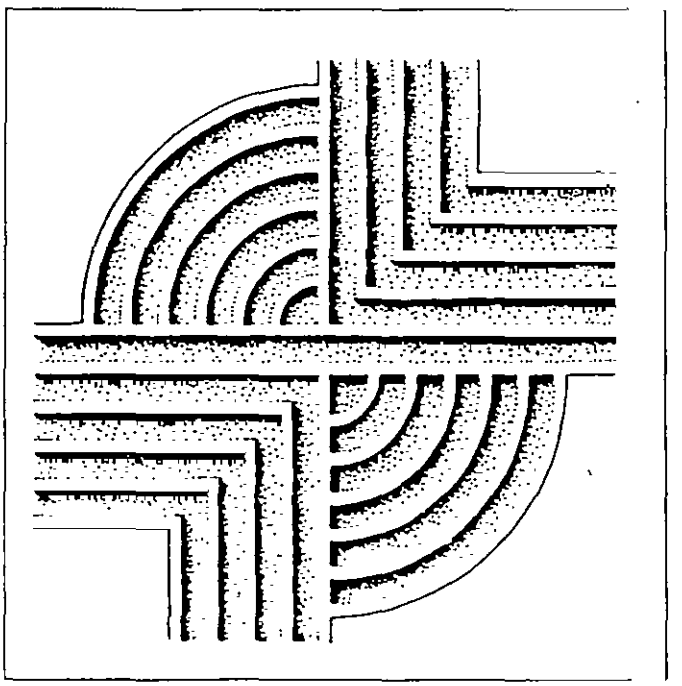
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE REEDY RIVER/RICHLAND CREEK AND BRUSHY CREEK REPLACEMENT SEWER LINES, GREENVILLE COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA



CHICORA RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 127

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE REEDY RIVER/RICHLAND CREEK AND BRUSHY CREEK REPLACEMENT SEWER LINES, GREENVILLE COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Prepared For:
Mr. Aaron M. Frazier
Camp Dresser & McKee
301 South McDowell Street, Suite 704
Charlotte, N.C. 28204

Prepared By:
Natalie Adams
Michael Trinkley

Chicora Foundation Research Contribution 127

Chicora Foundation, Inc.
P.O. Box 8664 ▫ 861 Arbutus Drive
Columbia, S.C. 29202
803/787-6910

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Introduction

This investigation was conducted by Ms. Natalie Adams of Chicora Foundation, Inc. for Mr. Aaron M. Frazier of Camp Davis & McKee. The proposed seven mile replacement sewer right of way is situated within the city of Greenville, beginning on Richland Creek near Park Avenue. The 200 foot wide right of way extends south along the Reedy River where it turns west at a sewage disposal plant. The right of way ends on Brushy Creek, just north of I-85 (Figure 1).

The right of way is intersected by a number of major roads (e.g. I-85, South Pleasantburg Road, and Cleveland Street) and many portions of the right of way have been paved or otherwise affected by these highways. Most of the area has been disturbed, either by the presence of the existing sewer line, by erosion, or by development. The existing sewer line is to be replaced. This activity will include clearing, grubbing, and ditching which have the potential to damage or destroy archaeological resources if such resources are within the affected portion of the right of way.

This study is intended to provide a detailed explanation of the archaeological survey of the right of way and the findings. Chicora received a request for a proposal on October 4, 1993. This proposal was accepted on November 1, 1993.

The project included examination of the statewide archaeological site files held by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology for information pertinent to the project area. Mr. Wes Breedlove, a local avocational archaeologist with several decades of experience in the Greenville area who has identified over 2000 archaeological sites in the region, was also consulted concerning possible site locations. No sites were previously identified. In addition, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History was consulted on October 26, 1993 about National Register properties and previous architectural surveys in the area. No response has yet been received and we presume that no information is available. The field investigations were conducted on December 1 and 2, 1993 by Ms. Natalie Adams and Mr. Chris Nichols. This field work, described in more detail below, involved 16 person hours. Laboratory and report production were conducted at Chicora's laboratories in Columbia, South Carolina on December 13 and 14, 1993.

Environmental Background

The project area is located in the southern portion of Greenville County, just southeast of the City of Greenville (Figure 2). The bulk of Greenville County falls within the Piedmont Physiographic Province (although the northern one-quarter is found in the Blue Ridge Mountains). The general slope of the terrain is southeastward, which is the

