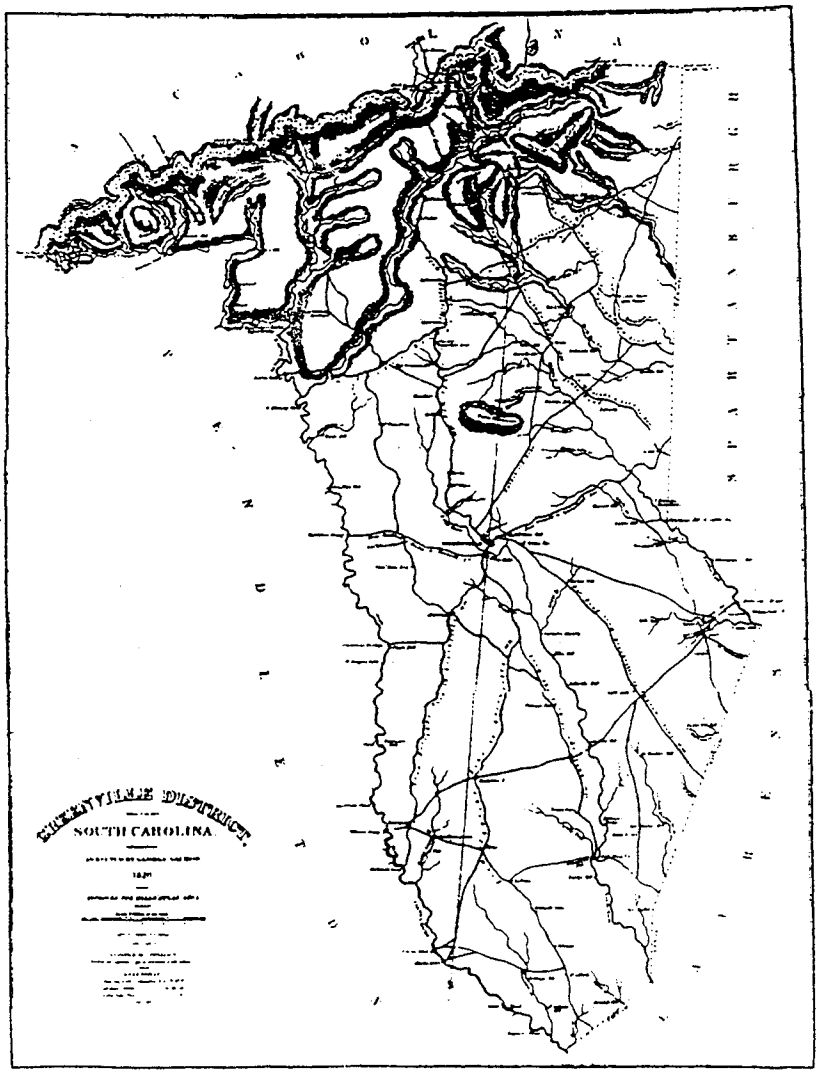
A HERITAGE RESOURCES MANAGEMENT PLAN FOR GREENVILLE COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA: OUR GIFT TO THE FUTURE



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A HERITAGE RESOURCES MANAGEMENT PLAN FOR GREENVILLE COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA: OUR GIFT TO THE FUTURE

Research Series 46

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Here is your country. Do not let anyone take it or its glory away from you. Do not let selfish men or greedy interests skin your country of its beauty, its riches, or its romance. The World and the Future and your very children shall judge you according to [the way] you deal with this Sacred Trust.

-- President Theodore Roosevelt

ABSTRACT

The nucleus of this study — intended to provide an "archaeological preservation plan" — was a proposal submitted by Chicora Foundation to the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission in 1991. Greenville County was identified as an ideal candidate for this type of study. It had an enthusiastic group of preservationists, it was in an area of the state witnessing tremendous growth, it had little preservation experience or protection, and there was little historical or archaeological information concerning the area. The project, in its final form, included not only Chicora Foundation and the Greenville County Preservation Commission, but also the City of Greenville, the Greenville County Redevelopment Authority, and the S.C. Department of Archives and History. Further participation was provided by a wide range of public and private agencies, as well as members of the public.

The study incorporated an examination of the current archaeological understanding of Greenville County, exploration of current archaeological research questions relevant to the project area, an exploration of many of the historic documents available for the county, public outreach, examination of a variety of different preservation approaches, and recordation of a broad range of resources on consolidated maps. The goal of the study was two-fold: first, to develop a baseline study and inventory of Greenville's heritage resources and second, to offer recommendations concerning how these heritage resources could be managed for the long-term benefit of the community.

The baseline study would accomplish several objectives. First, it would provide an immediate planning tool. Second, it would begin to help the county understand the extent of heritage resource losses. Third, it would help focus attention on those "gaps" in the survey area which need additional investigation and exploration. And fourth, it would help focus archaeological research, maximizing its potential to address significant research questions.

This baseline study identified and located 44 Greenville sites which are currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places, 67 sites currently listed as "historic sites" for Greenville County, 221 archaeological sites currently recorded by the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1431 archaeological sites identified by a local avocational archaeologist, and 1401 historic sites identified from primary and secondary historical sources. In total, 3164 sites were located on the comprehensive maps of the County.

The recommendations which accompany this study help accomplish several other objectives as well. First, the recommendations are intended to force us to consider the importance of archaeological sites (which are often overlooked) to the total preservation process. Second, the recommendations explore and digest several different perspectives of preservation, focusing in on the one approach which we believe is not only fair to all of the parties with an interest, but which is also likely to succeed and be enacted.

The approach we offer is predicated on a single, very simple principal — the ***management*** of Greenville's heritage resources in a manner which maximizes their preservation while allowing for the appropriate economic development of the region. The approach we recommend, based heavily on that of Fairfax County, Virginia, recognizes the importance of land owners' rights and fair compensation for preservation efforts. We recommend the development of a Heritage Resources Management Plan embedded in Greenville County's comprehensive plan, incorporating density credits and other proffers in trade for preservation efforts, development of a revolving preservation fund for archaeological research, internships and other public outreach

programs, and a proactive program of preservation or conservation easements and remainder interest gifts.

We recommend only two new ordinances or laws — one to establish procedures to protect cemeteries from development activities and one to protect archaeological sites from vandals and site looters. The rest of the program we recommend is entirely incentive based and involves no new regulations.

We also emphasize the importance of education in the heritage management process and encourage the City and County to explore techniques for helping teachers to incorporate heritage issues in the classroom. In addition, we advocate establishing a volunteer program for archaeological research, designed to gradually evolve into a para-professional effort integrated into the County's management activities.

We recommend that the City also consider abandoning its current preservation ordinance approach in favor of incentive based preservation. Further, the City should fund additional study to evaluate land use and archaeological preservation potential in the downtown area. This would allow the development of simple overlays maps showing archaeological districts to guide future preservation efforts.

This is a unique approach to preservation which encourages developers and land owners to form partnerships with those in preservation. Bitter, costly, and ultimately unproductive public clashes over preservation are avoided in favor of a win-win scenario which thrives on public participation and support. The recommendations offered by Chicora Foundation can not only help ensure that Greenville's heritage is preserved for future generations, but can help promote a whole range of public outreach programs, including educational programming for the public schools and development of an active archaeological research program which encourages local participation.

This approach also recognizes that the differences between archaeology, history, and architectural history are artificial and unworthy of separation. All three fields are concerned with our heritage resources, whether they are standing structures, below ground ruins, or prehistoric encampments. The "regulations" which govern how these resources are cared for are all basically the same and separation creates only a false dichotomy between "bricks and mortar" preservation and "archaeological research."

In addition, we have been careful in this study to focus on "heritage" preservation, since that term is more descriptive than either "cultural" resources or "historic" resources. And finally, we are careful to speak of "management" wherever possible rather than "preservation," since we realize that it is essential to balance our heritage resources with legitimate and wise economic development. It is impossible to "preserve" all sites. Some must be studied and then sacrificed for jobs and the associated improvement in the county's standard of living. We are, however, recommending plans which can ensure this balance and ensure that the region's heritage is explored and made available to the following generations.

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This has been one of the most ambitious endeavors ever undertaken by Chicora Foundation as it incorporates more individuals, organizations, and governmental agencies than any other research project — in many ways this is the epitome of interdisciplinary, collaborative research. We owe an extraordinary debt of gratitude to all involved in the success of the project.

The project was funded by the City of Greenville, the Greenville County Redevelopment Authority, and Chicora Foundation with matching funds provided by a National Park Service Survey and Planning Grant administered by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. The Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission spearheaded the drive to form this coalition and was an essential partner in ensuring the success of the study. In particular, we want to thank Mr. Stephen Skelton and Dr. Tracy Powers (S.C. Department of Archives and History), and Mr. Joel Patterson and Ms. Anne McCuen (Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission). Vance Drawdy, Esq. and Ms. Brenda Hayes also offered the support and assistance of the Greenville County Historical Society. Gerald Jowers, Esq. was of tremendous assistence in simply seeing that the study was finally completed. Mr. Daniel Young of the S.C. Department of Commerce was of assistance in better understanding the rate of development in Greenville County. From the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology we want to thank Mr. Keith Derting and Ms. Sharon Pekrul for their assistance with the site files and photographic collections.

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Finally, we appreciate all of those who took the time to review various drafts of this document, including Mr. Wes Breedlove, Ms. Anne McCuen, Mr. Joel Patterson, Ms. Martha Zierden (The Charleston Museum), and Dr. David Anderson (National Park Service), as well as the staffs of the S.C. Department of Archives and History, the City of Greenville, and the Greenville County Redevelopment Authority. Mr. Tom Meeks, Director of Greenville County Planning Services was provided the opportunity to review the section outlining our planning and zoning proposals. We have made every effort to include their comments and make necessary corrections. The study has been markedly improved by their interest and observations.

INTRODUCTION

Background

A portion of Greenville County has been known historically as "The Dark Corner," a comment on the inhabitants and their attitude toward outsiders. This phrase, however, is also appropriate to describe what we know about Greenville archaeologically. As will be discussed in a subsequent section, relatively few professional archaeological investigations have been undertaken in Greenville County. In fact, while counties like Charleston and McCormick have one site every 0.7 and 0.3 square miles respectively, the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology site files reveal a density of only one site for every 3.8 square miles in Greenville County.[1] A major reason that so few sites have been recorded for Greenville County by professional archaeologists is that relatively few historic preservation laws[2] have been applicable to the developments undertaken in the region resulting in few opportunities for increasing our understanding of the resources present in this area.

Chicora Foundation initially proposed developing an archaeological preservation plan for Greenville County in late 1991 and began working with the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission to bring this proposal to reality. Although there was considerable interest on the part of the Commission, there was not yet adequate support from City and County offices. The need for a clearer understanding of the heritage resources in Greenville County became more focused after the Greenville County Redevelopment Authority sought to locate affordable housing on the site of an archaeologically and historically significant mill village in late 1992.

The relatively late discovery of the archaeological site, the ensuing cost of archaeological investigations, and the outpouring of public interest all pointed out the need for a detailed plan which would allow projects to be formulated with less uncertainty and fewer opportunities for unexpected and costly surprises. At this time the City and County expressed a willingness to fund the development of what was, at that time, called an archaeological preservation plan for Greenville. The project was spearheaded by the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission, and was funded by the City of Greenville, the Greenville County Redevelopment Authority, and Chicora Foundation, Inc. Our proposal was used as the core of a Survey and Planning grant request to the S.C. Department of Archives and History, which was funded in mid-1994.

The project as initially proposed in 1991 (and eventually implemented) was not only ambitious, it was largely untried. It not only proposed a new means of developing a preservation plan — using cartographic sources and historic documentation — but it also relied on public support and outreach to ensure that as many resources as possible were included. The proactive approach of encouraging public participation through media attention and a mass mailing went far beyond the traditional approach of simply advertising a public meeting. Further, the proposal emphasized the recordation of both prehistoric and historic archaeological sites

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[1] Avocational archaeologists in Greenville County, especially Mr. Wes Breedlove, have identified considerably more sites than this in the county, so the actual site density more accurately is around one site every 0.2 square miles.

[2] Specifically the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA; 80 Stat. 915, 16 U.S.C. Secs. 470 *et seq.*) which requires consideration of "cultural resources" where federal funding, licensing, or permitting is involved. This typically is enacted by projects which are permitted by the Corps of Engineers, funded by a federal agency, or involve loan guarantees by an agency such as Housing and Urban Development.

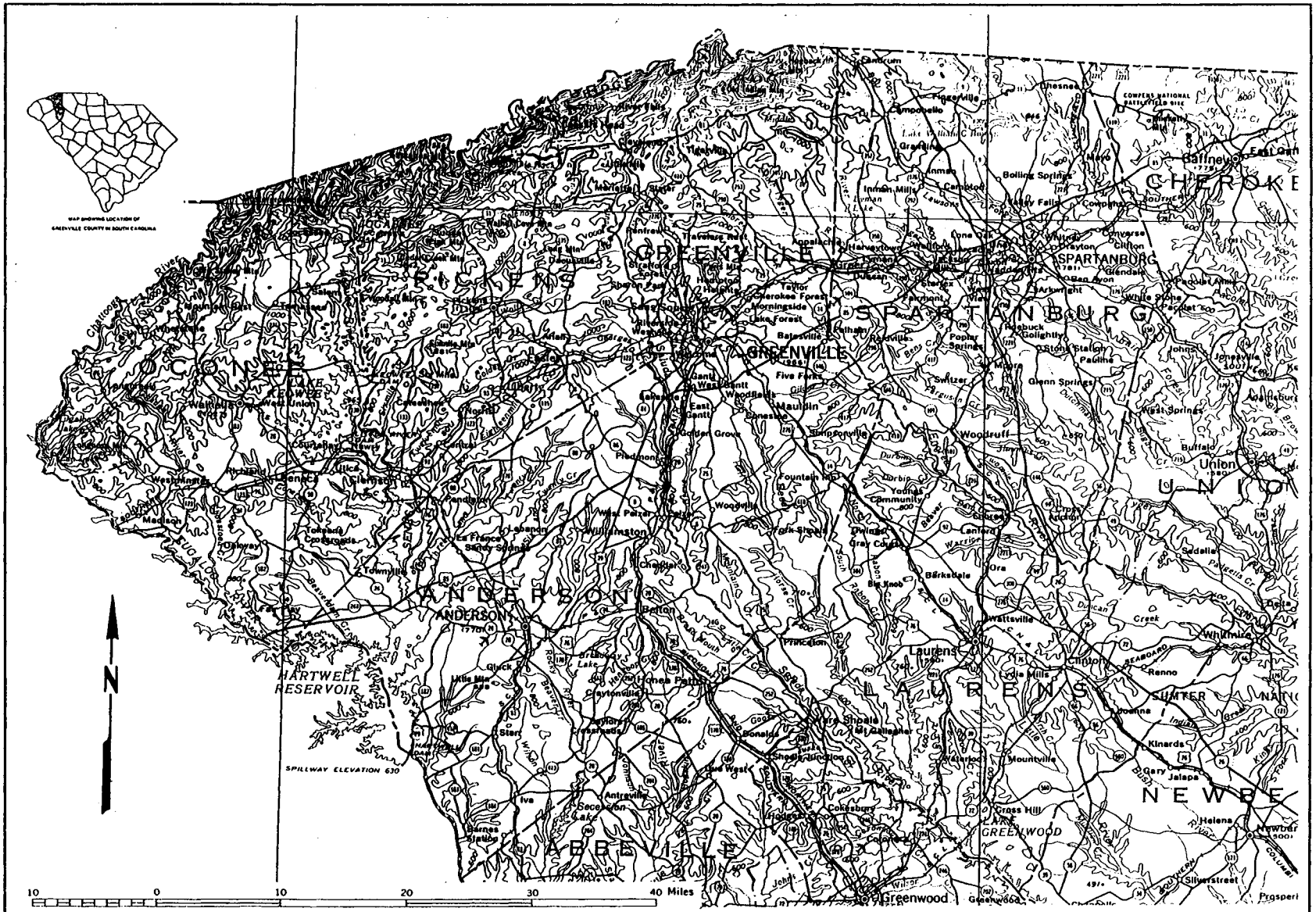

Figure 1. Location of Greenville County in South Carolina and major towns in Greenville County.

rather than simply standing structures alone.

The project was approved by the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission in April 1993 and the process of developing local governmental support was begun. Both City and County agencies were quick to realize the potential of the project and by September 1933 plans were well underway to submit a Survey and Planning proposal to the S.C. Department of Archives and History. The project was eventually funded and the City of Greenville entered into an agreement with Chicora Foundation on October 26, 1994. Work began on the project almost immediately, although the period from February through May 1995 represented the period of greatest activity, primarily in Greenville itself. Background historical research in Greenville was conducted by Ms. Gina Baylon and Dr. Michael Trinkley, research in Columbia was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley and Ms. Missy Trushel, while Dr. Trinkley reviewed information available at the South Carolina Historical Society in Charleston, South Carolina. Cartographic plotting and coordination was conducted by Ms. Debi Hacker. Ms. Natalie Adams compiled, reviewed, and synthesized the archaeological information available for Greenville County. Each phase of the project will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Goals and Objectives

Greenville County, situated in the northwestern part of South Carolina, is one of the state's most rapidly growing Piedmont areas. Its economy is an interrelationship of industrial and commercial components dominated by the textile industry that is tied into an expanding residential market as well as a growing tourism base.[3] The change forecasted by the year 2020 will place many of Greenville County's heritage resources at risk. Ironically, it is the very nature of these endangered resources which helps draw more people to the region.

Initial Project Development

Initially the three primary goals of the proposed project were (1) to develop a preliminary county-wide heritage resources planning tool with a relatively high degree of accuracy and a relatively low-cost (2) to assemble essential (although certainly not comprehensive) primary and secondary historical documentation in one volume for future research use, and (3) to develop preservation planning recommendations. For county-wide planning, archival research was considered the single most effective and efficient technique for developing an archaeological preservation plan for historical resources (e.g., Staski 1982). Archaeological field investigations are labor intensive and therefore costly for the ground area actually covered. In addition, archaeological studies are typically destructive of the resources since they require excavation to allow understanding of the remains present.

A documentary survey, in comparison, tends to be most cost-effective and allow the resources of a larger area to be more quickly examined and enumerated. Such an approach, however, is not without limitations. The two most significant are that the exact location of the resources cannot always be determined from the historical accounts and the modern condition of the resources is rarely discernable from the documentary accounts.

In spite of these limitations, the use of documentary sources provides an essential, if provisional, account of the resources in a large geographic area, such as Greenville County. Such an approach provides a point of initial reference and a point of departure for more detailed or site-specific research. In addition, the plan proposed for Greenville would incorporate a wide range of

[3] Greenville has, of course, been affected by the general economic slump characteristic of the times. Data from the S.C. Department of Commerce reveal that capital investments rose dramatically from $87,170,000 in 1985 to a high only five years later of $561,703,000. Since then the figures have declined to $184,082,000 in 1994. Jobs created, while also taking a tumble in 1991, have otherwise stayed relatively steady at around 1,100 per year, increasing to 1,900 in 1994. Likewise the number of firms either taking up residence in Greenville or expanding dips in 1991, but rebounds by 1994 and averages to around 8 new firms and 90 expansions per year.

primary and secondary historic documentation, including agricultural and industrial census information, nineteenth and early twentieth century cartographic information, and historic manuscripts. In addition, Chicora Foundation proposed supplementing this historic research with the use of local resources. We recognized that it would be impossible with only 2 or 3 person months of effort to duplicate the years of research or field investigations conducted by local individuals. We also realized that there were a number of resources hidden away or forgotten. Consequently, a public outreach component, involving direct mail items, and local TV and newspaper accounts, was included in the project.

The sources of information for Greenville were used to explore three broad research questions essential to the development of a county-wide heritage resource plan. The study's final report was not intended to be an authoritative history of Greenville County or the City of Greenville — such an undertaking was far beyond the scope of the current project. Further, the study was not intended to be exhaustive or comprehensive. Rather, the document resulting from the investigations was intended to reach two specific audiences:

- developers and planners who have need of immediate information on the probable heritage resources in a proposed project area, and

- archaeologists and historians who are seeking an initial source on the historical resources of Greenville County.

Refining and Expanding the Applicability of the Project

As the study progressed and the vast resources of Greenville County became apparent, we also began to realize that the needs were far greater than originally anticipated. Coincidental with the project implementation phase, the Greenville County Planning Commission, chaired by Ms. Betsy Mosley, implemented a Cultural Resources Technical Committee to prepare the "Cultural Resources Element" of the Greenville County Comprehensive Plan under the enabling legislation passed in 1993 by the South Carolina legislature.[4] The resulting document (Muldrow 1995) identified four goals, the first of which is to "locate and identify buildings, structures, sites, and resources that contribute to the history of Greenville County. The first objective under this goal is "to conduct a document based inventory of historically significant sites in Greenville County." This object, the report explains, is to be met by Chicora's on-going study.

While flattered that our undertaking was incorporated into the County's comprehensive planning efforts in such a prominent manner, it revealed the need for our study to offer far more information to a far wider audience than originally anticipated. There are noticeable differences in the plan offered by the Planning Commission Staff and the approach we have chosen to follow. Neither should be considered ideal, nor should one be considered without also reviewing the other. Preservation is far too important to ignor the vast ragne of possibilities for public participation and input.

Some of the differences between the County's planning efforts and those recommended by Chicora are minor, perhaps only semantic, such as our use of "heritage resources" over "cultural resources" and the use of "management" over the term "preservation." Although the term "cultural resources" is well established in the literature, it has also been co-opted by arts groups, basket weavers, quilt makers, and a broad range of other groups, to include folk art. This detracts from the meaning and significance of historic places. Consequently, we prefer the term "heritage resources" to represent physical places associated with our heritage and history. Likewise, "preservation" has a long and respected history. While it has a broad range of meanings, most would probably accept that preservation includes "all actions taken to minimize or prevent the deterioration of cultural property" (the definition proposed by the Murray Pease Report to the American Institute for Conservation of Historic

[4] This enabling legislation is found in the South Carolina Code, Section 6-29-510 *et seq.*

and Artistic Works and based on the definitions of large number of groups such as ICOM, ICOMOS, and the National Park Service). Preservation, therefore, implies setting aside, keeping intact for long periods of time, and maintaining an original condition. A blind adherence to this philosophy, when dealing with heritage resources, leads to inevitable conflicts with "progress." Development, which brings affordable housing, more jobs, and a better standard of living, frequently finds itself in conflict with "preservation." It is becoming increasingly less possible to "preserve" our resources and increasingly more important to "manage" them.

Other differences in our approach and that of the Cultural Resources Technical Committee may be more substantive, such as our belief that archaeological resources are of equal importance to architectural sites and ***must*** be included in the heritage resources management plan. Too often preservationists have focused on "bricks and mortar" projects[5], either failing to understand the importance of below ground resources, or simply choosing to ignore them.[6] Susan Henry in her seminal work, *Protecting Archaeological Sites on Private Lands*, points out that protecting archaeological sites requires a different techniques than the protection of buildings, "which can continue to be economically productive while being protected" (Henry 1993:15). She also notes that procedures which serve to protect buildings during alteration frequently do nothing to protect the below ground archaeological resources which may be damaged or even destroyed in the process of waterproofing basements, shoring foundations, applying termiticide treatments, grading sites to improve drainage, or any number of other architectural-related activities. We would argue that not only does protection of archaeological sites require different techniques, it also requires a different mind set, philosophy, and outlook. Henry (1993:53) suggests that the Historic Districts and Landmarks Zoning Ordinance of San Antonio, Texas is a good example of the integration of above and below ground resources into an overall plan. A slightly different, but equally effective, approach was taken by Alexandria, Virginia.

Perhaps the most obvious difference between our recommendations and those of the Cultural Resources Technical Committee, however, is the approach taken to manage sites — archaeological or architectural. There are two basic philosophies. One advocates the use of ordinances or regulatory processes. Henry, discussing "stand-alone" regulations, observes that:

> local communities tend to adopt ordinances to protect clusters of historic properties, or historic districts. Enacted under state enabling authority[7], local historic ordinances generally establish a preservation commission, procedures and criteria for designating historic districts and individual landmarks, and a process for reviewing and approving or granting certificate of appropriateness for proposed alterations, demolitions, and new construction (Henry 1993:52).

Even when the ordinance adequately and appropriately integrates archaeological issues (such

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[5] An example of this is the "Model Historic Preservation Ordinance" developed by the S.C. Department of Archives and History which accompanies the *Comprehensive Planning Guide for Local Communities* which defines a historic property as "any place, building, structure, work of art, fixture or similar object that has been individually designated." While "place" might include archaeological sites, the remainder of the ordinance clearly reveals that it is intended for preservation of structures and architectural sites.

[6] There is evidence that some "preservationists" are more than ready to jettison archaeology in favor of bricks and mortar. Thomas King, for example, has recently noted that, "the preservation establishment will seek to distance itself from archaeology; it will marginalize traditional cultural properties; it will become wishy-washy about indirect and cumulative impacts; it will get squishy about addressing effects on non-federal property. It will decide that properties of 'less than National significance' deserve less protection than do National Historic Landmarks (NHLs)" (King 1995:2).

[7] For South Carolina this would be South Carolina Code of Laws, Section 6-29-710 and Section 6-29-870 *et seq.*

as with the 1989 Alexandria, Virginia example), it achieves management goals by requiring property owners to conduct archaeological studies in order to receive approval.[8] This "big stick" approach can be very successful in protecting archaeological sites, just as it is in protecting above ground buildings. The approach of limiting the uses of land, or buildings, however, typically creates a tension among the "rights of landowners to use their land, the interests, even 'rights,' of the public to know about the past, and the rights of certain groups to visit and use the sites to which they ascribe traditional cultural value" (Henry 1993:15). These tensions have recently forced the issue and both the courts and state legislatures are examining the issue of Fifth Amendment "takings" cases.

We advocate a very different approach to heritage resources management that utilizes a wide variety of planning or zoning, subdivision, open space, and land acquisition strategies. Planning or zoning strategies are well known in preservation, but for the management of archaeological sites issues relating to allowable density are especially important. As Henry points out, "higher density means greater square footage of floor space (either horizontally or vertically, or both) or a greater number of housing units permitted per acre" (Henry 1993:32). Reduced density helps protect archaeological sites, but also reduces the developer's profit margin. By allowing a greater than normal density on a portion of a tract (called bonus or incentive zoning), it is possible to avoid development on another portion – the owner receives a fair profit from development and archaeological sites are preserved. Rezoning may use proffers to encourage management decisions conducive to the preservation or examination of archaeological sites. Subdivision regulations can be developed to encourage dedications. Cluster subdivision can allow the developer to build on lots smaller than those specified in zoning or subdivision regulations, concentrating buildings on one portion of the parcel and leaving significant archaeological sites untouched for use as green space. Agricultural districts can be established to promote the continued rural activities of agriculture and silvaculture by providing incentives such as land assessment at actual use value rather than market (best and highest use) value. These and other approaches will be discussed in greater detail in a following section, but if ordinances are called "big sticks," then the approach we advocate might be described as "carrots," since the goal is to encourage developers to help protect or study archaeological and architectural sites.

The "up side" to our approach is that it encourages developers to become partners rather than adversaries. It gives rewards for wise use of resources rather than withholding or punishing for a failure to consider heritage resources. It emphasizes the formation of partnerships between private developers, government agencies, non-profits, and the public.

There is, of course, a "down side." One of the most disturbing to many in preservation is that the approach we advocate is not perfect. There will be developers who refuse to participate, even though it seems in their best interest to do so. Consequently, the system fails to "catch" everything. Sites slip through and are destroyed. Our response, of course, is that no system is ever perfect. We believe that saving 75 sites and generating good will is more productive than saving 95 sites and creating animosities and bad will. Some governmental agencies will criticize our approach as costly. For example, incentives for management (such as assessment at actual use value rather than market value) will reduce the property tax revenues. We see this as a short-term issue. While there will certainly be costs associated with our approach, so too are there costs in regulatory action, especially when the actions are taken to court. The generation of good will, coupled with the long-term effect of increased tourism potential, more than offset the immediate costs to the government. Some government agencies may criticize our approach as requiring too much staff time. It is true that the approach we advocate requires working with developers, educating the public, negotiating the best possible solution to conflicts between heritage resources and private land owners, networking with non-

[8] In the case of the Alexandria, Virginia regulation it requires the developer of a parcel to consult with the city archaeologist for a preliminary assessment of archaeological potential. If a potential exists, then the developer must have a qualified archaeologist conduct an archaeological evaluation of the project in order to receive zoning approval.

profits, and so forth. This takes more time than applying regulations and shifting the burden of compliance to developers. But the return far exceeds the time expenditures.

At a time when the American public is demanding that government be "re-invented" and preservation efforts, largely built on regulation rather than cooperation, are facing careful scrutiny, we believe our approach is not only sound, it is the only conceivable strategy which offers any potential for long-term success and public support. The details of our recommended preservation planning efforts are provided in a following section, "An Overview of Preservation Efforts."

Research Methods

The project as eventually developed had six distinct phases. ***Phase I involved acquainting the public with the project and soliciting public participation.*** This was achieved through the use of a bulk mailed brochure, "Will You Spend 20¢ To Help Preserve Greenville's History?" Sent to approximately 1,000 individuals on the combined mailing lists of Chicora Foundation, Historic Greenville Foundation, Greenville County Historical Society, Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission, and the Greenville Chapter of the South Carolina Genealogical Society, 45 responses were received. Representing a 4.5% return, this is actually quite good for a bulk mailing. It is likely that additional, follow-up mailings would have improved on the results, but funds and time were not available. In addition to the brochure, we also used the resources of state and regional newsletters to acquaint individuals interested in history with our project. This approach was understandably oriented to those with a known interest in history since they would be most likely to respond. We did not, however, ignore the wider public and sent out several news releases which generated both newspaper and electronic media coverage of our work.

Phase II involved the preparation of generalized, concise prehistoric and historic background discussions for Greenville County which helped to place the remainder of the research in a better perspective. This phase included the review of both primary and secondary sources with the eventual development of synthesized accounts suitable for both professional and lay audiences. As previously discussed, there was no intention to make this a comprehensive, or critical, review of Greenville's prehistory or history since that was far beyond the scope of the current project. The research, however, explored a wide range of topics, including previous archaeological studies, an overview of the different prehistoric, protohistoric and historic periods, a discussion of significant research questions for the Greenville area, an examination of predictive models for both prehistoric and historic sites in the county, and an analysis of known site formation processes. This research was conducted using the resources of the South Carolina Historical Society, the South Caroliniana Library, the Greenville County Public Library, and the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Phase III consisted of the collection of more specific, detailed information on historic resources, sites and properties in Greenville County. As such information became clear during Phases I and II it was recorded to avoid duplication of effort. During Phase II, however, a distinct effort was made to identify areas of particular concern through historic research, cartographic studies, and identification of previously recorded information (from the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology and the S.C. Department of Archives and History). In addition to the resources used in Phase II, this work also incorporated the Map Repository of the Thomas Cooper Library, and the Greenville County Register of Mesne Conveyance. It was also during this phase that sites reported in response to our Phase I brochure were visited and recorded. This worked resulted in areas of specific concern being identified on 7.5' USGS topographic maps for Greenville County, and keyed to narrative descriptions and source information.

Phase IV involved correlating the information with local experts, including such individuals as Anne McCuen and Wes Breedlove, as well as other members of the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission. These individuals represent a core source of information concerning Greenville County. Many previous site locations were refined or expanded. Many new listings (such as the over 2,000 archaeological sites identified by

Mr. Breedlove) were added.

Phase V involved mechanically synthesizing the data, working it into a cohesive framework, and preparing planning recommendations based on the information obtained during the previous phases. Perhaps the most significant single issue was the exploration of different options for managing Greenville heritage resources. The goal of this phase was clear — we wanted the final product to help guide future management efforts by the City and County.

Phase VI involved a wide range of reviews, providing the City, County, Historical Commission, Archives and History, and other interested parties with an opportunity to review and comment on the findings, and suggest changes or different approaches. It is likely that the various participants in the project all have different review interests — the city and county are likely most interested in ease of use and suitability for integration into the on-going preparation of the comprehensive plan, while the Historical Commission is likely most interested in ensuring accuracy and completeness of the information. These competing interests, while making the production of a final product challenging, also helped to ensure that this study is both thorough and useful by a broad range of planners, historians, archaeologists, and the public. In addition to review by the various funding partners, we also solicited peer reviews from the planning and archaeological communities.

NATURAL SETTING

Physiography and Geology

Greenville County is situated in the northwestern portion of South Carolina (Figures 1 and 2) about 100 miles northwest of Columbia and 205 miles northwest of Charleston. It borders Transylvania, Henderson, and Polk counties, North Carolina to the north, Spartanburg County to the east, and Laurens County to the southeast and south. To the west the Saluda River separates Greenville County from Anderson and Pickens counties. The total area of the county is about 790 square miles or 505,000 acres, with about 3.4 square miles incorporated into water bodies such as Saluda Lake and Table Rock Lake. About a quarter of the county is part of what is called the Blue Ridge, while the other three-quarters is part of the upper Piedmont Plateau. The City of Greenville is in the geographic center of the County. Towns such as Mauldin, Simpsonville, Moonville, and Fountain Inn are found in the lower half of the county while Greer, Travelers Rest, Gowensville, and Tigerville are found in the upper portion of the county. The only large community in the Blue Ridge portion of Greenville County is Caesars Head.

