed (Building Conservation Technology 1981).

Greenville County, by 1850, had 13,370 white inhabitants and 6,691 African American slaves, most operating the 1068 farms scattered across the county. There were 130,727 acres of improved farm land, or about 122 acres per farm. This compares favorably with adjacent Spartanburg and is in excess of Pickens 78 improved acres per farm.

Lacking a consistently profitable staple crop, the Up Country concentrated on the production of subsistence crops until the early 1800s with the

Figure 3. Mills Atlas, showing the Greenville area in 1826.

introduction of the cotton gin and the rise of English textile mills, the outgrowth of the industrial revolution. This early emphasis on food stuffs, while retarding upward mobility, had a lasting influence on the region, its economy, and its world view. Cotton spread quickly during the first decade of the 1800s and by 1811 the Up Country was exporting over 30 million pounds of short-staple cotton (Ford 1988:7). This cotton boom promoted tremendous growth in the region, a growth that even the yeomen farmers could participate in since it required little capital outlay and was subject to no particular economies of scale.

Examining the agricultural base of Greenville, it is clear that the bulk of the farms produced subsistence, rather than cash, crops until the Civil War - making Greenville unique in the region. While the county ranked seventh in the production of 11,074 bushels of rye and oats, it also ranked 26th in the production of cotton. Only Georgetown, Horry, and Pickens county produced fewer than the 2452 bales from Georgetown. The only significant cash crop produced by Greenville was tobacco. With 12,505 pounds reported, the county ranked third in tobacco production for 1850 (DeBow 1854). This continued a long tradition of tobacco cultivation, in spite of low yields, poor quality, and strong competition.

Ford, however, cautions against the easy trap of accepting the "dual-economy" hypothesis that views the Up Country as divided into planters raising cotton and yeoman farmers raising food stuffs. Ford notes:

by and large, Upcountry yeomen were not forced to make an all-or-

nothing choice between commercial agriculture and subsistence farming, or between traditional mores and market values. Instead Upcountry yeomen made a set of crop-mix decisions each year, balancing their need for a sure and steady food supply with their desire for cotton profits, a cash income, and a higher standard of living (Ford 1988:72).

There remained an uneasy peace between yeoman and plantation owner in the Up Country. In order to maintain the political support of the yeoman majority, planters were forced to moderate their economic and legal power, molding themselves to the community mores and opinion.

Ford argues that the Up Country actively participated in Secession because of the:

"country-republican" ideal of personal independence, given particular fortification by the use of black slaves as a mud-sill class. Yeoman rose with planter to defend this ideal because it was not merely the planters' ideal, but his as well (Ford 1988:372).

The Civil War had little military impact on Greenville and no significant battles were fought in the County. It did, however, change Laurens' history, destroying the basis of its wealth and creating in its place a system of tenancy -- the hiring of farm laborers for a portion of the crop, a fixed amount of money, or both.

Immediately after the Civil War cotton prices peaked, causing many Southerners to plant cotton again, in the hope of recouping losses from the War. The single largest problem across the South, however, was labor. While some freedmen stayed on to work, others, apparently many others, left. An Englishman traveling through the South immediately after the war remarked that, "Thirty-seven thousand negroes, according to newspaper estimates, have left South Carolina already, traveling west" (quoted in Orser 1988:49).

The hiring of freedmen began immediately after the war, with variable results. The Freedmen's Bureau attempted to establish a system of wage labor, but the effort was largely tempered by the enactment of the Black Codes by the South Carolina Legislature in September 1865. These Codes allowed nominal freedom, while establishing a new kind of slavery, severely restricting the rights and freedoms of the black majority (see Orser 1988:50). Added to the Codes were oppressive contracts which reinforced the power of the plantation owner and degraded the freedom of the Blacks. The freedmen found power, however, in their ability to break their contracts and move to a new plantation, beginning a new contract. With the high price of cotton and the scarcity of labor, this mechanism caused tremendous agitation to the plantation owners.

Gradually owners turned away from wage labor contracts to two kinds of tenancy -- sharecropping and renting. While very different, both succeeded in making land ownership very difficult, if not impossible, for the vast majority of Blacks. Sharecropping required the tenant to pay his landlord part of the crop produced, while renting required that he pay a fixed rent in either crops or money. In sharecropping the tenant supplied the labor and one-half of the fertilizer, the landlord supplied everything else -- land, house, tools, work animals, animal feed, wood for fuel, and the other half of the needed fertilizer. In return the landlord received half of the crop at harvest. This system became known as "working on halves," and the tenants as "half hands," or "half tenants."

In share-renting, the landlord supplied the land, housing, and either one-quarter or one-third of the fertilizer costs. The tenant supplied the labor, animals, animal feed, tools, seed, and the remainder of the fertilizer. At harvest the crop was divided in proportion to the amount of fertilizer that each party supplied. A number of variations on this occurred, one of the most common

being "third and fourth," where the landlord received one-fourth of the cotton crop and one-third of all other crops. In cash-renting the landlord provided the land and housing, with the renter providing everything else and paying a fixed per-acre rent in cash.

Between 1880 and 1925 the number of owner-operated farms in the Piedmont increased by 35.3%, while the number of cash renters increased by 375.4% and the number of sharecroppers increased by 155.8%. Moreover, 1880 was the only year between 1880 and 1925 during which a majority of Piedmont farmers were owners, and this occurred in only three counties. Afterwards the population of owner-operators in the Piedmont remained at about 30% (Orser 1988:60).

In 1884 the labor system of Greenville County was described as encompassing either cropping or a rent system:

Where money is paid the terms, strictly speaking, are monthly payments, but the custom that prevails most generally is a running account, with settlement at the end of the year (The News and Courier 1884:n.p.).

The account continued by noting that the cost of cotton production was about \$40 per 500 pound bale. There were about 200 gins operating in Greenville County and the distance cotton would be hauled to a gin never exceeded 1½ miles. The report indicated that freedmen engaged in agriculture "rarely make more than a bare support and in the end they get into debt and never pay out" (The News and Courier 1884:n.p.).