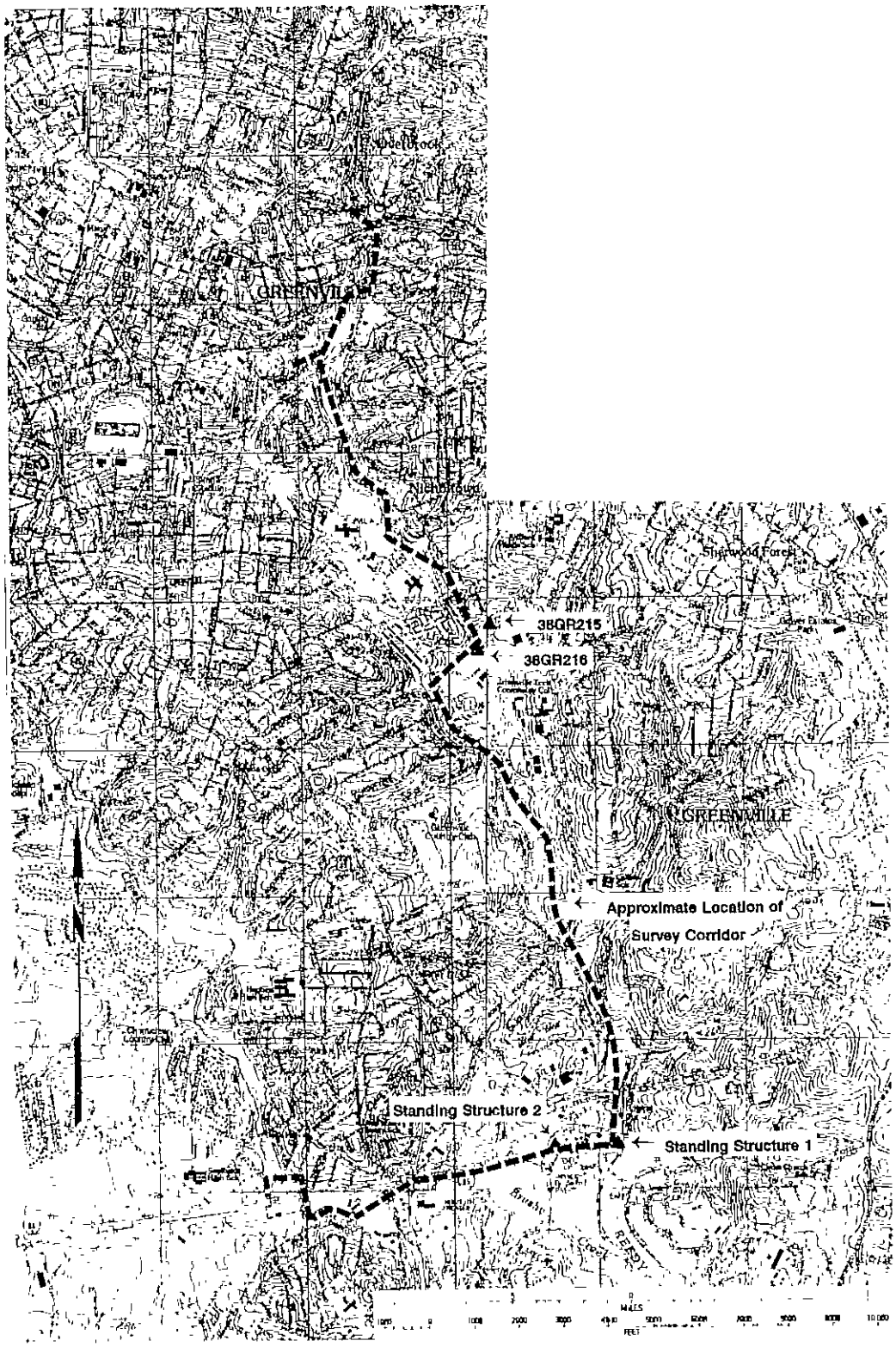

Figure 2. Location of identified resources shown on portions of the Greenville and Mauldin USGS topographic maps.

general direction of the major drainages within the County, such as the Reedy River which flows through Greenville and is found adjacent to a large portion of the survey corridor. Also encompassed by the project is Brushy Creek, which flows southeastwardly into the Reedy River. The land ranges from nearly level to steep, but most areas are gently sloping to moderately steep. Like elsewhere in the Piedmont, the drainages form a dendritic pattern and throughout the Piedmont the terrain has been extensively dissected and degraded.

Elevations range from about 750 to 1,000 feet mean sea level (MSL) in the central portion of the county, although in the Blue Ridge Mountains elevations range up to nearly 3,300 feet MSL. Being in the upper portion of the Piedmont, although before the Blue Ridge, elevations in the project area range from about 875 to 950 feet MSL. The highest elevations are those associated with the bluff edges overlooking the Reedy River, while the lowest elevations are found in the floodplains.

Most of the rocks of the Piedmont are gneiss and schist, with some marble and quartzite (Haselton 1974). Some less intensively metamorphosed rocks, such as slate, occur along the eastern part of the Piedmont Province from southern Virginia to Georgia. This area, called the slate belt, is characterized by slightly lower ground with wider river valleys. Consequently, the slate belt has been favored for reservoir sites (Johnson 1970). In Greenville County there are eight geologic formations ranging from alluvium recently deposited on the floodplains through fine-grained rocks which are diabase dikes that cut across formations of granite and gneiss to coarse-grained rocks such as muscovite pegmatite dikes. This geologic diversity promotes both floristic and topographic diversity, although in the project area relatively little of this diversity is immediately apparent.