Blue Ridge

The Blue Ridge Mountains in South Carolina are confined to the northern parts of Oconee, Pickens, and Greenville counties. Throughout this area there is rugged terrain with elevations ranging from 1,400 to over 3,500 feet above mean sea level. Characteristic of the geologic history of the region, the slopes are rounded and worn down. Called "subdued," these slopes represent a stage in the geologic cycle when height and steepness are so far lost that only a mantle of decayed rock remains over the underlying bedrock. Bare rock, while present, is relatively rare. The area has seen the partial destruction of many unique habitats — exceptional cascades and several major rivers were destroyed by the construction of Lake Jocassee between Pickens and Oconee counties. In spite of the changes, Charles Kovacik and John Winberry note that one of the best views of this region is found in Greenville County, along U.S. 276 between Cleveland and Caesars Head (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:16). The unique topography, coupled with exceptional plant life, has attracted a number of explorers and botanists, including William Bartram, André Michaux, and John Drayton, who explored the Greenville area in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Barry 1980:19-23; Sanders 1962). In 1859 Oscar Lieber offered an elaborate and glowing account of this portion of South Carolina:

> Along the line which separates Greenville District from North Carolina, we find the boldest mountain region which our State can present, and truly beautiful is some of the scenery which there gladdens the eye. Commencing in the north-eastern part of Greenville District, we have first the rough outlines of Hogback Mountain continuing on from Tryon Mountain in North Carolina, noticeable for its asbestus and vine-clad plateaus as well as for the absence of dew and consequently of frost. In a south-westerly direction, Hogback Mountain unites with Glassy Mountain, while west of this again we have a succession of less boldly marked eminences continuing up the headwaters of the Saluda towards Flat Rock in North Carolina and towards the Jones Gap Road, a turnpike of recent construction. Along this road may be seen the most sublime mountain views, which

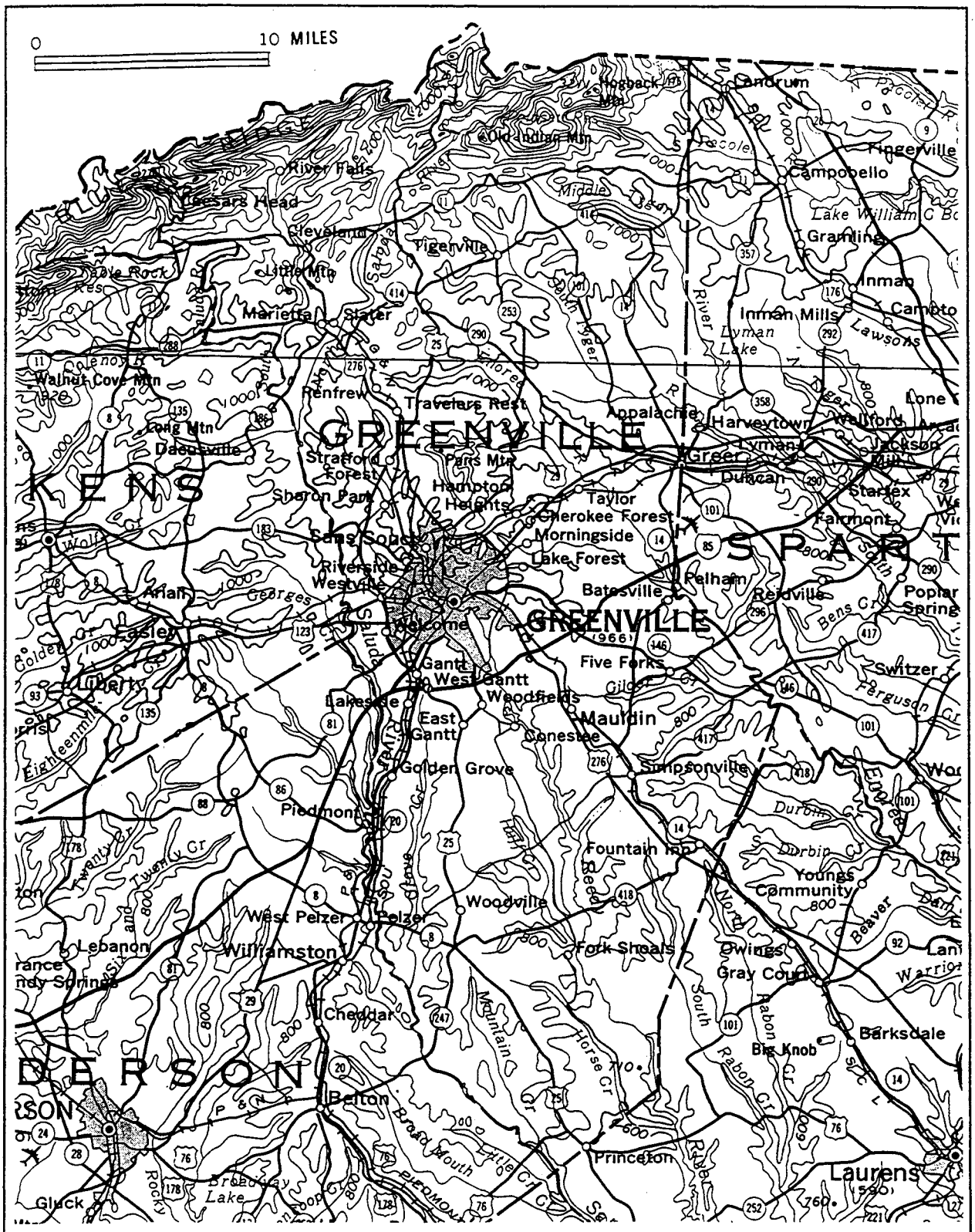

Figure 2. Greenville County.

> our State is capable of exhibiting. Winding along the waters of the Middle Fork Saluda, the road gradually leaves the more rolling country and a charming view of the mountains bursts upon the sight, exhibiting the fine perspective of a long defile, which skirts the ragged walls of rock that terminate in Cæsar's Head (Lieber 1859:23).

Three major drainages are found in Greenville's Blue Ridge: the Saluda (which separates Greenville from neighboring Pickens County to the west), the Middle Saluda (which originates east of Caesars Head and flows into the Saluda at the juncture with the Piedmont), and the North Saluda (found in the middle of the Blue Ridge portion of Greenville and flowing into the Saluda in the Piedmont). Other creeks, such as Oil Camp, Gap, and Guest, flow into one of these, while drainages such as the South Pacolet River flow eastwardly into neighboring Spartanburg County. Except for moderately steep and steep escarpments adjacent to the flood plains, stream terraces are gently sloping, although overall there is relatively little area encompassed by these flood plains. The stream valleys are steep sided and almost V-shaped. They are separated from one another by narrow ridge tops. Streams are short and fast flowing with many rapids and waterfalls, but very few tributaries (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:17).

The rocks forming the Blue Ridge are primarily crystalline schists and gneisses — metamorphic rocks formed during the Precambrian when igneous and sedimentary rocks came under the heat and pressure associated with mountain building. Most are very resistant to erosion, accounting for the relatively steep slopes and narrow stream valleys that are found in this region. Also still present are late Precambrian sedimentary rocks consisting of poorly sorted siltstones, sandstones, and conglomerates. Soils in the Blue Ridge, formed in material that weathered from granite, gneiss, or schist rocks, are primarily the Brevard-Evard-Edneyville association or the Edneyville-Ashe-Cleveland association. The former, comprising about 12% of the County, consists of moderately steep to steep soils on narrow ridges and toe slopes. The component soil types have grayish-brown loamy surface layers overlying yellowish-red to red clay loams. All are well drained. The latter association, also found on steep to very steep areas, comprises 13% of the county. The surface soils consist of sandy loams overlying yellowish-brown to brown sandy clay loams (Camp 1975:5). These soils are typically unsuitable for row crops and the acreage is largely in forest or pasture. Kovacik and Winberry observe that the "small amount of agriculture practiced in this area is confined to ridgetops or narrow stream floodplains, referred to as "bottoms," where slopes are not so steep" (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:41). R.W. Pearson and L.E. Ensminger remark that most of the agriculture is by small family units practicing intensive cultivation techniques (Pearson and Ensminger 1957:587).

Piedmont

The Piedmont consists of the area from the foothills of the mountains to the "fall line" near the center of the State, a dissected peneplain which slopes from elevations of about 1000 feet in the northwest to about 300 feet at its southeast boundary. Topography is considerably more rolling and hilly than the Blue Ridge. Most of rocks of the Piedmont are gneiss and schist, with some marble and quartzite. Less intensively metamorphosed rocks, such as slate, are found along the eastern part of the region from Virginia to Georgia. Barry describes the Piedmont, noting that typical topography:

> is represented by a series of gently rolling areas interrupted by the deeper, steeper valleys of larger streams. . . . As we travel across the piedmont from north to south, we pass from hilltop to hillside to valley with only a few level floodplains evident. . . . These ridges and valleys are interwoven by a multitude of small streams that make up the numerous small rivers (Barry 1980:57).

The rivers, creeks, and smaller streams in Greenville's Piedmont form a well-defined

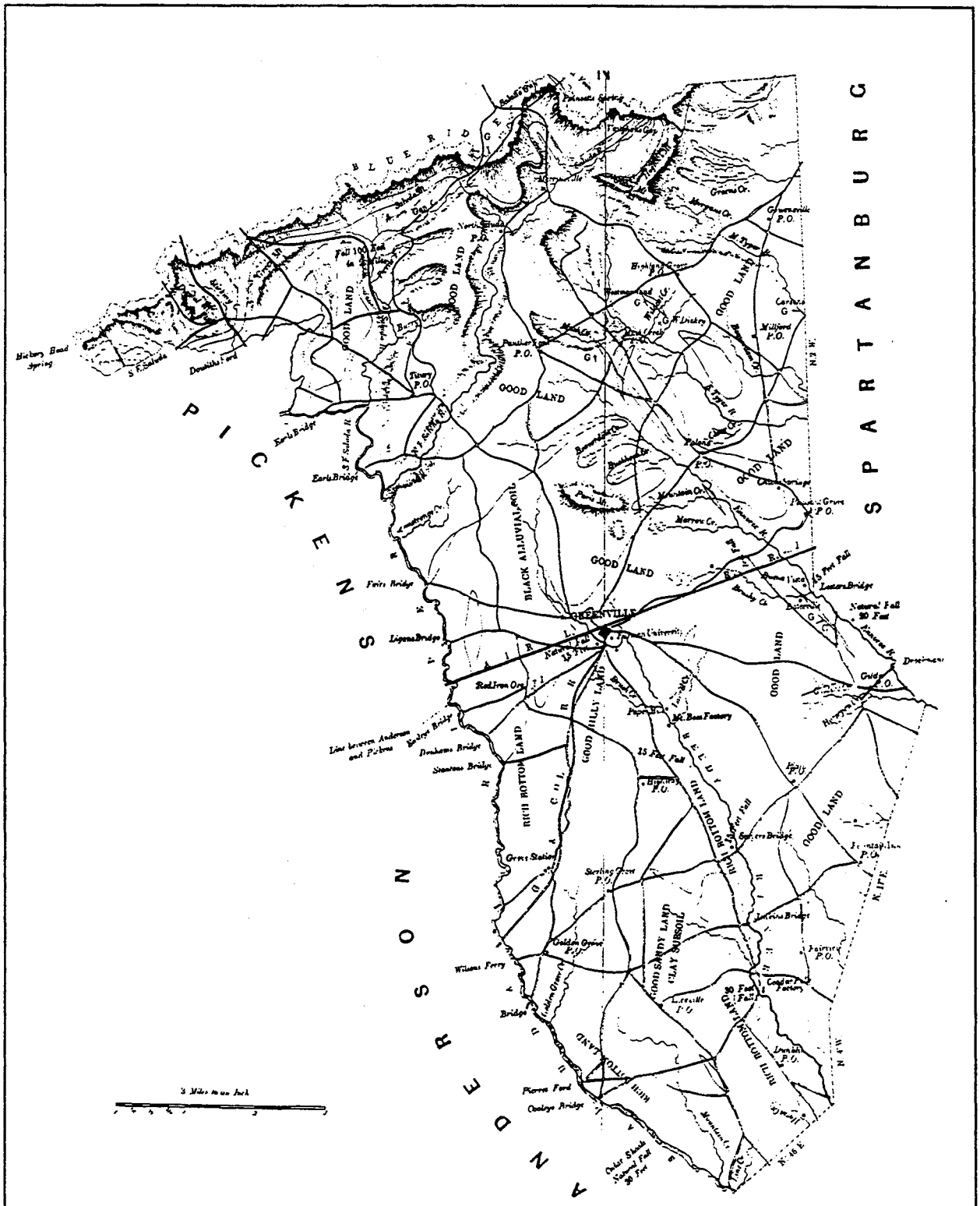

Figure 3. E.M. Stoeber's 1873 Geological and Agricultural Map of Greenville County.

drainage pattern flowing southeastward. The majorstreams that drain the region are the North, Middle, and South Saluda; Reedy; Enoree; and South and Middle Tyger rivers. Major tributaries are Beaverdam, Green, Grove, Horse Pen, Huff, and Matthews creeks. Piedmont rivers are long, have many tributaries, and (at least today) are colored by the heavy sediment loads collected through uncontrolled run-off and erosion. While erosion was of concern during the mid-nineteenth century, there was still a sense of optimism and Lieber was more interested in the potential of these water resources, remarking:

> Numerous are the shoals and water-falls which might be advantageously employed for manufacturing purposes, and there is but little reason to doubt, that the influx of population which will be occasioned should the Blue Ridge Railroad be completed, will induce the application of many of those in its vicinity (Lieber 1859:32).

One of the more interesting geologic features of the Piedmont are the monadnocks. Standing above the surrounding topography, they appear to be small, isolated mountains. They are, however, simply residual features that usually consist of a rock more resistant than the surrounding soils, often granite. As overlying material was eroded, the monadnock was exposed. Since their more resistant rock resisted the erosive processes, they became more prominent on the landscape. One of the best known examples is Stone Mountain in Georgia outside of Atlanta, although in Greenville County, Paris Mountain and Glassy Mountain are both examples of this phenomena.

Although Greenville exhibits a wide range of mineral occurrences, it seems that regions to the north-west, west, and east exhibit both more common and more valuable items. Lieber, in 1859, comments that gold in Greenville County was not being "regularly mined for," although "deposit washings" were being undertaken. He notes that while gold is widely distributed, "the topographical conformation of the county is not favorable to the full development of auriferous gravel deposits" (Lieber 1859:64), a factor in minimizing the importance of the gold industry throughout Greenville's history. He notes the presence of two minor deposits. Carson's Gold Mine, on the line between Greenville and Spartanburg, was reported as the "most important deposit of which Greenville can boast . . . [having been] worked for a number of years." The other, on Wild Cat Creek, was reported by Lieber as being "very nearly exhausted" with explorations in the adjacent hills "entirely unsuccessful" (Lieber 1859:66). This same location, only 15 years earlier, had been reported as being active and apparently productive (Ruffin 1844:25). In the first decade of the twentieth century, Earle Sloan reported seven areas where gold was being, or had been, recovered in Greenville. Most were feeble and already played out. Concerning the Wild Cat location, Sloan comments that it was "a limited placer[1] deposit which was apparently exhausted during 'the fifties' [i.e., 1850s]" (Sloan 1979:32 [1908]). Another location, known as the DeSoto Mines, was identified by the "numerous shallow prospect pits on the hillside" which apparently "contribute to the neighborhood's legendary lore of Desoto, but careful panning of

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[1] Pardee, reviewing the history of gold production in South Carolina's piedmont comments that:

> much of the gold so far produced . . . has been recovered from placers . . . . Placer mining preceded the discovery of nearly every lode in the region and it is probable that up to the time of the war between the States the larger part of the production had come from placer deposits. Since that war the lodes have been the more productive . . . . The placer gold has been most generally recovered by rocking, sluicing, and hydraulic methods so modified as to overcome the difficulty of washing the prevailing tight clay like material that forms the bulk of the deposits. . . . In the Piedmont region the placer areas are coextensive with those containing gold-bearing lodes and locally, as in the South Mountain area, extend beyond the lodes in the direction of the drainage discharge (Pardee 1935:40).

the sands affords feeble encouragement for this property" (Sloan 1979:30-31 [1908]). Speaking of Lieber's Carson Mine, known as the McBee Mine in the early twentieth century, Sloan reported:

> This property has been remarkable for producing more gold than any mine in the northwestern portion of the State. The metal was derived from a placer deposit along a small branch close by the Middle Tyger River, from which water was at one time conducted to the mine through a canal more than a mile in length. Along the north side of the valley of this little branch decomposed gneissoids prevail, but the bed of the branch and its south side are characterized mainly by decomposed hydromica slates. . . . Efforts to successfully treat the mother material have not been successful, excepting close to the banks of the swamp where softening of the slates has been accentuated. With a hydraulic head the results should have been different (Sloan 1979:33-34 [1908]).

Turning to other economically significant deposits, both Lieber and Sloan comment that Greenville exhibits few deposits of iron ore. Lieber remarks that "some red iron ore was once raised west of Greenville C.H., and a small Catalan force supplied for a short period, but the bed is quite superficial and barely worth mentioning" (Lieber 1859:72), while Sloan, speaking of the same deposit, mentions only that, "ore from this deposit was used at some remote period for the primitive manufacture of iron for neighborhood uses" (Sloan 1979:106 [1908]). The only other deposits which attracted Sloan's attention in the first quarter of the twentieth century was a rather limited granite quarry on the western slope of Paris Mountain and a mica mine being sunk about 8.5 miles southwest of Greenville on the W.T. Miller Place by Miller & Teague (Sloan 1979:148, 188 [1908]).

Soils on the Greenville floodplains are classified as the Cartecay-Toccoa-Wehadkee association and are loamy throughout. The soils were formed in mostly loamy alluvial sediments washed from soils on uplands and even today are frequently flooded. The association comprises about 6% of Greenville County and is characterized by sandy loams overlying silt loams, sandy loams, and loamy sands. Most of these areas are wooded or in pasture. In the Piedmont uplands there are three major associations: the Cecil-Hiawassee-Appling, the Cecil-Pacolet, and the Cecil-urban land-Hiawassee association. Formed in material which weathered from the underlying bedrock, all have loamy surface layers and clayey subsoils. The Cecil-Hiawassee-Appling association is found on broad ridges and on ridges of medium width, and on divides between major drainages. It covers about 28% of Greenville County and is characterized by sandy loams overlying clay. In the past much of these areas were cultivated, although today much land has been transferred to pasture or is developed. The soils of the Cecil-Pacolet association, making up about 31% of the County, are found on narrow ridge crests and adjacent to drainageways. The association tends to be composed of deep soils with dark brown sand loams overlying yellowish-red sandy clays grading into red clay. Most of the association is in forest or pasture. The last association, Cecil-urban land-Hiawassee, comprises about 10% of the County and consists of gently sloping to moderately steep soils in the developed areas of the county. The association is dominated by urban and industrial landscapes and the only agricultural activity is confined to home gardens (Camp 1975:3-5).

Although the topography of the Piedmont provides for good surface drainage, the internal soil drainage is poor because most of the soils are compact and clayey in textile. Consequently, rainfall does not readily percolate through the soil, leading to the potential for increased run-off (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:41). When this is combined with poor management practices and large scale clear-cutting the result is disastrous erosion. Stanley Trimble found that most of Greenville was in his "Erosive Land Use Region IV," characterized by low antebellum erosive land use which increased to high levels by the 1920s (Trimble 1974). During the earliest period of settlement, to about 1800, the Greenville area can be characterized as a yeoman farming region. Relatively little cash cropping took place because

of the long distance to markets and the poor transportation systems. Further, northern Greenville County had a growing season too short for cotton. As a result, slave density, like erosion, remained minimal.

Between 1810 and 1860 the agricultural use of the region changed — transportation networks improved opening up new lands to the growing market economy, population rapidly increased, and fertilizer became more readily available. As might be imagined, the more southern areas suffered considerably greater erosive land use than those areas closer to the Blue Ridge. In 1843 Edmund Ruffin reported that the Piedmont soils were:

> very liable to be washed and gullied by heavy rains. And this evil has been greatly increased in operation by the general injudicious ploughing, the long succession of corn or of cotton and their clean tillage process, and the rare occurrence of broad-cast grain crops, and of rest to the land under grass or weeds, which latter considerations would in some measure guard against washing (Ruffin 1843:87).

Only a few years later, in 1859, John Logan compared the condition of the Enoree River, adjacent to the heavily eroded lower Piedmont, to the Keowee River near the Blue Ridge:

> The Enoree is now a turbid stream, discolored by the dissolving clay of a wasted soil: but . . . the Kewhohee is the most beautiful river in Carolina. Its waters are still as pure and transparent as when they bathed the limbs of the first boisterous group of Cherokee youths who lived upon its fertile banks (Logan 1859:237-238).

Bottomland cultivation apparently produced few serious problems, while upland cultivation resulted in serious and uncontrollable erosion. Cotton cultivation continued to expand into the region, albeit slowly.

Within two decades after the end of the Civil War, Trimble (1974:76) noted that the Greenville area was being opened to greater erosion. By 1879 the distribution of cotton acreage was as dense in this region as it was in the lower Piedmont. In the areas near the Blue Ridge it was reported that the amount of tilled land doubled between 1870 and 1880, although it seems likely that over three-quarters of the land was still in forest. Erosion continued to accelerate between 1880 and 1920 because of rising cotton prices which culminated in the "war boom" of World War I. Trimble notes that erosion became so widespread in the region that the U.S. Geological Survey sponsored the first erosion study in 1904-1905. The surveyor, L.C. Glenn, noted the recency of erosional damage, stating:

> Prior to 1871 the uplands . . . were practically uncleared, but at that time the introduction of commercial quano made it possible to grow cotton successfully on these lands and by 1880 or 1885, they had been largely cleared and year after year were farmed in this crop. For the first few years after being cleared the land was full of humus and readily absorbed a large part of the rainfall, but later, when this humus had been exhausted, the lands began to erode, the stream channels to fill with sand, and the bottom lands -- formerly the most valuable in the region -- to drain, owing to the rise in the ground-water level incident to the filling of the stream channels with sand. Floods became much worse and buried under sand or gouged to pieces other considerable areas, so that the bottom lands are now practically worthless (Glenn 1911:110-111).

The 1934 *Reconnaissance Erosion Survey of the State of South Carolina* conducted by M.W.

Lowry found severe sheet erosion with occasional gullies in a 8 to 10 mile wide band just below the Blue Ridge from Landrum southwesterly to Cleveland and extending down the drainage of the Saluda River. The remainder of the County was nearly evenly divided areas of moderate sheet erosion with occasional gullies and those areas with moderate sheet erosion, but no gullies. Only about 5% of the county, outside the Blue Ridge, was found to exhibit little or no erosion.

From the late 1930s into the mid-twentieth century erosive land use practices declined. This was a result of the decline in agriculture (brought about by the introduction of the boll weevil, the drop in cotton prices, and the introduction of mechanized farming), the increased use of conservation practices, the development of terracing techniques, and the decline of tenancy (Trimble 1974:94-111).[2] Regardless, the legacy of erosive practices has resulted in an average depth of erosion over most of the county of about 0.4 to 0.6 foot in depth, although the western edge of the County likely saw loss of upwards of 0.8 foot (Trimble 1974:Figure 2).

Climate

In the nineteenth century Robert Mills described the climate of Greenville 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]).

The seemingly healthful climate attracted many visitors who moved upstate during the long, hot, humid summers typical of the low country. Not only did many of the State's wealthiest citizens, such as Joseph Alston, Henry Middleton, and Joel R. Poinsett, establish summer homes in the Greenville area (Lesene. 1939), but resorts were also formed, particularly around Greenville's springs (Flynn 1981).[3] Even into the twentieth century the County's climate was extolled. Guy A. Gullick remarked that:

> the seasons of the county vary but little from year to year. The spring and fall seasons are almost ideal. The summer days are seldom excessive in temperature, and the nights are always cool and pleasant. The winters are short and mild with a comparatively small snow fall. The rainfall is ample and well distributed throughout the year (Gullick 1921:29-30).

Indeed, most of Greenville County does. have a temperate climate characterized by mild winters and warm summers, at least by modern standards today. Winter temperatures, however, frequently hover between the low 50s and freezing, while in the summer temperatures will frequently be in the upper 80s to mid-90s. 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.

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[2] This is not to imply that erosion hasn't continued in the Piedmont. A study by the U.S. Forest Service for the South Carolina subarea in 1977 compared the erosion rates associated with different types of forest practices. While undisturbed forested areas lost approximately 0.03 tons/acre/year, logging roads resulted in the loss of 39.8 tons/acre /year. Skid trails result in the erosion of 9.91 tons of soil per acre per year and mechanical site preparation results in the loss of 6.67 tons of soil per acre per year (U.S. Department of Agriculture 1980:25).

[3] Lieber distinguishes between the cold water springs and the medicinal springs, noting that in the "upper portion of Greenville and Pickens are exceedingly cool" springs with temperatures of 55 to 57°F even in the summer. In contrast, "Chick's Springs are the only ones in Greenville or Pickens which have become a resort for sanitary purposes, and their saline waters are considered of service in some diseases" (Lieber 1859:33, 72-73).

One way to quantify the comfort level of a climate is to calculate the "heating degree days." A degree day is a measurement of heating requirement. It represents the difference between each day mean temperature and 65°F, the temperature below which houses are assumed to need heat. For example, if a winter day's 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 calculated over a 24-hour period. With nearly 3,000 heating degree days, Greenville can be considered cold, especially if you live in a poorly constructed, uninsulated wood frame house.

Of equal importance is the average growing season — the number of days between the average date of the last frost (which marks the beginning of the growing season) and the average date for the first winter frost (which marks the end of the growing season for most crops). In central Greenville County the average growing season is about 228 days, although this will vary by general location (decreasing by several weeks to the north and increasing by a few days to south), as well as specific location (with the floodplains and low areas often evidencing late frosts).

Typically abundant precipitation is distributed fairly evenly throughout the year in South Carolina, with an average annual precipitation of about 49 inches. This, however, varies from around 81 inches recorded in the mountains at Caesars Head to about 49 or 50 inches at the southern edge of Greenville County. This precipitation is dominated by rainfall, ranging from around 4 to 5 inches per month in the winter to around 3 inches a month in the summer (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:32; Landers 1975:68).

It is clear that the Greenville climate is ideal for grain crops such as corn which requires a relatively short growing season of 65 to 95 days and a total of 16 to 24 inches of water. The only potential problem is that corn, for maximum yields, requires around 2 inches of rain a week for the four week period when it tassels. Since this may coincide with the summer drought season, corn crops may be reduced. The next most common crop during the late nineteenth century was cotton. It too had both an adequate growing season and rainfall for excellent stands. Harry Hammond, discussing cotton production in the up state of South Carolina, remarked that, "no crop grown anywhere over so extensive an area is more certain than is the cotton crop in this region" (Hammond 1884:516). Other crops, such as oats, wheat, sweet potatoes, and rice, while present, were relatively uncommon.

Floristics

Sanders (1962) provides a thorough, yet entertaining, review of the various botanists who have visited the Greenville area beginning with the 1776 travels of William Bartram, who traveled to the "Cherokee County" from Charleston by way of Augusta and "the traders' road to 'Sinica,' Keowee Town, and Fort Prince George." Sanders comments that, "As he traveled, he wrote vivid descriptions of the 'strange and marvelous curiosities' that he encountered: the masses of azalea, *Angela lucida*, Carolina mallow, larkspur, horse chestnuts, peach and plum orchards, ginseng, hay grasses, rhododendron, as well as the Indian village of 'Sinica' and the beauties of 'Oconne' mountain" (Sanders 1962:8). Over twenty years passed before the region saw its next botanist. André Michaux made two trips to upstate South Carolina, one in 1787 and the other in 1789. His discoveries are not nearly as numerous as Bartram's and Sanders notices that, "his descriptions of the upcountry reveal his disappointment, for they lack the enthusiasm and vividness of Bartram's" (Sanders 1962:9).

About a decade later Governor John Drayton spent his two year term from 1800 to 1802 traveling the state on government business and noting its natural features. Drayton was perhaps the first to specifically remark on the economic potential of upcountry plants. He described the upcountry soils as "dark and fertile mould, on a stratum of reddish brown tenacious clay" and found a wide variety of plants, including oak, sassafras, persimmon, hickory, chinquapin, short leaved pine, and occasional chestnut in the uplands. On the lowlands he reported mulberry, walnut, locust, ash, beech, "swamp oaks," and elm. On the "meadow lands" he especially noticed the flowering shrubs and wild strawberries. In the Greenville area he singled out White Sulphur Springs on the eastern

side of "paris's Mountain" as a spring whose "water is perfectly clear, but smells strongly, like the washings of a gun barrel" (quoted in Sanders 1962:10).

In 1826 Robert Mills had little more to say concerning Greenville's vegetation, noting only that, "the timber trees are the short leafed pine, poplar, chestnut, white, red, and Spanish oak, some curled maple, black walnut, and wild cherry," while the fruit trees by this time included, "the apple, pear, quince, cherry, plum, &c" (Mills 1972:574 [1826]). Discussing economic issues, he offered greater insight, observing that:

> the soil is various . . . . 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; as also tobacco and cotton of the green seed kind. 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]).

He also remarked that while corn sold for 35¢ a bushel and wheat sold for 75½¢ a bushel, "no provisions are sent to market except to the village," a commentary on the isolated position which Greenville still faced, even in the first quarter of the nineteenth century (Mills 1972:574 [1826]).

Several decades later, Ruffin described not only the topography of Greenville, but also commented on the region's distinctive vegetative zones. He remarked that, "pine, which is almost the exclusive forest growth of the lower country, as soon as the granite is reached begins to give place to oak more and more, until there is scarcely any pine seen in the original forest land" (Ruffin 1843:86).

Today the Blue Ridge region of Greenville still exhibits a considerable richness and diversity. Many slopes of this rich mesophytic forest originally were dominated by an oak-chestnut association. In the first decade of the twentieth century a blight[4] was introduced into the United States which quickly swept over the county from New England to Georgia, nearly eliminating the American chestnut. While sprouts may still be found emerging from dead trunks, they never attain any significant size before succumbing to the disease. Barry (1980:23) remarks that the chestnut decline was gradual enough to allow associated species to maintain dominance, so the forests were never denuded but only gradually changed composition.

Examinations of the mountain region reveal that the vegetation forms what might be called a continuum in relationship to other environmental conditions. In a broad sense, there is a mixed mesophytic forest in the coves and at elevations below 200 feet; a chestnut oak-oak (originally a an oak-chestnut) and oak-hickory subxeric forest at higher elevations; and a pine-oak and pine forest along dry ridges and slopes. Shrubs such as the flame azalea and rhododendron dominate the understory and add the brilliant color for which the mountain area is so well known. In areas near streams the vegetation is equally complex and adapted to the wetter habitat. Included are trees such as alder, cottonwood, and sycamore — all of which are also found into the Piedmont.

Piedmont forests generally belong to the Oak-Hickory forest as defined by Lucy Braun (1950). There is, however a great deal of habitat diversity, largely created by water and soil composition factors. One of the most common communities is the white oak-black oak-red oak association. Associated species include several

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[4] This was a fungus, called the Oriental Chestnut Blight. It affected only the American chestnut (*Castanea dentata*) which had formerly been one of the most valuable timber species in the Appalachian region. The nuts were also an important wildlife food. Today propagation of the American chestnut is considered futile anywhere within the natural range of the genus. Although a search for resistant trees of this species was begun in 1918, none have been found. *C. crenata* (Japanese chestnut) and *C. mollissima* (Chinese chestnut), both of Asiatic origin are highly resistant and have to some extent replaced the American chestnut.

species of hickory, loblolly pine and shortleaf pine, black gum, and sweetgum. The understory is characterized by flowering dogwood and sourwood. In more xeric areas, post oaks and blackjack oaks replace red and black oaks, while in hydric areas more water-tolerant species, such as willow oak, swamp oak, and chestnut oak, are found replacing the white oaks.

The rivers and streams which are only infrequently flooded have species such as beech, ash, hickory, and birch with understories of willow oaks, redbud, and hophornbeam. There may be a narrow border of willows and alder along the bank edge. Along those rivers or creeks where alluvial soil has been deposited and where floods are more common, there is a different vegetation, somewhat similar to that found in the flood plains of the coastal plain, though not as extensive. Dominants include sweetgum, water oak, and white ash, with a few pines. Understory trees may include red maple, boxelder, and papaw (Barry 1980:60-61).

The Piedmont vegetation, however, has been greatly affected by human intervention. Kovacik and Winberry note that as late as 1945, over 2,000,000 acres of the South Carolina Piedmont were cropland. By the 1970s this had dropped to fewer than 700,000 acres (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:43). As these lands were abandoned a succession of vegetational changes[5] began, which will gradually lead to a climax or mature oak-hickory forest. This process, however, takes upwards of a hundred years and is seen in relatively few areas of the Piedmont.

Other examples of human intervention are the presence of loblolly pine and kudzu – both of which are present throughout the Piedmont and in the words of Kovacik and Winberry (1987:43), "contribute to the Piedmont's characteristic floral landscape." The loblolly pine, today a natural species in the process of old field succession, has been extensively planted by paper companies and foresters. Curiously, it is not mentioned in eighteenth or nineteenth century accounts of the Piedmont and was likely introduced from the coastal plain. Kudzu, which today seems to drape and cover anything in the Piedmont which stands still – houses, telephone poles, banks, and even abandoned automobiles – was introduced into the region during the last decades of the nineteenth century as a garden ornamental. During the 1930s it became popular for the control of erosion and reclamation of abandoned lands with upwards of 50,000 acres being planted. Today it is considered a weed and Kovacik and Winberry (1987:44) remark that only about 10,000 acres still exist.

Paleo-Environmental Reconstructions

Table 1 offers a generalized view of one possible reconstruction of Piedmont area ecology, based on data from a variety of sites on the Atlantic slope (but not specific to the Greenville area, or even the upper Piedmont, see for example, Whitehead 1965). Obviously, any such reconstruction would be more reliable based on data from closer to the study area; regrettably, there are relatively few detailed palynological examinations for the Carolina Piedmont. Perhaps best known is the Spartanburg work of S.A. Cain (1944), followed by Donald Whitehead and E.S. Barghoorn (1962). Most significantly, the studies suggest the probable similarities between the temperate flora indicated at the top of the columns and that of the vegetation in the Piedmont prior to clearing by colonial settlement. Pines, oaks, and hickories dominated the uplands while a more mesophytic flora was found on the cooler and moister slopes and bottoms.

There are several significant issues

[5] The first "invaders" of the abandoned field are plants such as dog fennel and rabbit tobacco. These are gradually replaced by a range of grasses, especially broomsedge. At this point a few pine seedlings will also be found along with red cedar and wild cherry. After about 35 years, pines dominate the old field although the understory consists of seedlings of hardwoods such as oaks, hickories, dogwoods, and red maples. Both the pines and hardwoods reach maturity after about 70 to 80 years after the field's abandonment. The pines will be taller than the hardwoods, but the hardwoods' leafy canopies tend to shade the forest floor, severely restricting the ability of pines to reseed. About a century after the field's abandonment the pines begin to die off and the forest is dominated by an oak-hickory forest canopy with an understory of dogwood and red maple. Only on the very poor lands, or in areas where some force has opened up the forest, will pines continue to found in any quantity.

involved in this brief reconstruction. First is that by the time of the earliest occupation of South Carolina (correlating with the Post Glacial) the landscape was dominated by a closed canopy oak-hickory forest. Of equal importance, it seems unlikely that pine achieved its partial dominance in the overstory, taking on a more "modern" appearance, until fairly recently in the modern period. The forest types present would have played an important role in the nature and distribution of critical resources, and hence the distribution and subsistence rounds of Native American populations. Clearly, however, pollen studies conducted on Piedmont Holocene sediments are needed to verify these interpretations and refine our understanding of the region's vegetative development.

It does seem clear that Native American groups dramatically altered the nature and appearance of the Southeastern Piedmont forests. Through fire, many believe that the Indians created a heterogenous forest, interspersed with different vegetation, erosional areas, old growth, and new growth. There is some correlation between the apparent "haphazard" burning and the nature of North American forest utilization. There is good evidence from the areas surrounding South Carolina that at least in the late protohistoric and early historic periods the native inhabitants were irregular and unpredictable in their use of resources. One observer, Hugh Jones, an early eighteenth century professor at the College of William and Mary, observed that, "They have no notion of providing for futurity: for they eat night and day while their provision lasts, falling to as soon as they awake, and falling asleep again as soon as they are well crammed." Timothy Silver remarks that:

Table 1.
Generalized Paleo-Environmental Reconstruction

Episode	Climate	Vegetation
Late Glacial (15,000 – 10,000 B.P.)	Cooler and moister than present	Oak, hickory, beech, hemlock
Early Post Glacial (10,000 – 8,000 B.P.)	Warming trend continued from Early or Full Glacial Period with increased moisture	Oak and hickory maximum, sharp decline in beech and gum
Later Post Glacial (8,000 B.P. – present)	Continued warming with gradual desiccation	Oak and pine. Pine increases relative to the decreasing oaks. Modern vegetation patterns by 7,000 B.P.

> Indians were equally cavalier about food shortages. During their summer migrations, when they depended largely upon berries and other wild produce, they sometimes went for days without food. Late winter, too, could bring periods of sporadic hunger as game animals moved out of the oak forests and supplies of corn began to dwindle. In keeping with their stoic nature, the natives accepted such lean times as inevitable and rode them out without complaint. Their seemingly imprudent eating habits and willingness to go hungry in a land of apparent plenty never ceased to amaze Europeans. John Smith spoke for many Englishmen when he remarked about the "strange" manner in which the Indians' "bodies alter[ed] with their diet." Like "deare and wilde beastes they seem[ed] fat and lean, strong and weak" (Silver 1990:65).