Orser notes that the period from 1880 to 1920 is one of consistent agricultural expansion, with a concomitant increase in cotton production. This trend, however, changed between 1920 and 1925, when both the number of farms and the cotton production dramatically decreased (Orser 1988:69). The causes of this reversal are at least two-fold: increasing Piedmont erosion and the introduction of the boll weevil (cf. Orser 1988:77).

In Greenville the news was not planting cotton, but rather weaving it into yarns and fabrics. In 1872 Greenville, recovering from the economic collapse of the Civil War, received its second railroad. Between 1874 and 1875 the Camperdown Mill was built. By 1888 there were eight cotton mills in Greenville County using both steam and water power, with capital of nearly a million dollars and an annual output in excess of two million dollars. These included the Piedmont Mill (on the Saluda River about 10 miles south of Greenville), Camperdown Mills 1 and 2 (located in Greenville), Batesville (on the Rocky River about 10 miles east of Greenville), Pelham Mill (on the Enoree River 11 miles east of Greenville), Reedy River Factory (on Reedy River 6 miles southeast of Greenville), Fork Shoals Factory (on the Reedy River 12 miles south of Greenville), and Huguenot Mills, on the Reedy River in Greenville). Even at this early date the focus was on expanding the textile base of the county:

there is hope of the material advancement of the county by the development of the many fine water powers along the streams of the county that are standing invitations to capitalists who desire to invest in manufacturing enterprises (The News and Courier 1884:n.p.).

During the Civil War, in 1863, E.S. Irvine sold a 272½ acre tract to H.P. Hammett for \$15,000 (Greenville County Clerk of Court, DB 2, p. 795). This tract was adjacent to property owned by Earle and the transaction excluded a half acre parcel "reserved as a burial ground for the Earle family." The tract was held by Hammett until his death in 1891. Shortly thereafter, in February 1895, his executors sold a portion of the tract to O.H. Sampson and Co (Greenville County Clerk of Court, DB ZZ, p. 439). By October 1895, Dr. J.B. Earle had completed the construction of his new residence on Buncombe Street, several blocks from the old

family graveyard (*Greenville Mountaineer* (Greenville, South Carolina), October 19, 1895).

The company appears to have lost no time in beginning the construction of the mill. An April 1895 issue of a Greenville newspaper reported that:

The Sampson mill has the roof on. And its a beauty, too, from a cotton mill standpoint. It is probably the most modern mill of the slow-burning type in the South. In fact there are no mills either North or South that are superior. The roof is also a novelty in this section. It is a pitch and gravel roof. The building looks just like a big greenhouse there is so much glass in it. It's a fine "ad" for the city, too, as it is on the Southern Railway, and must attract the attention of every one who rides over that road in day time. The picker room will be brick and that is nearing completion. In a very short while work will commence on the tenement houses, and by the time we are ready to celebrate the Declaration of Independence a neat village will have been added to our city (*Greenville Mountaineer* (Greenville, South Carolina), April 3, 1895).

The original mill (later referred to as "Mill No. 1") was a two-story frame structure. The "tenement houses" referred to are the mill villages which became synonymous with the textile industry. Constructed close to the mill and the watchful eye of the company, these villages were intended to be self-sufficient -- complete with schools, educational facilities, churches, and stores -- and largely maintained and controlled by the company. Consequently, the mill villages represent distinct and insular communities. The villages were typically laid out in a grid pattern, made to fit available lands. The operative's houses were architecturally based on traditional New England antecedents -- often the "saltbox" house organized as duplexes. The mill owners took a paternalistic attitude toward the workers to ensure the steady supply of labor necessary for the successful operation of the mills.

By June of 1895 the mill houses at Sampson had been laid out. A newspaper report indicated that a Mr. Dillard of Gower & Dillard "was the successful bidder and gets the contract for all the houses" (*Greenville Mountaineer* (Greenville, South Carolina), June 15, 1895). About three weeks later 10 houses were built and the foundations for the others were laid. The earlier estimate of a July 4 opening was overly optimistic and in September:

the finishing touches of paint are being put on the tenement houses. They are painted a french gray and trimmed with an olive green. The superintendent's houses are up near the Reubin Smith place (*Greenville Mountaineer* (Greenville, South Carolina), September 4, 1895).

The paper indicated that the Superintendent, a Mr. Wright, hoped to have the mill opened in two weeks. By October 19, 1895 the mill was reported to have 45 cottages.

On October 10, 1895 the O.H. Sampson & Company sold the Sampson mill property to the American Spinning Company for \$100,000. The deed specifically mentions that the transaction included:

the manufactories, buildings, boiler houses, erections, offices, boilers, engines, machinery, shaftings, fixtures, implements, utensils and property of every kind and necessary to its operation as a Cotton Manufacturing establishment (Greenville County Clerk of Court, DB ZZ, p. 570).

A plat, dated November 22, 1894, by J. E. Sirrine was not recorded and could not be identified during this initial investigation. In 1897 a plat of adjacent

areas, however, does show the property of the American Spinning Company, the Earle graveyard (which is on the corner of Buncombe and Hammett [or Morris] streets, occupying a larger area than is present today) (Greenville County Clerk of Court, DB HHH, p. 836).

At the turn of the century the American Spinning Company, originally using the equipment from the dismantled Camperdown mills, had capital of \$600,000, 35,00 spindles, and employed upwards of 800 hands (Crittenden 1903:69). A four and five-story brick cloth mill (referred to as "Mill No. 2") was built between 1900 and 1909 to complement the original cloth mill. Additions continued to be made after the First World War (Greenville News (Greenville, South Carolina), July 8, 1991). By 1911 there were 1,056 looms, 52,416 spinning spindles and 5,000 twister spindles and the mill had an annual output of 5,000,000 pounds. Also present was "a perfectly equipped Mill School, taught in a large brick building," library, "Barber Shop with baths," and two churches. There were 700 employees, although the mill population was 2000 individuals (including 355 children) in 1907 (Anonymous 1907:459; Anonymous 1911:28).