Today the project area, spanning a distance of about 7 miles, crosses through areas of heavy urbanized and industrial activity (Figure 1). Originating in the Overbrook section of Greenville, near Wade Hampton Boulevard and East Park Drive at Richland Creek and extending southward along the Reedy River through Nicholtown, it crosses property of both Greenville County Technical College and the Greenville Country Club. The southern terminus of the project is the current sewage treatment plant, situated at the confluence of the Reedy River and Brushy Creek. There the project is joined by a western extension along Brushy Creek which extends primarily along I-85 for about 1.2 miles.

Soils in the project area are classified as Cecil urban-land complex with 2 to 25% slopes, Cartecay and Toccoa soils, and Madison clay loams with up to a 15% slope (Camp 1975). Cecil soils consist of gently sloping to moderately steep soils that are well drained. The urban-land complex consists of areas that have been excavated, filled, or otherwise disturbed by humans. Generally the surface layer is a dark brown sandy loam about 0.5 foot thick overlying red clay subsoils which extend for about 52 inches. The Cartecay and Toccoa soils are nearly level and are found in drainageways and floodplains. These sandy loams are usually poorly drained with a dark brown surface layer about 0.6 foot overlying yellowish-brown sandy and silt loams. The Madison series consists of gently sloping to moderately steep soils which are typically well drained. They are most common on broad

ridges and along the side slopes of drainages.

In the early nineteenth century Robert Mills observed that Greenville County soils were:

> various, embracing the sandy, clayey, gravelly, and stony character. Its productiveness is regulated by circumstances of position and culture; most of the land being capable of yielding a generous product in proportion to the industry bestowed by the cultivator. It is well adapted to the culture of all the small grains and corn . . . . The quantity of wheat produced to the acre, averages about 12 bushels; of corn 25 bushels; of clean cotton 125 pounds per acre (Mills 1972:572 [1826]).

As discussed in more detail below, this was an area of yeoman farmers who placed little pressure on the soils during the early nineteenth century. Prior to the Civil War, however, the population increased, transportation improved, and cotton began to be planted in earnest. With cotton came, for the first time, abandonment, erosion, and gullies. By 1859 John Logan remarked that the Enoree River, separating Greenville and Spartanburg counties, "is now a turbid stream discolored by the dissolving clay of a wasted soil" (Logan 1859:237). After the Civil War cotton was seen, more than ever, as the only salvation of the Southern farmer. Between 1870 and 1880 the acreage of tilled land doubled in the area just below the Blue Ridge. After 1900 erosion became acute because of rising cotton prices which culminated in the agricultural "war boom" during World War I. By 1910 what virgin land remained, even in steep areas, was being cleared for cotton cultivation.

These agricultural practices brought the same disastrous soil loses in this region as already experienced in other sections of South Carolina. Lowry (1934) found significant portions of Greenville County suffering from severe sheet erosion and occasional gullies. Trimble found nearly 0.9 foot of soil had eroded off most of Greenville County, largely as a result of postbellum cotton farming (Trimble 1974:15). A study of erosion in the vicinity of the Spartanburg Municipal Reservoir Watershed, located on the South Pacolet River about 13 miles north of Spartanburg, provides some comparative information since both Spartanburg and Greenville counties suffered similar erosional histories. The authors of the study remark that:

> nearly all the land in the watershed has been affected by erosion or erosional debris. . . . A little more than 17 percent of the land has been severely or very severely eroded, having lost at least three-fourth of the surface soil [estimated to be from 8 to 36 inches of soil loss] or slightly less than three-fourths of the surface soil from areas with frequent gullies. Slightly more than 42 percent have been affected by erosion designated as moderate to severe. Damage has been most severe on the cultivated Cecil soils on slopes of 7 percent and over. Erosion is moderate to severe, severe, or very severe on 88.6 of the cropland (Bass and Martin 1940:12).

It is ironic that the crop which made Greenville's textile mills hum was the same crop which depleted the soil, forcing farmers off the land and into those mills.

In the nineteenth century Mills described the climate of Greenville as:

> 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 summer, and protection from the cold northern blasts in winter (Mills 1972:575 [1826]).

Indeed, most of Greenville County does have a temperate climate characterized by mild winters and warm summers, at least by our standards. Winter temperatures, however, frequently hover between the low fifties and freezing, while in the summer temperatures will frequently be in the upper 80s to mid-90s. With nearly 3000 heating degree days[1], Greenville can be considered cold, especially if you are in a poorly constructed, uninsulated wood frame house.

During the fall, winter, and spring the weather is controlled largely by the west to east motion of fronts and air masses. Air exchanges are less frequent in the summer and maritime tropical air can persist in the region for relatively long periods -- giving rise to very warm, humid days. Precipitation is well distributed throughout the year and averages around 50 inches, adequate for a wide range of crops. For most of Greenville County the average growing season is between 210 and 220 days.