It should be clear that paleo-environmental reconstructions can be useful for better understanding where resources **might** have been located, but they cannot tell us how these resources were **actually used** by the Native Americans. Reconstructions of subsistence rounds

based on logic and availability are likely to mask the reality of human nature. The caution here is that we cannot take for granted that the Native Americans were humans and fell prey to the same inconsistencies that "plague" humans today. We must also realize that the alteration of the environment, begun by the Native Americans on a limited scale, continued through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (mention of this has already been made in our discussions of soil erosion and vegetational succession). Using European technology and, to some degree, African American slave labor, the early Piedmont colonists found it relatively easy to clear lands which had been too heavily forested for the Native Americans to cultivate. The process of clearing changed the pattern of animal use, reducing many species while opening up new niches for others. The clearing brought sudden erosion to a land where erosion was limited.

The gradual changes in the Southern Piedmont included increased use of very toxic pesticides, increased infertility and finally exhaustion of land overplanted in cotton, and large areas of second growth as land went out of use during the 1930s. As Raper and Reid observed:

> nowadays the South is anything and everything. It is problem and opportunity, proud and pitiful — a land of unlimited possibility and of unrelieved privation. Potential adequacy and actual deficiency walk hand in hand across the Southern scene (Raper and Reid 1941:v).

Almost two decades ago Albert Goodyear and his colleagues suggested a range of "Piedmont Human Ecological Research" topics (Goodyear et al. 1979:26-33). Many of these remain as viable today as when originally presented and are worthy of careful consideration. One involves the relationships between human demographic shifts and Early Holocene environmental changes. The authors remark that "very little is known of the age, content, and distribution of early aboriginal populations" such as the makers of Clovis, Dalton, and Palmer tool technologies. Spanning the period from about 11,000 to 9,000 B.P., they question how "population increases and geographical movements into new or developing environments" took place within the framework of known paleoenvironmental change. Of special interest is whether the Piedmont was less intensively used during the early periods and, if so, why. But perhaps the most ambitious topic involves explaining how human activities changed "in form, structure, and content through time vis a vis resources" as they were distributed in various Piedmont ecological/environmental zones. This topic will be discussed in greater detail in the archaeological overview section.

Turning from the very early periods of human habitation to the later periods, David G. Anderson (1994:277-289) has made excellent use of paleoclimatic data generated by the Tree Ring Laboratory, Department of Geography, University of Arkansas, to help understand the effects of climatic factors on the Mississippian occupations in the Savannah River Basin. He found that:

> a direct relationship between growing-season climate and political conditions appears evident. Several extended periods of above- or below-average warm-season rainfall, from 1100 to 1600, occurred close enough in time to approximate periods of social change to suggest a connection. The suspected relationship between climate and political change, however, was not found to be invariable. The Savannah River valley remained unoccupied throughout the 16th century, even though climatic conditions ameliorated at the end of the 15th century and were unusually favorable for the first half of the next century (Anderson 1994:289).

He points out that not only must archaeological dating be refined and the tree ring data expanded, but there is also the need to better understand if the observed data are synchronous over large areas and how Mississippian groups reacted to these stresses.

HISTORIC SYNOPSIS OF GREENVILLE COUNTY

The Indian and Colonial Periods

Historical accounts of the territory encompassing the Piedmont begin with the Hernando De Soto expedition between 1538 and 1542 (for summaries see Swanton 1939:170-190 and Swanton 1946:44-46). While earlier Spanish explorers were enticed by tales of "cities of gold," De Soto was lured to the wilderness of the Southeast not only by the quest for personal glory and wealth (in particular, the discovery of El Dorado, the fabled city of gold), but also by the need to defend Spanish territory against England and France.

De Soto's venture began on the Gulf Coast of Florida in mid-April of 1540 and his troops had reached the country of "Cofitachequi," thought by many today to be in the vicinity of Kershaw County, South Carolina, on May 1, 1540. On May 13 De Soto left this area and started on the path to the province called "Chiahu," somewhere to the north (Swanton 1939:187). In two days the expedition came to the territory of "Chalaque," which was reported to contain only small, sparsely populated villages (Swanton 1939:187; 1946:46). Three days later, on May 18, De Soto's troops arrived at the town of "Guaquili" (Swanton 1939:188; 1946:46). After two more days travel across a region of reeds and then across a small plain, De Soto arrived at the town of "Xuala." It was described as being located on a plain between two rivers in an area viewed by the Spaniards to possess the best indications for gold as any area they encountered. After four days, and finding no gold sources, they left, crossing a very high range the same day. Suffering from extreme cold at night, they marched along a river, which they crossed several times and which slowly gained in size. Finally, on May 27, the army entered the town of "Guasili" (Swanton 1939:189). From this spot they continued on, visiting "Canasoga" and "Chiaha," where they finally stopped for about a month. Based on the available descriptions, by the time De Soto and his band had reached the town of Guasili, they had left the Piedmont and entered into the Mountains, with Xuala being the last town encountered before the Mountains.

Juan Pardo's expeditions, in 1566 and again in 1567, were designed to counter the French and English threats — a more practical mission than De Soto's which likely had more of a lasting influence on the Native American population. Recently DePratter and his colleagues have devoted a great deal of attention to defining the route of Juan Pardo and this discussion is largely based on DePratter et al. (1982). The first expedition left Santa Elena, on Paris Island in Beaufort County, South Carolina and passed through a series of towns intimately acquainted with the Spanish and their activities at Santa Elena. The first town reached after leaving known territory was "Guiamae" or "Guiamaez." After that they reached "Canos," or Cofitachequi. From Cofitachequi Juan Pardo continued northward into the Carolina Piedmont, passing through a series of smaller towns and eventually arriving at "Juada," which is likely De Soto's Xuala. With winter setting in, Juan Pardo decided to explore the immediate area, but was summoned back to Santa Elena to meet a suspected French threat. In September of 1567, however, he was able to return to the Carolina hinterlands. His second mission took a similar route to Canos, also called "Canosi" and "Cofetazque." From here Juan Pardo continued his movement northward, eventually arriving once again at Juada after passing through five or six other villages. From this area he pushed western, through the towns of "Tocae," "Cauchi," "Chalahume," and eventually "Satapo." Here he was greeted with derision and open hostility. Heeding the warning that to travel further would result in attack, he left the Appalachian Mountains and returned to Santa Elena by traveling a very similar route.

There is compelling evidence to suggest

that the Indian groups encountered by De Soto and later by Juan Pardo were situated, more or less, in exactly the same locations where the English found them in the 1670s — along the Santee-Wateree-Catawba and Yadkin-Pee Dee drainages (see Wilson 1983). As previously mentioned, there is circumstantial evidence (but, as of yet, no direct archaeological evidence) that Cofitachequi was situated in the vicinity of Camden, South Carolina, while Joara, Juada, or Xuala (the point at which the Spanish entered the Appalachian Mountains) was on the upper Catawba River in the vicinity of Marion, North Carolina (DePratter et al. 1982:8).

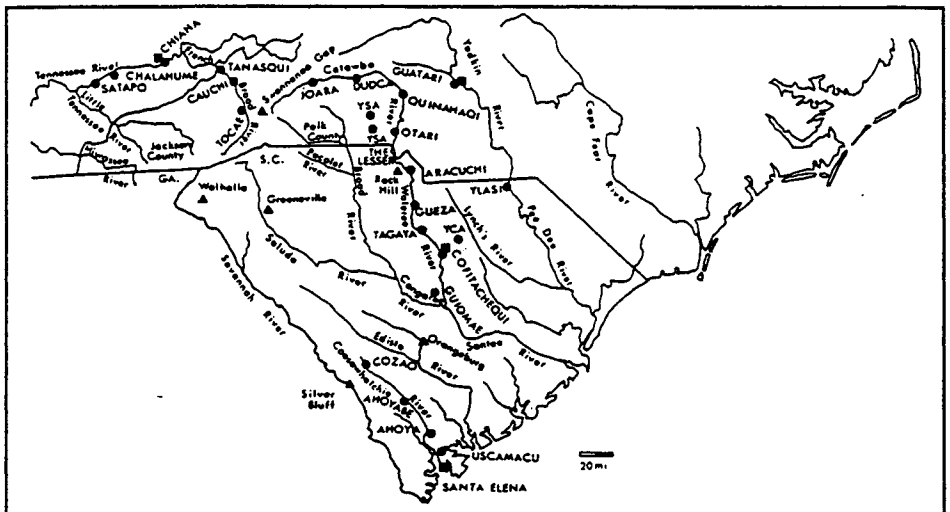

Figure 4. The cultural geography of Pardo's two expeditions through central Carolina during the 1560s (adapted from Wilson 1983:Figure 5).

None of these travelers entered the Greenville area (see Figure 4). Nor do they provide any commentary on what might be found south of Tocae or southwest of Joara. Situated on a completely different drainage (the Saluda), the area was unexplored. Yet, given the number of village found elsewhere, there seems to be no reason that the northwestern corner of South Carolina would have been deserted. This, in fact, may be supported by the presence of several mounds in this area.

While the Spanish were relatively interested in the Native American groups, the English exhibited less concern with the native groups, focusing on the establishment of a commercially viable colony. After South Carolina was settled as a British province, organization and delineation of the land into more manageable territorial units began almost immediately. In 1682, the Proprietors sectioned the new province into four counties — Berkeley, Craven, Colleton, and Granville.[1] Present Greenville was included in the largest of these, Colleton County, which remained Indian land until just after the American Revolution (Kennedy 1940:34).

South Carolina's early settlers came from the English West Indies, other mainland colonies, England, and the European continent. It has been argued that those from the English West Indies were among the most critical to the future of the colony, as they brought with them a strong agrarian concept, involving both staple crops and slave labor (Sirmans 1966).Coclanis notes that almost as many Carolina settlers came from the small island of Barbados in the decade of the 1670s as from England herself, causing him to remark that:

> Carolina — alone among the English colonies on the mainland of North America — felt the heat of the tropics from the start. Those that wish to understand the torridity of South Carolina's later history, its passion and its zeal,

[1] Although these counties were established as governmental units, the Anglican parishes of the low country, established in 1706, became the more common unit of political administration. Since the back or up country had no settlement at this time it was not included in the parish divisions.

would do well to remember this point (Coclanis 1989:22).

The early agricultural experiments of the lowcountry included olives, grapes, silkworms, and oranges — all of which were less than successful. The cultivation of cash crops, such as indigo, tobacco, and flax, were stressed as staples whose marketing the proprietors could easily monopolize.

In the up country, however, the only economic activity during the very early period was Indian trade. While profitable to many of the Carolina colonists, it did not provide the proprietors with the wealth they expected from the new colony and was viewed no more favorably than cattle ranging. Tom Hatley notes that, "Henry Woodward was among the first of the Carolina entrepreneurs who fixed on intercultural trade as a way to tap the indigenous wealth" of the new colony, especially that which lay to the west among the group known as the Cherokee (Hatley 1993: 18). The tribes of middle South Carolina, such as the Savannahs, Yemassees, and Westos, reaped significant profits (at least in the short-term) as brokers or middle-men for this trade, since very few Englishmen were brave enough to penetrate into the vast interior of Carolina. Moreover, the trading paths which existed skirted the southern edge of the Cherokee, and ran along the western Upper Creek Path to towns such as Chatahoochee and Savannah Town. The Cherokees were approached only by a "spur" off this path.

The Cherokee for most Carolinians remained a rather dark and unknown group, visited by few Englishmen during the first several decades of the eighteenth century. Many, however, feared the Cherokee not because they were unknown, but because they were in the way. First-generation expansionists such as Thomas Naire feared that the "English American Empire" would be "unreasonably" constrained. It was not French activities which worried these early expansionists. Instead, they feared that Carolina's westward growth would be stalled by the undefined disposition of the Cherokees — a group being courted by the French from their northern bases (Hatley 1993:21).

Given the often unscrupulous trading practices of many whites, coupled with the constant encroachment by planters cutting down the forests and creating plantations, the Yemassee War (1715-1718) should have come as no surprise. While it is almost certain that the "conspiracy" for the uprising was fostered by the powerful Creek Confederacy found in Georgia and Alabama, and virtually all of the Carolina tribes participated, it is the Yemassee who are best associated with this uprising. The first blow was struck on Good Friday, April 15, 1715, when the Yemassee attacked a delegation sent to Pocotaligo to "inquire into their grievance." While troops sent from Charleston caused much damage to the Yemassee, briefly quieting their actions, the Cheraw and other more northeastern groups continued the hostilities. By mid-July a second expedition was sent out to attack these groups, in conjunction with North Carolina actions. These actions were not nearly as successful and, hearing that Charleston was once again threatened from the south, troops returned home (Lee 1963:39-45; Milling 1969:135-164).

During the first half of the Yemassee War there were scattered reports of Cherokee hostility, counterbalanced by frequent assurances from the western traders that the Cherokee were, at worst, neutral. The fear that the Cherokee would align with Creek and wipe out the English settlements, however, was strong. It was also strengthened by the appearance that the Cherokee were involved in the raid on Schenkingh's Cowpen near the Santee River (Hatley 1993:23). A delegation of Cherokees, from the Middle Towns, came to Charleston and promised to join with the English against the Creeks. Heartened by this show of solidarity, Maurice Mathews led troops out of Charleston, intending to meet with a large Cherokee force and wage war on the Creeks. The Cherokee, however, failed to appear and Mathews instead of waging war on the Creeks marched to the Lower Towns, arriving at Tugaloo. There he found a considerable diversity of opinion regarding the wisdom of going to war against the Creeks. While the more western Middle Towns were somewhat isolated from the Creeks, many in the Lower Towns feared the cost of such an undertaking. The Cherokee also quickly discovered that the English were more interested in wiping the Lower Towns into a war frenzy than in going to war themselves. Mathews repeatedly avoided promising any "joint undertaking" and was hard pressed to even make promises of weapons or

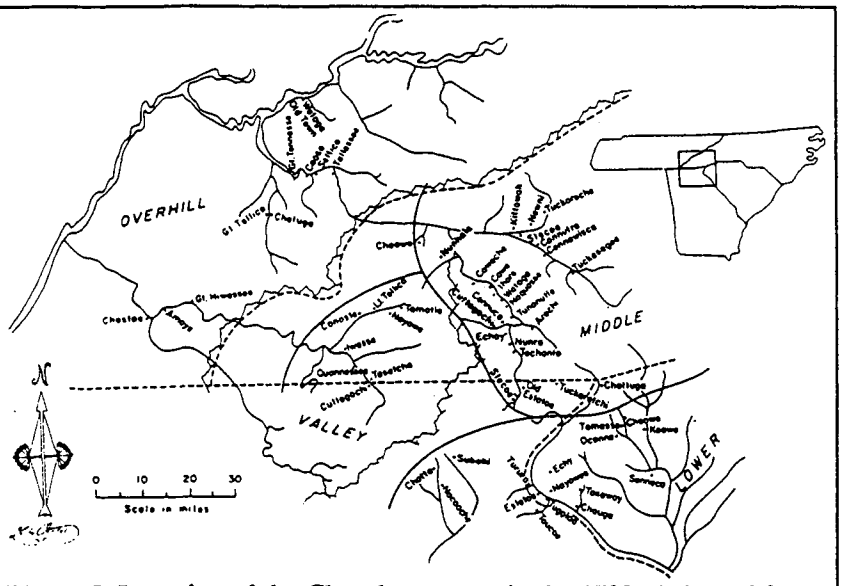

Figure 5. Location of the Cherokee towns in the 1720s (adapted from Smith 1979:Map 2).

powder.

Eventually a Creek party, under a banner of truce, came to Tugaloo to discuss peace. The entire Creek delegation was killed by the most hostile of the Cherokee. Hatley observes that, "sensing that the war against the Creeks which they had hoped to incite among the Cherokees, but which the colonists wished personally to avoid themselves, was about to begin, the English troops hurried out of Tugaloo" (Hatley 1993:26). The Lower Cherokee Towns would pay a high price for their "alliance" with the English. The act of violence was returned almost immediately and constituted "the beginnings of an episode of inter-tribal war which would continue over the next thirty years" (Hatley 1993:27). Muskhogean people as far south as Apalachee joined forces and began raiding the Cherokee. The effects were so damaging to the Cherokee that in 1724 they attempted to make peace directly with the Spanish in order to dampen the crippling slave raids by the Creeks. The overture to the Spanish was largely rejected and the Cherokee continued to suffer for their "alliance" with Charleston.

This event affected the future assumptions of both the English and Cherokee for years to come. For example, the English seized on the massacre of the Creeks as proof of a Cherokee-English alliance. The Cherokee, however, came away with a very different understanding which largely focused on the failure on the English to fulfill the basic obligation of allies to fight together. This lack of trust would still be strongly felt among the Cherokee forty years later.[2]

After the Yemassee War trade was re-established, but the English found that the virtual elimination of Native American groups in the lowcountry, as well as in much of the Carolina Piedmont, significantly reduced the profit of the trade. What trade there was had to shared not only with the Virginians, but also with the French who moved more or less freely from the Tennessee River Valley. The private traders realized that the future of their business lay to the west, among the larger tribes such as the Cherokee. Tapping this market, however, was hampered by the political power in Charleston of the planter interests. This early dispute between the interests of the backcountry and those of the lowcountry would set the stage for antagonisms and disputes which would continue into the twentieth century.

The planter interests, still fearful of Cherokee power, wanted to cut off free contact with the tribes, believing that more regulated trade (being fairer trade) would buffer the settlements from any future Indian uprising. Further, the planters, constantly fearful of slave uprising, were equally fearful that the African American slaves might join forces with the Indians. In 1716 a public monopoly was established to take the management

[2] Curiously, many modern historians still fail to understand the hesitancy of the Cherokee to open old war scars and the duplicity of the English. Lee (1963:42), for example, speaks of Mathews' "skill at Indian diplomacy" and the Cherokee's "pledge [of] support to South Carolina." Vernon Huff (1991:81) comments in a school text that, "Governor Craven persuaded the Cherokees to go to war with the Creeks . . . ."

of trading into government hands, ending the practice of establishing private "trading stores" among the different villages and requiring the Cherokee and other groups to come to various garrisons for trade. An early Cherokee agent, Theophilus Hastings, reported that the Cherokee "utterly dislike[d]" this change and trading profits declined dramatically (Hatley 1993:35).[3] Over the next two decades the act regulating Indian trading would be revised, de-emphasizing public control, once again re-establishing free trading.

In 1720 ex-Governor Johnson wrote to the Council of Trade and Plantations about the number of Indians on the border of South Carolina (see Wilson 1983:160-161). Using data gathered by traders just before the Yemassee War in 1715, Johnson reported that the Cherokee, divided into "Upper," "Middle," and "Lower" towns, accounted for 10,200 individuals and were located between 320 and 450 miles northwest of Charleston (Figure 5). The Creeks, 250 miles distant, accounted for about 2406 individuals. Produced at about the same time is the 1715 "Map of North and South Carolina and Florida" (Figures 6 and 7). While the projection of the map is skewed, it reveals a void between the "Cuttanbas" or Catawbas to the east and the Lower Cherokee or "Charakeys" to the west. The dearth of towns provides some support to the idea that by this time much of the northwestern portion of South Carolina was largely deserted and used as hunting territory.[4]

By 1725 the Cherokee were complaining bitterly about the influx of white settlers, suggesting that this buffer between the Cherokee and Catawba was primarily considered to be Cherokee land. The colonial response was limited, at best. The effects of the Yemassee War had crippled South Carolina, nearly destroyed her economy, and drove a wedge between the colonists and the Proprietors. To fund the war and, hopefully, the colony's recovery, the assembly produced an unchecked flood of paper money. This alone would have been sufficient to turn the merchants against the proprietors, but there was also a growing pirate problem. As opposition mounted, the proprietors responded by closing the land office, prohibiting the granting of any new land to either established settlers or new immigrants, and reserved all of the "abandoned" Yemassee lands for their own use, creating 15 baronies. While justified as a means of promoting additional white population growth, this served only to push the proprietors' last few friends into the opposition camp.

A peaceful, and bloodless, revolution in November 1719 tentatively placed South Carolina under the crown, although it would take nearly a decade for the state to become a royal colony. By 1725 South Carolina was in the midst of a serious depression (Clowse 1971:227). Not only were other colonies largely unaffected[5], but a solution was not within the reach of South Carolina and the state could only wait for London to react. Clowse comments that:

> Although any South Carolinian in 1725 knew that these were

[3] In 1717 through 1719 between 17,000 and 24,000 skins were shipped from Charleston annually, less than half of those shipped every year prior to 1715. By 1721, when the system was partially public and partially private, the number increased to 33,939 skins. When the system was finally returned to licensed private traders, the volume jumped to around 65,000 skins annually (see Clowse 1971:207).

[4] In the nineteenth century this area was recognized to have been the hunting grounds for the Lower Cherokee (Logan 1859:6). The eastern portion of the lands incorporated in the 1755 Treaty of Saluda between the Cherokee and South Carolina incorporated territory claimed by the Catawba. This demonstrates the conflicting claims of the Cherokee and Catawba to at least a portion of the region. There is, however, some evidence that in addition to being shared by the Cherokee and Catawba, the Creeks may also have had an interest in this area. Border towns, such as Estatoe and Tugaloo seem to have preserved some degree of kinship with the Creeks (Hatley 1993:82). By the 1750s there is evidence of a growing Creek population in the area of the Savannah headwaters, re-claiming land which had been abandoned by the Muskhogean group perhaps 50 years earlier.

[5] The index of wholesale prices (1850-1859 = 100) averaged 58.6 in 1720 and increased to only 65.7 in 1725. Although there was a slight dip, down to about 58.0 in 1732, the index continued a gradual rise through the colonial period (U.S. Department of Commerce 1960:772).

> terrible times, few could have foreseen the nadir reached before a rebound would begin. From 1725 through 1729, while the Board of Trade continued its procrastinating evaluations of the situation in process since at least 1719, the South Carolina caretaker government became impotent, and the economy crumbled further (Clowse 1971:228).

It was during James Glen's 13 year term — the longest of any colonial governor — that he advocated Carolina's manifest destiny. Harkening back to such expansionists as Naire, Glen realized that the Cherokee blocked South Carolina's perceived right to more land. While Cherokee trade increased (at a time when Indian trade was beginning to decline in economic value), there was a growing fear of the Cherokee among South Carolinians. This fear was compounded by the Stono Rebellion in 1739, when between 60 and 100 Charelston area slaves took up arms. While the rebellious slaves were quickly killed or captured, this event was the planter's worst fear come true. In a colony where, in 1729, 20,000 of the 30,000 occupants were African American slaves, fear of an uprising was on the mind of every white.[6]

In what seems almost to be a repeat of history, Glen attempted to organize a conference with the Cherokee in 1755 to determine their support. The importance of the timing cannot be overstated, since this marks the beginning of what elsewhere was known as the Seven Years War, but is known as the French and Indian War in the colonies. The Cherokee, perhaps tired of colonial gamesmanship, refused to come to Charleston, suggesting a more neutral location midway between the two seats of government. Saluda was selected and Glen put on a grand show. Rounding up local pioneer settlers for show, there was a great deal of talk, with the Cherokee eventually proposing an alliance. Glen, either through ignorance or greed, misinterpreted the Cherokee intention of good will, believing that the Cherokee had provided him with a fee-simple deed to all of their lands in the region. Known as the Treaty of Saluda, the land embracing the present counties of Edgefield, Abbeville, Laurens, Newberry, Greenville, Saluda, McCormick, Union, Spartanburg, Cherokee, Chester, Richland, Fairfield, and a portion of York was given up by the Cherokee. The lands in Pendleton — the modern counties of Anderson, Pickens, and Oconee — and Greenville County, were reserved for the Cherokee, along with their holdings in North Carolina and Georgia (Milling 1969:284). The present line dividing Greenville and Spartanburg was established as the Indian Boundary by this treaty. Two forts also resulted from the treaty — Fort Prince George at Keowee and Fort Loudon on the Tennessee River.

Of course the Cherokee had no such intention. As previously mentioned, while this territory was largely devoid of settlement, it served as a buffer between the English and Cherokee, between the Cherokee and the Catawba, and likely between the Cherokee and the Creek (Hatley 1993:82). Hatley observes that not only were there population shifts in the Lower Towns, with the Creeks taking on increased prominence, but there also seems to be some evidence of Cherokees moving northward from the Lower Towns, coming into contact with the emerging colonial settlements of the region.

After the 1755 Treaty of Saluda, settlers from Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina began to flood into the newly opened territory. The range of ethnic groups distinguished this migration from many others and Scotch Irish, Germans, Swiss, Welsh Baptists, Quakers, and even French Huguenots made up the assemblage. Largely, however, the Ninety Six District became associated with the Scotch-Irish who settled the Spartanburg area to the east of Greenville around the Tyger River in the 1760s (see the following section **Early Agriculture of the Backcountry — Setting the Stage** for additional details). The Earle family originally settled in the North Pacolet area.

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[6] Clowse (1971:Table 1) illustrates the steady growth of black population from 1703, when the colony included 3,800 whites and 3,000 slaves to 1708 when the number of the two races of about equal. By 1710 African Americans had become the majority, numbering 10,500 to the 6,250 whites. By 1790 this disparity had been reversed and there were 140,178 whites to the state's 107,094 slaves.

Figure 6. Portion of the 1715 "Map of North and South Carolina and Florida" from the Colonial Office Library, London, reproduced in The Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps, Series III, Plates 13 and 14.

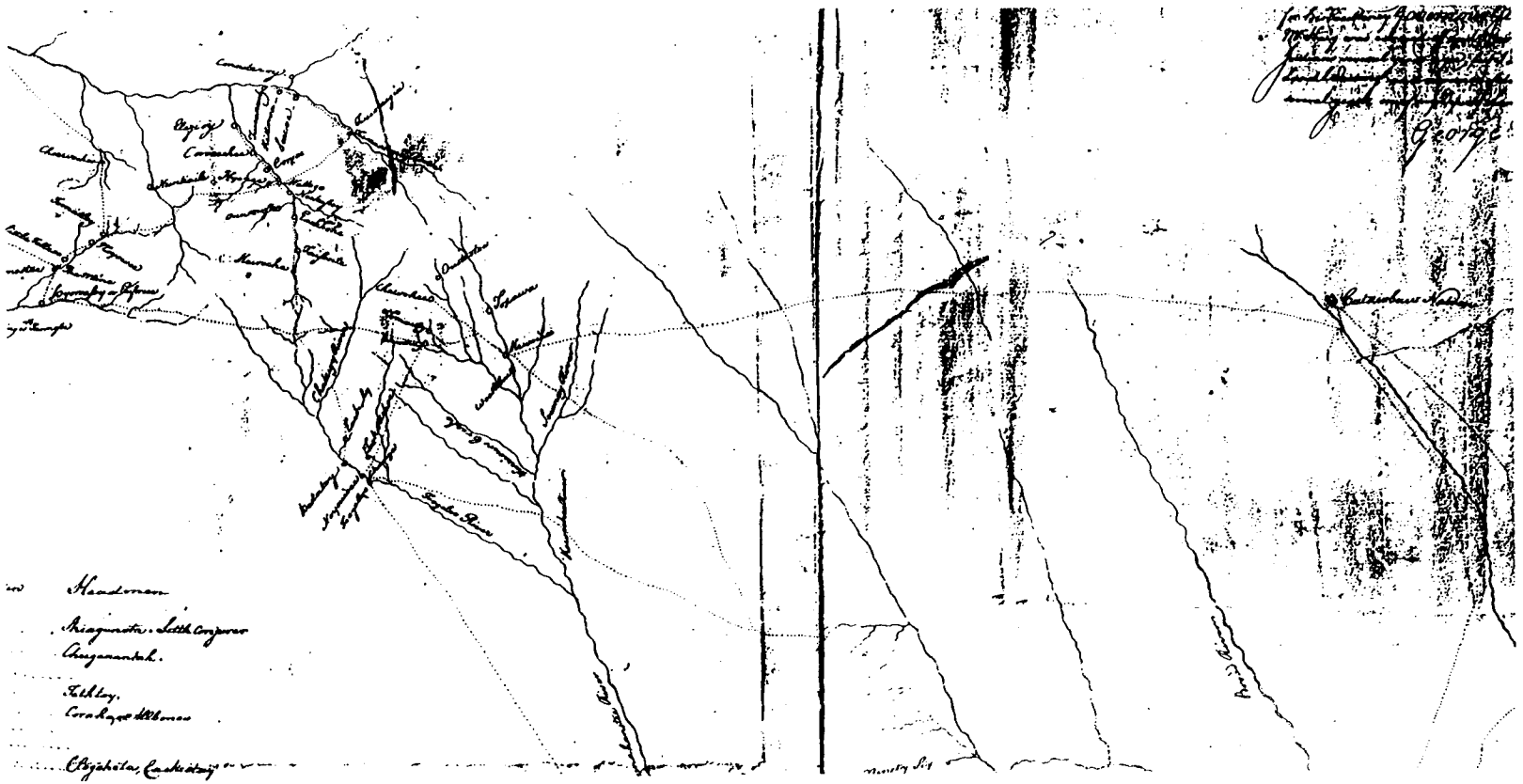

Figure 7. A portion of the George Haight "Map Showing the Indian Country West of Carolina," drawn in 1751. Like the earlier 1715 map (Figure 6), it reveals a broad, unoccupied plain between the "Catawbaw Nation" and the numerous Cherokee towns to the west. Adapted from the Colonial Office Library, London, reproduced in The Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps, Series III, Plates 27 and 28.

The Fairforest area was dominated by Virginia Baptists seeking religious tolerance (Kennedy 1940:14-17).

This early backcountry settlement, by 1760, probably numbered around 200 individuals and included families still found in the region (Richardson 1930:26). Around the early settlement a certain degree of mythology has developed which tends to romanticize the pioneer lifestyle and landscape:

> The people can in groups, many driving their stock before them, from the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. They followed the great valleys and adjoining plateaus that run in a general southwesterly direction, from western Pennsylvania to northern Georgia. These natural highways afforded an easy approach to the uplands of South Carolina, where lands were fertile and far removed from the Indian disturbances of that time. . . . These frontiersmen were mostly Scotch-Irish, a hardy band of frontiersmen who stood guard over the advancing civilization from the Carolinas to Western New York. Only the hunter and trapper, and the Indian trader had preceded them into the wilderness. But unlike their predecessors, they came to stay, at least long enough to see a more settled community arise . . . . The Carolina pioneers brought their families, their rude and scanty store of household goods, their crude implements, seed, and domestic animals, ready for the work of frontier farming. . . . With a jug or cider or whisky to make merry, the pioneer invited his neighbor to lend a helping hand . . . . The furniture was scarce, but the faithful rifle always hung in the chimney corner within easy reach . . . . In a region where every man must rely on his own strong arm and his rifle for the support and protection of his family, there are no distinctions. It was a strongly democratic society . . . .(William A. Schaper quoted in Richardson 1930:27).

Following Glen as governor was William Henry Lyttelton, who seemed to yearn for some kind of engagement in the backcountry. South Carolina was once again fearful of both a slave revolt and the French overtures (coming from Fort Toulouse) to the Cherokee. As Hatley comments:

> As Lyttelton began to take matters into his own hands, his condescension became outright indifference to the sentiments of the Assembly. Guided by the tense advise of his beleaguered commanders in the mountains, he took incremental actions against the Cherokees (Hatley 1993:114).

In August of 1759 Lyttelton halted arms and ammunition sales to the Cherokees. Not satisfied that this had the desired effect, in October he announced that he would "take command of the forces myself and carry the war into the Enemy's country" (quoted in Hatley 1993:114). Sensing that tensions were high, the Cherokee sent a delegation to Charleston to make peace with the English.[7] This effort was rebuffed by Lyttelton who went beyond the realm of the acceptable and took the delegation hostage. This began what historians usually call the Cherokee War, lasting from 1759 through 1761, although there is no evidence that the Cherokee called it, or wanted it. In actuality, it consists of three separate campaigns launched into the Cherokee territory, but they are usually blurred together, likely because no one campaign was decisive. Hatley comments that in spite of this:

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[7] The actual cause of the hostilities is relatively clear. The Cherokees, most particularly those in the Overhill town of Settico and a few of the Lower Towns, returned the injuries they received at the hands of Virginia settlers attacking several western settlements of South Carolina.

> the three initiatives, like acts in a play, were distinct, with each moving toward the same ending. A kind of public drama for Carolina society, the Cherokee War moved from near failure in 1759 to half-success a year later, to the achievement, at least on paper, of military objectives under James Grant's leadership in 1761 (Hatley 1993:119-120).

The first campaign was described as "a wild and ridiculous parade" by no less than James Adair, who pointed out that Lyttelton has no understanding of Indian politics. He marched to Keowee and camped across the river from the town. Over the course of many weeks he threatened and bullied, but failed to either win concessions or show any meaningful force. Smallpox finally drove him out of Indian country and back to Charleston, where his gift to the City was to introduce a smallpox epidemic. He, however, had left his Cherokee hostages at Fort Prince George and these Indians were eventually "butchered . . . in a Manner too shocking to Relate" by the troops in reprisal for the killing of one of their number (Hatley 1993:126). In response, the Cherokee and Creek began negotiations, an event which sent shock waves through Charleston.

In the early Spring of 1760 the killing of the Indian hostages was revenged by Cherokees as they swept through the backcountry. The area dissolved into chaos and South Carolina convinced London that British troops were needed. Regulars under the command of Archibald Montgomery began the second campaign. The Lower Towns of Keowee, Estatoe, Toxaway, Qualatchee, and Conasatche were all burned along with their food supplies. On the way to the Middle Towns, however, Montgomery's troops were attacked by the Cherokee and routed. After regrouping they marched to the abandoned town of Echoe, only to retreat back to Charleston. Immediately upon his arrival Montgomery announced that he would board ships in the harbor and set sail out of South Carolina's Indian problems. This, as might be imagined, caused a new round of panic and paranoia in Charleston, which was only deepened by the discovery that the troops of the Overhill Fort Loudon garrison were slaughtered by the Cherokee under a flag of truce.

The third campaign was organized and initially lead by Lt. Governor William Bull. This campaign resulted in 33 days of raising havoc in the Cherokee settlements. Enough damage was done this time to cause Little Carpenter, recognized as an overall leader of the Cherokee to seek peace that fall (Hatley 1993:153-154).

The campaigns were traumatic, revealing the embarrassing military and financial weakness of the colony, the inability of its leaders to devise military operations, and the lack of enthusiasm on the part of North Carolina to be brought into troubles to the south. The war also challenged the myth of a special relationship between the Cherokee and English. Both sides behaved in reprehensible fashion, slaughtering innocents and those under a flag of truce. But perhaps most of all, it continued to gnaw at the psyche of the Colony, emphasizing the discord between planter and merchant, upcountry pioneer and lowcountry planter, and white owners and black slave. Further, peace did not come quickly or convincingly. The relations between red and white were so strained that the Cherokee did not welcome back traders has they had in the past. In particular, the younger members of the Cherokee towns expressed an intensive denial of white culture, wanting nothing to do with the white man, his way, or his trade goods.