The main portion of the American Spinning Mills is shown on the 1913 Sanborn Insurance Map of Greenville, although the associated mill village is not incorporated in the map. Earlier maps (dated 1902 and 1908) do not show this area of Greenville.

In 1920 the Sanborn maps show a portion of the mill village, as well as the mill complex. The structures include both one and two story duplex dwellings, the school, the village office, and at least one superintendent's house. The location of the Earle cemetery and the associated church is not shown (Figure 4). A photograph from 1911 shows portions of the village and can provide additional information on the architecture (Anonymous 1911:28). Portions of this village are also shown by the 1928 Sanborn maps, although the South Caroliniana Library does not have the necessary volume for complete coverage. The Greenville County Redevelopment Authority has provided a reprinted tax map showing a portion of the village. While at this time the date of the map is unknown, it appears to be from the early 1930s (Figure 5).

American Spinning Company was dissolved in 1936 and the plant was apparently acquired by Cone Mills about 1941. It seems to be in this interval that the associated mill village became "lost." Some individuals have claimed that the village burned, others that it was torn down. The archaeological evidence, discussed below, favors the latter explanation and it is likely that by the mid-twentieth century the need (and worker desire) for such villages had declined. While the village may have been torn down, it is equally likely that individuals were offered the houses either to be moved, or as building materials. Either way, by 1943 (the date of the first aerial photographs examined) the village had ceased to exist. Cone Mills continued to operate the plant until 1988 and sold it in 1990 to a Charlotte investor who is leasing the building as warehouse space (Greenville News (Greenville, South Carolina), July 8, 1991).

### Mill Life

With the promise of steady work and housing which was maintained by the mill, a large number of landless whites (tenants and sharecroppers) were lured away from their rural homes at the turn of the century. These people had been living in impoverished conditions on small farms due to depressed economic conditions surrounding agriculture. Although there were few problems in attracting local labor, many mill owners advertised in neighboring states when shortages arose. It became the philosophy of mill management that the concept of "welfare work" would entice potential laborers. The benefits the mill offered were company-sponsored activities such as schools, churches and recreation facilities. In addition, health care facilities were eventually constructed (Stayner 1976).

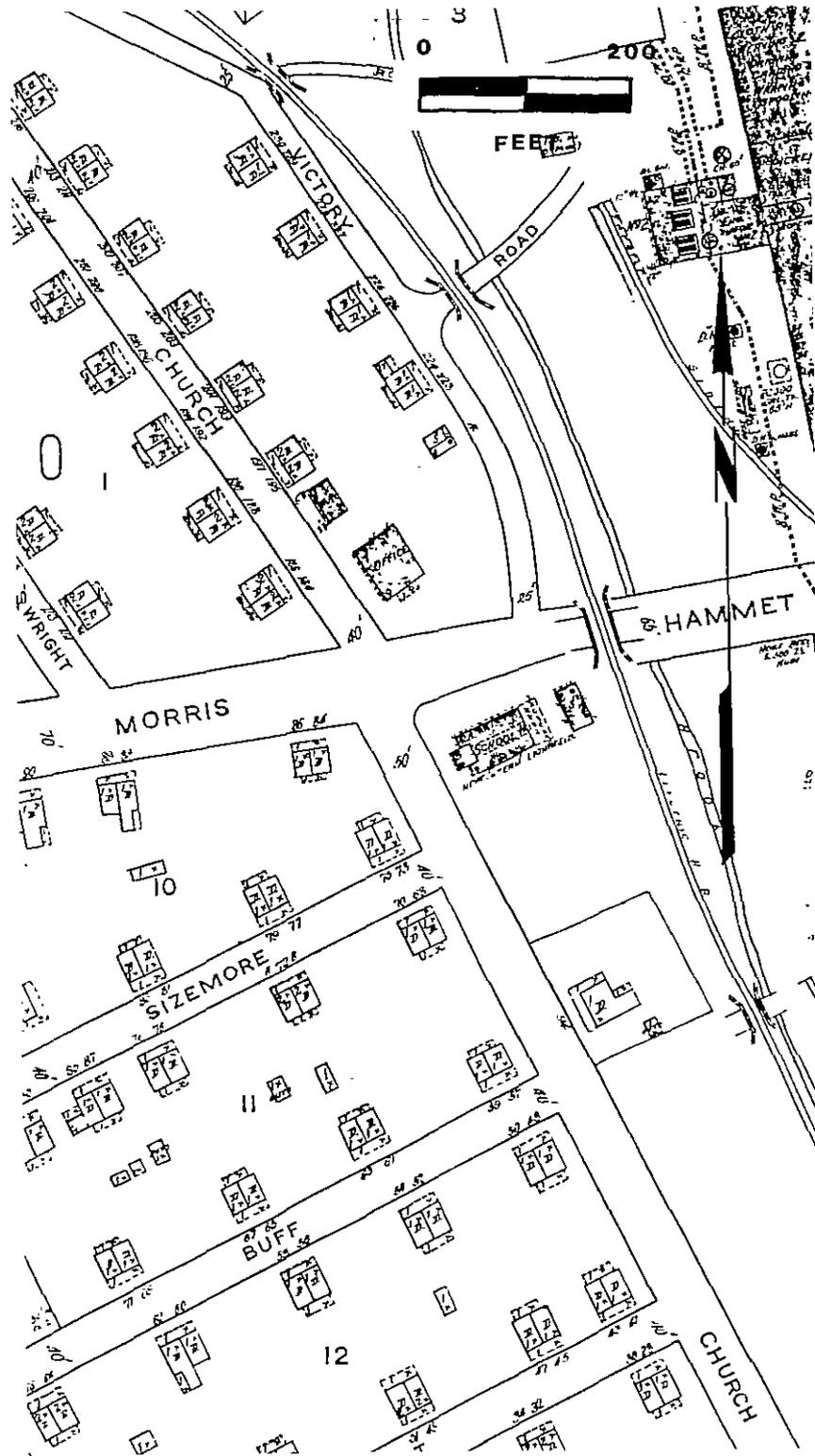


Figure 4. 1920 Sanborn Tax Map of the study area.