Vegetation within the project area today ranges from thick, knee high grasses such as broomsage to second growth forests of oak and pine. The vegetation found in the project area today has been completely altered from what was there both prehistorically and in the nineteenth century.

Piedmont forests generally belong to the Oak-Hickory Formation as established by Braun (1950). Most common are white oaks, black oaks, and red oaks, although a wide range of additional species may be found, including hickories, loblolly and shortleaf pines, black gum, and sweetgum. In low areas beech, ash, hickories, and birch may replace the oaks and at the water's edge there may be willows and alders. The Piedmont diversity is largely related to variations in the moisture content and fertility of the soils. Berry, expressing the attitude of many, remarks that:

> the present aspect of piedmont landscape has doubtless come about as a result of one or more erosion cycles. These cycles have left us with an area

[1] A "degree day" is a measurement of heating requirement. It represents the difference between each day's mean temperature and 65°F, the temperature below which houses are assumed to need heat. For example, if a winter's day mean temperature (highest + lowest ÷ 2) equals 45°, then its degree-day total for that day would be 20 degree days. Explained another way, one degree day accumulates for every degree below 65°F over a 24-hour period.

> as complex as anyone would like to make it, yet an area which, for a layman's viewpoint, is relatively unimpressive (Berry 1980:61).

Mills, in the nineteenth century, remarked that Greenville had "short leafed pine, popular, chestnut, white, red, and Spanish oak, some curled maple, black walnut, and wild cherry" (Mills 1972:574 [1826]), suggesting that the vegetation has remained relatively stable for the past several hundred years.

Archaeological and Historical Background

The Paleoindian 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 Paleoindian 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).

Only two Paleoindian projectile points have been found in Greenville County (Goodyear et al. 1989:33). Although not clearly patterned in this location, elsewhere they are often found clustered along major drainages and their tributaries. This pattern of artifact dispersal has been interpreted by Michie to support the concept of an economy "oriented towards the exploitation of now extinct mega-fauna" (Michie 1977:124).

Unfortunately, little is known about Paleoindian subsistence strategies, settlement systems, or social organization. Generally, archaeologists agree that the Paleoindian 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 Paleoindian period, but is a slow transition characterized by a modern climate and an increase in the diversity of material culture. 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 (for a thorough discussion of the Early Archaic, see Anderson et al. 1992, while Anderson and Joseph 1988 offer a review of prehistoric archaeology along the upper Savannah River).

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.

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 earliest coastal phases are named the Savannah and Irene (known as Pee Dee further inland) (A.D. 1200 to 1550).

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.

After the establishment of South Carolina as a British province in 1670, organization and delineation into more manageable territorial units began. In 1682, the Proprietors sectioned the new province into four counties. Present Greenville County was included in the largest of these, Colleton County, which remained as Indian land until 1776 (Kennedy 1940:34). A further refinement of boundaries in 1769 saw the creation of the Ninety Six District, although Greenville (along with Pickens, Oconee, and Anderson counties) was still considered part of the Cherokee Lands. It was not until 1786 that Greenville County, taken from the Cherokee during the American Revolution, was created.

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 [1826]). 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 [1826]) 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 Bowater Company building 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 County 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. In fact, the only two events of note were at the "Great Cane Break" on December 22, 1775, and at the headwater of the Tyger River in November 1781 (Lipscomb 1991).

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. Perhaps embarrassed by the failed real estate venture and a political defeat, Alston in 1815 sold his 11,000 acre holdings to Vardry McBee and left the area (Building Conservation Technology 1981:11). Virtually all of the City of Greenville can be traced back to McBee's ownership during the early nineteenth century.

In 1790 the Piedmont, with 81,533 inhabitants, accounted for 32.7% of South Carolina's population. By 1800 the population of this area had increased to 120,805, an increase of 48.2% over the previous decade. One obvious reason, clearly, was the promise of good agricultural lands, by this time a rare commodity in the coastal region.

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

> the village of Greenville . . . is beautifully situated on a plain, 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 [1826]; see also 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 was built through Greenville in 1853, and it was during this time that the South's largest carriage and wagon plant was constructed in the town (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 County and is in excess of Pickens' 78 improved acres per farm (DeBow 1854:302-305).

James Henry Hammond's defense of the South before the United States Senate declared, "No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war