The boundary line was re-established and, for the Cherokee, it offered an opportunity to re-establish their relationship with South Carolina. The Cherokee desired what might be called a semi-permeable boundary. Something which might allow trade when it was advantageous and permit diplomacy to keep the peace, but which would curtail, perhaps even prevent, the swelling farmer settlements. This problem was recognized by Superintendent of Indian Affairs John Stuart, who cautioned that a more eastern boundary should be established than that desired by Bull, "the inhabitants of those back Countries are in general the lowest and worst Part of the People, and as they and the Indians live in perpetual Jealousy and Dread of each other, so their rooted Hatred for each other is reciprocal" (quoted in Hatley 1993:206).

These campaigns made the frontier of South Carolina relatively safe from the Cherokees and white settlement pressures increased dramatically. Richardson observed that while Greenville was not acquired from the Cherokee, "it is evident that a number of white people took up their abode here during the period after the French and Indian war, when so many pioneers were establishing themselves upon adjoining lands" (Richardson 1930:32). Still, this era of Greenville history is rather poorly understood and it seems likely that there were relatively few brave enough to venture very far beyond the Indian Boundary Line. Rachel Klein also argues that while the wars may have emphasize the continuing rift between the wealthy planters of the lowcountry and the pioneer farmers of the upcountry, "nothing did more to draw yeoman and rising planters together than a brutal war with the Cherokee Indians" (Klein 1990:37).

In the 1760s a group of Cherokee leaders offered two blocks of land to the sons of two well-known Cherokee traders, Alexander Cameron and Richard Pearis. Cameron was apparently beloved, and highly trusted, by the Cherokee (Hatley 1993:207). Pearis, while perhaps not as beloved, was recognized as a skilled negotiator who understood the Cherokees. Corkran observes that Pearis had a long history working with Cherokee of Virginia and "whatever his faults, he understood Cherokees; and the Cherokees liked him and respected him" (Corkran 1962:122). A clue to the underlying intention of the Cherokee, however, is best provided by understanding that the lands were provided not to Cameron and Pearis, but rather to their sons of Indian women.[8] The gifts of land (each "grant" encompassed somewhere between 92,000 and 200,000 acres) were intended to confirm the blood-ties between the groups, ensuring that the mixed blood children would be raised in both worlds and to serve as a bridge, establishing kinship bonds and alliances, between the white and red worlds. It is also likely that the tracts were cleverly laid out by the Indians to provide a physical bridge between the two worlds which would be owned by trusted individuals, creating open paths for trade and diplomacy. For example, Pearis' land was near a spur of the Great Trading Path to the Catawbas. The shape and position of the two parcels was carefully established to give the Cherokee access to the Charleston road, as well as to the Great Trading path (Hatley 1993:208).

The grants, however, resulted in immediate controversy. The Cherokee had previously agreed to grant no land to any party other than the crown. And while some accused Cameron and Pearis of deceit and trickery, it was clear that both deeds were offered with the full knowledge and consent of the Cherokees. Others accused Pearis of accepting of the land in payment of a debt owed by the Cherokee.

Regardless, Pearis established his residence on this tract and built a dwelling house, kitchen, smoke house, stables, dairy, smith's shop, slave houses, a large grist mill (which cost £100 to build), and a large Indian store which contained a "proper assortment of goods" from Charleston. At the settlement he held a range of items: tools, wagons, carts, plows and harrows, household furniture, 12 slaves, 47 English horses, 200 cattle, 250 hogs, and 14 sheep and goats. He was apparently cultivating about 100 acres (Whitmire 1965:82). Clearly this does not seem to represent the lifestyle of a trader and hunter, disinclined toward settlement.

The rest of the backcounty was also slowly "civilizing." It is, for example, no accident that the Regulator movement began and quickly reached its peak during and shortly after the final settlement with the Cherokees. The negotiations continued from 1765 through 1768 and the Regulators came into existence about 1767. Once the boundary between white and Indian was set, colonial society was free to address "enemies within their own society" (Hatley 1993:180).

The backcounty was burdened with a variety of civil, political, and social problems. Of special annoyance was the centralization of criminal courts and jails in Charleston. This meant

[8] Richard Pearis did have a white wife. However, like many traders among the Indians, he also had a native "side wife." This practice established kinship bonds between the trader and the native groups. His off-spring of this relationship, George Pearis, was the intended recipient of the land (Whitmire 1965:77).

that suspected criminals had to be transported to Charleston, along with witnesses. And while the assembly appointed inland justices to consider civil cases involving less than £20, all other cases required travel to Charleston. The absence of backcountry civil courts created problems not only for merchants trying to collect debts, but also for the farmers who relied on a complex network of local exchange which frequently made them creditors as well (see Klein 1990:38-41).

Further troubling the rising planter class in the backcountry was their inability to vote. They claimed that the coastal parishes south of the Santee extended into the backcountry and that they should be allowed to vote. Land holders also chaffed under a uniform tax law which valued rich rice fields along the coast at the same level as subsistence farms in the backcountry.

But perhaps most interesting were the social conflicts in the backcountry which contributed to the Regulator movement. There was a deeply rooted social conflict between those who relied primarily on hunting for a living and those who did not. Klein observed that:

> South Carolina leaders had expressed concern about the wandering or "strolling" hunters described by one observer as "little more than white Indians." . . . Lieutenant Governor William Bull made a similar observation in 1769, when he wrote of those "back inhabitants who chose to live rather by the wandering indolence of hunting than the more honest and domestic employment of planting." (Klein 1990:51).

Hatley also notes that "it was not just how the lower class, backcountry hunters made their living but how they lived that disturbed the Regulators" (Hatley 1993:181). The lifestyle was implicitly associated (as shown by the comment that they were "little more than white Indians") with the tribes people. There was an equal association with black slaves, who increasingly ran away to the backcountry. The poor also began pushing into the Indian territory, squatting or hunting on lands reserved for the Indians. By angering the Indians, the poor were seen as threatening the remainder of society.

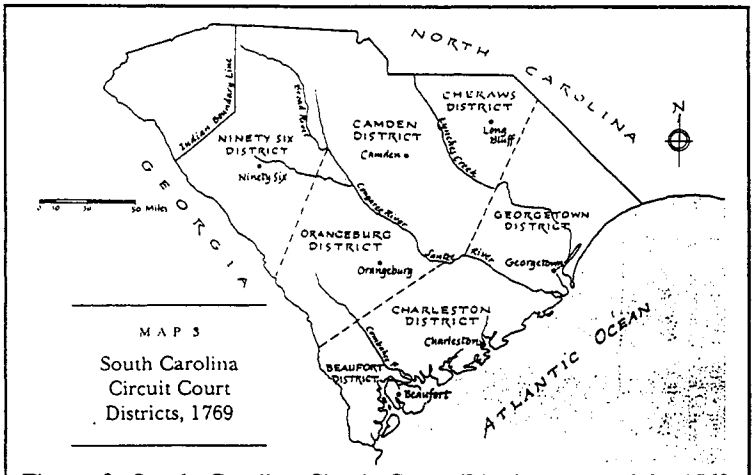
Many of the poor were also associated with the groups of bandits and rogues which began to roam the countryside contributing to a problem of growing violence. They stole money, goods, slaves (although it is more likely that the slaves ran away to join with the gangs), women (although again, it seems likely that many freely joined the bands), and cattle (see Klein 1990:61-64).

The poor seemed to push every "button" of the rising planter class by crossing the normative lines regarding occupation, acceptable behavior for men and women, race, and even racial marriage. While the Regulators are most commonly associated with efforts to "make the backcountry safe," it is probably more accurate to suggest their interest was to "make the backcountry safe for slave ownership and paternally governed families of respectability."

It was on this backdrop of judicial, political, and social upheaval that the Regulators arose. As protectors of property, slavery, and family order, the Regulators won a sympathetic response from the coastal authorities.[9] By the time they were disbanded and had received a pardon from the Charleston government in 1771, the Regulators has achieved considerable success. The assembly's Circuit Court Act of 1769 established a system of courts and law enforcement in four newly created backcountry judicial districts (see

[9] Such was not case for the North Carolina Regulator movement, which had much less in common with South Carolina than the name implies. The North Carolina insurgents sought to protest corruption in the existing local government and challenged a wide range of officials and creditors. The North Carolina movement fused "millennial faith" with radical Whig themes. In some cases the North Carolina movement might be called populist, taking aim at the wealthy and large planter class. While South Carolina's Regulators received lenient treatment, the North Carolina movement was met with armed force, suffering a defeat that one historian has aptly termed, "the largest single instance of collective violence in early American history" (see Cecil-Fronsman 1992:55-59; Klein 1990:64-68).

Figure 8). A year earlier the Privy Council also created two new backcountry parishes, St. David and St. Mathew. The Regulators also succeeded in electing six of their candidates to the colonial assembly. Finally, the assembly also adopted an Act for the Preservation of Deer which placed restrictions on hunters.



MAP 3
South Carolina Circuit Court Districts, 1769

Figure 8. South Carolina Circuit Court Districts created in 1769 (adapted from Klein 1990:Map 3).

The Revolution, Civil War, and the Final Cherokee Solution

America's resentment of British policies boiled over with the formation of the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia in September 1774, although the first shots in the American Revolution would not be fired until April 19, 1775 when British troops and American militia met each other at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts. Fully eight months prior to the Continental Congress, however, the South Carolina backcountry was engulfed in a violent conflict between whigs and loyalists which many have called a civil war.

The Ninety Six District to the south of Greenville was about evenly divided between the two factions, while in the fork between the Broad and Saluda Rivers, to the east of Greenville, Tories likely outnumbered loyalists. The strife in the backcountry has been suggested by some to represent a continuation and intensification of the struggles revealed during the Regulator Movement of the 1760s. Klein observes that the coastal whigs won support in the backcountry by attaching themselves, and their political agenda, with the "interests and aspirations of the planters who has led the Regulator Uprising" (Klein 1990:79). They focused on the need to make the backcountry a safe place for planters, slavery, and the respectable elements of society. And, in spite of the Regulator success, there were still unaddressed complaints which could be easily identified and used as a platform for reform. By attaching themselves so strongly to the backcountry needs, it would be the whigs, and not the loyalists, who would eventually become the vanguard or elite of the emerging planter class.

Historians have frequently divided South Carolina's Revolutionary War experiences into three distinct phases. The first, from 1774 to 1776, focused on the backcountry. Coastal whigs opened greater opportunities for backcountry participation in the new state government and in July 1774 the backcountry sent delegates to a general meeting in Charleston. Efforts at support also included direct appeals to the backcountry and in July 1774 a committee visited the Carolina backcountry in an effort to win broader support for the new country. Relatively little new support was found, but the mission perhaps contributed to bringing the region to the boiling point. In November the whigs and tories came to blows. About 1900 loyalist militia laid siege to Fort Ninety Six, held by about 600 whig recruits. After several unsuccessful attempts to take the fort a truce was called. Although the truce precluded further hostile efforts, the whig colonels William Thompson and Richard Richardson began mobilizing troops for what became known as the Snow Campaign which spread through the loyalist areas of Ninety Six and culminated in a disastrous defeat for loyalists at the Battle of Great Cane Break[10] in Greenville

[10] The location of this battle is poorly recorded. Richardson notes that:

> Some place it far down Reedy river near the point where it empties into the Saluda, while McCrady shows it on his Revolutionary map as being

County on December 22. At this battle loyalists under Patrick Cunningham, camped on the Reedy River, were attacked by troops under the command of Colonel William Thompson. Taken by surprise, the loyalists took flight, "abandoning baggage, arms, and ammunition as they fled" (Richardson 1930:40). While Cunningham escaped, about 130 of his loyalist followers were captured and transported to Charleston (Bass 1978:121).

This calmed the backcountry and lead to the second phase of the Revolution, between the summer of 1776 and January 1780. Most of the state enjoyed a relative calm, while the revolution raged on primarily in the northern colonies. There were pillaging raids in the backcountry by loyalists based in East Florida, but these were minor compared to what would occur later. The greatest raid, in the backcountry, was the final Cherokee solution. It seems that whatever hopes the whigs had of continuing peaceful relations with the Cherokee were abandoned in the spring of 1776. There were occasional Indian raids, which *might* have been participated in by the Cherokee (see Milling 1969:313-315). And Richard Pearis was seeking Cherokee participation against the whigs. As in the past, however, anger was generated more by what the Cherokee *might do*, rather than by what they, in fact, *had done*.

The one clear exception to this in Greenville seems to be what has come to be known as "Hite's Massacre." Johnson relates that:

> Among the earliest settlers of Greenville District was Mr. Hite, a gentleman of great respectability and one of the first families of Virginia. He removed to South-Carolina several years before the revolution, and settled with his family on Enoree river. . . . . Mr. Hite wished to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the Indians, and in this he succeeded until the breaking out of the revolution. When that happened, the Cherokees were induced by the presents and agents of England to take sides with the king against the country. . . . The feelings and principles of Mr. Hite led him to espouse the cause of his country, and learning that the Indians were to take up arms, he thought that they might be induced to remain neutral. . . . his son was despatched to their towns with presents and messages. . . . He had not proceeded far, when he unexpectedly met a war party, of several hundred Indians, marching against the white settlements. . . . Young Hite was immediately killed, scalped and

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only three or four miles below the present city of Greenville. But Dr. H.T. Cook, in his *Rambles in the Pee Dee Basin*, places it about 16 miles southeast of Greenville City. A careful consideration of the known facts, gathered from various sources, leads to the conclusion that Dr. Cook is correct, and that the battle of "Great Cane Break" was fought on what is now Greenville County soil. The early accounts locate it on Reedy river, four miles within the Indian country, and it is known that the Indian boundary line crossed Reedy river near Fork Shoals. At page 1, in Location book "A" in the office of the R.M.C. for Greenville County, appears the record of a grant to General Richard Winn of a tract of land on Reedy River, containing 640 acres and known as "the Great Cane Break." General Winn acquired the lands in 1784, and he conveyed them to James Harrison by a deed which refers to the plantation as "Great Cane Break." It will be noted that these descriptions are specific and not general; hence the property conveyed and the description given of it in the deeds must have had some significance to the grantors and grantees. At that time, of course, the site of the battle ground was well known. The Winn lands are located on Reedy river about 15 miles south of the city of Greenville, and some four miles north of Fork Shoals . . . (Richardson 1930:41).

> mangled. . . . The Indians proceeded on their march, to the residence of Paris . . . . They also told of the death of Hite, and were provoked at the distress of Paris' daughter, to whom he was engaged. This young lady, finding that the Indians would next proceed against Mr. Hite's family, on the Enoree . . . . She secretly left her father's house, and traveling on foot, several miles, through a wilderness, to effect her object. She accomplished her journey in time to give the necessary warning, but she was not heeded, until it was too late. Most of them were killed; Mrs. Hite was carried off to their nation, and afterwards, we believe, murdered in their retreat. The few survivors returned to Virginia (Johnson 1851:458-459).

Individuals such as William Henry Drayton, who in the past supported the Cherokees, suddenly spoke out urging their virtual elimination:

> It is expected you make smooth work as you go — that is you cut up every Indian corn field, and burn every Indian town — and that every Indian taken shall be the slave and property of the taker; that the nation be extirpated, and the lands become the property of the public. For my part I shall never give my voice for a peace with the Cherokee Nation upon any other terms than their removal beyond the mountains (Drayton quoted in Hatley 1993:192).

The old voices of colonial manifest destiny were thereby united with the whig philosophy of freedom and independence.

To achieve their goals the whigs quickly devised an intercolonial campaign with troops from several colonies penetrating the tribal territory for the purpose of destroying the Cherokee. As in the past, the campaign was marred by poor planning, poor coordination, and poor leadership, but it did succeed in seriously damaging the Cherokee landscape, with one participant noting that the Cherokee "were reduced to a state of the most deplorable and wretched being often obliged to subsist on insects and reptiles of every kind" (Hatley 1993:195). Soconee, Keowee, Sugar Town, Estatoe, Tugaloo, Tamassee, Cheowee, and Eustaste were burned and fields full of crops were destroyed.

The Cherokees were to face at least seven major offensives before the Revolutionary War was over.[11] Each attack was similar to the previous and eventually the Cherokee will was broken. Pearis was singled out during these forays. Not only was he a loyalist, but his household was described as a "rendezvous for the Indians and Scopholites"[12] (Hatley 1993:208). Consequently his settlement was attacked and burned. The property was confiscated, to be regranted after the Revolution. At the Battle of Lindley's Fort (in Laurens County), Pearis' half-wife, branded a "Scopholite Adjutant," was captured.

With only a handful of intact settlements intact and many of her people starving, the Cherokees sued for peace, signing two separate treaties. The first was signed on May 20, 1777 at DeWitt's Corners. Here the Cherokee surrendered nearly all their remaining territory in South Carolina, including the present counties of

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[11] These are briefly discussed by Milling (1969:320-321).

[12] South Carolinians used the term "scoffelite" (with various spellings) to designate, and denigrate, loyalists of a particular ilk. Some suggest that the term was associated, directly or philosophically, with Joseph Coffel, a leader of anti-Regulator forces who, upon the outbreak of the Revolution, formed a band of tory (or scoffelite) rangers and began a series of pillaging raids against backcounty settlements. There is also some indication that the term "scopholite" may have been applied to the followers of another tory leader, a Col. Scophol. Eventually the term also took on racial undertones, being associated with Indians, African Americans, and especially mixed-breeds and mulattos (see Klein 1990:95-100).

Greenville, Anderson, Pickens, and Oconee. The Indians, however, were permitted to remain in the ceded Indian territory, "by political indulgence" and it is clear that they began to rebuild a number of their Lower Towns in Oconee County (Milling 1969:319). A second treaty was signed on July 20, 1777 at the Long Island of the Holston. Here the Cherokee ceded everything they possessed east of the Blue Ridge, fulfilling the colonial South Carolina lust for land and driving the Cherokees (at least on paper) "beyond the mountains."

The third phase of the American Revolution in South Carolina began early in 1780, with the British troops under the command of Henry Clinton attacked Charleston. By May, the city was surrendered and Clinton began to move his troops inland, giving new hope to the backcountry loyalists. Richard Pearis returned to the backcountry with a commission as a lieutenant colonel of the South Carolina Provincials. He accepted the surrender of General Andrew Pickens, then in command of all whig troops in the area, and retired to Augusta (Richardson 1930:50).

In spite of the supposed surrender of patriot or whig forces, the area devolved into what many have described as civil war and what Nathaniel Greene, commander of the Revolutionary southern armies, and no stranger to war, described as "butchering" (Klein 1990:84). On another occasion, Greene commented that, "the inhabitants [of the backcountry] hunt each other down like wild beasts" (Johnson 1851:419). A number of small "skirmishes" took place in the Greenville area, including the July 13 battle at Gowan's Old Fort, where a small group of whigs attacked a band of Tories under the cover of night (Lipscomb 1991:7; Richardson 1930:51). On the tory side, "Bloody Bill" Cunningham of Greenwood and "Bloody Bill" Bates of Greenville waged a similar war of attrition. As in any war, it is difficult to determine if either man was truly worse than his whig counterparts, or if his deeds have simply been magnified his the British loss. Regardless, one example of tory excess was the November 1781 attack of Wood's Fort by Bates. A number of local settlers had gathered at this location and, when confronted by the superior tory forces, chose to open negotiations for surrender. They were promised protection, but as soon as they surrendered, the group was massacred, with only one individual, the wife of Abner Thompson, escaping to tell the story (Johnson 1851:420; Richardson 1930:52). Shortly after the massacre a force put together by Major Buck Gowan pursued Bates into the Greenville mountains. At the headwaters of the Tyger Gowan attacked Bates, killing or capturing practically all of Bates troops. Bates, however, escaped.[13]

The ferocity of the events may be related to the earlier patriot victories at Kings Mountain in October 1780 and Cowpens in January 1781, and the evacuation of Camden by the British forces in May of 1781.[14] Regardless, the hopes for a British victory began to unravel. At least partially at blame was Clinton's strategy. He expected that once the South was "taken" by British regulars, it could be held by loyalist forces as the army moved north. He seriously underestimated the will of whig forces, as well as the civil instability of the backcountry. In addition, he overestimated the ability and strength of the loyalist troops in the region. The British made matters in the backcountry worse, and hastened their own defeat, by devising a systematic plan of plunder and intimidation under the direction of Banastre Tarleton during the spring of 1780. They further compounded their backcountry problems by alienating even the passive whigs. Faced with Clinton's June 3, 1780 proclamation that paroled patriot prisoners were subject to British military service, many otherwise inactive whigs resumed active opposition to the British forces (Klein 1990:101). Perhaps, however, the greatest blow to the British cause was their effort to enlist African American support. Promising freedom in exchange for support during the war, Clinton alienated not only whigs, but also many Tories. Simultaneously

[13] Perhaps with poetic, or vengeful, justice, after the Revolution Bates was eventually caught on a charge of horse stealing and placed in the Greenville jail. There he was confronted by a son of one of the Gowan's Fort victims and killed (Johnson 1851:429).

[14] It is also essential to point out that the patriot forces participated in their own share of barbarous acts. Klein (1990:103-104) recounts several of the more "colorful" events of prisoners being hacked to pieces by patriot swords and torture being applied by whig leaders.

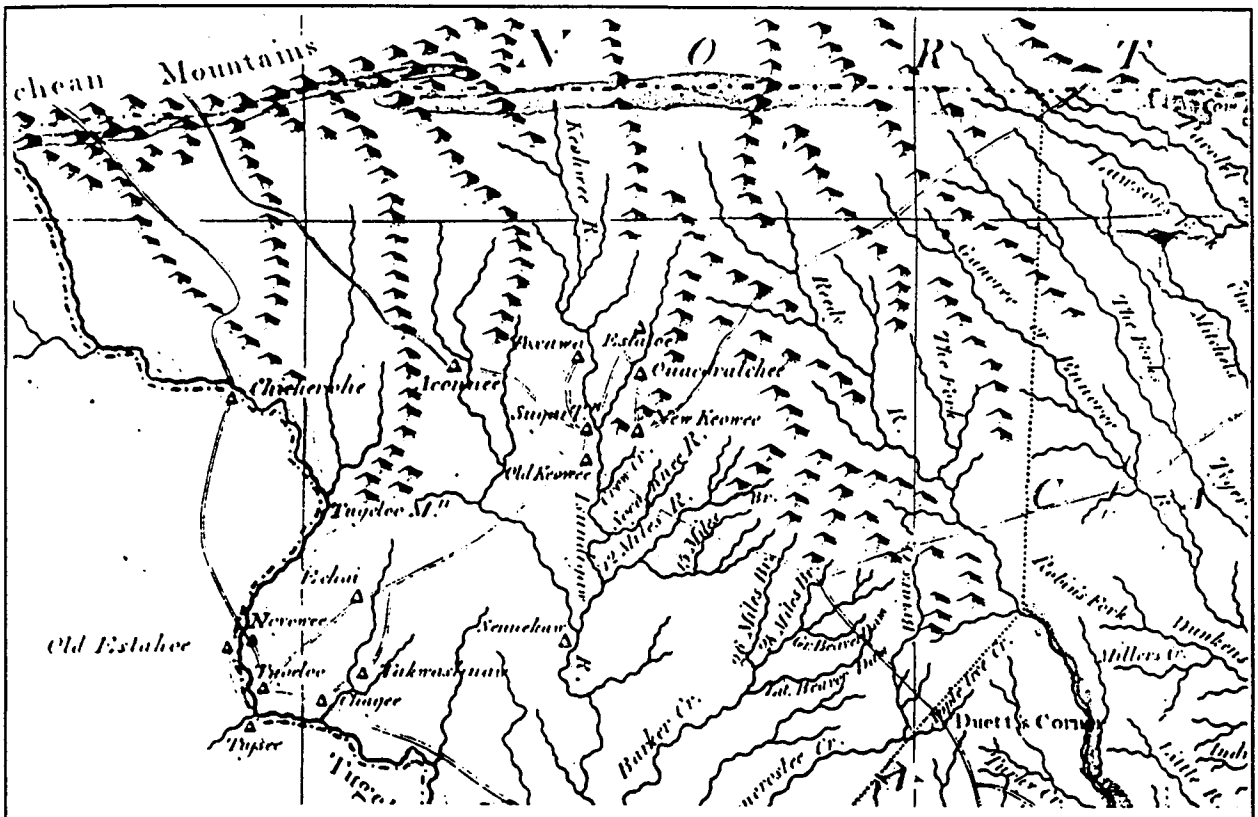

Figure 9. A portion of Samuel Lewis' 1795 "The State of South Carolina" showing the Greenville area after the close of the Revolution. It reveals little change from the details provided by Henry Mouzon's 1775 "An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina."

he threatened both the slave system and also evoked the specter of insurrection. And loyalists were as dependent on slave labor as their whig opponents. The prominent loyalist and former South Carolina lieutenant governor complained of the "outrages" being committed by the black troops, noting that "their savage nature" was the cause of the problem (Klein 1990:105). As the British troops moved north to their final defeat at Yorktown, the backcountry was retaken by whigs capitalizing on the failures (and foolishness) of British policy (Figure 9). In December 1782 the British abandoned Charleston, leaving behind a sacked city and a crushed economy.

Early Agriculture in the Backcountry — Setting the Stage

Understanding the early economic activities of the backcountry is difficult. There are few period accounts and no agricultural censuses. Much of our understanding must, therefore, be antidotal and based on generalities. In spite of the problems it is possible to understand the complexity of the pioneer economy during this early period. Two sources offer views useful to our understanding of Greenville. Lewis Cecil Gray (1933) offers a somewhat generalized account of early backcountry agricultural and herding practices, while David Hackett Fischer (1989) explores the British antecedents of the backcountry farmers.

The backcountry of South Carolina, as previously mentioned, was settled by immigrants from the territories which border the Irish Sea — the north of Ireland, the lowlands of Scotland, and

the northern counties of England (Figure 10).[15] At the end of Queen Anne's War in 1713 the movement from what is often called the border area, began to accelerate in what Fischer calls "a strong wavelike rhythm that continued to the outbreak of the American Revolution" (Fischer 1989:606). Two-thirds of the immigrants arrived in the decade from 1765 to 1775, immediately after the backcountry was taken and secured from the Cherokee. Although these people are often called Scotch-Irish, Fischer (1989:618) points out that this is an Americanism, rarely used in Britain and resented by the people it was applied to, who preferred to be called Anglo-Irish.

Most were farmers and farm laborers who, while owning no land of their own, worked as tenants and had a strong attachment to the land. Some were also semi-skilled or petty traders. Those from Ireland often had a background in the linen trade, their numbers including handloom weavers, agents, traders, and entrepreneurs. While landless, and certainly not economically wealthy, they had a strong pride and were frequently a source of irritation to their neighbors, who came from the south of England and who wondered what the newcomers had to feel proud about. Fischer notes that:

> This combination of poverty and pride set the North Britons squarely apart from other English-speaking people in the American colonies. Border emigrants demanded to be treated with respect even when dressed in rags. Their humble origins did not create the spirit of subordination which others expected of "lower ranks." This fierce and stubborn pride would be a cultural fact of high importance in the American region which they came to dominate (Fischer 1989:615).

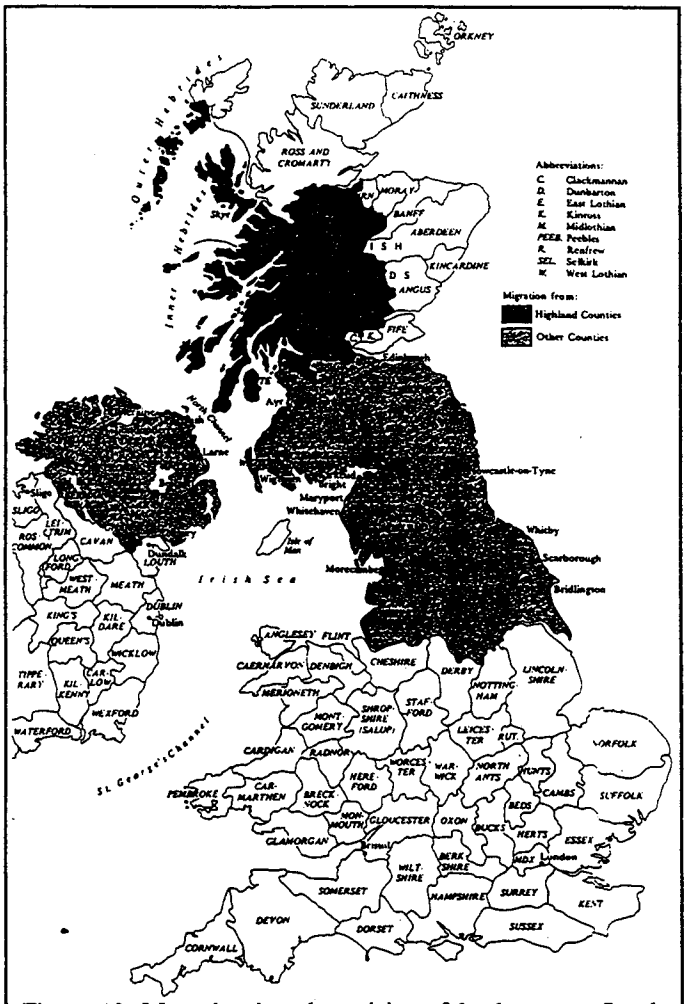

Figure 10. Map showing the origins of backcountry South Carolina settlers (adapted from Fischer 1989:607)

This cultural background might go far to explain the bitter jealousy with the Cherokee over land, the rise of the Regulator movement, and the frequent clashes between the backcountry and the lowcountry. All of these were further "bundled up" in the importance of blood relations which characterized the border area of England. In fact, Fischer argues that the immigrants from the border area were more at home in the backcountry than

[15] Two studies have examined the frequency of Scottish and Irish surnames in the 1790 census, finding a range from 36.5 to 44.6% for South Carolina. In addition, during the mid-eighteenth century at least a quarter of all English setters in the backcountry came from the six northern, or border, counties of England. If all of these are averaged together, it is likely that upwards of 53% of the settlers in South Carolina were what are called Scotch-Irish (Fischer 1989:634).

any other group. The South Carolina environment was "well suited to their family system, their warrior ethic, their farming and herding economy, their attitudes toward land and wealth and their ideas of work and power" (Fischer 1989:639).

Both in Britain and in the backcountry travelers frequently commented that the Scotch-Irish were "indolent" and "idle" — observations which were likely more apparent than real. Working by combining farming and herding, a practice which required heavy work interspersed with periods of little effort, they presented a very different work way than the English were used to. In the backcountry they adopted the old North British system of "infield-outfield" farming. The "infields were planted in the most valuable crops, while the "outfields" were allowed to lay fallow, often being fertilized by the herds. In general crop farming remained primitive, making little use of the plow and focused instead on hand cultivation using hoes.

Gray notes that to raise cash, the backcountry farmers were willing to "undertake laborious methods of transport and to accept small returns" (Gray 1933:123-124). Profits from crops were severely limited by transportation costs to lowcountry markets, which he estimates to have been about $1.33⅓ per hundredweight. This, however, may still be something of an oversimplification. Cecil-Fronsman argues that for similar groups in North Carolina the choice was not so simple and most farmers might better be characterized as practicing "tradition-bound, semisubsistence, diversified agriculture" (Cecil-Fronsman 1993:98-99). They produced almost everything the needed, only occasionally venturing beyond the small circle of kinship into the market economy. The backcountry farmer produced relatively little beyond his family's immediate needs, living in an economy geared to making a subsistence, because the profits involved in trade were so small (or non-existent) that it simply wasn't worth his time or trouble to produce more than what was immediately necessary for his family or extended kin-group. Faced with, at best, an uncertain transportation network (which did not dramatically improve until after the Civil War), many backcountry farmers avoided cash crops, practicing instead what some have called a "safety-first form of agriculture" based on food crops. As Cecil-Fronsman observes:

> Growing crops like cotton or tobacco [or earlier even indigo] entailed risks that producing grain did not. . . . If cotton or tobacco prices fell, a farmer would be stuck with an unmarketable surplus. In contrast, if the price of grain fell there was a local market that could consume it. It could always be eaten, feed to animals, or distilled into whiskey. For farmers who were frequently situated in a precarious position between moderate success and indebtedness, it is not surprising that they would adopt this approach (Cecil-Fronsman 1993:102).

Although the Scotch-Irish were most familiar with oats and wheat, they gave way to Indian corn which was more suited to the backcountry. Gray (1933:161) notes that land had to be more carefully cleared, and cultivated, for small grain, while corn could be grown among the trees killed, but still standing, by girdling. Corn could also be planted in hills which required only minimal ground preparation. Small grain was also more difficult to harvest than corn, and threshing was more time-intensive than husking corn. Even the average yields for small grain were considerably less than the yields for corn, even under less than ideal situations. Corn provided better fodder than wheat or oat straw. And corn could be easily prepared for consumption by pounding, while small grains required an elaborate process of milling.

Corn was planted as it was by the Indians, with the seed being placed in hills, frequently with beans and peas which used the corn stalk as running support. Usually the ground was not broken up except in the hills, which were usually about five feet apart. This form of low impact cultivation also served to minimize damage to the land, especially in the more mountainous regions of the backcounty. When the stalk was about half grown it might be hilled up, which served to weed around the plant and also to provide support to the stalk (Gray 1933:173). The farmers often

"pulled fodder," removing the still green corn leaves from the plant and wrapping them in bundles to be used as feed for livestock in the winter. It was also common to cut off the top of the stalk, above the highest ear, after pollination, and cure the tops for fodder. In this way the corn plant feed not only people, but also animals (Gray 1933:174).

In contrast, planting of wheat was very laborious. It was estimated that to plow and sow 20 acres of wheat and 3 acres of flax required the time of two men for eight weeks (Gray 1933:169). Both winter and spring wheat were planted in small quantities, the first planted in September through November and the latter in March. Throughout this early period wheat would have been harvested using a sickle and 20 acres would require the efforts of three men for three weeks. Using a flail, about a bushel of wheat could be threshed in a day.

The de-emphasis of small grains and their replacement by corn did affect the foodways of the Scotch-Irish, but not as dramatically as might be imagined. The north borderland penchant for boiling, over baking or roasting, remained intact and the "simmering pot" became a common cliché of the "log cabin." Corn was pounded into meal and cooked by boiling, producing early grits. But this was, as Fischer (1989:729) notes, merely a change from oatmeal mush to cornmeal mush — the basic food preparation techniques were unchanged. Also brought to the backcountry by the border people was the family of breadstuffs variously called "clapbread," "haverbread," or "griddle cakes," made by baking unleavened dough on flat surfaces.

The emphasis on corn also resulted in both a change in North Briton distilling habits and the rise of a distinctive backcountry beverage. Fischer observes that while a taste for liquor distilled from grain was uncommon in the south and east of England it was highly developed in north Britain. This taste was brought to the backcountry. The only change was that Scotch whiskey (distilled from barley) gave way to Bourbon whiskey (distilled primarily from corn and rye, crops easier to produce in quantity). Other beverages, including English tea, were regarded with contempt and:

> temperance took on a special meaning in this society. Appalachia's idea of a moderate drinker was the mountain man who limited himself to a single quart at a sitting (Fischer 1989:730).

Herding was the other primarily occupation of these early settlers in the backcountry. While herding was a common activity in the colony, it was not well approved by the proprietors who commented that they "intended to introduce planters and not graziers" (Gray 1933:55). By 1682 Ashe observed that the settlers of the lowcountry had many thousands of cattle, hogs, and sheep and about the same time Samuel Wilson wrote that some had as many as 700 or 800 head of cattle. He claimed that an ox could be raised "at almost as little expence in Carolina, as a Hen is England." (Gray 1933:56). And contrary to some, sheep fared well in Carolina, but were largely abandoned in favor of hogs because they too commonly fell pray to the wild animals. Hogs, on the other hand, had an ability to care for themselves and produced considerably more meat with less care and effort.