FIGURE NOT AVAILABLE

Figure 5. Undated tax map showing the project area.

Housing, provided by the mill at a nominal rent, was located adjacent to the mill so workers would lose no time getting to and from work. Rent was charged by the room, varying from no charge up to one dollar a month. It appears that the average rental was 50 cents per room, although in the Greenville area rooms were rented at 75 cents. The houses:

are tightly built, have ample windows and doors, have a ten-foot ceiling, are generally weatherboarded and ceiled with wood on the inside, and there is no occasion for crowding, each of the houses generally occupying a lot covering fully one-quarter of an acre and if there is any desire for more room it can be gotten (Anonymous 1907:443).

Although the working conditions were often poor, the hours long, the wages low, and young children often exploited, life in the mill village was a thought to be a great improvement over the living conditions that most workers had formerly led in the rural areas. Prior to the labor movements of the early twentieth century and unionization, social life was greatly restricted by the long working hours; and the system of "shift work" displaced families from enjoying activities together when they had time off. Once labor laws were enacted and maximum working hours were set, many social and recreational programs were started by mills. The 1907 *Handbook of South Carolina* illustrates through pictures and words the improvements enjoyed by millworkers from the move from their "Primitive Mountain Home" to the mill village. Pictures of cotton mill families, school children at recess, operatives at the bowling alley and at a mill sponsored fourth of July celebration are shown (Anonymous 1907).

Although the provision of social and economic needs by the mill company, including employment, housing, churches, schools, recreation, stores, and health facilities, gave them control over village life, mill families generally improved their own existence and provided opportunities to their children which might not have been possible in their former isolated rural environment (Historic Preservation Consulting 1990).

#### Land Use History

The brief historical synopsis reveals that the Simpson (later American Spinning Company) mill village was built in 1895 in an area that previously had not been developed. The village is known through oral history accounts and several partial maps, revealing an extensive community typical of such mill villages. In the mid-1930s the village was abandoned.

The earliest aerial photographs of Greenville County were taken in 1934, but included only the South Tyger River. The first imagery to include the project area was taken in 1943 (Thomas Cooper Map Repository, ASV-2C-147/148). By this time the village was no longer present, although the roads were visible, vegetation around lots was still present, and foot prints of the structures were discernable. Three structures were still standing, including a store at the corner of Buncombe and Church.

Later photographs in 1951, 1955, 1960, 1965, and 1970 continue to show the village's gradual return to nature. Roads, particularly north of Hammett or Morris Street become less clearly defined (suggesting that they may originally have been less substantially constructed). The abandoned vegetation gradually disappears, probably dying or being salvaged. Throughout this period no other noticeable activity takes place on the tract and there is no evidence of the disturbance expected from mass demolition.

This brief review of the land use history (coupled with the historical overview) indicates that the project area, prior to 1895, was probably vacant, perhaps either farmland or wooded. For the next 40+ years the area was used as a mill village. Houses and other structures were built, mill workers maintained

yards and used company facilities, and the area represented an tightly woven community. Sometime in the 1930s this appears to have ended -- the community ceased to exist, houses were torn down or moved, and the mill workers ceased using the area. For the past 50 years, the project area has been abandoned. No other uses or activities have taken place on the project. There is no evidence of disturbances or damage either from the limited historic research or the extensive aerial photographic documentation of the project site. There is every indication that the below ground historic resources, deposited between 1895 and ca. 1935 remain intact.

### Field Methods

The initially proposed field techniques involved a visual inspection of the survey areas exhibiting good surface visibility and the placement of shovel tests at 200 foot intervals in the tract to verify soil conditions and examine for erosion and disturbance.

Should sites be identified by surface collection and/or shovel testing, further tests would be used to obtain data on site boundaries, artifact quantity and diversity, site integrity, and temporal affiliation. The information required for completion of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology site forms would be collected and photographs would be taken, if warranted in the opinion of the field investigator.

All soil from the shovel tests would be screened through 1/4-inch mesh, with each test numbered sequentially. Each test would measure about 1 foot square and would normally be taken to a depth of at least 1 foot. All cultural remains would be collected, except for shell, mortar, and brick, which would be quantitatively noted in the field and discarded. Notes would be maintained for profiles at any sites encountered.

A total of 52 shovel tests were excavated in the project area (Figure 6). Based on the findings from shovel testing and surface collection which indicated that the whole tract was an archaeological site, close interval shovel testing was only performed to explore a few areas.

### Laboratory Analysis

The cleaning and analysis of artifacts was conducted in Columbia at the Chicora Foundation laboratories on September 2 and 3, 1992. It is anticipated that these materials will be catalogued and accessioned for curation at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. Field notes have been prepared for curation using archival standards and will be transferred to the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology as soon as the project is complete.

Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains.

### Results

The archaeological reconnaissance identified one site in the study area. This site (38GR190) can be loosely defined as the portion of the American Spinning Company mill village contained within the boundaries of the study area.

38GR190 consists of the entire area within the boundaries of the study tract. An aerial photograph of the study area (Figure 7) clearly shows old fence/lot lines of the property which can also be seen with varying clarity at ground level. It is likely that false color infrared photographs of the study tract would be particularly revealing. Evidence of landscaping is present. The neighborhood is situated on a hillside and some areas exhibit terracing. During the initial walkover of the property, ten structure areas were identified as



Figure 6. Location of shovel tests in the study area.

containing above ground structural features or surface remains, and three of those (Structure 7,8, and 9) were more intensively shovel tested. The area labelled "office" on the 1920 tax map (Figure 8) was also investigated. These areas are discussed individually below and are identified by their street address on a 1920 Sanborn Insurance Map and a 1991 reprint of an undated tax map presumed to date to the 1930s. See Figures 8 and 9 for the location of structures on the tax maps.