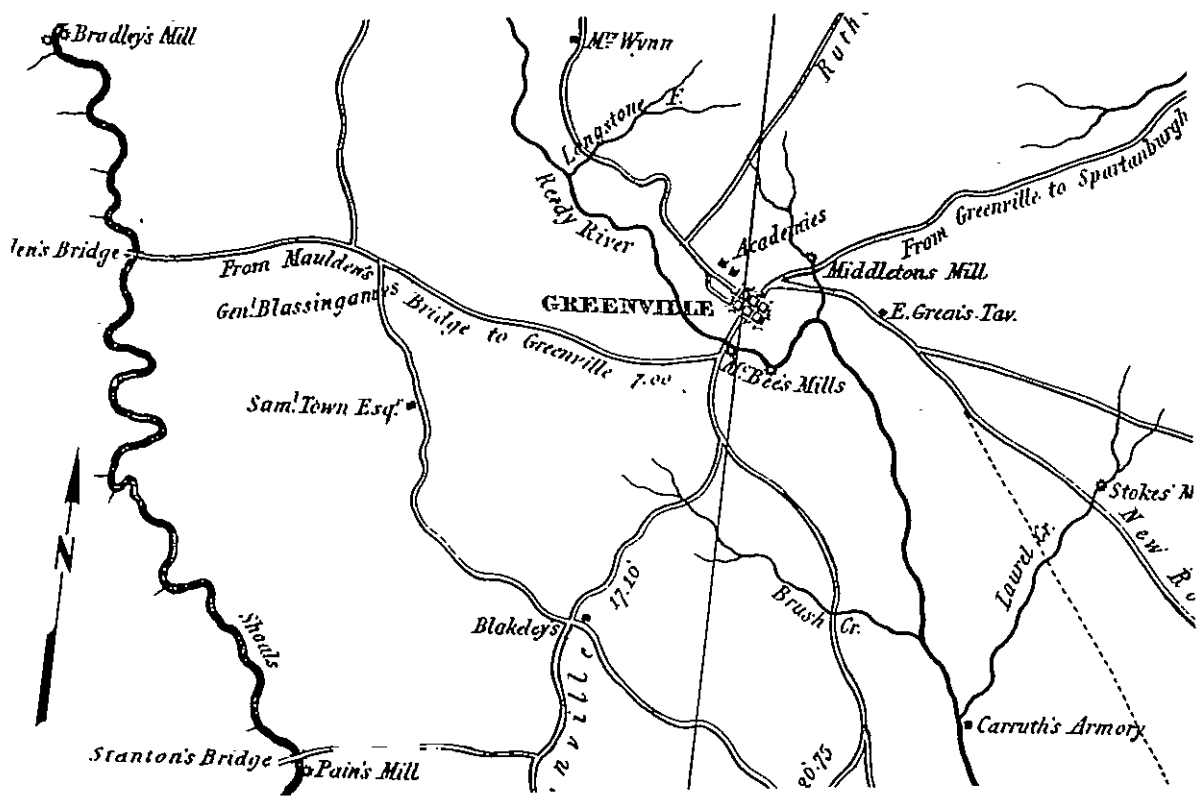

Figure 3. Mills Atlas of 1826 showing the project area.

upon it. Cotton is King." This sentiment was the culmination of nearly fifty years of agricultural and economic practices that led the South to the brink of destruction. The Up Country's participation in this economic roller coaster has been described in some detail by Ford (1988) and only a brief synopsis will be presented here.

Lacking a consistently profitable staple crop, the Up Country concentrated on the production of subsistence crops until the early 1800s with the introduction of the cotton gin and the rise of English textile mills, the out-growth 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 counties produced fewer than the 2452 bales from Georgetown (DeBow 1854). 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 (see Hacker and Trinkley 1992 for additional details).

Ford 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 and tobacco. 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" (Ford 1988:372). Yeomen and planters both rose to

defend this common ideal.

The Civil War had little military impact on Greenville and no significant battles were fought in the County. The war did, however, change Greenville's 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, seed, 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%. More over, 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 legacy of poor agricultural training, the inability to obtain assistance, and the effect of Jim Crow laws (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, however, the news was not planting cotton, but rather weaving it into "golden" 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 Rocky Creek about 10 miles east of Greenville), Pelham Mill (on the Enoree River 11 miles east of Greenville), Reedy River Factory (on the 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.).

A historian clearly expresses the fervor which accompanied cotton mills:

> The "Cotton Mill Campaign" of the 1880s approached the status of a religious crusade, especially in the Carolina piedmont towns along the northern-owned Southern Railway: Charlotte, Greenville, and Spartanburg, among the more prominent participants in the "Campaign." "Next to God, what this town needs is a cotton mill," bellowed one Piedmont preacher, and a Salisbury, North Carolina, evangelist informed his listeners that "the establishment of a cotton mill would be the most Christian act" they could perform. Southerners evidently took heed; by 1900, one half of the South's looms were within a hundred mile radius of Charlotte, and the total number of looms in the South grew from 11,900 to 110,000 between 1880 and 1900 (Goldfield 1982:123-124).

The collective hope was that heavy investment in cotton mills would provide the jobs that Greenville (and other counties) so desperately needed, more effectively use the region's primary agricultural product (cotton), and would draw producers in related manufacturing and service fields to the region. In turn, the rapid urbanization brought about by the concentration of workers would create or increase the demand for locally made goods, as well as for agricultural, dairy, and meat products -- all resulting in a healthier economic climate and prosperity -- at least for the wealthy.