Herding was well known to the Scotch-Irish immigrants and the practice was quickly taken up. Most of the herds were allowed to range freely in the woods, being driven to new locations only when the grass was exhausted. Once a year they might be penned up and sold to market. The cowpen might be only a temporary enclosure in the woods, while at times it was nothing more than "the forks of a stream, fenced or ditched across, with an opening for the 'drive'" (Gray 1933:147). Less common were the more permanent cowpens occupied year-round by herds who also tended small patches of corn and other provision crops. These methods were land-consuming, requiring upwards of 15 acres of piney woods per head, but were labor saving (Fischer 1989:743).

Just as the reliance on corn caused some changes in the dietary pattern, so too did the ascendancy of hogs over sheep. Fischer notes that the people of North Britain rarely ate pork, regarding it with considerable distaste. The taboo,

when faced with the difficulty of protecting sheep and the hog's phenomenal ability to reproduce, did not survive and pork rapidly replaced mutton on backcountry tables (Fischer 1989:729).

Post-Revolution and Antebellum Life

The Revolution, while resulting in independence, left the upcountry politically, socially, and economically crippled. David Ramsey, looking back on the events following the Revolution, observed that the years following were marked by "disorganization, which produced such an amount of civil distress as diminished with some their respect for liberty and independence" (Ramsay 1959 [1809]:II:238). And while many (e.g., Richardson 1930), rush from the Revolution to the amazing growth of Greenville, it might be more appropriate to speak of how amazing it was that Greenville grew at all.

The index of wholesale prices (1850-1859 = 100), which had been fluctuating in the 80s and 90s prior to the Revolution, quickly escalated to 329 in 1777 and by 1780 had reached an astonishing 10, 544. The index would not level off at something approaching the pre-war levels until the decade of the 1790s (U.S. Department of Commerce 1960:772). The war interrupted foreign trade and drained specie from South Carolina. The British removed large number of African American slaves, requiring tremendous expenditures in order to return to previous agricultural productivity (which alone took a decade). British merchants who flocked to Charleston during its occupation siphoned funds from the state to England. This economic upheaval alone was enough to stifle business and create credit problems. Debt had piled up to such an alarming extent throughout South Carolina, but especially in the backcountry that the State Legislature, in 1785 and again in 1787, passed acts allowing debtors to postpone certain obligations.[16] In several locations planters and farmers forcibly closed courts, preventing writs from being issued and sheriffs from serving them.

Not only was there economic turmoil, but the Revolution's civil war strive left social, political, and sectional scars as well. Klein (1990:114) notes that on every significant legislative issue from 1787 through the first decade of the nineteenth century, the principal division was between the backcountry and the lowcountry. Because the war in the backcountry was so violent, it seemed to give rise to a new round of vagrancy and criminality, which in turn brought on treats of a return to the system of summary justice characterized by the Regulatory movement. It is likely only the quick and relatively wise actions by the new state government prevented a new round of violence in the backcountry. The state legislature made militia officers responsible for suppressing the bandits and "outlying" loyalists. It also passed a series of acts to facilitate the administration of justice.

A thornier problem was how to deal with the former loyalists. The backcounty whigs demanded vengeance, while the lowcountry planters longed for a return to normalcy. The state's new governor succeeded in appeasing both. In September 1781 he issued a pardon to all loyalists willing to come forward and serve in the militia for six months. The following January, before the Jacksonboro legislature, he also gave birth to the punitive action of confiscation. The legislature willingly passed a law calling for the banishment of 375 loyalists and the confiscation of their estates. They also passed the Amercement Act, establishing a 12% tax on nearly 50 additional loyalist estates. The following year, in 1783, a third act was passed, confiscating the estates of all loyalists not previously named, who had abandoned South Carolina. This affected upwards of 700 loyalists in the backcounty.

Klein (1990:121) observes that the state

[16] These laws primarily favored the more wealthy coastal planters and offered relatively little relief to the backcounty. Backcountry legislators were more interested in protecting the small scale debtor, while the low country representatives were concerned about the wealthy, large landowner. Unlike their low country counterparts, the backcounty politicians were opposed to a ban on slave importation (proposed by the low country planters as the least painful way to help relieve the flow of cash out of the state to England), largely because the backcountry farmers sought to become more active participants in the planter class. Finally, the backcountry also supported the issuance of paper currency as a means to improve the economy (Klein 1990:123-135).

was actually more lenient than these acts would make it appear. The legislature responded sympathetically to numerous petitions of economic hardship and about 130 loyalists were either moved from the confiscation to the amercement list, or else freed from obligations altogether. In spite of the weakness of these acts, they were sufficient to appease the backcountry and avoid another round of civil strive. Klein (1990:123) is likely correct when she notes that the laws probably worked as well as they did primarily because so many loyalists chose not to test the waters of South Carolina, but rather simply left the state.

One example of a loyalist who fled the state rather than attempt to return was Richard Pearis. While his property had been destroyed during the raids against the Cherokee, the property was confiscated by the state. He eventually migrated to the Bahamas, where he resided until his death in 1794 (Greenville Chapter of the South Carolina Genealogical Society 1980:3:S-4). In 1784 South Carolina opened the land office, after a closure of nearly a decade, and listed restraints on large-scale engrossment and speculation. The state, having no funds,[17] also found it convenient to pay former soldiers for their Revolutionary War duty in cheap land. For the next decade lands such as those of Richard Pearis (as well as large vacant tracts) encouraged feverish speculation. Pearis' land was sold to such individuals as John Timmons (who purchased 473 acres), and Thomas Brandon (who, on May 21, 1784, purchased 400 acres on both sides of the Reedy River).

As evidence of the speculative nature of the sales, many parcels were held only a short time or were never occupied by their purchaser. For example, Brandon, who lived in Union County, sold his Greenville lands in 1788 to Lemuel J. Alston. Richard Winn, who as previously mentioned purchased the Great Cane Break, sold the tract only a few years later without having ever lived on the land. One of the larger transactions, for 3000 acres, was by George and Jacob O'Bannon Hite, whose family had been killed by Cherokee in the early years of the Revolution. The Hites, living in Virginia, sold the tract in 1799 to Alexander Pitt Buchanan (Richardson 1930:55-56).

Land speculation had several, complex, effects. Speculation and the lust for large tracts may have contributed to the out-migration of backcounty settlers and the increasing problems of vagrancy by encouraging owners to force squatters off tracts in order to maximize sale profits. But, it also clearly helped develop the land acquisitions of a small handful of prominent backcountry farmers, strengthening their political power and forming the beginning of a backcounty elite. The contracts and alliances fostered by the speculative schemes of the political elite also brought the backcountry and lowcountry closer together than they had ever been.

One of the most important political events, at least on the local scale, during the closing years of the eighteenth century was the legislative act creating Greenville County. In 1785 the Ninety Six District was divided into six counties, with modern Greenville being incorporated into Abbeville. Greenville was actually established as a distinct county by an act dated March 22, 1786 (Batson 1993:1; Richardson 1930:53). The very next year Alston, who had come to acquire a vast amount of real estate both from Thomas Brandon and others, laid out a small settlement, often called Pleasantburg and known as Greenville.[18] The original plat of the development included the land now in the city to the east of the Reedy River, two block wide and extending to what is now known as Washington Street. Main Street, oriented perpendicular to the river, was crossed at right angled by three other streets (present Broad, Court, and McBee streets). The small village was

[17] It has been suggested that over half of the property owners in South Carolina failed to pay their property taxes in 1785. Klein (1990:115) remarks that of the £37,000 in taxes owed by the coastal parishes, only £7,100 was actually collected. Problems such as this prevented the state from achieving a sound financial footing immediately after the Revolution.

[18] Richardson (1930:65) notes that while there is disagreement concerning when the name was changed from Pleasantburg to Greenville, it apparently happened very early, with the former perhaps being used for only a few years before Greenville gained in popularity. This seems to be the consensus of modern secondary sources as well (for example, Building Conservation Technology 1981:11).

divided into fifty lots of various sizes (Oliphant 1984; Richardson 1930:60).

But, perhaps of greatest importance, the village contained the courthouse, following a variant of what Edward Price (1986) has defined as the Philadelphia or Lancaster Plan — a block intersected perpendicularly at the middle of each side (Figure 11). This style originated with the 1682 plan for Philadelphia and began to spread outward about 1780, the idea apparently carried by Scotch-Irish settlers (Price 1986:131). The plan not only imposed a order and formality on the setting, establishing the courthouse square as the terminus of all roads leading in from the country, but at the same time it promoted informal marketing, allowing commercial activities to cluster in the same area as political and judicial activities. The Greenville example placed the courthouse in the street with no surrounding yard, although the surrounding corners were park areas.

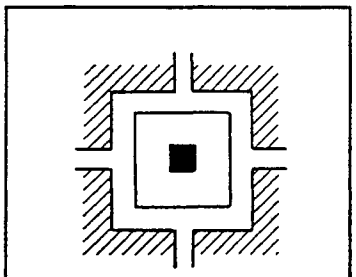

Figure 11. Example of the Lancaster central courthouse plan found in Greenville (Price 1986:Fig. 2b).

While Price is the first historian to explore the meaning of the courthouse square, William Faulkner's characters in *Requiem for a Nun* frequent the Lancaster-style square of Jefferson:

> A Square, the courthouse in its grove the center; quadrangular around it, the stores, two-story, the offices of the lawyers and doctors . . . each in its ordered place; the four broad diverging avenues . . . becoming the network of roads and by-roads . . . But above all, the courthouse: the center, the focus, the hub; sitting looming in the center of the county's circumference . . . protector of the weak, judiciate and curb of the passions and lusts, repository and guardian of the aspirations and hopes (Faulkner 1951:39-40).

The geometry of the square therefore not only controls commercial access, but it is also symbolic. Even here the immigrants from the border area of Britain left their mark on Greenville and the backcountry.[19]

Richardson (1930:61) observes that Greenville grew slowly, in spite of the County's growing farmstead population. While true that the farmers had little need for town property, their Scotch-Irish background which had little experience with urban life may also have influenced their decision to maintain their rural agrarian orientation. Regardless, after a decade still only about half of the lots had been sold and of these four had been re-sold at sheriff's sales. The only major dwelling was Lemuel Alston's home at the end of what is now West McBee. Connecticut native Edward Hooker, who visited the village in 1806 offers a concise description:

> [Alston's] seat is without exception the most beautiful I have seen in South Carolina. The mansion is on a commanding eminence which he calls Prospect Hill. Fronts the village of Greenville from which it is distant just six hundred yards; and to which there is a spacious and beautiful avenue leading, formed by two rows of handsome sycamore trees planted twenty four feet apart — the avenue being 15 rods wide [with a rod being 16.5 feet, this would be 247.5 feet in width]. In a like manner another handsome avenue formed by cutting a passage through the woods leads from the north front of the house

[19] In a similar fashion the "log cabins" of the backcountry can be traced to the Scotch-Irish, and possibly German influences (see Fischer 1989:655-662; Weslager 1969:336).

> to the mountain road, about a quarter of a mile in length. The cultivated grounds lie partly on the borders of the great avenue leading to the village and partly on the borders of Reedy river, south and west of the west house . . . . The Court House is a decent two story building. The jail is three stories, large and handsome. The situation and aspect of the village is quite pretty and rural; the streets covered with green grass and handsome trees growing here and there . . . but there is a want of good houses — the buildings being mostly of logs. About six dwelling houses, two or three shops and some other little buildings. The pace is thought by many to be as healthy as any part of the United States. Not a seat of much business. The courts sit but twice a year and often finish this session in two or three days. Only one attorney, and law business is dull. One or two physicians in or near the village; but their practice is mainly at the Golden Grove, a fertile but unhealthy settlement ten miles below. One Clergyman within six or seven miles who preaches at the Court House once in three or four weeks (quoted in Richardson 1930:62).

The depression of the 1820s hit Greenville hard and the town, which was still growing very slowly, suffered considerable economic stagnation. Albert Sanders reports that about the only businesses which were flourishing were those associated with the town's summer resort traffic. While a few planter's had visited the town in summer from its inception, in order to avoid the "miasmas" of the lowcountry, many more traveled to Newport, Saratoga, and other northern destinations. With planters' incomes severely restricted by the depression, local "get-aways" such as Greenville, S.C. and Flat Rock, N.C. were more attractive. Adding to this change was the resentment among southern planters of the tariffs established by northern industrialists.[20] The planters found locations like Greenville, although a unionist stronghold, to be more compatible politically and socially than the previous northern resorts. By the 1830s Greenville was well known for its "summer season" (Sanders 1984:87-88).

In 1826 Robert Mills reported that the village was "regularly laid out" and "rapidly improving." The planters visiting Greenville were apparently a factor in a number of improvements, making Greenville "one of the most considerable villages in the state." He noted that:

> The public buildings are, a handsome brick court-house, (lately erected,) a jail, a Baptist meeting-house, an Episcopal church, and two neat buildings for the male and female academy. Of public houses there are three which will vie in accommodation and appearance with any in the state. The private houses are neat; some large and handsome. Two of the former governors of the state had summer retreats here; — Governors Allston and Middleton. Judge Thompson's house commands a beautiful view of the village. The number of houses is about 70, the population about 500 (Mills 1972 [1826]:573).

That same year Caroline Olivia Laurens, wife of

[20] By 1824 American textile manufacturing interests, centered in the northern states, were feeling the competition from cheaper cloth produced overseas. They lobbied to obtain a higher tariff to protect their business in the home market. Southern planters, however, feared the tariff would result in Europe reducing its cotton prices. In spite of this concern Congress passed a bill increasing the tariff from 24¢ to 33⅓¢. Cotton prices quickly fell from 32¢ to 13¢ a pound, fulfilling the worst fears of Southern planters. An additional tariff was requested in 1827 and passed, again over Southern objections, in 1828. This second tariff sparked the national debate on nullification.

Henry Laurens, Jr. visited Greenville, staying at the Greenville Hotel.[21] She explored Greenville, walking down to the Reedy River, she "crossed over on a log bridge, and walked down the bank of the river to the a little mill on the side of which is a beautiful waterfall apparently 25 feet high" (Laurens 1971a:166). While in Greenville she also explored the ruins of Alston's house and commented the town, "situated on a pretty hill, . . . is much improved by two or three large brick buildings" (Laurens 1971a:167). She also explored a number of farms in the region, most being to the west around Pendleton. Although few details are offered, she does note, upon visiting one farm in Pickens that, "this place has more the appearance of a comfortable farm, than any I have seen in Greenville or Pendleton," suggesting that she was unimpressed with the plantations of the backcountry (Laurens 1971b:221).

By the 1830s Greenville's growth might be considered nothing less than amazing, with the Greenville *Mountaineer* boasting that the town contained:

> 9 merchants, 6 tavernkeepers, 37 mechanics . . . . 9 stores, 6 first rate public houses[22] . . . 3 tailors' shops, 3 milliners' shops, 4 blacksmiths, 2 carriage making establishments, 2 tanyards, 2 grist mills, 1 saw mill, 1 silver smith, 1 cabinet maker's shop, 1 shoe maker's shop, 2 tinsmiths, and 1 printing office (quoted in Sanders 1984:95).

In 1831 the town's first beef market opened, Joseph Hadden announced the arrival of "garden seeds" from London, and 1200 pairs of shoes were imported from Boston — all commercial activities worthy of a town such as Charleston.

Likewise, transportation routes continued to improve. Prior to 1800 Greenville was connected to the outside world primarily by a postal road, established in 1794, which connected Charleston, Orangeburg, Columbia, Winnsborough, Chester, and Pinckney, before turning west and following the Union and Cherokee county border to the Greenville Court House. From Greenville the road continued over to the Washington Court House in Pickensville, then on to Pendleton and over Hatton's Ford into Georgia (Teal and Stets 1989:26). By 1800 this route was expanded to include the York, Union, and Spartanburg county court houses. There was also a second route from Columbia to Newberry and then directly on to Greenville (Teal and Stets 1989:30). In 1810 three additional direct routes between Columbia and Greenville were added, tying the backcountry together in a web of relatively descent roads (Teal and Stets 1989:33). In addition to these postal routes Greenville was, in the 1830s, served by five different stage routes, including the Salem stage, which was part of the overland route between New York and New Orleans (Sanders 1984:98).

National politics continued to play an important role in South Carolina, including the backcountry. Even as the Federalist policies were beginning to decline in favor, it was distrust of the backcountry that continued to hold South Carolina's support for Federalism together. It was the backcountry, including Greenville, which offered support to France during the French Revolution. In contrast, the prominent coastal Carolinians were quickly alienated by France, the backcountry, and Thomas Jefferson's egalitarian rhetoric. Klein observes that the lowcountry, "saw backcountry republicanism not only as a challenge to their person political power but as a threat to slavery itself" (Klein 1990:210). Consequently, Federalism in South Carolina continued to represent not simply British commercial interests, but was also very clearly a defensive response against the threat of egalitarianism seen in the backcountry.

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[21] Traveling with her child and friends while her husband attended business in Charleston, it is clear that she was avoiding the unhealthful conditions in Charleston.

[22] The most famous of these was the Mansion House, built by William Toney in 1824. The three story, brick building situated on Main and Court streets, was the first building in Greenville to evidence the black and white marble tiles which were so common in the lowcountry of South Carolina. The Mansion House served as a resort center and, being close to the court house, as a meeting place for politicians and attorneys charting the future of the backcountry (McKoy 1984).

A series of slave revolts — including an 1805 uprising in Columbia, another in the Camden area in 1816 and finally the Denmark Vesey uprising in 1822 — helped keep the fear of democracy alive in South Carolina. While slavery began to spread in Greenville, there remained a fear that the yeoman planters, with their democratic-republican vision, might make a dangerous assault on South Carolina planters and the slave system. The 1822, 1824, and 1828 tariffs to protect the Northern textile manufacturers (at the perceived expense of southern cotton planters) created in South Carolina a growing examination of the union, and gave rise to John C. Calhoun, state's rights, and the nullification movement. Coupled with this at the national level was the growing debate concerning slavery. Although the 1828 election of Jackson to the Presidency encouraged almost all South Carolinians initially, his consistent democratic tendencies began to worry the state's planter elite, culminating the founding of the Whig party in 1830s.

South Carolina passed the Ordinance of Nullification in 1832, threatening to nullify the Union if Congress did not repeal the tariffs on textiles. Jackson strongly backed the preservation of the Union and South Carolina, while preparing for war, found that becoming an armed camp isolated her from even other southern states. Richardson (1930:78-84) provides an interesting account of these events in Greenville, but it is perhaps most worthy of note that Benjamin F. Perry of Greenville, a wealthy planter by his own right, was one of the state's leading Unionists. If fact, the entire county was recognized for its strong pro-Union sympathies. Faced with little support, internal division, a president willing to use armed force to preserve the Union, and a Congress willing to offer at least some reduction in the tariff, South Carolina chose to rescind the Ordinance the following year. But the issue was far from resolved.

Slavery continued to drag South Carolina toward the Civil War.[23] When the Missouri Compromise of 1850, limiting the spread of slavery, was approved by Congress South Carolina reacted by calling for a state convention to pass a Secession Ordinance. Again, the movement for the Union was lead by the Legislature's Greenville members, especially Benjamin F. Perry. Although the convention was approved, and met in 1852, it failed to cast the final blow to the Union. Largely as a result of pro-Union forces, a sense of conservatism had at least some impact. The convention approved the right of the state to secede, but failed to pass a motion for secession. It would take Stephen Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the storm of protest over additional slave states by the Northern electorate, the creation of the Republic party and its platform that slavery was "a great moral, social, and political evil," and theresulting election of Abraham Lincoln to drive South Carolina into secession.

Antebellum Slavery and Agriculture

It is impossible, or at least difficult, to separate the issues of population growth, slavery, and agriculture during the antebellum. The invention of the cotton gin, the resulting spread of cotton, and the increase in slaves, are all wound tightly together throughout the southern piedmont. While the absence of an agricultural census prior to 1850 makes it impossible to quantify the movement of cotton into Greenville County, it is clear that it occurred. One indication of the changes in Greenville is shown by the population census. In the decade between 1790 and 1800 the white population grew from 5,888 to 10,025, an astonishing 70% which almost certainly is associated with the opening of Greenville lands in the previous decade. The white population in neighboring Spartanburg County increased by only 34%, an indication of Spartanburg's earlier settlement and slowing growth. The number of African American slaves in Greenville County, however, grew from 606 in 1790 to 1,439 in 1800. Representing a 137% increase, this far exceeds white population growth. In the following decade,

[23] Although there are many causes for the Civile War, it was South Carolina's own Senator John C. Calhoun, in his last speech to Congress on March 4, 1850 who noted that, "the agitation on the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion." He further argued that only the North could prevent the dissolution of the Union by "ceas[ing] agitating the slave question." All other arguments aside, it was slavery which preoccupied the South Carolina mind.

still at a time when cotton was wildly spreading, the white population in Greenville increased by only 7%, while the slave population increased by 63% (Table 2).

Table 2.
Greenville County Population, 1790-1860

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
White	5888	10025	10739	11017	11385	12491	13370	14631
% change		+70	+7	+2	+3	+9	+7	+9
Free Black	9	36	41	90	32	43	95	212
% change		+300	+114	+119	-181	+34	+120	+123
Slave	606	1439	2353	3423	5064	5305	6691	7049
% change		+137	+63	+45	+47	+4	+26	+5
Total Population	6503	11500	13133	14530	16481	17839	20156	21892
% change		+76	+14	+10	+13	+8	+12	+8

Greenville's 606 slaves in 1790 were owned by 159 slave-owning households, representing an average of 3.8 slaves per slave-owner. Only 16.4% of the families owned slaves. This represented the lowest percentage of slaveholding families in the entire state. Only Pendleton District, where only 17.5% of the families owned slaves, is within the same range. The remaining counties in the Ninety Six District ranged from 19.1% slave owning families in Spartanburg to 34.2% in Edgefield District. By 1810 Greenville's 2,253 slaves were owned by 443 families, representing an increase in the average number of slaves owned to 5.3. These 443 families represented 24.3 of the households enumerated in 1810 census, reflecting a significant increase in the spread of slave ownership between 1790 and 1810.

It is also useful to explore the size of the slave holdings over time. In 1790 79.2% of the families owned five or fewer slaves, while 13.8% of the families owned between six and 10 slaves. There was only one family with over 20 slaves. James Harrison amassed several sizeable plantations during the first decade that Greenville was opened for settlement. As previously mentioned, he obtained the 640 Great Cane Break plantation tract from Richard Winn in 1786 and in 1784 obtained 600 acres, also on the Reedy (Richardson 1930:54-55). James Blasingame owned 20 slaves, and Girsham Kelley owned 19.

By 1810 the great majority of owners, 71.8%, still owned five or fewer slaves. Yet the number owning over 20 had increased to 13, or nearly 3% of the slave owners. Lemuel Alston, the "founder" of Greenville, owned 70 slaves — the largest number owned by a single individual in Greenville. A. Carpenter owned 63 slaves and Joseph Alston owned 30 slaves at his Pendleton Road plantation and another 30 in the village of Greenville. The next largest slaveholding was by Waddy Thompson, a prominent Greenville planter, strong advocate of nullification, and a brigadier general in South Carolina's militia, who owned 46 African Americans.

Like elsewhere in the state, Greenville attempted to enact laws which not only set slaves socially apart, but which also served to help protect whites from feared attacks. Such was the collective Southern paranoia that both slaves and free blacks in Greenville were prohibited from smoking "a segar in any street," or in walking "with a cane, club, or stick (except the lame, infirm, or blind)" (Jones 1990:111). Greenville was also the location of one of the more bizarre, and heinous punishments inflicted on a black person during the period. In the early 1830s "an immense assemblage of slaves" was gathered together in Greenville to witness the burning alive of a slave named George. The event was later described by fugitive slave Moses Roper:

> a pen of about fifteen feet square was built of pine wood, in the center of which was a tree, the upper part of which had been sawn off. To this tree George was chained; the chain having been passed round his neck, arms, and legs, to make him secure. The pen was then filled with shavings

> and pine wood up to his neck. A considerable quantity of tar and turpentine was then poured over his head. The preparation having been completed, the four corners of the pen were fired, and the miserable man perished in the flames. When I was last there, which was about two years before I left American, for England, not only was the stump of the tree to which the slave George had been fastened, to be seen, but some of his burnt bones (Moses Roper, London to Thomas Price, June 27, 1849, quoted in Jones 1990:88-89).

While Charleston, and to a lesser degree other areas of the lowcountry, were known as havens for "free persons of color," this does not seem to be the case in Greenville. In the lowcountry free blacks, or blacks seeking to pass themselves off as free, had a large network or community in which, essentially, to become lost or more anonymous. In the backcountry, where slaves were relatively uncommon, this was not the case. Throughout the antebellum free blacks were statistically (if not socially) insignificant. Accounting for 0.1% of the total population (or 1.5% of the black population) in 1790, their numbers slowly increased to 1820, at which time they accounted for 0.6% of the Greenville population and 2.6% of the black population. Between 1820 and 1830, however, the proportion dramatically tumbles to 0.2% of the total population or 0.6% of the total black population where it remains relatively stable through 1840. By 1850 the numbers begin to recover and by 1860 free blacks account for 0.9% of Greenville's population (and 2.9% of the total black population).

It is likely that free blacks suddenly declined in both numbers and proportion after 1820 as a result of Denmark Vesey's failed 1822 insurrection attempt in Charleston. As a result of the plot 117 blacks were arrested and eventually 35, including Vesey, were hung with another 32 transported out of South Carolina. The shock of the planned revolt resulted in an even harsher slave code. The State appropriated funds to build arsenals in Columbia and Charleston intended for the defense of the white population. South Carolina turned inward on itself, wrapping itself in sectionalism and protection of slavery. Robert Y. Hayne, in March 1826, announced that:

> The question of slavery is one, in all its bearings, of extreme delicacy . . . . To call into question our rights, is grossly to violate them, to attempt to instruct us on this subject, is to insult us, to date to assail our institutions is wantonly to invade our peace . . . . The very day the unhallowed attempt is made [to interfere with South Carolina's domestic concerns] by the authorities of the federal government, we will consider ourselves as driven from the Union (quoted in Wallace 1951:385).

To Vesey's plot and the growing nullification controversy was added Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831.[24] Combined, these kept South Carolina in a constant state of distrust and turmoil. In adjacent Spartanburg County free blacks were targeted and the population declined dramatically (Racine 1985). It seems likely that, absent the large support group that Charleston offered, free blacks in the backcountry were easy targets for whites seeking to reinforce the existing power structure. Philip Racine observes that:

> Whites despised, harassed, and tried to make the free Negro look ridiculous. The free black person was the living embodiment of an alternative to slavery; here was a black man who could enjoy freedom, who demonstrated that black people could exist as free men. So the white community

[24] In August 1831, Southampton County, Virginia was the scene of the South's bloodiest slave revolt, led by a bondsman named Nat Turner. Sixty whites and scores of blacks (including Tuner) were killed.

> early set out to make the life of free blacks difficult, to try to constrict their movements and their opportunities to earn a living, to deprive them of dignity and turn their freedom into a curse (Raccine 1985:29).

Clearly between 1790 and 1810 not only did the number of slaves in Greenville increase, but so too did the number of slave owners and the size of the holdings. This trend has been noted by other authors for this region in the backcountry. Klein, for example, observes:

> The upcountry remained, in 1810, a predominantly yeoman area, but there, too, slavery was making significant inroads. Between 1790 and 1810, the slave population rose from 18 to 26 percent of the whole, and the proportion of slaveowning households increased from 23 to 36 percent. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, the slave population in the upcountry was growing at a more rapid rate than in any other region of the state. Between 1800 and 1810 . . . the number of slaves in the upcountry grew by 83 percent, as compared to only 11 percent in the lowcountry districts (excluding Charleston) (Klein 1990:253).

The cause of this sudden increase in black flesh, as alluded to, was cotton. The move to cotton can most convincingly be traced to the desire to identify a new staple crop after the collapse of indigo. As early as 1787 cotton was mentioned as an alternative, since both domestic and international markets would "purchase it with great avidity" (Charleston *City Gazette*, December 6, 1787).[25]

Cotton prefers a deep, well-drained soil rich in organic matter. It requires about 4 inches of rainfall a month during the critical first three months of growth and then much less during the long picking season, often lasting upwards of three months in the lowcountry, when rainfall might ruin the boll. Planters found that cotton thrived in the sandy soils of the lowcountry, although the heavy soils of the piedmont were equally satisfactory. When land was first opened cotton required no fertilizer, but it quickly depleted the soil and continued planting was possible only with the frequent, and heavy, application of fertilizers such as animal dung or, along the coast, marsh grass. David Golightly Harris, from neighboring Spartanburg County, reported that on April 9, 1857:

> one hand is spreading manure in the drill for my cotton. One of my cotton field will be well manured (Racine 1990:50).

The hoe was mainly used for preparing the bed, with the planting occurring in late April or early May. Hammond (1994:513) noted that from one to five bushels of seed would be sown by hand per acre and then covered over. As soon as there was a good stand, usually within a month to month and a half, the plants would be thinned, leaving one plant every 9 to 12 inches. Harris, again speaking of his Spartanburg farm, noted on June 24, 1859 that:

> The cotton is pretty good but should have been thined earlier. It should have been thined at the first working. I shall adopt this

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[25] This was three years after the first bale of cotton had been grown in the United States and shipped to Britain aboard an American ship. American cotton was so unheard of that the Customs inspectors refused to accept that it had been grown in the States and detained it on the docks until it rotted (Hobhouse 1985:141). Kennedy (1864:xxvii), however, notes that "early in the Revolution" a planter of St. Paul's Parish in the lowcountry constructed a roller gin to assist in the ginning of the long staple cotton he was growing. And Hammond (1884:470) observed that as early as 1747 seven bags of cotton appeared on the list of exports from Charleston. In 1787, 300 pounds of seed cotton were shipped, as an experiment, from Charleston to England, but they were informed that it was not worth producing, since the seeds were so hard to separate from the lint. These stories testify to the slow growth of what would later be known as "King Cotton."

> plan in the future (Racine 1990:112).

The working he referred to involved keeping the ground light and loose by using a plow and keeping the grass out of the field by using the hoe. Backcountry cotton fields would usually have three or four workings over the course of the season. In early July the plants were usually from 10 to 15 inches high and they began to bloom. The bolls would open in the middle of August, with picking beginning in late August or early September. Cotton bolls rarely opened uniformly, so the fields were often picked three or four times between September and December to maximize the yield (Gray 1933:700-702); Hammond 1884:513).

In upper Greenville County, as elsewhere in the more mountainous regions of South Carolina, cotton cultivation was slightly different. Hammond noted:

> The same tillage as is given further south expended here, in a shorter period of time, has a like effect in pushing the plant maturity. With slave labor this was inconvenient, if not impracticable (Hammond 1884:514).

Picking began in late September and while the growing season ends with the first "black frost," usually between mid-October and early November, picking may continue to the end of December.

Cotton was a very labor-intensive crop, not only in the growing, but also in the harvesting and, particularly, the ginning. Growing a good stand of cotton was comparatively easy, many planters found that the limiting factor was how much they could successfully pick — picking 100 pounds of bolls would take two person days and an acre might produce around 166 pounds of lint cotton (with a range of about 150 to 200 pounds).[26] Planters eventually realized that they needed between 10 and 20 slaves for every 100 acres they intended to plant in cotton.

Ginning, the process of separating the seed from the hairs which form the lint, was even more time consuming. Hobhouse (1985:144) reports than an industrious individual could gin by hand a couple of pounds of cotton, while the norm for slaves was less than a pound. After ginning, the cotton still needed to be cleaned, removing dirt, twigs, and other impurities. This process typically reduced the weight of the ginned cotton by as much as 50%. Finally, if intended for local use the cotton lint had to be carded, the process by which the fibers are made parallel, after which it is ready for spinning and weaving. The 100 pounds of seed cotton which required two person days to pick would then require another 50 person-days to gin (at best), and 20 person-days to clean and card. This effort would finally result in about 8 pounds of spinnable cotton, which might require an additional 25 to 40 days to spin. As Hobhouse (1985:144) comments, "no wonder cotton was the luxury cloth in 1784."[27]

There are several excellent accounts of the development of Eli Whitney's cotton gin (Britton 1992; Hobhouse 1985:150-152; Kennedy 1864:xxvi-xxix). The device itself was very simple — a solid wooden cylinder into which headless nails, set a half inch apart, had been driven in a pattern surrounded by a grid of bars set so closely together that the seeds could not pass but which allowed the lint to be pulled through by the spikes. A revolving

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[26] These figures represent an ideal which was probably rarely achieved. Between 1801 and 1804, Campbell (1993:246) reports that slaves on the upcountry Guignard plantation picked an average of 30 pounds per day, achieving 50 pounds on only the best days of the harvest. We also know that the original short-staple cotton grown in the first decade or so of the nineteenth century produced pods which did not open very widely. Picking was improved when the cotton was crossed with Mexican strains and by mid-century 100 pounds a day were being picked by slaves. However, the short staple bolls were always more difficult to pick and plantation owners found that female slaves were more nimble and better pickers than males.

[27] Hobhouse (1985:145) also reveals the "added-value" of cotton during the eighteenth century. A pound of cotton costing 4d would be worth £2 as yarn and £10 as cloth. If then ornamented by children, it might bring £15 — a return of 900 times the cost of the lint.

brush cleaned the spikes, so that during each revolution of the cylinder the seeds were cleaned away, falling into a separate compartment. The spikes were found to damage the fiber of the long-staple sea island cotton, but the device was perfect for the upland short-staple variety. While still worked by hand, the Whitney gin allowed one slave to gin not the usual 1 pound, but around 50 pounds of cotton a day. A patent was issued in 1794, retroactive to 1793, but copies were being quickly produced and Hobhouse notes that, "this simple mechanical device, which any wheelwright, blacksmith, or carpenter, could make, spread like wildfire throughout the South," and suggests that one "might as soon have patented the water wheel" (Hobhouse 1985:152). By 1796 Henry Ogden Holmes' "improved" gin, which was cheaper to produce, was taking away Whitney's business.

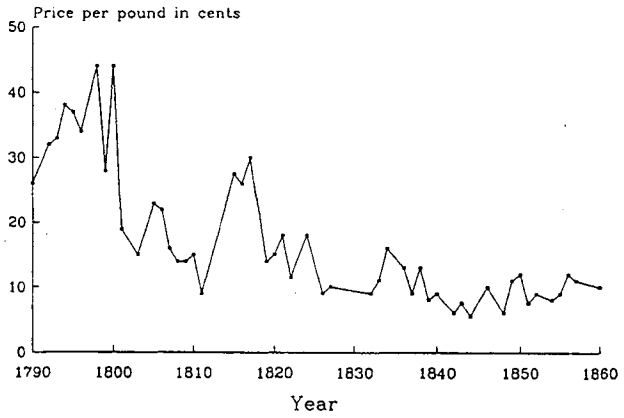

Figure 12. Cotton prices from 1790 to 1860 (adapted from Gray 1930:Figures 6 and 7). The period from 1790 through 1802 reflects export prices, while those from 1803 to 1860 are the prices of second or middling short-staple cotton on the New Orleans spot market.

Cotton was planted to achieve a staple, cash crop. This, in turn, lead to the increase in slave holding and, ironically, lead to one of the last sectional tensions in South Carolina. Lowcountry leaders feared that importation of additional slaves would not only further alienate the north, but would also promote additional social instability. There is also good reason to suspect that they were also interested in maintaining the high prices that their own surplus slaves brought in the backcountry market (Klein 1990:254). Regardless, the backcountry favored open importation of African American flesh, while the lowcountry wanted it curtailed. A ban on interstate trade of slaves remained in effect through 1804, but was then lifted (evidencing the increasing political strength of backcountry legislators).