Structure 1 has been paved over although a dirt drive can be found on the west side. It is unknown when this paving took place. No intact architectural remains were noted, but brick rubble was found in the dirt drive. One shovel test and a surface collection yielded seven undecorated whitewares, three vitreous porcelains, one porcelain jar sealer, eight clear glass, one black bottle glass, one white porcelain four hole button, one electrical hardware item, and one unidentified plastic item. Coal clinkers were found on the surface. This site is designated as 184/186 Church Street on the 1920 Sanborn Map and is not shown on the undated tax map.

Structure 2 is overgrown with thick grass and no surface collection was made. However, a section of foundation, approximately three feet in length and one foot wide, was found. One shovel test in this vicinity yielded no artifacts. This site is designated as 151/153 Wright Street on the 1920 Sanborn Map and is not shown on the undated tax maps.

Structure 3 contained a small area of good surface visibility. Collected here was a large piece of structural or furniture related slate and one clear two hole button. The slate is 3.7 cm. thick with one beveled edge. The other edges are broken. Several holes for screws or mounting devices are found on the slate.

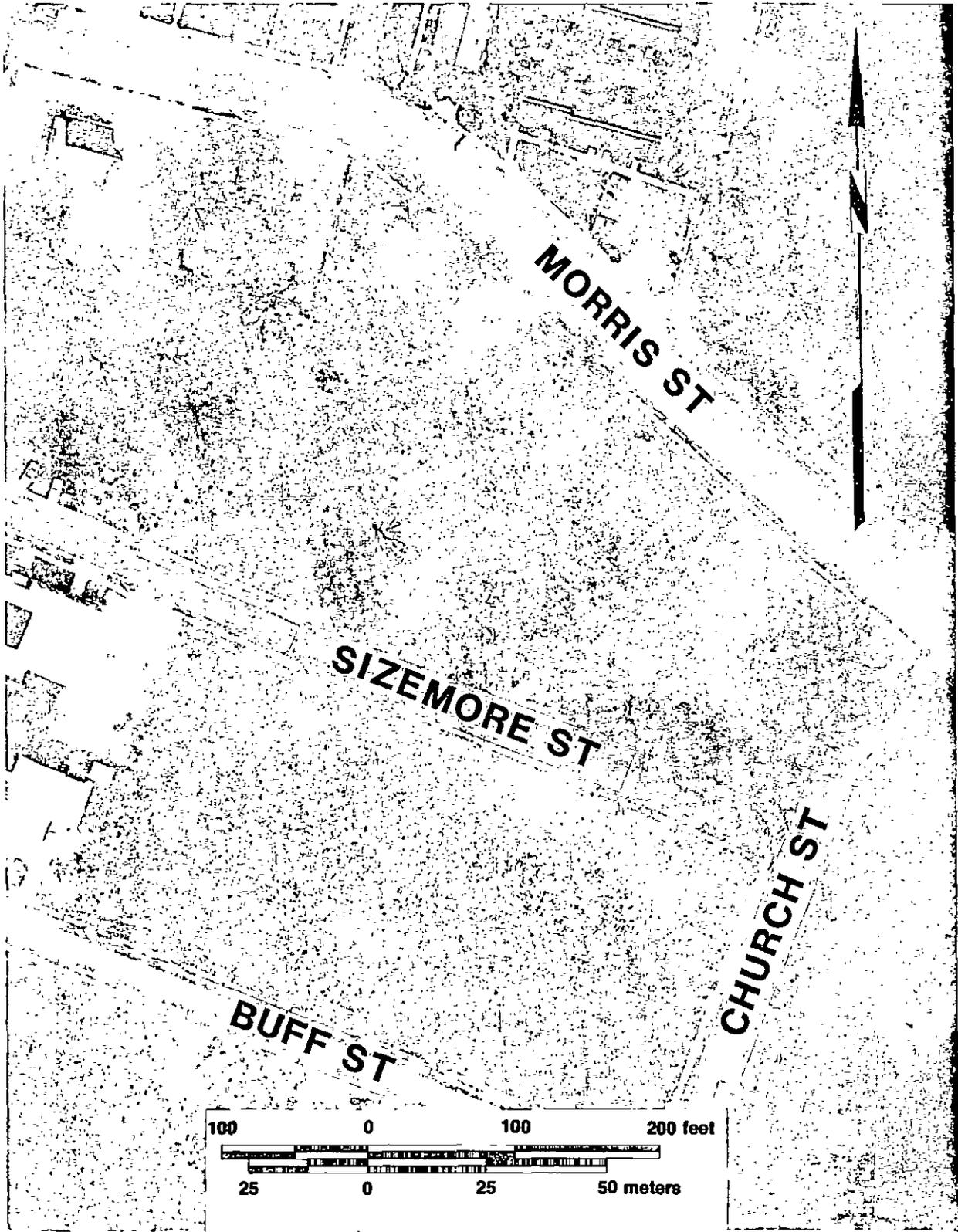


Figure 7. 1980 aerial photograph of a portion of the project area.