The social environment of the Piedmont contributed to the distinctive character of its industrialization, especially at its mills. Because mills were often constructed either in rural areas, or in areas which were not yet able to support truly urban growth, the mill owners had to provide housing for the workers. This, coupled with other aspects of "welfare work" were intended to attract workers to the mills from the countryside. It is ironic that the relative isolation of Southern mills, when compared to their Northern counterparts, is what created the comprehensive pattern of paternalism which, in turn, assisted the owners in thwarting unionization. Also beneficial was the threat of black labor, just as effective to break unionization efforts in the early twentieth century as it was to control poor whites in the antebellum.

More significantly, the process "delayed the development of a skilled and literate non-farm labor force, an essential resource for the attraction of high-wage, capital-intensive industry" (Oates 1989:730). In spite of the pervasiveness of the textile industry, it is important to realize that South Carolina (as well as the South as a whole) remained rural and agrarian. For example, in 1900 only 4% of the people were employed in manufacturing jobs, the remainder were largely rural and agrarian, steadfastly maintaining their ties to earlier times.

Field Methods

The initially proposed field techniques involved the placement of shovel tests in high probability areas at 100 foot intervals in transects 100 feet apart (or two parallel transects

in the 200 foot wide right of way). In addition, low probability areas would be examined using shovel tests at 200 foot intervals in transects 100 feet apart. Areas of high archaeological probability included broad well drained floodplains, whereas areas of low archaeological probability included narrow drainage areas, areas with 10% or greater slope, and poorly drained areas.

At all shovel tests the soil would be screened through ¼-inch mesh, with each test numbered sequentially by transect. Each shovel test would measure about one foot square and would be excavated to subsoil. All cultural remains would be collected, except for items such as mortar or brick, which would be qualitatively noted in the field and discarded. Notes, including Munsell soil colors, would be maintained for profiles at any sites encountered. Additional profile notations would be made on a random basis for the purpose of verifying soil conditions

These field methods were executed with several modifications based on local field conditions. In areas of the right of way which were partially paved only one transect was used. In other words, no effort was made to examine inaccessible areas and it is assumed that the grading required by construction has already destroyed any archaeological resources which might have been present. This occurred in a number of areas including Cleveland Park, portions of Greenville Technical College, and a business park. Also several areas of low archaeological probability were examine with transects at 100 feet apart, allowing a check on our field evaluations of archaeological probability. No sites were found when this closer interval was used in low probability areas, which appears to confirm the probability assessments. In addition to the shovel testing, creek and river banks were examined for eroding remains and areas with good surface visibility were subject to pedestrian survey. As a result of this survey, a total of 286 shovel tests were excavated.

Laboratory Analysis

The cleaning and analysis of artifacts was conducted in Columbia at the Chicora Foundation laboratories on December 13 and 14, 1993. These materials are being catalogued and accessioned for curation at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. Original and duplicate field notes, as well as photographic materials, 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. Copies of the photographs from the standing mill site (described below) have also been forwarded to the S.C. Department of Archives and History for incorporation in their files. Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains.

Results

As a result of the archaeological survey of the Richland Creek/Reedy River and Brushy Creek replacement sewerline, two previously unrecorded archaeological sites were

identified. In addition, two standing structures were recorded (Figure 2). The archaeological sites are recorded as 38GR215 and 38GR216. For the purpose of this study, a site was defined as an area containing two or more artifacts in a 25 by 25 foot area.

Archaeological Sites

38GR215 is located outside of the right of way, adjacent to the East Faris Road entrance to Greenville Technical College. The site consists of a deposit of twentieth century remains adjacent to an unnamed intermittent stream. The site was initially discovered through routine shovel testing. Surface visibility was poor and no collection was made. Seven shovel tests were excavated in the site area along a narrow grassy strip between the creek and the driveway to Greenville Technical College. Of these seven tests, four yielded subsurface remains. Artifacts included 42 fragments of clear bottle glass, one fragment of brown bottle glass, two window glass fragments, one fragment of ceramic tile.

Soil profiles indicated 0.3 feet of dark brown (10YR4/3) sandy loam overlying yellowish red (5YR5/6) sandy clay. The central UTM coordinates are E374280 N3854840 and the soils are Cecil urban land complex. Based on shovel testing the site measures 125 feet north-south by at least 50 feet east-west. The site probably continues east under the driveway and into the college complex.

38GR215 has very limited data sets and its overall integrity has been compromised by the construction of Greenville Technical College. Although the source of these materials is unclear, it is possible that the materials are associated with an early twentieth century abandoned city dump which exists under the college (Mr. Wes Breedlove, personal communication 1993). As a result, the site's context is unclear and its ability to address significant research questions is hampered by the construction of the college. Consequently, 38GR215 is recommended as not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. This recommendation, however, is not extended beyond the narrowly defined site parameters, since we have not explored the city dump or conducted additional historical research on that site.