An examination of the trends in prices for cotton also illustrates that cotton did not well serve the planter interested in economic stability. Figure 12 illustrates the average annual prices of second quality or middling cotton from 1802 through 1860 at New Orleans, the largest spot market in this country. These prices more closely represent what backcountry planters could expect to receive for their crop than those of the New York or Liverpool markets (see Gray 1933:696-697). Prior to 1802 the prices shown are the export prices. While the cotton market in the late 1780s was suffering from a depression, the invention of the Whitney gin increased production. By the last half of the 1790s the price of cotton had reached or exceeded 35¢ a pound on the spot market. Gray (1930:681) suggests these very high figures may partially be explained by the failure of buyers during this early period to distinguish between the short-staple or green seed cotton of the backcountry and the long-staple cotton of the lowcountry. These prices made possible abnormally high profits,[28] encouraging more planters to explore cotton. About 1800, however, the price declined from 44¢ to 19¢ and continued at these lower levels (down to about 9¢ or 10¢ in 1811) until 1812 when some recovery was seen. Between 1815 and 1860 there were a number of minor price cycles which affected the economic condition of cotton planters. Economic mismanagement, war-time inflation, and wild speculation resulted in cotton prices between 1817 and 1818 of around 30¢ a pound on the New Orleans spot market and as high as 32½¢ in Savannah. The financial collapse of 1819 plunged prices down to the pre-war levels

[28] Gray (1930:681) records that at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was possible to make a profit on cotton selling as low as 12¢ a pound.

of around 14¢ and brought ruin to a number of planters who had expanded on the heels of high prices.

The 1820s saw prices in the range of 11¢ to 18¢ which caused great distress among the planters. Gray (1930:698) reports that several studies of the period which revealed that at 10¢ a pound cotton the return on cotton would be only 3.5%, which offered no stimulus for planting. Prices rallied for a short period before the market began to slip once again and during the late 1820s and early 1830s the rises dipped as low as about 9½¢, although some backcountry planters apparently received as little as 6¢ a pound. Recovery began about 1833. The result was a frenzied period of speculation on land, cotton, and slaves, culminating in the panic of 1837. Cotton prices did not recovery quickly, suffering 12 years of severe depression, due primarily to overproduction. The apparent high points of 1838 and 1846 were the result not of a true rebound in prices, but rather to the severely restricted production in those years resulting from drought and the cotton caterpillar. Prices in the 1840s reached unbelievable lows of around 5¢ a pound. This was a period of out migration, as many backcountry planters left for better areas to the west, often escaping their debt. As the prices declined, so too did the surplus, so that finally, in 1849, there was a period, albeit brief, when the prices rose to around 11¢. While there was fluctuation, Gray observes that:

> In the last five years of the period [before the Civil War] cotton sold at prices that were highly remunerative, especially considering the fact that the average annual product of the five years was much larger than it had ever been before. In the Cotton Belt, therefore, as in other parts of the South, the Civil War brought to a close a period of exceptional prosperity (Gray 1930:700).

It is, however, only fair, to note that this prosperity was illusionary. By establishing an economy tied to the production of one product, and a product whose value was aligned with the vagaries of international demand for commodities, South Carolina's slave holding elite sealed the fate of the state.

Slavery continued to increase in Greenville, although by 1840 the increase in total numbers was beginning to slow (Table 2). Regardless, the mean number of slaves per slave-owning household increased from 5.3 in 1810 to 7.7 in 1830 and in 1850 had reached 9. While the majority of the slaveholders constantly had five or fewer slaves, more larger slave holders are found through time, reducing the proportion. For example, in 1790 79.2% of the slaveholders held five or fewer slaves. By 1810 71.8% of the slaveholders held five or fewer slaves. This declined to 58.5% in 1830 and by 1850 only 52.1% of the slave holders owned five or fewer slaves.

In 1830 Elizabeth Earle, the widow of George W. Earle, is recorded as owning 85 slaves — the largest holding in the county. Other prominent slaveholders were Judge Waddy Thompson with 60 slaves, David Westfield with 52, and Dr. M. Earle Robinson with 40. By 1850 the largest slaveholder in the County was P.D. Curreton with 76. Willis Benson owned 64, Josiah Kilgore owned 63, and T.C. Austin owned 57. The 1850 census also separates out the town of Greenville, revealing that slave ownership there paralleled the range in the county — 50% of the slave owners held five or fewer slaves, with 22% owning between six and 10. The largest slave owner was Vardry McBee, who owned 37 slaves (most of whom likely worked in his various industries). Nearly as large was the slave holding of Waddy Thompson, with 33 slaves.

Yet the upcountry remained largely yeoman farmers. Racine, discussing David Golightly Harris, provides a picture of how the small slaveholders and yeoman farmers lived in the vicinity of Greenville and Spartanburg. He observes that:

> David Harris never made a lot of money from his crops. He almost always had foodstuff to sell, which meant that he successfully grew more than was required for the

> use of his own family and his slaves. When we subtract what the Harris family, slaves, and animals would have consumed from his production in 1860, there remains enough wheat and corn to sell to bring in thirty-six dollars and enough pork to earn $231. Although the census records none, David Harris grew 420 lbs. of cotton in 1860 and sold it for $43.26. So Harris' income for 1860 was a grand total of roughly $310.26 — a meager spendable income for a man who owned ten slaves. Such income did not go far. when a stud fee for a horse was $50.00, a journal subscription $2.00, a woman's hat $1.00, a man's summer suit $3.50, and a school $12.00 a month or $108 a year. Harris could afford many of these things, whereas other Spartanburg [and many Greenville] farmers could not. What money he did make he invested in land and in subsidiary enterprises. It was those on which he depended to better himself substantially; he knew better than to depend on farming (Racine 1990:5).

Racine notes that while David Harris developed his farm and expanded into other businesses (such as milling), "he had failed to establish himself as a 'major' farmer and he had not significantly improved his way of life" (Racine 1990:17). This was the fate of most small backcountry farmers.

The Agricultural Schedules for Greenville allow us to better understand the small farmers of the region. Information from 1840 through 1860 is shown in Table 3. Although the formats are not identical between the various years one of the first observations is likely to be that in most categories Spartanburg out produced Greenville, in some by nearly the twice the amount. In 1840, for example, Greenville farms supported only 56% of the cattle and 84% of the swine found on Spartanburg farms. The wheat yield of Greenville farms was only 64% that of neighboring Spartanburg and the corn yield was only 58% of that from Spartanburg. But perhaps most notably, Greenville produced only 9% of the cotton harvested in Spartanburg. This tendency continues to be seen in the 1850 production and even in 1860 Greenville trails Spartanburg in virtually every category, especially what we may consider to be the two primary indicators, corn and cotton. Greenville did improve its agricultural output during the late antebellum. Corn production steadily increased, so that by 1860 Greenville was producing 78% of the amount grown in neighboring Spartanburg. Likewise, the cotton crop increased from 344 bales (representing only 9% of that grown in Spartanburg) to 2682 bales in 1860 (43% of the cotton produced in Spartanburg).

The limited production of Greenville compared to Spartanburg is at least partially the result of a dramatic difference in improved acreage. In both 1850 and 1860 Greenville reported only around 62 to 63% of the improved acreage as Spartanburg. Less land was being actively cultivated in Greenville and, through time, it appears that in both Greenville and Spartanburg land was being taken out of cultivation. In Greenville the improved acreage declined from 130,727 acres in 1850 to 99,589 acres in 1860, a drop of nearly 24%.

While there is a clear difference in acreage, the 1850 and 1860 agricultural schedules also provide some insight on farm size. In 1850 Greenville contained 1068 farms, only 68% of the number enumerated for Spartanburg (n=1555). By 1860 the number of Greenville farms grew to 1289 — about a 21% increase — at the same time there was nearly a 24% decrease in cultivated acreage. This demonstrates that despite the increase in slave holdings, and the increase in the number of slaves, Greenville was being retrenched as a yeoman society containing more farms with lower acreage. This trend was not as clearly reproduced in Spartanburg. There the acreage between 1850 and 1860 did decrease by around the same 24%, but the number of farms on the reduced acreage increase by only 3%. Farms were becoming smaller, but there was not a dramatic increase in their numbers as was seen in Greenville. Table 4 illustrates the farm sizes in Greenville and

Table 3.
Comparison of Agricultural Products from Greenville and Spartanburg counties, 1840-1860

1840

	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Swine	bu Wheat	bu Rye	bu Corn	bu Oats	lbs Tobacco	bales Cotton	lbs Wool	bu Potatoes	Value of Market Produce	tons Hay	lbs Honey	Value of Home Manu
Greenville	3542	11,518	6515	26,452	37,644	2682	418,940	49,259	1500	344	7286	18641	6105		1346	30,554
Spartanburg	7844	20,498	11,104	31,251	58,670	271	722,751	67,615		3988	10,791	2532	3560	100	300	76,197

1850

	Acres Improved	Acres Unimproved	Value	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Swine
Greenville	130,727	239,730	2,102,038	4312	14,047	9255	36,555
Spartanburg	207,666	354,281	2,792,626	7353	23840	14,026	51,921

	bu Wheat	bu Corn	bu Oats/Rye	lbs Rice	lbs Tobacco	bales Cotton	lbs Wool	bu Peas/Beans	bu Potatoes	bu Barley	Value of Market Prod.	Value of Garden Prod	lbs Butter	tons Hay	lbs Flax	lbs Silk	lbs Honey	Value Anim Slaughtered
Greenville	60,682	637,784	111,074	15,782	12,505	2452	15,760	19,863	88,516	15	220	20	116,903	22			5724	104,677
Spartanburg	102,993	873,654	154,509	3601	1526	6671	22,348	16,654	92,880				211,055	55	15	3	6644	158,706

1860

	Acres Improved	Acres Unimproved	Value	Value of Implements	Horses	Asses	Cows	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Swine	Value of Livestock
Greenville	99,589	385,365	3,696,522	180,861	5219	1386	4903	1182	6619	7830	31,677	720,317
Spartanburg	156,534	456,015	4,388,642	156,009	4699	2053	6460	1154	11,125	15,798	59,147	865,620

	bu Wheat	bu Rye	bu Corn	bu Oats	lbs Rice	lbs Tobacco	bales Cotton	lbs Wool	bu Peas/Beans	bu Irish Pot.	bu Sweet Pot.	bu Barley	Value of Market Prod.	gal Wine	Value of Garden Prod	lbs Butter	tons Hay	gal Molasses	lbs Honey	Value of Home Manu.	Value Anim Slaughtered
Greenville	82,015	7166	625,288	20,025	620	15180	2682	13,956	36,185	13,689	88,387	256	2222	585	22	184,443	4704	13,816	46,234	35,663	206,298
Spartanburg	141,648	16,540	800,960	48,145	1019	8807	6279	21,639	42,060	12,496	100,136	258	20,298	484	7764	226,487	608	9310	53,058	49,823	260,210

Table 4.
Farms Containing Three Acres or More in Greenville and Spartanburg Counties, 1860

	Acres							
	3-9	10-19	20-49	50-99	100-499	500-999	1000+	Totals
Greenville	58	79	416	432	288	15	1	1289
%	4.5	6.1	32.3	33.5	22.3	1.1	0.2	100
cumulative %	4.5	10.6	42.9	76.4	98.7	99.8	100	100
Spartanburg	20	76	505	459	527	7	5	1599
%	1.2	4.9	31.6	28.7	32.9	0.4	0.3	100
cumulative	1.2	6.1	37.7	66.4	99.3	99.7	100	100

Spartanburg during 1860. While both counties reveal the same general pattern of farm sizes, there are subtle differences. For example, over three-quarters of Greenville's farms in 1860 were under 100 acres, while in Spartanburg County only two-thirds were that small. Spartanburg also evidences a slightly greater proportion of plantations over a thousand acres in extent.

The agricultural schedules also help to provide an overview of Greenville. In 1850 there were 1271 farms listed, of which 1072 were owned (84.3%). Only 199 farms (or 15.7%) were rented. By 1860 there were 2125 farms[29] in Greenville. By this decade, however, only 856 (or 40.3%) were owned. The majority (1269 or 59.7%) were rented. In 1850 the mean value of owned farms was $1,793.89, but only $1624.50 a decade later as farms became smaller and the land more worn.

In 1850 Greenville farmers produced an average of 47.7 bushels of wheat per farm, 2.0 bushels of rye, and 501.8 bushels of corn. In 1860 only rye production was up. Wheat production had fallen to an average output of 36.9 bushels and corn had slid precariously to only 280.6 bushels per farm. Cotton likewise declined between 1850 and 1860. In 1850, 2435 bales were produced by 452 farms (or 35.6% of the farms in the county). Those growing cotton produced, on average, 5.4 bales per farm. This figure, however, is deceptive since the vast majority of the farms were producing a single bale and the average is increased by a few very large holdings where several hundred or more bales were produced. In 1860 Greenville produced 2476 bales of cotton, only 41 more bales than 10 years earlier. This yield came from 489 farms, representing only 23% of the farms in the county. The average per farm yield had slipped to 5.1 bales.

Tobacco is an interesting speciality crop. It entered the piedmont prior to the Revolution and, by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, was a major agricultural product (Trinkley and Hacker 1992). Rion McKissick reports that it was the first staple crop of the county, being brought in, "by planters who had emigrated from North Carolina and Virginia" (McKissick 1921:6). It gradually. however, gave way to cotton after the gin was perfected. This steady decline is reflected in the 1850 and 1860 agricultural schedules. In 1850 12,525 pounds of tobacco was produced by 46 farms in Greenville (only 3.6% of those in the county), with an average yield of only 272.3 pounds per farm. By 1860 the county produced 14,815 pounds of tobacco but it was by then spread among 376 farms, or 17.7% of those in the county. The average per farm yield had also fallen dramatically, to only 39.4 pounds per farm.

John Otto remarks that tobacco was a time consuming crop and most farmers in the antebellum planted only a few acres. Efforts to move beyond one or two acres required a sizeable investment in slave labor, so that there was a correlation between slave ownership and tobacco production. On the other hand, tobacco and wheat were complementary crops. Farmers would sow wheat after tobacco was harvested and they harvested wheat after tobacco was planted (Otto 1994:10).

Industrial Development in the Antebellum

Greenville's development in antebellum was not confined to strictly domestic or even agricultural activities. A number of individuals,

[29] This total differs from that shown in Table 4 since it includes all farms, owned and rented, regardless of acreage. Table 4 includes only owned farms over 3 acres in size.

like David Harris (Racine 1990), sought ways of diversifying, while others were artisans and craftsmen attracted by the new market. Yet this was a slow process and in 1826 Mills commented that "agriculture constitutes the chief employment." Discussing "manufactures" Mills found little worthy of note:

> Formerly an armory was established in this district, on the waters of Reedy river; but since the peace it has declined. Benson's ironworks are in this district; and another formerly stood near the village, on Reedy river, which was burnt (Mills 1972 [1826]: 575-576).

Regardless, water, wind, and animal power were the major sources of non-human power available to the eighteenth century, pre-Industrial Revolution entrepreneur. In Greenville the abundance of flowing water clearly pointed to the possibilities of water power. Further, the technology for the use of Greenville's resources was readily available. Undershot wheels were easy to build and, being turned by the speed of the water alone, caused no disruption in water traffic. The overshot wheel, taking advantage of the head, or height, of the fall of water, provided considerably greater power. The power would be as steady as the head of water which could be impounded and kept moving through the race onto the wheel. Watertight dams and millraces, however, were difficult to build and costly to maintain, yet through time the overshoot became more popular (see Kirby et al. 1990 for an overview of engineering in history). Even with the coming of the Industrial Revolution and the steam engine, most of Greenville's smaller establishments continued to use the "free" power provided by the rivers rather than invest the cost of mechanization into what often were family businesses.

As significant to Greenville's development as water power was the railroad. In 1821 Charleston's trade was about a quarter that of New York. The development of Erie Canal, steamships, and railroads continued to New York's continued growth while Charleston stagnated to the point where, in 1831, Charleston's trade was down to one tenth that of New York. Charleston businesses hit on the idea of creating a railroad to link the lowcountry with the backcountry (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:96). Hamburg, across the Savannah River from Augusta, was chosen as the terminus since Augusta was siphoning off the backcountry trade and funneling it to Charleston's arch-rival, Savannah. Completed in 1833, the 136-mile railroad was in full operation by 1834. Between Augusta's refusal to allow the railroad to cross the Savannah River and Charleston preventing the line from entering the city limits, the railroad produced only limited financial success.

The politics of southern isolation in the late 1830s and 1840s focused on railroads linking the southern states east-west. By the 1850s the railways in South Carolina had tripled in miles, increasing from 289 miles to 988 miles in one decade (Kovacik and Winberry 1987:97). Columbia, Hamburg, and Camden all competed for the hub linking the lowcountry with the backcountry. Eventually Columbia won out over the others and by 1853 the Greenville and Columbia Railroad opened a direct route from Charleston to Greenville. McKissick notes that Greenville:

> "immediately woke to new life." As Greenville was the terminus of this comparatively expeditious and direct means of communication and transportation to and from the coast, it soon became the metropolis of the section and its trade quickly extended on all sides, reaching far over the mountains into North Carolina (McKissick 1921:8).

Spartanburg's spur line, the Spartanburg and Union Railroad, would not be completed until just before the Civil War in 1859 (Figure 13).

The arms manufacturing mentioned by Mills in 1826 was the workshop of Adam Carruth and Lemuel J. Alston who purchased 213 acres below Laughrities Shoals on the Reedy River about 8 miles south of Greenville and began an iron foundry. By 1814 they had diversified into fire arms and in 1815, on the heels of the War of 1812, contracted with the state to deliver 500 rifles priced at $20 each. This contract was filled, but he complained that he anticipated receiving $22 each

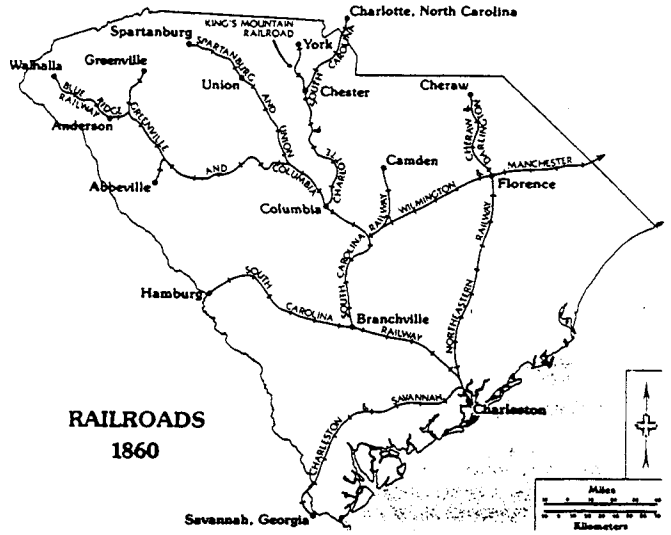

Figure 13. South Carolina railroads at the eve of the Civil War (adapted from Kovacik and Winberry 1987:Map 6.4).

and consequently lost money on the transaction. His petition for additional compensation was denied and Carruth went on looking for a more lucrative contract. Elias Earle, a Revolutionary War hero who lived several miles out of the village at his plantation called "The Poplars," succeeded in obtaining a contract for muskets from the federal government, along with an advance. Earle eventually transferred this contract, but not the advance, to Carruth. Carruth, burdened by debt, succeeding obtaining a loan from the state (designed to promote arms manufacturing), but found himself under just more debt. The 2250 muskets, valued at $33,750, he eventually delivered could not get him out from under the accumulated debt and 1822 his bond holders filed action. Before the end of the year the business and property was sold by the Sheriff (Sutherland 1971).

Greenville is perhaps best known today for its textile industry — which began as early as 1820 when around $2000 in goods were recorded as being produced (Cross 1971:16). McKissick mentions that two mills were incorporated in 1824, but "nothing further seems to be known about them" (McKissick 1921:7). Between 1830 and 1840 William Bates (a native of Massachusetts) and John Weaver established a cotton mill on the Greenville side of the Enoree River a short distance below Rocky Creek to produce "bunch" yarn for use by local hand weavers. When this mill was destroyed a new two-story mill of wooden construction was built and stood until destroyed by fire in the postbellum (Arnold 1915:502; Cross 1971:16).

By 1840 there were four cotton manufactories with a total of 1,964 spindles in Greenville County. Employing 94 individuals, likely primarily women, these mills produced products valued at $72,000 and represented about $52,000 in capital. Of the nine counties which contained cotton mills, Greenville ranked fifth in total number of spindles and seventh in capital invested, but second in the value of products produced (Anonymous 1841:196). In 1860 there were five cotton factories[30] listed in the industrial census, with combined capital of $96,350. They produced $108,170 in goods, primarily yarn bundles. The largest mill, operated by William Bates, produced 105,000 yards of yarn, and 450,000 yards of osnaburg and shirting with a value of $59,000.

Greenville boasted no foundries in 1840, or operating gold mines (Anonymous 1841). The county contained 36 retail dry goods and similar stores, ranking sixth in numbers behind Charleston, Fairfield, Edgefield, Barnwell, and Spartanburg. The single gunsmith or armory produced 117 smallarms using five employees. Five hundred hats were made by two individuals with an invested capital of only $200. There were seven tanyards which produced 2700 hides of sole leather and 2650 hides of upper leather. The 10 distilleries in Greenville produced 3890 gallons of alcohol and Greenville ranked eighth out of the 11 counties with distilleries (a situation which would change late in the antebellum and become especially noticeable in the postbellum). Greenville was second only to Charleston in the value of coaches and wagons produced in 1840. The Greenville Coach Factory, one of the earliest and most important industrial facilities in the county, produced $16,100 worth of carriages in 1840 (see Bainbridge et al. 1985:5).

[30] These include John Weaver, Lister and Sons, William Bates, Vardry McBee, and L.H. Turpafield.

By far the most common establishments were the water powered mills. In 1840 there were eight flour mills, 65 grist mills, and 42 saw mills reported in the county. This number, however, is deceiving. These 115 mills produced products with a value of only $6500 – testifying to the local importance of most mills. David Harris' mill in Spartanburg was designed to be used by the local farmers and to provide an additional source of revenue to Harris, who received two-thirds of the toll (with the mill operator taking one-third) (Racine 1990:423).

Greenville, in 1840, had $108,800 of capital invested in her manufactories (Anonymous 1841:201). This ranked her 11th out of the 29 counties, lagging far behind neighboring Spartanburg which had $160,030 invested. By 1850 Greenville had improved little, ranking tenth with $176,850 capital invested. Spartanburg, meanwhile, had increased investments to over a quarter of a million dollars.

The 1850 Industrial Census records five tanyards in the county and one in the city – one less than a decade earlier. Only two distilleries are recorded – eight less than in 1840.[31] There are only 17 grist mills recorded in the county and one in the village of Greenville, along with seven saw mills. Outside of the city there were also two gunsmiths, two paper mills[32], and one wheelwright. In the village of Greenville were recorded one shoemaker, one baker, three saddlers, two tailors, two tinsmiths, three blacksmiths, and one coppersmith. These very low numbers clearly do not support the total capital invested and it seems likely that the census, at least for Greenville District, was flawed.

In 1860 the 210 firms recorded by the Industrial Census represented $465,369 in invested capital. In this year Spartanburg posted manufacturing capital of $369,370, revealing that Greenville had begun to take the lead in the race for industrialization (Anonymous 1865:556). The most common operation, as in the past, were grist mills, with 57 reported. Closely following grist mills were saw mill operations, with 51 recorded. The third most common industry in Greenville in 1860 were distilleries. The 30 individuals and firms operating stills had $8304 of capital invested.

By 1860 the number of distilleries recorded in the Industrial Census increased to 30 – a 1500% increase from 1850. Although the capital invested in the enterprises ranged from $50 to $1350, the average was a relatively modest $246.80. About 43% of those producing alcohol reported a capital investment under $150, while only 13% reported an investment over $500. Consequently, the third most common industry in Greenville on the eve of the Civil War accounted for less than 2% of the invested capital. Since another entry reveals that copper stills cost about $40 each, it appears that operating a distillery was a rather inexpensive business undertaking. This is clearly shown when compared to the operation of a grist mill where the average capital investment was $1852. Less than a third report an investment under $500 and nearly a half (47.4%) report a capital investment of at least $1000.

Although the number of distillers had increased dramatically over the decade, their average output declined. While the two reported distillers in 1850 yielded 4200 gallons, or an average of 2100 gallons each, by 1860 this had dropped to a total output of only 27,376 gallons, or an average of 912 gallons per distiller. In fact, only three produced 2500 or more gallons. This certainly appears to support the supposition that Greenville farmers increasingly turned to distilling their excess corn, finding it easier to sell (and store) whiskey than the corn itself.[33] A few of the

[31] In 1850 the two manufacturers of alcohol listed in the Industrial Census are James McKinney and John Russell. Neither reported a capital investment over $150 for their business and neither reappears in the 1860 Industrial Census. McKinney produced 1500 gallons of whisky, assigned a value of $900 or about 60¢ a gallon. Russell's 2700 gallons of whisky, however, was assigned a value of only $950, or about 35¢ a gallon.

[32] At least one of these was begun as early 1835 according to McKissick (1921:7), although it fails to show up in the 1840 census (Anonymous 1841).

[33] While there is considerable variation, it appears that with practice a distiller might expect to obtain about 7 or 8 gallons of 100 proof alcohol from about a bushel (60 pounds) of ground corn and 90 gallons of water (Firth 1983:229).

entries specify that rather than whisky (produced from corn plus small amounts of ground oats and barley), brandy (made by distilling wine) was being produced. It is possible that scuppernong grapes were being harvested for this purpose, although the Industrial Census does not specify the source of the grapes. Regardless of type, the reported value per gallons increased between 1850 and 1860, with the usual value assigned in 1860 being $1 per gallon. A few of the more detailed entries suggest a value ranging from about .70¢ to .83¢ per gallon – still twice that reported in 1850.

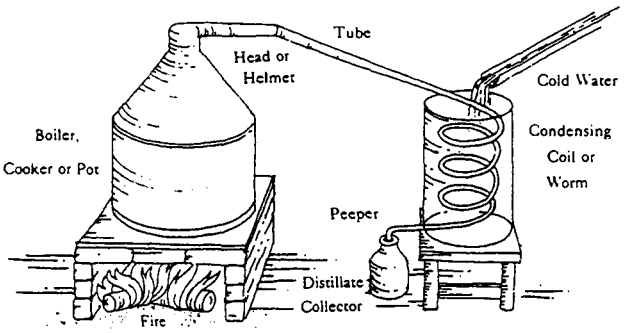

Figure 14. Idealized still showing the individual components (adapted from Firth 1983:13).

Stills have traditionally consisted of three parts: the boiler, also called the pot, can, cooker, or kettle, which is used to boil the raw material; the head, helmet, or bonnet, a smaller compartment that sits on top of the boiler to gather and compress vapors from the boiler and direct them into the condenser; and the condenser itself, also called the worm, which is a copper coil or pipe immersed in water which serves to take the compressed vapor, increase its density toward its saturation point, then cool the vapor, turning it back into a liquid. The distillate is then collected in jugs or bottles. Grace Firth (1983:42) notes that stills were a common household device, being used to produce not only alcoholic beverages, but also used to produce fragrances, flavorings, and remedies. She also illustrates several different varieties, although all have the same essential components (Figure 14). It seems likely, therefore, that the 1850 and 1860 Industrial Censuses from Greenville may significantly understate the number of stills in operation.

This may particularly be the case considering the long and violent history of spirit production. After the American Revolution the new government levied taxes on alcohol production – stills were taxed at about 50¢ per capacity gallon and the spirits' purchaser paid about 10¢ a gallon tax (Firth 1983:220). In 1794 the hostility over this tax resulted in mass resistance to the tax among the farmers of western Pennsylvania. President Washington, viewing this resistance as open contempt for the national government, ordered 15,000 militia into the state. No shots were fired and the "insurrection" was quickly put down. The young whisky industry turned its approach to political action, effectively reducing the competition of rum by placing a tax on molasses. As their strength grew, the excise tax fluctuated in cadence with the rumblings of war and the temperance movement.

In fact, the tax was not really noticed until the Civil War escalated and the need for federal funds increased. The Internal Revenue Service began to insist that the tax be paid and whisky became a prime source of war funds. After the Civil War, as the tax (up to $2 a gallon) also fell on the stills of the South. Many of the Southern producers saw the tax as a northern penalty levied on them for the war, believing that the funds collected went solely to northern concerns.

The other manufactories in Greenville included 13 blacksmiths, 12 tanyards, seven cabinetmakers, six carriage and wagon makers[34], five cotton factories, five wool carding factories, four tinsmiths, four lathes or planning mills, four boot and shoe makers, three harness makers, and two paper mills. Also recorded were a machine shop, a stone cutter, a carpenter, a coppersmith, an individual specializing in silver plating, and a

[34] This includes the Gower Cox Markley Company in Greenville, which reported $120,000 of capital invested in the operation. In 1860 they apparently produced 125 carriages and buggies valued at $60,000. They also owned one of three harness making businesses in Greenville. They produced 190 sets of harnesses with a value of $3800, easily repaying their $2000 capital investment.

gunsmith.

The industrial resources of Greenville, South Carolina, and the entire South paled by comparison with those of the North. What would become the Confederacy boasted 20,631 manufacturers, totaling $95,975,000 in invested capital. The Northern states, on the other hand, had 118,984 manufacturing establishments with nearly a billion dollars in capital. To make this imbalance worse, most of the Confederate industries were flour and grist mills, saw mills, tanneries, and textile mills — such as those found in Greenville. There were relatively few machine shops, foundries, or armories (Otto 1994:21-22).

The Confederacy and the Civil War

As previously discussed, the rhetoric on the part of South Carolina and other southern states increased dramatically from the 1830s to the late 1850s. While attempts are periodically made to defend secession using political or philosophical arguments, quotes from South Carolinians such as Hayes and Calhoun make it clear that South Carolina's leaders and planter class left the Union as much to defend the enslavement of African Americans as any other reason. The Confederacy of 1861, like similar institutions since, was hatched, using the words of Henry Hobhouse (1985:187), "where the future is feared, the present is based on false premises, and the past is viewed with nostalgia." As a result of the Civil War, over 600,000 men in both armies were killed or died as a result of the hostilities. Civilian causalities, which were not adequately recorded, may be as high as an additional 250,000 people. Armed service casualties amounted to more than 12% of those who enlisted, more than 6% of the males of military age. These figures are between five and six times the equivalent loses of the combined United States Armed Services in the World War II, and more than 10 times the proportionate losses in World War I. However measured, the event was traumatic politically, socially, economically, and most of all, morally. In spite of this, Hobhouse notes that:

> Many consider the war the making of the United States, not only for the obvious reason that the Union had to be secured, but also because without the sacrifice, without the waste, disease, and death, the meaning of nationhood would have as much value as it has in Argentina or Brazil — not very much (Hobhouse 1985:186).

In spite of this most histories of Greenville have "beat the drum," focusing on the grandness of war, the glory of the cause, and the patriotism of South Carolina's citizens:

> When war could no longer be averted, he [Benjamin F. Perry] stood by his State, as did the people of Greenville, who unhesitatingly rallied to the support of the Confederacy, sending more than two thousand soldiers to the Confederate armies, although the total number of voters in the county in 1860 approximated 2200 (McKissick 1921:8).[35]

> Although the county had put forth almost superhuman efforts to stay the coming [of the Civil War], when it did come her citizens rallied as one man to the defense of the state. . . . The spirit of the time was everywhere in evidence, and no "slackers" were to be found. Men of fighting age clamored for admission into the army, and the authorities were sorely beset to make room for them fast enough (Richardson 1931:85).

If David Harris' Spartanburg journal is any indication these histories may not accurately reflect

[35] One reason the number of those enlisted or conscripted so closely approximates the voting population is that by the time the war was closing the Confederacy had broadened the range of military service to include those from 15 to 45 years old. Eventually even 50 year olds were in uniform This alone reveals the horrific impact of the war.

the emotions of the common man. On December 30, 1860 Harris was resigned, but optimistic:

> The papers are filled with secession and war-like declarations. Indeed the times are ominous, fearful to think upon. I admit that I am uneasy about the consequences. But be it what it may, I do hope the State or rather the Republic of South Carolina will not concede or retract (Racine 1990:168).

By March 1862 his tone had changed and he commented that:

> The war is assuming a rather ugly appearance. The people are becoming alarmed. I think that war is not the game of fun that they did at the commencement (Racine 1990:236).

That same year, riding through the neighborhood he "heard of the death of many of our soldiers, and many more are wounded" (Racine 1990:252). And Racine observes that while Harris spoke of conscripts with contempt, "he was not overly eager to go into service himself." He did not enroll until there was no option but to do so or be drafted, Later in the war he hired a substitute rather than leave his farm (Racine 1990:10-11).

There is no doubt of Greenville's active participation in the Confederacy. John Taylor (1964) explores the history of the Sixteenth South Carolina Regiment which was entirely raised in the Greenville area. He notes that in the fall of 1861, Charles James Elford, a Greenville lawyer and editor of *The Mountaineer*, was granted the authority to organize a regiment for state service and immediately went about calling for ten volunteer companies — the number necessary for a full regiment. The ranks were apparently quickly filled. The regiment was commanded by Colonel James McCullough from April 28, 1862 to February 4, 1865.

Greenville also aided the war effort through its meager industrial output. Richardson notes that the town's textile mills, especially the Batesville Cotton Factory, turned out much of the cloth used by the Confederate Army, while the carriage factory of Gower, Cox, and Gower (also known as the Greenville Coach Factory) produced many of the gun carriages and wagons used by the ordinance and quartermaster departments (Richardson 1930:85-86; see also Bainbridge et al. 1985:5). Thomas Peden was a local gunsmith who originally enlisted in the Confederate Army, but who was apparently sent home to make arms (Sutherland 1971).

Perhaps the most significant contribution to the war effort was Greenville's State Military Works. Early in the war South Carolina's Executive Council was exploring the alternatives for establishing an armory for the production of small arms and cannon. Greenville was selected for the plant, largely because the land needed was donated by its owner, Vardry McBee. The 20 acre tract is reported to have been either on or near the Greenville and Columbia Railroad, essential for the transport of raw materials to Greenville and finished products out of the backcountry. The superintendent, David Lopez, set about construction in the spring of 1862, using the equipment and skilled workers brought in from the Tennessee Armory after Nashville was evacuated in February 1862. The State Military Works did both repairs and new work. Sutherland (1971:52) reports that the weapons were tested "in an old cellar" on the northwest corner of what are now Main and West Coffee streets. It seems likely the "cellar" was probably an open enclosure, somewhat akin to a boiler pit, which was capable of confining damage should a cannon explode upon firing.

South Carolina spent a half-million dollars on the construction and operation of the plant. It was recognized, at least by impartial observers, as expensive to operate since not only was it necessary to import iron ore, but also coal for the boilers. Quickly erected with little attention to detail, each building required its own power supply, further wasting precious energy. Captain W.S. Downer, Superintendent of the Confederate States Armory in Richmond, inspected the facility, apparently with an interest in acquisition. His findings did not sustain the idea:

> My opinion founded on the

> practical experience I have is that these works carried on as they are now would prove ruinous to any private individual without unlimited capital in less than six months; carried on by the State, they will add unnecessarily to the burden of the war without producing any adequate results and as I said would be entirely unpracticable for our purposes having an eye to economy and efficiency (quoted in Sutherland 1971:53).