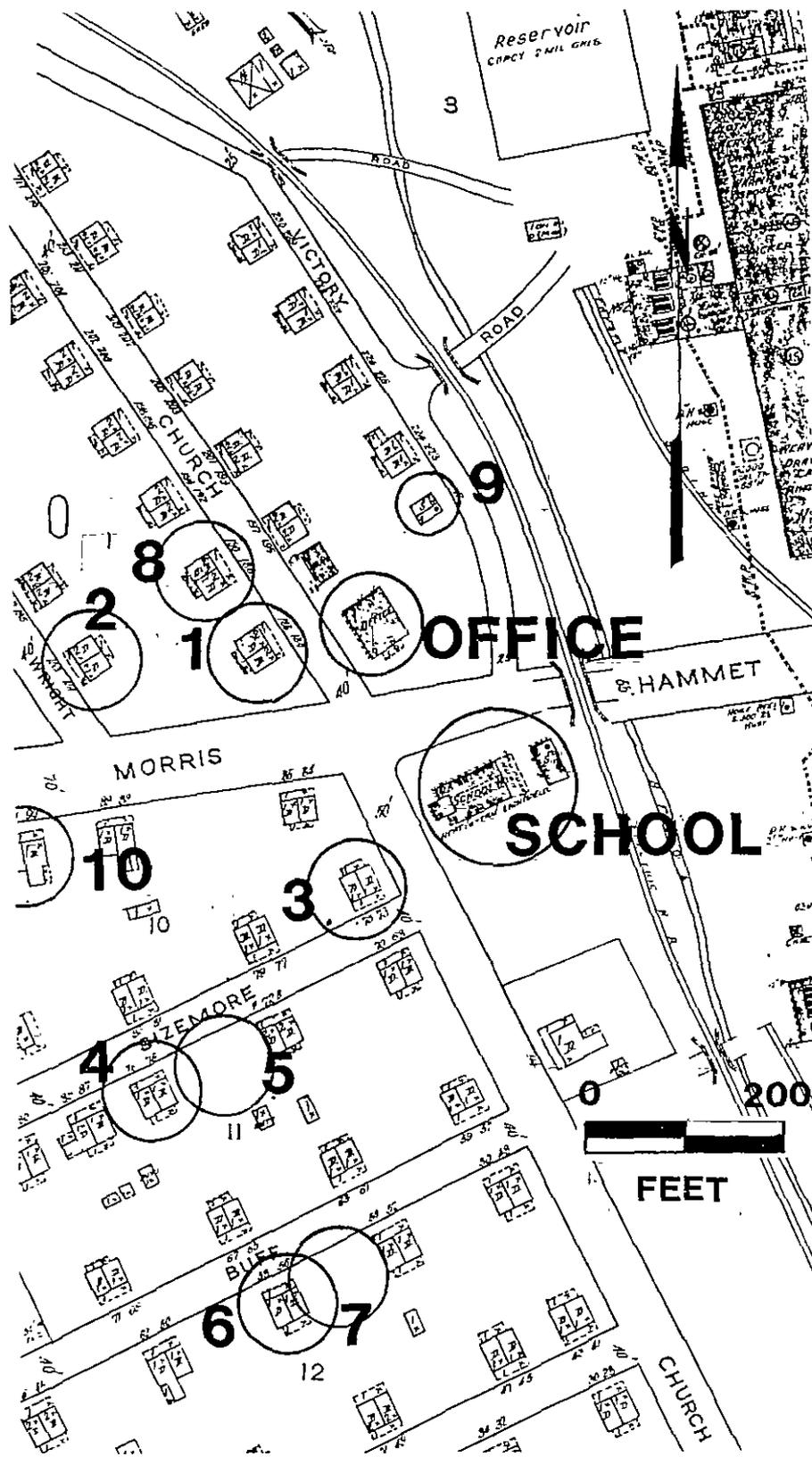


Figure 8. Location of archaeologically identified structures on the 1920 Sanborn Insurance Map.

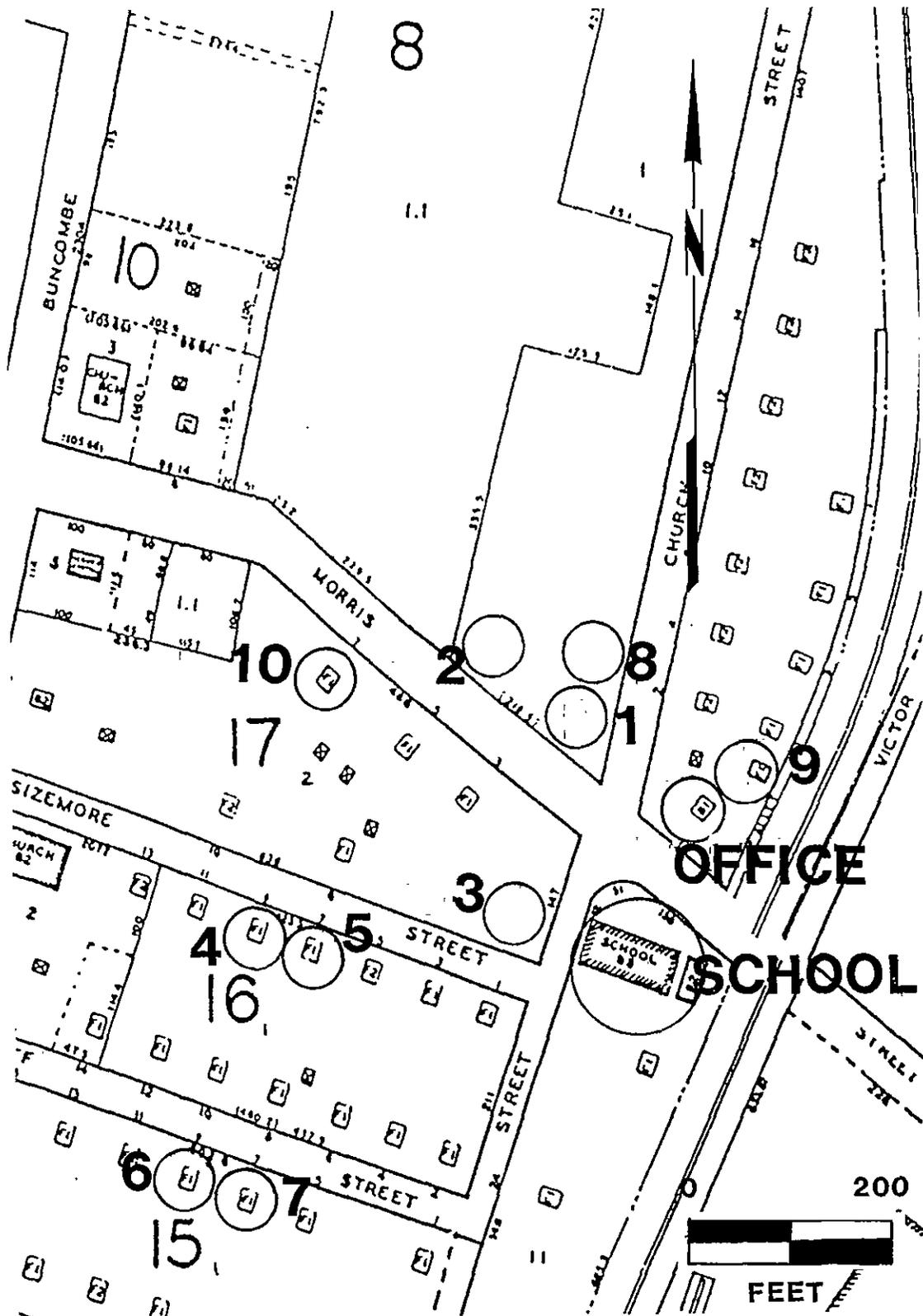


Figure 9. Location of archaeologically identified structures on the undated tax map.