38GR216 is located just southeast of the confluence of the Reedy River and an unnamed intermittent stream on the campus of Greenville Technical College. The site was initially discovered through routine shovel testing. Surface visibility was poor and no collection was made. Fourteen shovel tests were excavated along a 75 foot wide grassy strip between the Reedy River and a paved parking lot. Of these 14 shovel tests, 11 yielded subsurface materials. The artifacts recovered are summarized in Table 1.

Although it is possible that these materials are also related to the early twentieth century city dump located on the property, the diversity of materials may suggest that a domestic site existed in this area. Kitchen related items represent 72.2% of the artifacts, while architectural items represent 22.2% which resembles the tenant farmer pattern proposed by Trinkley and Caballero (1983). We are not familiar with any archaeological

investigations of municipal dumps in the region which could offer a comparative artifact pattern. Such a dump is located on the property of Historic Camden and surface collections suggest a similar abundance of kitchen material at the expense of architectural remains.

Table 1.
Artifacts Recovered from 38GR216

Artifact	ST1	ST2	ST3	ST4	ST5	ST6	ST7	ST8	ST9	ST10	ST12
Clear bottle glass	2	2	3	2			1		4		2
Aqua bottle glass				1				1			
Brown bottle glass				1	3						
Blue bottle glass			1								
Bright green bottle glass				1							
Milk glass	1			1							
Blue tile	1										
Window glass	1			2	1	1	1				
Wire nails				1							
UID iron								1		1	

Soil profiles indicated 0.6 feet of dark brown (10YR4/3) sandy loam overlying yellowish red (5YR5/6) sandy clay. The central UTM coordinates are E374160 N3854640 and the soils are Cecil urban land complex. Based on shovel testing the site measures about 300 feet north-south and at least 75 feet east-west. The site continues east under the parking lot.

The site's data sets are somewhat limited, consisting primarily of kitchen and architectural related artifacts. No evidence of intact subsurface features was encountered. It is suspected that at least 50% of the site is underneath the college parking lot which severely limits the site's ability to address research questions relating to intra-site patterning and tenant architecture, or alternatively to disposal practices evidenced in urban areas during the early twentieth century. Beyond this, the site cannot reflect a reliable tenant assemblage since previous work in Greenville and other areas indicates that different yard areas exhibit different profiles (see, for instance, Trinkley 1993). As a result, 38GR216 is recommended as not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Standing Structures

Two standing structures which are more than 50 years old were found within or immediately adjacent the right of way. Both of these are located on the property occupied by a sewage treatment plant. The first structure (Structure 1) is located just southwest of the intersection of Reedy River and Mauldin Road within the sewer line right of way. The structure is described as a barn on the sewer alignment plans and is located about 50 feet west of the Reedy River. The southeast corner of the structure is situated approximately 20 feet from the proposed project centerline.