The state made half-hearted efforts to sell or close the facility and move the operations to Columbia, but no buyer could ever be found and in 1865 the plant was still in operation in Greenville.

Clinkscales (1964) comments that at the end of the war the property was returned by the State to AlexanderMcBee, who later sold it to A.N. Bozeman. Eventually the UDC erected a marker at the Bozeman property, but it was shortly moved to a number of different locations, none of which likely have any relationship to the original State Military Works site. Although the 21-acre site can be identified, the precise location of the various buildings remains unknown.

While many of Greenville's citizens and businesses supported the war effort, the enthusiasm was not universal. Early in the war Unionist sentiments continued to run high. De Forest (1948:160-161) recounts several stories of a Union regiment being formed in Greenville County and Harris (Racine 1990:174) notes a similar episode in neighboring Spartanburg County in January 1861. Benjamin Perry apparently pleaded with the Greenville regiment to disband and one commentator remarked that, "his speech influenced them so deeply that they, thereupon, formed two volunteer companies" for the Confederacy (De Forest 1948:161). It seems more likely, as Harris commented, "I do not believe their politics are changed. But they fear being hanged" (Racine 1990:174).

It wasn't until late October 1863 that Greenville began to feel the heat from the war. A series of incursions and skirmishes occurred in the vicinity of Warm Springs, North Carolina on October 20, 23, and 26, and again on November 26. Conducted by the Fifth Indiana Cavalry and the Second North Carolina Mounted Infantry the skirmishes were designed to test enemy strength and create havoc in the mountains (Dyer 1959:2:822). On October 27, 1863 G.F. Townes wrote South Carolina Governor Milledge L. Bonham:

> The citizens of Greenville have appointed me to visit Columbia and lay before you the information which have received of a threatened invasion from the enemy, now represented to be in a force at Warms Springs, N.C., at which point, on Thursday last, a force of 150 men, under Major Woodfin, a part of General Vance's command, were repulsed by the enemy and several killed and wounded of our party . . . . Your Excellency is aware of the serious disaffection in no inconsiderable portion of the population in the mountain counties of Western North Carolina, and which extends in some degree even over the line of this State near the mountains, which region has been the resort of large numbers of deserters from our army.
>
> The progress of the enemy would be facilitated by that sort of population. The temptation to attack and destroy the various factories, iron works, and mills in the districts of Spartanburg and Greenville, as well as the State Armory at the Town of Greenville, is a great one to the enemy, and they are fully apprised of the condition of our section. The town of Greenville is the nearest point of importance inviting attack, which, if it comes, must be destructive to all the concerns mentioned, which are of more importance to the State and

> to the Confederacy than to the companies and parties to who the property belongs.
>
> Your Excellency is well aware of the helpless and defenseless state of our section, owing to the want of arms and any sort of organization, and the impossibility of immediate remedy (*Official Records*, Series I, Volume 28, Part 2, page 449).

As a result, "Colonel Williams regiment, six months' volunteer" and "Captain Bachman's company of light artillery" were ordered to report to Greenville to guard this upper part of South Carolina (*Official Records*, Series I, Volume 28, Part 2, pages 457, 459).

In 1864 the upcountry was again in panic, this time as a result of the January 31 through February 7 incursion into North Carolina from Tennessee, culminating at the February 5th skirmish at Quallatown, North Carolina. Participating were detachments of the 10th Ohio Cavalry, 15th Pennsylvania Cavalry, and 1st Tennessee Cavalry (Dyer 1959:823). Major Jonathan D. Ashmore in Greenville wrote General Thomas Jordon, Chief of Staff in Charleston, that the continued forays of Union forces were but a feeler, intended to gage the response of the Confederate troops. More importantly:

> Every effort during the past week has been made by the intendant of this town to raise and organize a company of home guards whose service should be tendered for local defense, but the moment that it was ascertained the enemy were retiring, or rather than they were not advancing, all interest ceased, and his proclamation has been treated with the most profound indifference. A few men enrolled themselves and Saturday, the 13th, was fixed to assemble, organize by election of officers, &c. Not a man turned out (*Official Records*, Series I, Volume 32, Part 2, page 747).

The situation continued to deteriorate and by March 31, 1865 Brigadier General J.G. Martin wrote the Headquarters of Western North Carolina complaining that:

> I have nothing to report but disobedience of orders, neglect of duty, demoralization of the people, and desertion of both officers and men. . . . no prospect of things being any better . . . . every man is doing as little for our cause as he possibly can, hoping by this course, undoubtedly, to be able to save his property when the enemy takes possession (*Official Records*, Series I, Volume 47, Part 3, page 730).

This followed on the heels of Stoneman's raids into western North Carolina from March 21 through April 25 (Dyer 1959:2:1557). Stephen Starr observes that the concept for last raid into the area was developed by Grant, who on January 31, 1865 directed that, "An expedition from East Tennessee under General Stoneman might penetrate South Carolina well down toward Columbia destroying the railroad[36] and military resources of the country" (Starr 1985:560). Stoneman, however, was confounded by a lack of supplies and, especially, horses for his mounted troops. Grant issued a second dispatch on February 27, when it became clear that the opportunity in South Carolina had passed and directed:

> Stoneman being so late in making his start and Sherman having passed out of . . . South Carolina, I think now his course had better

[36] Although not stated, it seems likely that the intent was to travel the route from the mountains to Columbia, along the Greenville and Columbia or Spartanburg and Union Railroad. Had this expedition been successful it is likely that South Carolina would have been devastated by a two prong wave of Union troops—Sherman moving due north from Savannah and Stoneman moving southeast from the mountains.

> be changed . . . . It would be better . . . to keep Stoneman between our garrisons in East Tennessee and the enemy. Direct him to repeat his raid of last fall, destroying the railroad as far toward Lynchburg as possible (Starr 1985:561).

Stoneman finally set off on March 20 with the 11th and 12th Kentucky Cavalry, the 10th and 11th Michigan Cavalry, the 12th Ohio Cavalry, the 15th Pennsylvania Cavalry, the 8th, 9th, and 13th Tennessee Cavalry, and Battery "E" of the Tennessee Light Artillery (Dyer 1959:2:878). Starr remarks that he "rode on a seemingly aimless course along the east face of the Blue Ridge in Virginia and then across the northwest corner of North Carolina as far as Hendersonville" (Starr 1985:562). Toward the end of this expedition Stoneman apparently split his troops, with the bulk proceeding to Asheville, and arriving there between April 25 and April 26. Meanwhile the Tennessee units moved about 20 miles south of Asheville into Hendersonville on April 23, 1865.

No military record of Stoneman's troops moving south from Henderson into South Carolina has been located (see, for example, Davis 1959), but it seems likely that at least small detachments did so. Richardson recounts that:

> During the latter part of April, 1865, Stoneman and his cavalry rode into the town [Greenville] and made camp on the Furman University campus. No resistance was offered from any quarter. Through the town authorities the citizens were ordered to give up all their arms, and to deliver a quantity of horse feed and provisions to the troops. This order was complied with, and the town thus escaped the torch . . . . But warehouses about the town were visited and the valuables stored there destroyed (Richardson 1930:86).

In neighboring Spartanburg County, David Harris wrote, on May 1:

> this has not been a day of pleasure to many in Spartanburg village because The Yankey are in the village to day. But they have done no injury to private property with the exception of taking every good horse and mule they could find. They took three good mules and one good horse from father. They left the village this evening, having entered it yesterday (Racine 1990:372-373).

Racine footnotes this entry, commenting that "the Union troops were searching for Jefferson Davis," suggesting that he attributes the incursion to the 15th Pennsylvania Cavalry which had been assigned to chase Jefferson (Dyer 1959:3:1565). William Kennedy Blake, the principal of the Spartanburg Female College, left another account of the arrival of Union troops in Spartanburg:

> While lying [on the sofa] half asleep, Willie, who was about three years old, ran into the room, and said, "Papa, Papa, the Yankees are coming!" I got up and I saw the cavalry filing down Church Street! I gave instructions to the girls not to leave their rooms and to conceal their money and valuables upon their persons. Hearing that the general in command had made his head-quarters at Mr. Bobo's residence, I went at once to see the General and ask for protection for the college and the girls under my care. [The General] assured me that I should have ample protection and that he would punish severely any interference with the persons or property of the college by his soldiers. I remained on watch during the night, quieting the girls and patrolling the premises. A great many of the citizens lost their horses and some of them had their watches taken from them on the street, while in some instances valuables were taken from

> dwellings . . . . On the morning of the third day the Yankees left town, going south, and by noon the last straggler had disappeared. Quite a number of young negro men followed the Yankees and never returned to Spartanburg (William Kennedy Blake Recollections, Southern Historical College, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, quoted in Racine 1990:550).

The Confederacy collapsed in April 1865 leaving the South, and Greenville County, to face reconstruction.

Political Reconstruction and the New Slavery

President Lincoln and Congress were deeply divided on the mechanisms to restore the Union. Lincoln, as is well known, desired to restore the southern states to the Union as quickly, and painlessly, as possible. The Radicals in Congress, however, wanted to follow a harsher, more punitive policy, which demanded the overthrow of the old ruling white class before reinstating the seceded states. With Lincoln's assassination the task of Reconstruction fell to Andrew Johnson, an individual who shared Lincoln's views, but not his strength or ability. His one tactical advantage was that Congress did not sit during the first eight months of his Presidency, from April to December, 1865. This allowed Johnson to establish his program, modelled on that anticipated, at least in part, by Lincoln.[37]

His goal was first to restore home rule as soon as he could find a nucleus of white Southerners willing to take an oath of loyalty to the Union. These individuals would then, as the plan went, re-establish the state government and measures repudiating slavery and secession would be enacted. Since most Southerners had already accepted inevitability of these events, or so it seemed, Johnson anticipated that his plan would move quickly and smoothly.

By July 1865 Johnson had completed the process of appointing provisional governors for the eleven seceded states. In South Carolina the strong Unionist Benjamin F. Perry of Greenville was appointed the provisional governor. By October 1865 elections had been held in all the Southern states except Texas and by December the bulk of the states were reorganized and many in the South fondly assumed that "Reconstruction" was complete. But the Southern states did not elect yeoman farmers to the reins of power, as Johnson had anticipated, but largely returned to power the same elite white plantation owners who held control of the government prior to the Civil War.

Some changes began almost immediately. For example, Eric Foner (1988:97) notes that Charles Hopkins, a freedman[38] and Methodist preacher obtained a room in a deserted hotel in downtown Greenville and began offering spelling and reading lessons to other freedmen and their children. This marked the beginning of black efforts to achieve parity in education, something denied them as slaves.

In South Carolina Perry called for a constitutional convention and an election in September. The Ordinance of Secession was repealed, but the convention could not bring itself to declare the document void, an issue latter grasped by Congress as a clear indication that South Carolina was not yet "reconstructed." Coupled with this was the creation of a constitution which excluded the blacks entirely from voting and even Perry exclaimed that, "This is a white man's government and the white man's only." The resulting October elections chose James L. Orr as governor of South Carolina. Orr, while not as strong a Unionist as Perry, was considerably more tactful and perhaps left to his own devices might have reduced the impact of Reconstruction on South Carolina. There was a reformation

[37] As Foner and Mahoney (1995:73) point out, Johnson was "no Lincoln." Not only did he lack Lincoln's political skills and compassion, but he held deeply racist views. A self-proclaimed proponent of the poor white farmer in his conflict with the wealthy slave owners, Johnson still felt that African-Americans had no role to play in Reconstruction. His framework was entirely that of the two white classes.

[38] The newly freed African Americans were known as "freedmen."

movement in South Carolina, largely centered in the upcountry, where white Republicans seemed happy to embrace change. Many perhaps saw this as an end to state policies that favored the plantation rich over the yeoman farmer. The destitute condition of many in the upstate, many who stood "on the eve of starvation" likely encouraged a willingness to accept change (Foner 1988:301).

Foner notes that the South Carolina and Mississippi legislatures further antagonized the Radicals in Congress with the enactment of the first, and most severe, of the so-called Black Codes toward the end of 1865. He observes that:

> South Carolina's Code was in some respects even more discriminatory[than Mississippi's], although it contained provisions, such as prohibiting the expulsion of aged freedmen from plantations, designed to reinvigorate paternalism and clothe it with the force of law. It did not forbid blacks to rent land, but barred them from following any occupation other than farmer or servant except by paying an annual tax ranging from $10 to $100 (a severe blow to the free black community of Charleston and to former slave artisans). The law required blacks to sign annual contracts and included elaborate provisions regulating relations between "servants" and their "masters," including labor from sunup to sundown and a ban on leaving the plantation, or entertaining guests upon it, without permission of the employer. A vagrancy law applied to unemployed blacks, "persons who lead idle or disorderly lives," and even traveling circuses, fortune tellers, and thespians (Foner 1988:199-200).

Curiously these, and similar, laws were not developed by extreme secessionists. Rather, South Carolina's Black Code was articulated by conservative Whig Unionists, like Benjamin Perry. Although some in the state described the efforts as "madness" which would never be accepted by the Radical Congress, more were obsessed by the idea that blacks would never work unless forced to do so. They were also alarmed by the increasing militancy of their former "servants."

South Carolina's Black Codes were, in fact, madness. Convinced that South Carolina and the other Southern states intended to restore something approaching slavery[39] Congress began to contemplate the need for a second process of reconstruction. This was foreshadowed by the Radicals' refusal in December 1865 to seat the newly elected Southern Representatives and Senators. The moderates in Congress developed a plan to modify, rather than abandoned Johnson's reconstruction. They enacted an extension of the Freedmen's Bureau, which had been originally established for only one year.[40] They also passed the Civil Rights Bill, which spelled out the rights citizens enjoyed — without regard to race. The Civil Rights Bill voided most of the Black Codes, as well as many Northern laws which also discriminated against blacks. To Congress' surprise, both bills were vetoed by Johnson. Perhaps more to his surprise, Congress proceeded to pass both bills over his veto. In one sweep of the pen Johnson has created a complete breach between the Presidency and Congress and had provided the Radicals and moderates with the common ground they needed to unit against him. Congress moved

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[39] One Republican commented that the Black Codes were attempts to "restore all of slavery but its name" (quoted in Foner and Mahoney 1995:75).

[40] Established by an act of Congress, with Lincoln's approval, on March 3, 1865, the agency as originally planned was to be an administrative arm of the War Department, vested with the "supervision and management of all abandoned lands, and the control of all subjects related to refugees [i.e., Union refugees] and freedmen." Through a series of modifications to the act, by 1866 the Bureau representatives were responsible for the supervision of labor contracts between employers and freedmen, the administration of rations and clothing allowances to freedmen, promoting schools for the blacks, providing transportation, investigating complaints and disputes between blacks and whites, and curtailing violence against the freedmen.

on, ignoring Johnson, to develop their own plan for reconstruction.

The first step in their plan was to establish equality beyond the reach of Presidential vetoes, by enacting the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This broadened the federal government's power to protect the rights of all Americans, forbidding the states to abridge the "privileges and immunities" of citizens or to deprive citizens of the "equal protection of the laws." While it did not provide blacks with the right to vote, it threatened to reduce the South's representation if blacks didn't vote.

South Carolina found itself in a quandary. To ratify the amendment meant destroying its own ruling class. Not yet clearly aware of the meaning of their defeat, and urged on by both Orr and Perry, South Carolina in December 1866 (along with nine other Southern states) refused to accept the Fourteenth Amendment. This unwittingly gave Congress the encouragement to move from passive non-recognition of Southern governments to efforts toward active destruction. Two "reconstruction" acts were passed in March 1867 over Johnson's veto. Congress carved the South into five military districts. Many ex-Confederates were at least temporarily barred from voting or holding office, new governments were created, and blacks were given the right to vote. Finally, only after ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment would Southern states finally be readmitted to the Union. South Carolina began to realize the results of defeat in war.

For Military District Number Two, which included North and South Carolina, General Daniel E. Sickles was appointed governor. Orr was allowed to remain in office, albeit with severely limited functions. The most flagrant provisions of the Black Code were struck down by General Sickles, who insisted that "all laws shall be applicable alike to all inhabitants" (quoted in Foner 1988:209). Sickles actions in North Carolina quickly alienated Johnson, who replaced him with Major General E.R.S. Canby in August 1867. Canby, like Sickles before him, allowed Orr to remain governor of South Carolina. His primary concern was the election for the new constitutional convention and by mid-October 1867 there were 46,346 registered white voters and 78,982 registered black voters. In Greenville, Anderson, and Pickens counties there were 5,953 white voters and 3,734 black voters.

In the November 1867 election the upstate district elected seven whites and three blacks, while the state as a whole elected 48 whites and 76 African-Americans. David Harris, upon hearing of the results of the election commented with disdain that several of those elected were"black and ignorant negroes," going on to declare, "what can be expected of a government framed by such men" (Racine 1990:454). This marked the beginning of nine years of Radical control and reconstruction. The reaction in South Carolina was swift. As early as February 1868 Benjamin Perry called on Southern whites to organize Democratic clubs and serve as unofficial guardians of the white man's peace in the face of the black electorate (Trelease 1971:70). The Ku Klux Klan was organized in 1866 as a military arm of the Democratic party (Foner and Mahoney 1995:119), so Perry was, in effect, simply calling on the white citizens of the state to join in armed resistance to reconstruction. Foner and Mahoney comment that:

> the klan was soon transformed into an organization of terrorist criminals, which spread into nearly every Southern state. Led by planters, merchants, and Democratic politicians, men who liked to style themselves the South's "respectable citizens" and "natural rulers," the Klan committed some of the most brutal acts of violence in American history. During the 1868 presidential election, Klansmen assassinated Arkansas congressman James M. Hinds, three members of the South Carolina legislature, and other Republican leaders (Foner and Mahoney 1995:1180129).

On the national level the election of 1868 pitted the Democrats and Republicans against one another on the issue of Southern reconstruction. The Republicans, who nominated Ulysses S. Grant, approved a platform which specified that the government had an obligation to prevent a return

to anarchy in the South. Democrats, who nominated Horatio Seymour, called again for the restoration of Southern states, the elimination of the Freedmen's Bureau, and no further requirements concerning suffrage. The Klan was to play an active role in the election. Although dying out in the cities (Memphis and New Orleans being notable exceptions), vigilante activities were spreading rapidly to the small towns and countryside (Trelease 1971:113).

In South Carolina the Klan became a very powerful force, much more so than in neighboring North Carolina, although its activities were almost entirely restricted to the northwestern 12 counties. In the backcountry of South Carolina the races were more evenly balanced and the two parties were more even in numbers. Whites used violence and intimidation to tip the scales. The areas of greatest activity were Oconee, Pickens, Greenville, and Spartanburg. While Republicans in general were targeted, the chief targets were the black population (Trelease 1971:115). Grant's election did not silence the Klan, but at least in South Carolina it remained relatively quiet for several years.

History books are replete with the stories of fraud, corruption, graft, and outright theft by the Radical reconstruction government in South Carolina. The plundering of the state was so complete that South Carolina earned the appellation, "The Prostrate State." Foner and Mahoney note that:

> the governments of Radical Reconstruction presented a complex pattern of achievement and disappointment. The economic vision of a modernizing, revitalized Southern economy failed to materialize, and most African-Americans remained locked in poverty. On the other hand, biracial democratic government, a thing unknown in American history, for the first time functioned effectively in many parts of the South. Public facilities were rebuilt and expanded, school systems were established, and legal codes purged of racism. The conservative oligarchy that had dominated Southern government from colonial times to 1867 found itself largely excluded from political power, while those who had previously been outsiders — poorer white Southerners, men from the North, and especially former slaves — cast ballots, sat on juries, and enacted and administered laws (Foner and Mahoney 1995:112).

Figure 15. Greenville County townships established in 1869.

One of the actions during this period was to establish townships in Greenville County, replacing the earlier military control. The sixteen townships were surveyed in 1869 by Alexander Hudson and are shown in Figure 15.

In the early 1870s South Carolina saw another outbreak of Klan violence directed against blacks and their supporters. Most notable was the Laurens "riot," and the creation of white semi-secret "Councils of Safety," ostensively created to protect the outnumber white society from black violence. York County, on the edge of the up and middle country, was a hotbed of Klan activity, with virtually every white male belonging to the group. In this one county the Klan committed eleven murders and hundreds of whippings. Another center of Klan violence was Spartanburg (although Greenville seems to have been relatively peaceful).

Just as the Southern efforts to reject the Fourteenth Amendment brought quick action from Congress, the outrages of their behavior attracted national attention. In 1871 Grant ordered federal troops to many Southern cities and suspended the *habeas corpus* laws (Foner and Mahoney 1995:121, 125; Trelease 1971:71). Klansmen were arrested and the power of the organization was largely broken. Trelease observes that while the rank and file members were from a broad spectrum of Southern white society, the leaders were largely from the more or less educated planter and professional classes. He notes that:

> much of the night riding was conducted on a free-lance basis by men or boys who were all but totally lacking in any sense of responsibility. Their intellectual and cultural horizon scarcely extended beyond the county line. Born into a society which regarded the black man as less than human and possessing no rights which they were bound to respect, a society which had flaunted its intolerance of any dissent on racial[41] and sectional matters, and where the accustomed leaders themselves initiated violent proscription, these country boys lacked any conception of the moral enormity or the fateful consequences of the crimes they committed. As between upper and lower classes, it would be difficult to assign the greater guilt for the atrocities which took place in the name of white supremacy (Trelease 1971:354).

The Klan achieved little — it didn't overthrow Republican rule nor did it end reconstruction. What it did achieve was to weaken the morale of the freedman and the republic in general. The Klan demonstrated that many in the South could get by with any behavior, however morally repugnant and despicable. It demonstrated that South Carolina, like other Southern states, had governments so weak and ineffectual that they were totally incapable of coping with the horrific behavior of its own citizens. Trelease observes that:

> the perennial disorders in Dixie eventually brought a profound weariness with the Southern and Negro questions. The Northern public was tired of crusading. It was tired of using troops to buttress governments which could not stand alone. By 1874 it wanted peace and a return to normalcy more than it wanted to preserve equal rights for Negroes or majority rule in the South (Trelease 1971:419-420).

Like so many times earlier, and so often afterwards, the American public failed to have the moral resolve to identify critical issues and see them to their legitimate conclusion.[42] The Klan had

[41] One of the classic studies of the South's embargo on free thought is Charles Eaton's *Freedom of Thought in the Old South.*

[42] Foner and Mahoney also point out that the attack on Reconstruction by Greeley's supporters contributed to a resurgence of racism in the North. Journalist James S. Pike, a leading Greeley supporter, visited South Carolina in 1874 and published *The Prostrate State*, a racist (but immensely popular) account of the state engulfed in political corruption and extravagance. He claimed the state was under the control of "a mass of black barbarism." It was clear to him that the problems of the state could all be traced to "Negro government" and the solution was as simple as

played on a populist string so prevalent in the South and while broken by Grant's actions, the ignorance, fear, and hatred which gave birth to the Klan was still present and ready to breath life into Wade Hampton's Red Shirts only a few years later.

The obvious retreat of the North away from Reconstruction paved the road for extraordinary violence in 1875 and 1876 throughout the South. Acts of violence which before were conducted at night now occurred in broad daylight. In South Carolina Wade Hampton's campaign for the governorship resulted in a wave of intimidation, with "rifle clubs" disrupting Republican meetings, driving freedmen from their homes, and assaulting any individual who stood in their path. Hampton, as early as 1867 argued that reconstruction was illegal and that the freedmen should be deported out of South Carolina. In his 1876 he promised to protect blacks from violence even while his supporters were waging a campaign of unparalleled intimidation.[43]

With the election of Hampton, and the associated "Bargain of 1877" which assured Republican Rutherford B. Hayes the Presidency, reconstruction officially came to an end (see Foner and Mahoney 1995 for additional commentary). The "Redeemers," as Southern Democrats called themselves, had overturned Republican rule and the South lapsed back into one-party rule under the control of a reactionary elite who used violence and fraud to silence opposition. South Carolina, and other Southern states, quickly began taking steps to effectively nullify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. By the 1890s blacks were stripped of their right to vote and the South began to establish the "separate but equal" doctrine. All the while the federal government stood by indifferently. In fact, even physical violence failed to shake either the federal government or the country from complacency. Between 1880 and 1968 nearly 3,500 African-Americans were lynched in the United States — the vast majority in the South.[44]

Agricultural Greenville in the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century

While the turbulent politics of the 1870s and 1880s were swirling around them, most residents of Greenville returned to their earlier lives. Probably many fit into the scenario posed by McKissick, who noted that, "slaves had not composed the bulk of the county's wealth, nor had they been depended upon wholly for labor" (McKissick 1921:9).

The Civil War, however, resulted in exceptional disruption of agricultural production. Beginning during the Civil War, Commissary-General Lucius Northrop, the head of the Subsistence Bureau which fed the armies, began to have trouble providing even the troops with adequate rations. While shortages of munitions was understandable, the shortage of food in an agricultural region was more difficult to comprehend. Yet, Northrop was unable to monopolize the Confederate food market, and instead had to compete with civilian merchants for the same food. This served to drive up prices and prevented the armies from receiving adequate rations throughout much of the war. The resulting scavenging did much to demoralize the populace. But not only were the soldiers poorly fed, but even

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restoring whites to dominance (Foner and Mahoney 1995:126-127). In a strange illustration of how the media can affect even itself, before long a number of otherwise intelligent and Republican oriented editors were condemning black participation.

[43] One black official was told by a Democratic planter that Hampton would carry the election, "if we have to wade in blood knee-deep" (see Foner and Mahoney 1995:131).

[44] Although South Carolina's race-baiting government gave her white citizens every permission to hate, the state fell far below the regional average of black men lynched. The sub-regions which saw the highest rates of lynching — the Gulf Plain and the cotton uplands of Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas — were characterized by a low population density which saw large numbers of black immigrants. Edward Ayres notes that counties with "few towns, weak law enforcement, poor communication with the outside, and high levels of transiency among both races:" were most likely to exhibit a number of lynchings, since such settings "fostered the fear and insecurity that fed lynching at the same time it removed the few checks that helped dissuade would-be lynchers elsewhere" (Ayres 1995:108).

many townspeople complained of food shortages (Otto 1994:30). The war disrupted planting schedules and removed white workers from farms. David Harris of Spartanburg complained in early April 1864 that not only had it been too wet to plow for some time, but just as it was beginning to dry he was called to war:

> It looks as if starvation was on us. And right now just in the nick of time I must leave to go to the army. I will leave my affairs in a bad fix, but will leave them with my wife and with Providence (Racine 1990:327).

Even after the war there were still shortages caused by drought, lack of credit, and lack of workers. In late 1866 David Harris observed that:

> people (With good cause) are becoming seriously alarmed about provisions . . . . we have but little money and there is no such a thing as credit. How are those to get bre[a]d, who do not make it. It is indeed trying times (Racine 1990:417).

The first task facing Greenville was to re-establish agriculture without the use of slaves and with a near total absence of credit. Ayres (1995:28-29) notes that there were "innumerable permutations" in agricultural production, although many historians remark on the gradual transition from slavery to wage-labor to renting (see, for example, Otto 1994:104). Many planters preferred to work their plantations with wage-workers, who received a stipulated wage, since they felt they obtained "better results" having direct control over their laborers. In spite of this, it was often difficult to find sufficient labor, since freedmen were averse "to working for wages, preferring a semi-proprietorship or partnership, in the products of their labor" (see Otto 1994:104). This complaint was repeated by David Harris, who in late 1865 commented that the "free Negroes . . .seem to be enjoying their freedom" but were unwilling to work and although he had much work to do, he found "it a hard matter to hire" (Racine 1990:391). By 1868 he commented that while the blacks "will do as day labor," they were unsatisfactory as "managing farmers" and that many whites in his region of Spartanburg were "talking of working less land & almost entirely discarding the Radical Negro race" (Racine 1990:466).

In some ways the South found the absence of money and credit more debilitating that the labor upheaval. With cash scarce, legislators created the lien laws which allowed the use of unplanted crops as collateral for loans to get corn, and especially cotton, in the ground. Planters and their tenants became accustomed to living today on what they hoped to harvest tomorrow — a situation which created enormous debt. The lien also proved to be a powerful political and social tool. Tenants in debt had few choices but to continue farming for the individual to whom they were in debt. The lien laws created a new form of slavery, quite apart from the Black Codes, since it affected both white and black tenants.[45] This system also forced tenants to concentrate on cotton, the only cash crop available, giving up subsistence crops like corn and even home gardens. Cotton was easily grown, it was non-perishable, and it seemed (at least in the early post-war years) to always be in demand. Whereas many upcountry farmers planted corn because it could always be eaten, they began to plant cotton because it would always be worth *something*.

It is, however, important to emphasize that the lien laws were not advanced as a conspiracy to exploit the farmer, although through time this view became common (and popular). Rather, after the Civil War the cotton planter owned no slaves and his property was greatly devalued. If dealing with a tenant, the individual owned absolutely nothing — not even the land on which the cotton would be planted. As Harold Woodman notes, "with land

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[45] The "furnishings" or funds loaned in anticipation of a crop might be at the rate of 10%, but since this was only for a growing season, it represented about a 35% per annum rate. Raper and Reid also note that, " the 'credit price" usually charged on goods consumed in the spring, commonly raises the total annual interest to 50 per cent or more" (Raper and Reid 1941:22). Expressed a different way, Henry Hammond remarked that the "system of credits and advances" consumed "from one-third to three-fifths of the crop before it is harvested" (Hammond 1884:521).

next to valueless and with little else to secure loans, the lien laws guaranteed that the one thing the cotton grower did have (or would have in the future) — cotton — would be used to repay the loan" (Woodman 1968:298). Only through the lien laws, at least initially, was it possible to induce those with the means to lend money to become involved in the South's efforts to re-establish "King Cotton."

Merchants typically saw a profit of about 15% on their investment — a rather handsome return for the period and far more than could be expected from farming (Ayres 1995:52). The larger plantation owners often established their own stores to capture some of this profit, a practice which also helped ensure that tenants spent what little income they might have with the owner of the property they farmed. But this profit margin does not really tell the story of the interest rate which tenants paid — often as high as 25%. This figure was set to cover "the leakage" from bad debts, ensuring the merchant an "adequate" return. Stores operated on credit dispensed by wholesalers, who in turn obtained credit from the manufacturers. The country store increasingly stood at the center of the rural economy.

The effect of the lien law was slowly realized. By 1884 a Greenville newspaper proclaimed:

> The effect on the white population has been to get them in the very bad habit of eating this year what they ought to eat the next, driving many of them hopelessly in debt and causing them to live under a system of slavery to merchants which always hampers and covers them and keeps them poor by making them pay much more for goods than they are worth and much more than consumers can afford to pay.
>
> The effect on colored people has been to destroy to a great extent their usefulness as laborers, to get them into debt, to give them opportunities for idleness they could not other wise so easily have had, and to render their labor of little value to themselves and the county at large. In harvest time when they should be in cheerful enjoyment of the fruits of the summer labor they are penniless, illy clad, 'and nothing to go upon' for another year. They are naturally discontented under these circumstances and become easy pray to the wiles of the radical politicians who with no effort can make these unfortunates believe that the white people and white people's rule have been the direct cause of their poverty stricken condition . . . .
>
> The effects of this law on farmers has been to make labor scarce and unreliable and thus to cripple and impede the agricultural prosperity of the county.
>
> The effect with merchants has been to stimulate a novel and unnatural system of business, to carry the credit system to hazardous extremes and to make collection of debts somewhat of a 'grab-game' (Anonymous 1884:n.p.).

The prejudice and race-baiting of the article's author aside, the commentary is useful to illustrate that whites, while at first supporting lien laws, quickly found that the laws encouraged blacks to quit the wage work which they found too close to slavery for comfort and strike out on their own as tenants. Opening a different route of work, whites complained that the availability of credit through the lien laws "destroyed" the black's "usefulness." Blacks were seen as being idle, since their work day was no longer directed by whites determined to get as much labor from the black as they had during slavery. They were seen as "having little value" to the county, again, since whites were unable to direct all of their farming efforts. And if they were "penniless" at harvest, it was because

they were gouged and robbed of their earnings by the credit system. For working from sunup to sundown, about 10 to 12 hours a day, usually six days a week, netted a black wage worker about $8 to $13 a month plus board, while black females were paid $3 to $6 per month (Anonymous 1884:n.p.).[46] Working out to a maximum of about .54¢ a day, or maybe .05¢ an hour, and as little as .12½¢ a day, it is easy to understand both why blacks preferred to work their own land and also why they were so often "penniless."

The 1870 Agricultural Schedule provides some idea of the impact the Civil War and the upheaval in labor and credit had on the farms of the county. The number of farms remained relatively stable, with 2189 farms recorded in 1870, only 64 more than in 1860. If the census figures are correct, the percentage of farms owned actually increased, from 40.3% in 1860 to 58.1% in 1870. Regardless, it is clear that a large number of Greenville's farms were still operated by non-owners. The acreage per farm declines from a mean of 219 acres in 1850 to 204 acres in 1870. The proportion of improved and unimproved land is relatively stable, with the 94,832.5 acres of improved land representing 21.2% of the total farmland. More revealing is that the value of the farms declined from $1,624.50 in 1860 to only $815.87 in 1870. The mean value of implements declined from over $83 to $28.51. The mean value of livestock, at $318.89 in 1860, declined by over 53% to only $148.76 in 1870. The value of livestock slaughtered, an index of surplus livestock, declined by 42%, from $91.05 to $52.65 over the same time period.

Bushels of wheat per farm declined from 36.9 to 284. Rye, never a big commodity, declined from 3.2 bushels per farm in 1860 to 2.7 bushels in 1870. Corn, long the main crop raised in Greenville, declined from 280.6 bushels per farm to 164.8 bushels — a 41.3% decline in one decade. Even the cash crops revealed a similar slip. Cotton was being grown by 771 farms in 1870, a dramatic increase from the 489 farms shown in 1860 agricultural census. But the production had fallen from 2476 bales in 1860 to only 1651.45 bales in 1870, or a drop from 5.1 bales per farm to only 2.1 bales. Tobacco fared no better, with the harvest declining by 60% from 14,815 pounds to only 5979 pounds, or an average of 32.3 pounds per farm.

Greenville's agricultural production suffered seriously during the first few years after the Civil War. While it seems unlikely that the county was unable to feed itself, it does seem likely that there was little surplus. There is also an indication that while there was a push toward cotton (in 1860 only 23% of the farms planted this crop, while in 1870 it was planted by 35.2% of the farms), its impact was slight.

The 1870 Agricultural Schedule also offers the first opportunity to explore production broken down by the 16 townships. Tobacco was most common in the upper townships, with 1241 pounds produced in Saluda Township, 877 pounds produced in Glassy Mountain, and 809 pounds in Highland. Below Greenville, the quantities are noticeably lower, with only 20 pounds produced in Grove, 15 pounds in Butler, and 165 pounds in Dunklin. When these figures are compared to the numbers of farms producing tobacco, however, the picture changes. The farms in both upper and lower Greenville were producing about the same quantity of tobacco, there were simply more up county farms growing the crop.