No intact structural remains were noted in this area. This site is designated as 73/75 Sizemore Street on the 1920 Sanborn Map and is not shown on the undated tax map sheet reprinted in 1991.

Structure 4 was surface collected and one shovel test was placed in the vicinity of the structure. Recovered were two undecorated whitewares, three flat glass, four clear glass, one amber glass, and two aluminum hose clamp fragments. No intact structural remains were found. This site is designated as 76/78 Sizemore Street on the 1920 Sanborn Map and as 9 Sizemore Street on the undated tax map sheet reprinted in 1991.

Structure 5 was surface collected. Recovered were one undecorated whiteware, one burned unidentified stoneware, two flat glass fragments, and one clear glass. Again no intact structural remains were found. This site is not shown on the 1920 Sanborn Map and is designated as 7 Sizemore Street on the undated tax maps.

Structure 6 was surface collected. Only two artifacts were recovered here, consisting of one whiteware, and one iron hinge mount fragment. No intact structural remains were found. This site is designated as 56/58 Buff St. on the 1920 Tax Map and is designated as 9 Buff St. on the undated Tax Map sheet reprinted in 1991.

Structure 7 was surface collected and intensively shovel tested. Twelve tests at 25 foot intervals were placed in the structure area. Six (50%) were positive. Artifacts include one white porcelain furniture knob, two whitewares, two wire nail fragments, and one clear glass. Some of these tests contained coal clinkers. Four foundation piers were found here. Two were 1 by 2.1 feet in size and were 11 feet center to center. These piers contained one row of headers and one row of stretchers. Two other piers were found but their relationship to the other two are unclear and they are different; containing three rows of headers loosely mortared. They measured approximately 2.2 by 2.2 feet in size. A small trench was trowelled next to one of the smaller piers to see how deep the piers extend into the ground. The pier extended only one course into the ground, which suggests that the were originally placed at or only slightly below ground level. This site is not shown on the 1920 Sanborn Map and is designated as 7 Buff Street on the undated tax maps.

Structure 8 was surface collected and intensively shovel tested. Ten tests at 25 foot intervals were placed in the structure area. Five (50%) were positive. It should be noted that Structures 8 and 1 are adjacent and it is possible that there is some mixing of artifacts in the surface collection. Artifacts collected include 31 whitewares, three blue handpainted whitewares, six white porcelains, one yellow ware, one green glazed earthenware, three alkaline glazed stonewares, one coarse redware flower pot fragment, three milk glass fragments, six aqua glass fragments, two amethyst glass fragments, one cobalt blue glass, 15 clear glass, one clear S.C. Dispensary bottle fragment, one cut nail fragment, three UID nail fragments, twelve flat glass, and one iron skeleton key fragment. A moderate amount of coal clinkers were found on the surface and in shovel tests. No intact architectural remains were located. However, behind Structure 8 was a large oval depression approximately 20 by 30 feet in size and approximately one foot deep. A shovel test in the bottom of the depression revealed only reddish orange clay; no topsoil. Its function is unknown. Approximately 50 feet to the north was a very similar depression. This site is designated as 188/190 Church Street on the 1920 Sanborn Map and is not shown on the undated tax maps.

The remains of Structure 9 consist of a cement floor with brick walls on the north, west, and south sides. Topographically, the west side is higher and the wall here is approximately three feet high. The north and south was taper from the west to the east with the topography. One the east side is the remnant of an old paved road, probably Victory Street as shown on the 1920 Sanborn map.

The floor surface is approximately 60 feet north-south by 30 feet east-west. Old chairs and a large number of broken beer bottles and other trash were found in this area, which appears to be a local drinking spot. Five shovel tests here at a varying intervals yielded only modern beer bottle glass which was noted and discarded in the field. This site is shown in the area of an outbuilding associated with 223/224 Victory Street on the 1920 Sanborn Map and is shown as an outbuilding associated with 1 Alley on the undated tax map sheets.

Structure 10 area is covered in thick grass, however, a pier measuring 1 by 2.1 feet was found. No other remains were found. This site is designated as 90/91 Morris Street on the 1920 Sanborn Map and is shown 7 Morris Street on the undated tax maps.

The only above ground remains in the "office" area are two brick walls edging streets to the south and west. Cement stairs lead from the sidewalk to the raise ground, but no other architectural remains were noted. One shovel test in this areas yielded no artifacts. The office area is located at the northeast corner of Church and Morris streets (see Figure 4).

In the area of the school (southeast corner of Church and Hammett streets), the only above ground remains were a small amount of brick rubble in the middle of a dirt path used by locals to walk to the nearby Bi-Lo store.

General shovel test remains are discussed under the structures they occurred at. Two positive tests were placed in areas that were not designated by street addresses) in the field. These two tests yielded four clear glass and one brown glass.

Taken together, the artifacts collected from 38GR190 appear to yield similar patterns as rural tenant houses. Tenant houses in Florence County yielded

Table 1.  
Artifact Pattern from 38GR190

Kitchen Group		
Ceramics	62	
Glass	45	
Kitchen Total	107	77.5%
Architectural Group		
Window Glass	17	
Door lock parts	1	
Construction hardware	1	
Nails	6	
Architecture Total	25	18.1%
Furniture Group		
Porcelain knob	1	
Furniture Total	1	0.7%
Arms Group	0	0.0%
Tobacco Group	0	0.0%
Clothing Group		
Buttons	2	1.4%
Personal Group	0	0.0%
Activities Group		
Miscellaneous Hardware	3	2.2%

an average Kitchen/Architectural percentage of 82.3% and 14.2% (Trinkley and Adams 1992:80). The artifact pattern is presented in Table 1.