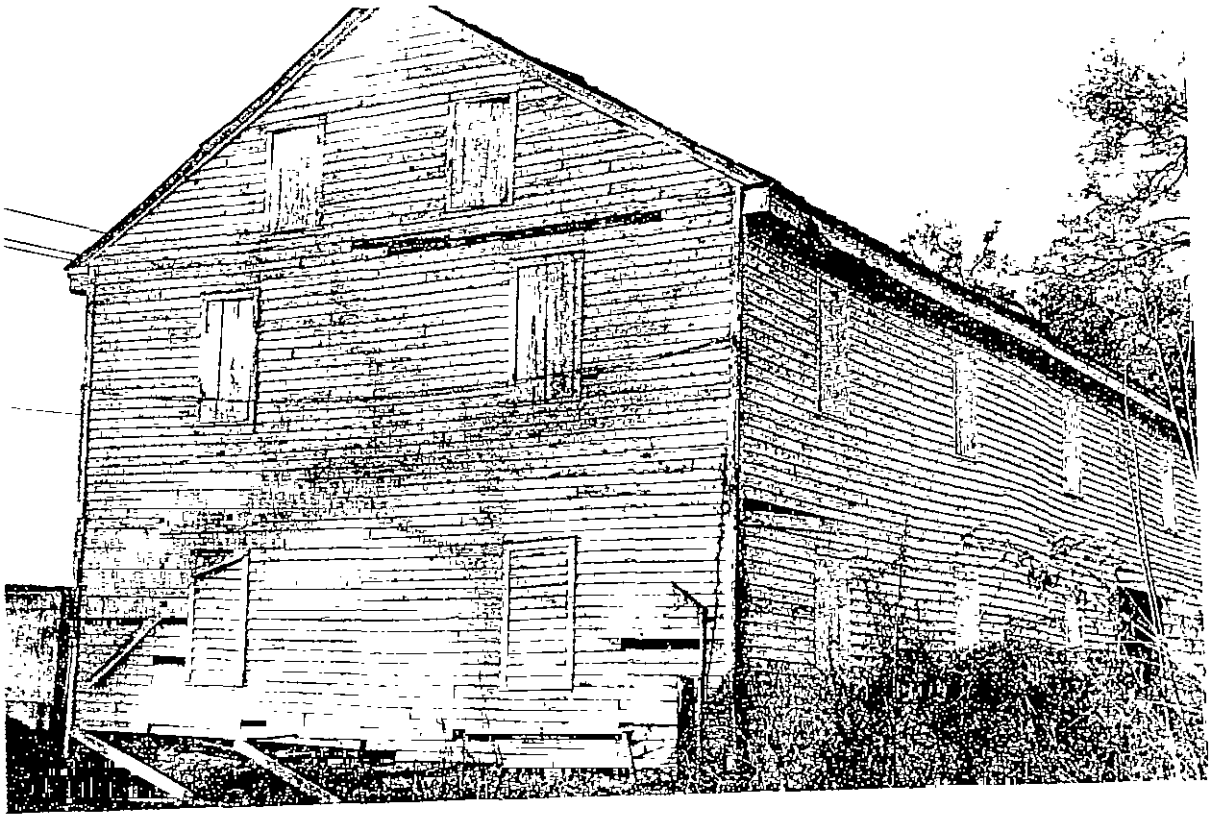

Figure 4. Structure 1, view to the northwest.

The building is approximately 30 by 70 feet. The foundation is rock with a semi-subterranean dirt floor basement. The building is a two story frame structure with shuttered windows, and a tin roof (Figure 4). The main support beams contain adze marks, suggesting a potentially early date of construction.

According to the Appalachian Council of Governments publication, the structure is known as Parkins Mill which was constructed by Allen Parkins circa 1816 (Appalachian Council of Governments n.d.:64). No additional historical research has been conducted to determine the source for this conclusion. Ms. Anne McCuen is not familiar with any records associated with this structure.

Nine shovel tests were excavated around the structure, with none yielding subsurface material. The surrounding landscape has been significantly altered by the construction of a number of buildings and a sewer line. Any archaeological remains which may have been associated with the building may have been removed during grading or other construction activities. Any remaining artifacts are probably badly disturbed. Consequently, at this time the property is considered only in the context of an architectural and historical resource, not as an archaeological site.

The criteria often used for determining the potential eligibility of standing structures for inclusion on the National Register includes:

- evidence of historic and/or cultural associative values,
- architectural merit,
- architectural incidence in the survey area and, as far as known, in South Carolina,
- effect of alteration and impairment to the original fabric, and
- effect of the building, structure, or site on neighborhood, community, or locality development.

Based on the presence of the massive stone foundation, the structure has not been moved from its original position. While surely the mill has undergone a number of repairs since 1816 it appears that the building has maintained its original core with no additions or alterations. However, whether or not the 1816 mill was originally two stories tall is unclear. The presence of adze marks on the major support beams suggests that they may be original timbers.

Although the Appalachian Council of Governments publication lists several other mills of the same time period, it is unknown how many of these are still extant. Even if some of them are extant, they may not be as visible and accessible as Parkins Mill which is located immediately adjacent to a major thoroughfare and is a well known landmark.

Given these factors, Parkins Mill is recommended as potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places since the building fulfills a number of the criteria for standing structures.

It should be noted that although the building can likely be avoided by sewer construction activities, it is seriously impaired and is approaching failure. Steps should be taken by the Western Carolina Regional Sewer Authority, its presumed owner, to ensure the long-term preservation of this resource. Continued use for storage of chemicals and equipment, and lack of maintenance will just as surely result in the loss of this resource as would immediate demolition. An appropriate first step would be an evaluation of the building by a architectural conservator, such as Mr. George Fore of George Fore & Associates. This would identify specific areas of concern and allow the development of a preservation plan, ensuring that this resource is not lost.

The second standing structure (Structure 2) is located adjacent to the Brushy Creek headworks and is located just north of the right of way. This building is also described as a barn on the sewer alignment plans. It is a wood frame barn with a tin roof. Like the first structure, it is also being used for storage. This building is not in danger of being impacted

by the replacement of the sewer line since it is outside of the right of way.

Summary and Conclusions

As a result of the archaeological survey of the seven mile sewer line replacement right of way, two new sites (38GR215 and 38GR215) were discovered. Of these sites, only one (38GR216) is located within the right of way. Neither of these sites are recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

In addition, two standing structures were located during the survey. Structure 1 is within the boundaries of the right of way and may be adversely affected by construction activities. Structure 2 is immediately outside of the right of way and is in no danger of being impacted by the sewer replacement.

Structure 1, known as Parkins Mill, is recommended as potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places since it appears that its architectural integrity has not been significantly compromised and since it fulfills a number of criteria for National Register Eligibility. The site, however, is threatened by lack of adequate maintenace and should be evaluated by an architectural conservator for stabilization.

While unlikely, it is always possible that additional archaeological remains may be encountered in the right of way during construction. Construction crews should be advised to report any concentrations of brick or rock rubble, or obvious artifacts (such as bottles, ceramics, or arrowheads) to the project engineer, who should report the material to the South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office or the project archaeologist. No construction should take place in the vicinity of these late discoveries until they have been examined by an archaeologist.

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