The mean ceramic date calculated for the site is 1980.5 (Table 2). However, the mill village was occupied between 1895 and 1938, giving it a mean date of occupation of 1916.5. Interestingly, no later wares such as decalcomania, tinted glaze whitewares, or gilded whitewares were found. While whitewares have a wide date range of manufacture, 1820-1970 (Bartovics 1981), very few decorated ceramics were found at the site. The ceramics present at the site may represent

Table 2.  
Mean Ceramic Date for 38GR190

Ceramic	(xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Porcelain, white	1883	9	16947
Whiteware, handpainted	1848	1	1848
undecorated	1895	44	83380
Yellow ware	1980	1	1890
Total		57	107761
MCD = 107761 ÷ 57 = 1890.5			

older, highly curated examples that mill workers brought with them, or it is quite possible that they could only afford undecorated wares.

In general, soil profiles indicated that the top 0.5 feet was dark brown in color (10YR4/3). Below this was red clay subsoil (2.5YR4/6). However, some bare spots, the depressions, and a dirt road near Structure 1 all contained no topsoil. The central UTM coordinates are E370740 N3851760 and the soils are Cecil urban-land complex.

Although this study represents only a reconnaissance level investigation, we believe that sufficient information has been obtained to recommend site 38GR190 as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. While all the structures have been removed, the surrounding yard areas, and some architectural remains, exhibit good integrity. The land use history reveals no evidence of extraordinary damage or disturbance to the site, and this is verified by the field investigations which typically reveal intact soil profiles and buried artifacts.

It was during the late nineteenth/early twentieth century that many rural people came to live in these mill villages, hoping that mill work would improve their conditions. It has not been clearly documented how these people adjusted to their new city lives or what practices from the country they continued to use in the city. While some archaeological work has been performed at rural tenant sites in South Carolina, no work has been done at mill villages. It is at such sites that historical archaeology can decipher the lives of the invisible people.

### Summary and Conclusions

As a result of this archaeological reconnaissance, one site -- the American Spinning Company mill village (38GR190) -- was recorded. This site incorporates the entirety of the survey area and is recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

While all the mill houses have been torn down and removed, the associated archaeological remains appear to be in situ with only minor damage having occurred through erosion and paving in very limited areas of the tract.

Historical research, maps, and areal photos indicate that no significant alteration of the property has occurred since the mill village's destruction in the 1930s.

The site has the potential to answer questions relating to changes in material culture of the mill workers who came to the cities with very few personal possessions. A small amount of archaeology has been performed at rural tenant sites. This information could be compared to that of the mill village to answer questions relating to lifestyle changes and cultural continuities.

This reconnaissance report has provided minimal historical background for the American Spinning Company mill village. Generally, it is known that O.H. Sampson built the mill and village in 1895, and several months later sold it to American Spinning Company. This mill operated until it was dissolved in 1936. Shortly afterwards, the village was dismantled. The mill was not bought until 1941 by Cone Mills. Cone Mills operated the plant until 1988.

Any existing mill records for the village would provide much greater detail to the development and eventual disappearance of the community. There has been some effort to identify these records in the past, and those efforts should be continued. There are several newspapers which may contain information pertinent to this mill village, including:

*Greenville County Observer*, 1928-1932  
*Greenville Daily Herald*, 1902 - 1906  
*Greenville Daily News*, 1874 - 1919  
*Greenville Mountaineer*, 1893 - 1902  
*Greenville News*, 1920 -

and these should be examined. The photography files of the *Greenville Daily News* may still contain images of the mill and village. In addition, the Greenville County Library has a collection of local history materials, including additional newspapers. Copies of the city directory may provide additional information on the firm of Gower & Dillard. A complete title search, with additional attention to the various back files of the Greenville County Tax Assessor and the Greenville City Engineers Office, may answer a number of questions regarding the construction and eventually abandonment of the village. The Library of Congress will need to be consulted for latter issues of the Sanborn maps, especially Volume 1 of the 1928 edition.

The Southern Historical Collection in Chapel Hill contains the typed autobiography of John Thomas Woodside (1864-1947), a Greenville banker and textile manufacturer. This may contain information useful to the study. The Henry Pinckney Hammett papers at the South Caroliniana Library contain not only Hammett's business papers, but also references to O.H. Sampson and Company. Consequently, these materials may also provide some clues to the construction of the mill.

Additionally, older Greenville residents who lived in the village could be sought for oral history, which could provide a more intimate view of lifestyles and attitudes towards mill life and work. Questions to be addressed could include,

- design of operatives and supervisor housing,
- changes and improvements to the village, and
- where employees were relocated to after the mill dissolved.

As with the historical background, the archaeological work has also provided only minimal information. Further archaeology should examine several structures to investigate a number of answerable question such as,

- refuse disposal patterns,
- yard use, location of outbuildings and privies (if city water and sewer were not immediately provided), and
- differences between tenant and mill village artifact assemblages.

These questions can help fill in gaps about daily life in the domestic areas of the mill complex. While historians have noted that life changed for the better for mill workers in terms of housing, health care, and educational opportunities, little is known about how moving to the villages changed their living practices or how their material situation improved.

The archaeological investigations could take the approach of exploring both domestic and non-domestic structures (for examples mill houses compared to the school and office). Among the dwellings it will be important to examine both representative structures of workers and superintendents, providing a cross section of status and wealth.

This is an exciting project which has the promise of documenting both the history of Greenville and the entire textile industry. No previous urban investigations have taken place on the lives of mill workers and extremely little research has been conducted outside of Charleston. This is an opportunity to integrate this extremely significant story into the history and heritage of the City of Greenville.

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