If cotton is examined simply by the bales produced per township there is a relatively simple correlation, with the lower townships producing upwards of 400 times as much cotton as the upper townships. For example, Dunklin produced 401 bales and Fairview produced 484.5 bales, compared to no cotton in either the Cleveland or Glassy Mountain townships and under 10 bales in Highland and Bates townships. If the production of the townships is examined by bales per farm growing cotton, the correlation, while not as clear, does seem to remain. With a few exceptions, the bales per farm declines from 2.8 in Dunklin and Fairview to 1.8 and 1.7 bales respectively in Gantt and Butler townships to 0.8 in Chick Springs. In Bates and O'Neal townships, however, the number of bales per farm increases to 2.5 and 1.9 respectively, suggesting the possibility of either statistical error or better management in this area of Greenville.

[46] Hammond (1884:521) reports the "prevailing wage" in Greenville to be at the low end of this reported range, about $7 a month.

There appears to be no clear geographic pattern for the occurrence of rented farms in 1870. Four townships had more than half of their farms operated by non-owners. One, Dunklin with 54.7%, is at the south tip of Greenville, while the remaining three, Cleveland (62.5%), Saluda (55.4%), and Highland (59.1%) are in the northern extreme of Greenville. The lowest occurrence of non-owner operators was found in Paris Mountain (0%), Chick Springs (1.0%), Butler (16.5%), and Austin (18.9%) townships, forming a crescent around Greenville. The remainder of the county evidenced non-owner operators accounting for between 30 and 50% of the farms.

Agricultural productivity continued to decline into 1880, although the number of farms nearly doubled, increasing from the 2189 reported in 1870 to 4034. Those operated by non-owners, while increasing numerically by nearly a thousand, were relatively stable proportionally, with only 48.7% non-owner operated. An 1884 discussion of Greenville's agricultural progress reveals that about two-thirds of the county's farms were operated by tenants (the difference likely being the use of different definitions). The most common forms of tenancy is described as "cropping or rent system — farming on shares and contract for wages." While blacks were preferred as wage laborers over whites:

> as tenants or renters of land white farmers will, without oversight from the landlord, make an average of 25 per cent. more of field crops than will colored farmers, the chances being equal. In many instances the increased crop in favor of the white tenant will reach 50 per cent (Anonymous 1884:n.p.).

Hammond reported that in 1884 share-croppers in Greenville worked for one-third of the crop when the landlord provided the tools, stock, and feed. If the tenant furnished the tools, stock, and feed, the landlord would receive only a third of the crop. Rent on land typically was set at a quarter of the resulting crop (Hammond 1884:522).

In spite of the number of farms nearly doubling, total land in farms increased to only 404,132 acres, resulting in a mean size of just over 100 acres — less than half the size of a decade earlier. Farms were becoming noticeably smaller, but the improved acreage used by these farms was increasing, so that in 1880 37.1% of the farmland was improved, up from only 21.1% a decade earlier. Operation of farms by non-owners was no longer confined to somewhat limited areas, but was rapidly spreading throughout the county. Those townships which evidenced little tenancy in 1870 frequently revealed dramatic increases by 1880. For example, Chick Springs which had a tenancy rate of only 1% in 1870, had increased to 52% in 1880. Austin Township, with less than 19% of the farms being operated by non-owners in 1870, had a tenancy rate of 55% in 1880. And neighboring Gantt Township saw an increase from 31.1% to 69%.

Although the farms were only half the size of earlier farms, the mean value fell by just over $100, or about 15%, and the mean value of implements per farm actually increased from $28.51 to $34.28.[47] As the farms began to get smaller, however, there was a noticeable change in the mean value of livestock. In 1870 livestock for the county was valued at $325,649, by 1880 it had increased by just under 15% to $373,005. Yet on a per farm basis, this meant a 38% decrease from a value of $148.76 to $92.46.[48]

The drop in value of animals slaughtered to a mean of only .31¢ may represent a census error, or it may be an early warning sign that the farms were turning increasingly toward cotton

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[47] The reader should be cautioned that these, and other monetary figures used in these discussions are not corrected for inflation, and are expressed in dollars for the study period.

[48] One explanation for this is offered by the 1884 review of South Carolina's stock in Greenville. The requirement to fence in livestock not only reduced the cost of farming (since it was no longer necessary to fence out roaming livestock), but "fewer heads of stock are now kept, but they are better cared for an improvement is the result, but in the production of milt and butter and in the quality and value of stock" (Anonymous 1884:n.p.). It is therefore possible that farms were keeping fewer livestock, but giving them better care, as asserted.

production and abandoning their previous broad subsistence base. This latter interpretation is suggested by the mean production declines in wheat, from 28.4 bushels per farm to 16.9 bushels in 1880; in rye, from a very modest 2.7 bushels to a negligible 0.6 bushel per farm; and corn, from 164.8 bushels per farm in 1870 to 133.3 bushels in 1880. Hammond (1884:499) comments that variations in yields depended "more on the amount of attention bestowed on this class of crops" than other factors. But he also notes that meat, hay, and corn are "largely imported from the north and west" and that "the amount of provisions raised for sale is everywhere inconsiderable" — a clear change from the antebellum period (Hammond 1884:521).

Greenville was one of five counties in the northwestern part of South Carolina where cotton production quintupled between 1860 and 1880. The ratio of cotton (in pounds) to corn (in bushels) in Greenville County was 1.54 to 1. By 1870 the ratio was 2.36:1, increasing to 13.28:1 in 1880. By 1890 the ratio of cotton to corn was 20.33 to 1.

While livestock[49], corn, and other cereal grain production slumped, the Greenville farmers turned increasingly toward cotton. The 1870 production of 1651.45 bales was dwarfed by the 17,030.5 bales produced in 1880. The percentage of farms producing some cotton increased from around 35% to 80.1%. Not only were more farms planting cotton, they were also more successful and the average yield increased from 2.1 bales per planting farm to 5.3 bales in 1880. The growth of cotton cultivation was illustrated differently by Hammond (1884) who produced a map showing the percentage of total area planted in cotton in 1880 (Figure 16). the lower two-thirds of Greenville was actively participating in the rapid spread of cotton monoculture, with 10 to 15% of the total area planted in this one crop. The importance of cotton declined to the north, so that the farmers in upper portion of the county planted less than 1% of their total area in cotton. Examining the township returns reveals that in general Hammond's area of heavy cotton reliance correlates with those townships which produced 1000 or more bales of cotton. These included O'Neal, Chick Springs, Greenville, Butler, Gantt, Austin (which produced 2072 bales), Grove, Fairview (second to Austin in production, with 1847 bales), and Dunklin. The correlation is not quite as clear when bales per farm is calculated. For example, while Austin produced the greatest quantity of cotton, the per farm production was 5.4 bales. Fairview, however, produced 9.4 bales per farm and Greenville, which produced only 1243 bales, yielded a 13.3 bale average per farm. In the more mountainous regions of Greenville — Cleveland, Saluda, and Glassy Mountain — cotton production ranged from 20 bales to 431, and the yield per farm ranged from 1.5 to 2.6, indicating that cotton was never the most significant crop in the upper townships.

Hammond's accounts of cotton production in the upstate, developed using data from Greenville farmer W.L. Donaldson, and others from surrounding counties, reveals that cotton farming had changed little from the antebellum. Tilling was done with one horse and the depth of cultivation was rarely more than 4 inches. Stubble was left in the fields, which were not tilled until time to plant the crop. He noted that "rotation of crops is nowhere reduced to a system" and most lands "are planted for years in cotton" (Hammond 1884:509). Cotton would be planted for three to five years, followed by corn for a year and then small grains. Further exhausting the soil, it was apparently never allowed to go fallow, since many farmers believed that the practice was actually injurious to the land. Where new land was being cleared, it was usually the old fields, because they required less effort to open than forest lands.

While commercial fertilizers were already commonly used in the Piedmont, with upwards of $3 in fertilizer used per acre of cotton in Greenville County, Hammond observed that in the early 1880s cotton seed was the primary manure used in upcountry cotton fields (corn and other crops rarely received any manure or fertilizer):

> about 1,000 pounds of cottonseed is obtained from each bale of cotton, which makes 137,000 tons the supply of this region. Of this 25,000 tons, at 2 bushels per acre,

[49] While cotton production in the entire northwest piedmont soared, the number of hogs — the principal source of meat — declined by 50%.

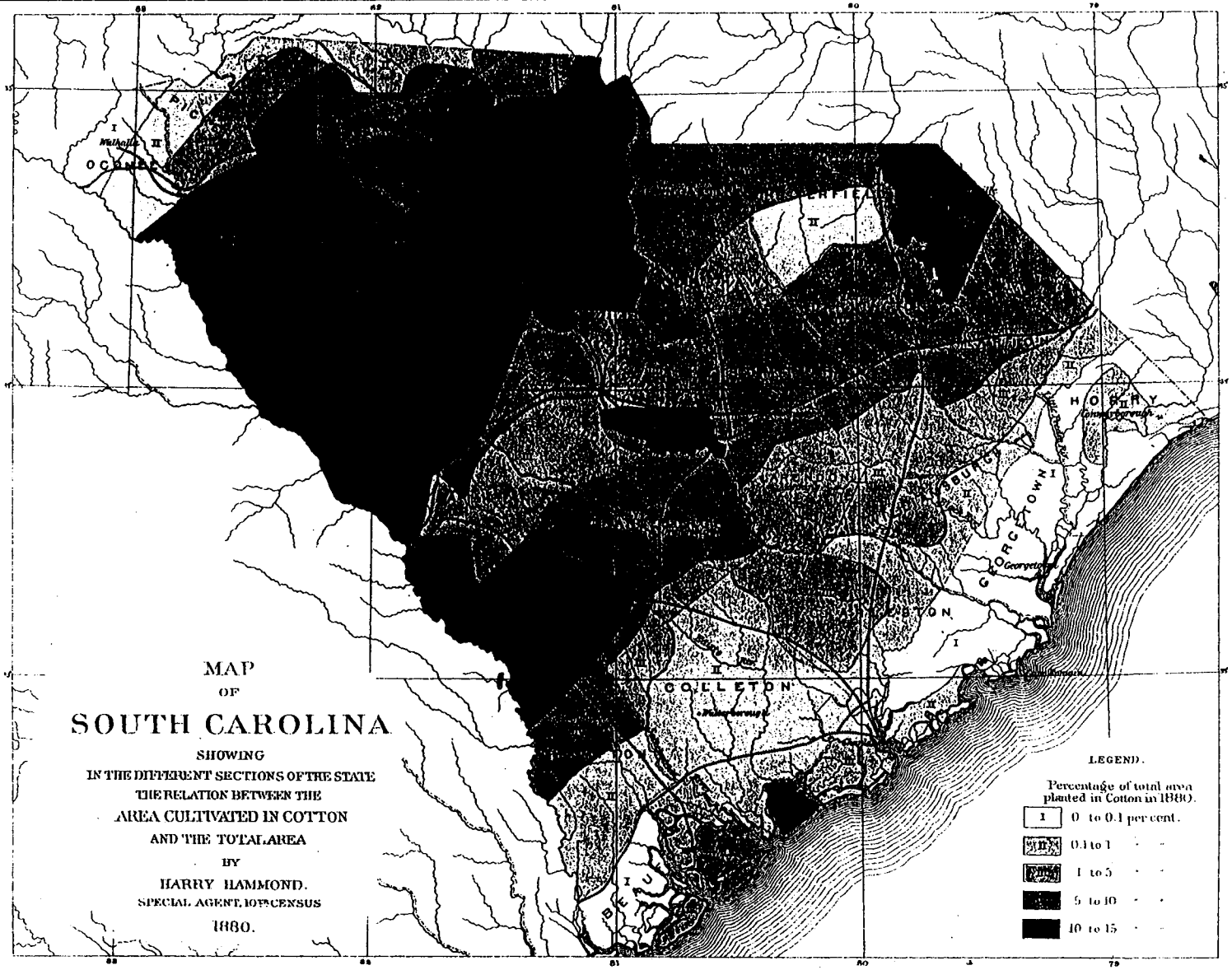

Figure 16. Percentage of total area planted in cotton in 1880 (Hammond 1884).

> is used for planting, and a small amount is fed to stock. None is carried to the oil mills, and very little is sold, the price being from 10 to 15 cents a bushel, the balance, about 100,000 tons, being returned to the soil an manure (Hammond 1884:510).

Most of the lands were plowed in the late winter or spring, with planting beginning in the middle of April. Hammond (1884:513) comments that, "the seed used is the short-limbed cluster variety of cotton known under the name of Dickson's improved or Boyd's prolific Petit-Gulf," both prolific bearers with an early maturity. The seed is shallowly sown at the rate of about 2 bushels per acre, typically along rows 3 to 4 feet apart. In about 4 to 10 days the cotton was up and thinning was undertaken as soon as the stand was established. As in the antebellum, the cotton required near constant attention, being periodically weeded and occasionally cultivated.

Even as late as Hammond's report he noted that "ginning presents no peculiar features in this state." He comments that a roller gin, with steam power, makes from 400 to 600 pounds of lint in a 10 hour run, with around 1,600 pounds of seed cotton producing about 400 pounds of lint. The lint is then packed in bales of 425 to 550 pounds in weight for shipment. About the same time it was reported that Greenville had 203 gins. In fact they were so common that the average haul from farm to gin was only 1.5 miles (Anonymous 1884:n.p.). The charge for ginning was typically one-fifteenth of the yield as toll, typically amounting to about $250.

In the 1880s the cost of producing cotton was between 7¢ and 9¢ (Anonymous 1884:n.p.; Hammond 1884:522). Cotton prices, while continuing to fluctuate, were averaging about 9.8¢ during this same period (Figure 17), illustrating that cotton was of only marginal profitability. Yet it continued to be planted. In 1895 Congress, reflecting the views of the agrarian radicals, attacked the problem declaring that the reason for the farmers' difficulty was not overproduction, but placed the blame for the growing insolvency of the cotton planter on the futures market, the tariff, and the demonetization of silver. Only two years the Agriculture Department, not as easily swayed as Congress, produced a more useful, and honest, appraisal. It stated bluntly, "the principal cause of the decline in the price of cotton since 1890 is overproduction" (Hyde and Watkins 1897:65).

Although the problem was clearly diagnosed, the solution was not nearly as easy. For the next three decades, and even into the depression, the only plausible solution was diversification. From the Department of Agriculture down to the agrarian reformers, diversification was the only cure that all could agree on. Woodman, however, observes that:

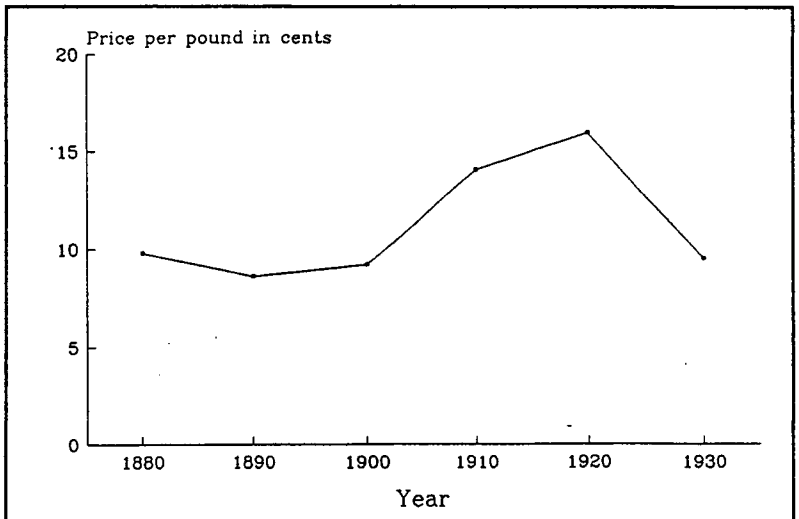

Figure 17. Average cotton prices from 1880 to 1930 (Woodman 1968:343).

> However plausible diversification sounded, it was, in reality, a fantasy. The depression [of the late 1890s] did not bring relief; on the contrary. it deepened the problems by swelling the ranks of tenants. Advice to practice self-discipline in order to achieve independence from the merchant

Tenancy Type	Landlord Provides	Tenant Provides	Landlord Receives
Cash Renters	Land, house, fuel	Labor, animals, equipment seed, fertilizer	Fixed amount in cash or crop
Share Tenant	Land, house, fuel, ¼ or ⅓ fertilizer	Labor, animals, equipment, ¾ or ⅔ fertilizer	¼ or ⅓ of crop
Share Cropper	Land, house, fuel, equipment, animals, seed, ½ fertilizer	Labor, ½ of fertilizer	½ of crop

Figure 18. Comparison of Different Types of Tenancy in South Carolina.

> was ignored — and for good reason. A farmer near starvation was being told to tighten his belt. A tenant who owned nothing was being asked to grow a food crop for which he had neither seed nor land. And, presumably, the landlord was expected to supply land to a tenant who was cutting back on his cash crop, the only means he had to pay rent. The ultimate goal might be less cotton at higher prices with food supplies grown on the farm, but most farmers lacked the ability to take the first step. . . . Southern farmers were caught in a trap from which they could not extricate themselves. And they did not. Higher cotton prices after the turn of the century brought increased production, a greater reliance on the cash crop, and a rise in tenancy. When, in 1938, in the midst of another depression, a government agency investigated conditions in the South, it described a situation which differed from the 1890's only in that the problems had become more severe and pervasive (Woodman 1968:343-344).

Cotton, like rice before, was dependent on forces (both in the north and abroad) over which the Southern planter had no control. As Woodman states, "Cotton was king, but he was a puppet monarch" controlled by these external forces. By the first quarter of the twentieth century cotton would lead the South into the worst economic events since the Civil War.

Between 1870 and 1880 tobacco production increased from 5979 pounds to 9741 pounds, although the number of farms planting the crop declined from 185 (8.4% of all farms) to 116 (2.8% of the farms). Per farm production therefore actually increased by 159%, from 32.3 pounds to 83.9 pounds. There appear to be two tobacco areas in Greenville. One incorporated the Oaklawn and Dunklin townships, each with 11 farms planting tobacco and each with yields between 48 and 50 pounds per farm. The other area was well defined and included Paris Mountain (where the three farms boasted an average yield of 66.7 pounds each), Bates (where five farms had an average yield of 1288 pounds), Saluda, Glassy Mountain, and O'Neal.

By the 1880s Otto (1994:104-105) comments that much, perhaps most, of the South had begun to participate in some aspect of tenancy — a situation certainly true of Greenville. By this time there were 22,983 whites and 14,511 blacks in the county — most involved in agricultural production. In the simplest of terms, two types of tenancy existed in South Carolina — sharecropping and renting. Sharecropping required the tenant to pay the landlord part of the crop produced, while renting required the tenant to pay a fixed rent in either crops or money. While similar, there were basic differences, perhaps the most significant of which was that the sharecropper was simply a wage laborer who received his portion of the crop from the plantation owner, while the renter paid his rent to the landlord and felt more of an attachment to the land.

Further distinctions can be made between sharecropping, share-renting, and cash-renting. With sharecropping the tenant supplied the labor

and one-half of the necessary fertilizer, while the landlord supplied everything else, including the land, housing, tools, work animals, feed, and seed. At harvest the crop would be divided, usually equally. In share-renting the landlord supplied the land, housing, and either one-quarter or one-third of the fertilizer, while the tenant supplied everything else necessary, including the animals, feed, seed and tools. At harvest the crop was divided equal to the portion of fertilizer each party provided. Finally, with cash-renting the landlord supplied the land and the housing, while the tenant supplied everything else. The owner received a fixed rent per acre in cash (Figure 18).

An 1884 discussion of Greenville's agricultural progress reveals that while cotton was slowly becoming the dominant crop, there were others. "Grape-growing" was causing some excitement and the study remarks that "Mr. F. Garaux, a native of Switzerland, who came to Greenville with his family about ten years ago" was beginning experiments and that his success with an acre and half of grapes "was astonishing" the local farmers.[50] Others, such as H.B. Buist, J. Spraoul Marshall, F. Hahm, H.C. Markley, A. Carpen, J.W. Wood, L.F. Hunt, and Alexander McBee were also experimenting with grapes and there were about 150 acres of grapes growing in the county (Anonymous 1884:n.p.). Apparently in an effort to diversify, even "pisciculture" was being explored, and Greenville was becoming a major supplier of carp (Anonymous 1884:n.p.).

The Rise of the Mills

Perhaps no subject, short of the Civil War itself, better illustrates the interrelatedness of South Carolina's agriculture, politics, economy, and even latent racism, than does the development of the textile industry. And yet, much of this history is not unique to South Carolina, but can be found repeated throughout the South during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While prior to the Civil War whites stood shoulder to shoulder in defense of slavery and their agrarian heritage, during the last half of the nineteenth century, as the previous discussion reveals, this solidary began to crumble. While, as David Carlton notes:

> earlier [there] had [been] a comparatively simple agrarian social structure in which whites had been mainly independent producers and blacks had been mainly slaves, the postwar years brought increasing complexity and hierarchy, as a small group of economically powerful whites came to dominate a mass of black and white sharecroppers, tenants, indebted farmers, and "wage slaves." The biggest losers in the process were the poorer whites (the blacks having little to lose), and, not being docile, they fought back. As a result, the period between the end of Reconstruction and World War I was one of intermittent, sometimes violent contention among whites over the emerging shape of their society (Carlton 1982:6).

As previously discussed, the economic collapse caused by the Civil War resulted in the rise of the small-town merchant and bankers. These people, in a general sense, may be viewed as a rising *bourgeoisie*, and they became increasingly important to the success, indeed even the survival, of the cotton farmer and the entire South. Emancipation, the shift of farmers toward cotton, the absence of credit — all contributed to their power. In Carlton's (1982:13) words they may be seen as "town people," and they created a "town spirit" with a "ceaseless drive for civic wealth, power, and glory." Backcountry towns began to bloom. The railroads created major commercial centers out of crossroads. Town population, not only in Greenville, but throughout South Carolina, grew. While the state remained solidly rural, the percent of town people increased from 9.8 in 1880 to 15.6% in 1900 (Carlton 1982:15).

[50] One reason for these experiments may have been that about this time French vineyards were being killed off by the phylloxera, and there was a greater economic incentive to attempt at least some limited competition (Hammond 1884:498).

The "booster" spirit spread rapidly, with even the newspapers taking up the demand for civic improvements. The leading merchants were, more than often, also the leading politicians and it seemed natural that improved services and civic betterment should be supported by the government. The mayor of Greenville in the early 1880s, responsible for the construction of the new city hall and a board of health, was a dry goods merchant — a leading participant in the credit system which promoted cotton. The "boosters" applied central themes of American individualism to community life, arguing that towns, like individuals, "held their fate in their own hands, and success for towns, as for individuals, lay in their ability to organize their energies in pursuit of a cherished goal" (Carlton 1982:38).

The towns were solving the "small" problems of health, sanitation, drinking, and road paving. The "boosters" argued that by using the same approach towns could also solve the larger issues, including the towns' reliance on cotton for their economic growth. In many ways towns, and the merchants who made up the towns, were as dependent on the vicissitudes of cotton prices as were the farmers. For towns to advance they needed money, and the money in cotton farming was unpredictable. Looking to the North, "townspeople" saw that cities were best supported by industrial development. This realization eventually led to the organization of corporations and the raising of capital to build cotton mills. While ultimately it would create problems which split the white vote and created "mill problem," in the late decade of the nineteenth century town "boosters" saw textile factories only the potential generators of huge quantities of wealth.

In 1880 South Carolina's textile industry consisted of fourteen firms employing two thousand operatives. In Greenville County there were, in 1884, eight mills:

> Piedmont Mill — Located at Piedmont on Saluda River, ten miles south of Greenville. Manufactures yarns, sheetings, shirtings and drills.
>
> Camperdown Mill No. 1 and Camperdown Mill No. 2 — Located at Greenville. Manufactures the principal kinds and grades of plain and dyed cotton yarns.
>
> Batesville Cotton Mill — Located on Rocky Creek, ten miles east of Greenville. Manufactures cotton yarns.
>
> Pelham Mill — Located on Enoree River eleven miles east of Greenville. Manufactures cotton yarns.
>
> Reedy River Factory — Located on Reedy River, six miles southeast of Greenville. Manufactures cotton yarns and shirtings.
>
> Fork Shoals Factory — Located on Reedy River, twelve miles south of Greenville, Manufactures cotton yarns. (Looms not in operation).
>
> Huguenot Mills — Located on Reedy River in the City of Greenville. Manufactures cotton plaids and cottonades (Anonymous 1884:n.p.).

These mills employed 1,215 hands operating 47,820 spindles and 717 looms. By 1915 there were 166 firms producing yarn and cloth with a work force of over 50,000 operatives. There were 22 cotton mills in Greenville employing 7,829 operative to work 748,390 spindles and 18,224 looms.[51] A historian clearly expresses the fervor which accompanied cotton mills:

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[51] In 1915 Greenville was second only to Spartanburg in number of mills — 22 compared to 26. Yet Greenville boasted $15,090,541 of capital invested to Spartanburg's $14,292,247. In addition, Greenville's 22 mills produced $11,507,512 in annual products, nearly equal that of Spartanburg, at $11,888,660 (Anonymous 1916:Tables V and VI).

> 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, were 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 (Goldfield 1982:123-124).

Mills, however, began to change. The began to move away from small factories to large industries. They began to focus not on the production of yarn for local hand looms, but on the production of cloth for sale on the national and international markets. Mills also began to move from the countryside into the towns. By the first decade of the twentieth century three-quarters of both the mill employees and the number of spindles were to be found in towns such as Greenville. From the perspective of the mills, towns offered the major necessity — railroads. Water power quickly gave way to steam power during the early years of industrialization and steam power required coal for the boilers. Coal, in turn, required transport by the railroads. The railroads also offered the potential for moving cotton from other regions into the mill. August Kohn reported, as early as 1907, that mill consumption of cotton in the leading textile areas exceeded local production by 138% (Carlton 1982:48).

Mills were also built in towns because the mill organizers, largely South Carolinians themselves, were primarily "town people". Relatively few "planters" or "farmers" were involved as major stockholders, or officers, in the textile mills. Instead, the ranks were filled with lawyers, merchants, and bankers — individuals with a vested interest in the expansion of upcountry towns into major cities (Carlton 1982:50-52). True, these individuals were seeking personal profit and mills reported (largely using unusual accounting techniques) returns of 18 to 40% (when often a realistic yield might be only as high as 10%). But they also sought to help the "local community" (by which they usually meant the middle class) "to their feet" and to improve the quality of life in the towns. A Board of Trade brochure for Greenville exclaimed:

> Greenville . . . is not satisfied [with her current progress]. She calls for more, more, and more. There are many water powers within easy reach and still undeveloped which could be used for the production of electric power. Transmission of the same is easy and there is a large use for it to operate the many industries now here or which will be here soon. Greenville wishes to extend and largely diversify her manufactures. She offers every facility and advantage. A healthful and mild climate for the operatives. A bracing atmosphere, stimulating action — railroads reaching to all parts of the country — a live, progressive people, ready to back liberally any enterprise contributing to the upbuilding of the city (quoted in Hewell 1971:45).

The promoters and boosters saw mills bringing people — operatives and their families — who would then, with their salaries, purchase local goods and services. This influx would result in diversification as additional businesses were opened to meet new needs and demands. These businesses would hire additional people, further expanding the economy. Ironically, this scenario sounds strikingly similar not only to promises made by Chambers of Commerce today, but also to promises made by South Carolina's planters of rice, and later cotton. And just as these earlier promoters lead South Carolina into economic and social ruin, the textile boosters would, within a decade or two, discover that:

> rather than launching into diversified economic growth, the towns developed single-industry economies heavily dependent upon the North for machinery, finance, textile finishing, and other auxiliary services (Carlton 1982:63).

Just as the promise of diversified economic growth was built on false premises, so too were the expectations concerning the operatives. The early industrialists thought that mill workers would include primarily white women and girls drawn in from the countryside. Further, they thought that this new labor force would not only be an economic asset, but would also be a social asset, helping the villages and towns to grow into cities. Apparently little attention was directed to how these unschooled and unskilled immigrants from the farms and adjoining countryside would present as many problems as benefits. South Carolina not only suffered from years of anti-industrialization propaganda designed to illustrate the wisdom and humanity of slavery, but was probably not prepared, socially, to deal with the resulting proletariat.

Regardless, whites did flock to the mills. An informal study near the turn of the century found that families moved away from their farms to the mill villages for widely varying reasons: "because we lost our 'plantation,'" "because my wife was lonely," "because the darkeys came in." All of the reasons should have given rise to a clear understanding of the dissatisfaction and desperation among this segment of the population — but it did not (Ayres 1995:60).

Promoters and "boosters" attempted to deal with concerns of the growing white middle class by emphasizing the paternalistic controls which the mills could invoke. One "model" mill during the early period of mill expansion in the late nineteenth century was Piedmont, south of Greenville (Carlton 1982:90). Located in a sparsely settled region where a massive amount of water power was available, the mill included the construction of a complete community. Piedmont, like other "model factory towns," focused its paternalistic attention on schools and churches. Its "welfare work" was promoted as a shining light helping to improve the operatives and contributing to the stability of the community. Yet historians such as David Carlton point out that the mills' actual "welfare work" feel far short of the "shining ideal depicted in the contemporary accounts" with the "realities . . . obscured by promotional verbiage" (Carlton 1982:93). As late as 1910 the typical mill spent far less than 1% of its yearly capital a year on welfare work. Church buildings were usually rudimentary affairs and were built only after missionaries established a congregation. Often a single building was shared by all of the denominations. Mill contributions to the various congregations were negligible. Even at Pelzer Mill, viewed as the pinnacle, the annual contribution to "Christ's work" was only $200, divided between three or four different churches — hardly the stuff great works are made of. Support for schools was no better. The amount of time spent in school was often minimal. For example, in 1900, the one-teacher schools at the Reedy River Factory in Greenville ran for only eighteen weeks, or 4½ months. Little effort was directed toward compulsory attendance. Even for those who did attend, the education was typically minimal. The Piedmont Manufacturing Company, in 1886, employed only two teachers for the 100 pupils. Carlton (1982:Table 5) reveals that the 1900 pupil/teacher ratio for Piedmont was 87 to 1. At Mills Mill it was 101 to 1. And at the Sampson-Poe mill it was 63 to 1. In comparison, the Greenville city schools, for the same period, had a ratio of 48 to 1.

Other "benefits" of the mills were equally suspect. While Piedmont promotional literature bubbled "bright, smiling, happy, prosperous, sober Piedmont . . . in which there is not solitary drunkard," Greenville and its numerous saloons lay only miles away and Carlton remarks that, "it was not for naught that the Friday evening train from the Mountain City was known locally as the 'jug train'" (Carlton 1982:108). As early as 1881 the residents at Camperdown were so troubled by "young men and half-grown boys who roam about the streets tearing down fences, unhinging gates, and using the most horribly profane and indecent language" that they were requesting the city station a policeman in their neighborhood (Carlton 1982:109).

The "mill problem" which was to become abundantly clear only a decade later, remained largely unnoticed by the middle class "townspeople" in the late 1880s and early 1890s. The money generated by mills undoubtedly encouraged the silence of some, but for many it was probably their honest social naivete which prevented any public display of concern. This, however, would change by the late 1890s.

Carlton suggests that the crucial event which jolted the middle-class into consciousness was the cotton mill boom which began about 1897 and continued into the early twentieth century (Carlton 1982:133). Twenty three mills were organized between 1895 and 1897, including the American Spinning Company and Mills Manufacturing Company in Greenville. By 1900 an additional 24 mills were organized. In Greenville these included Brandon Mills, Carolina Mills, Fork Shoals Manufacturing Company, Fountain Inn Manufacturing Company, Franklin Mills, Monaghan Mills, and the Reedy River Manufacturing Company. Seventeen more, statewide, were added to the rolls by 1903, including McGee Manufacturing Company and the Woodside Mills. Of the one hundred and forty South Carolina mills extant in 1907, half came into existence between 1895 and 1903. In contrast, 63% of Greenville's nineteen mills were organized during those nine years.

Many of these mills no longer emphasized water power and, as a result, construction began to expand into the towns, with mill districts developing either adjacent to towns, or actually within them. Between 1895 and 1903 six large mills were built in an arc-shaped district at the western and southern edge of the City of Greenville and by 1903 the population of the district was estimated at nearly 11,000.

The enormous influx of poorly paid and uneducated workers into these congested districts brought the "mill problem" with all its squalor and social upheaval right to the door step of the middle class. It was, for many, no longer possible to ignore the horrible potential for turmoil and class enmities which characterized northern and British cities. Greenville, like other Southern cities, began confronting not only poverty, disease, child labor, but even unionization. While it might be possible to ignore the first three, labor unrest (which first appeared between 1898 and 1902) was intolerable. Industrialist James L. Orr, Jr., warned in 1901 that "unionism is but one step from Socialism, and Socialists but one step from Anarchists." Carlton, however, convincingly argues that while anarchy may have worried the mill owners, the middle class in the towns were typically supportive of unions and worried more about an "individualistic anarchy."

Simple put, the townspeople had realized that mill operatives were not the sterling examples of Anglo-Saxon virtue they had anticipated. The mill workers just didn't fit in. They were not the "right" kind of people. That they were uneducated might be acceptable, but they acted in a "frontier fashion" unacceptable to the townspeople. Carlton notes that three major groups made up the mill population:

> The first of these was the yeomanry. Composed of small farmers and white croppers, this class was characterized as honest and hard working, but rendered hopelessly narrow by its hard and isolated life. The yeomanry were attracted to the mills as a way out of poverty and as an avenue of advancement . . . . [there developed the] notion that moving to a mill was an implicit admission of personal defeat . . . . The second major source of mill labor was composed of people considered worse than failures, namely the "sandhillers" or stereotypical "poor white trash." Their "type" was noted chiefly for utter apathy and laziness. . . . Whereas the refugee yeoman were afflicted with broken ambitions, the sandhillers had allegedly never had any to be broken. . . . Most disquieting of all, however, was the third major source of the mill work force, the mountaineers, for they incarnated for the townsmen the strain of "lawlessness" and anarchic individualism. . . . Narciso

> Gonzales wrote of the mountaineer that "law held no terrors for him, religion presented no attractions and education was unheard of altogether." (Carlton 1982:146-148).[52]

As the townspeople were becoming less certain of the mill works, tensions developed. In Greenville a full-blown race riot erupted between the Poe Mill villagers and the residents of an adjoining black settlement of fertilizer factory workers in 1899 (Anderson *Intelligencer*, August 9, 1899). Carlton notes an increasing sullen opposition by the operatives toward the townspeople, coupled with a suspicion of anything associated with the town. This was related to increasing concern by townspeople over the political participation of the "propertyless rabble" of the mill villages. While beginning in the early 1890s with efforts by Benjamin Tillman to court the mill workers, it reached more serious proportions a decade later.

Carlton (1982:161-169) focuses on the gradual revelation among the townspeople:

> that the assimilation of the operatives into 'modern' society required major intervention by the state into the social order. In order to extend the blessings of 'civilized' life to the mill workers it was necessary to extend new and unprecedented controls over the state's major industry and especially the operative class it had brought into being (Carlton 1982:169-170).

The most serious of the problems — which had to be dealt with before any other reforms could be undertaken — was child labor. This went hand-in-hand with compulsory school attendance and the long work day of all mill workers.

It is important not to oversimplify the reform movement. While often framed in the context of humanitarian reformers pitted against greedy capitalistic manufacturers, this not only fails to recognize the voice of those being "reformed," but it also fails to recognize that the motivation behind reform was to socialize the mill worker, making them better "fit" middle class town society. Carlton notes that, "reformers, generally middle-class themselves, proposed to use the powers of the state to attack what they perceived to be the root cause of the difficulty, the cultural segregation of the mill villager from the town, its people, and its acculturating agencies" (Carlton 1982:173).

While it is true that mills employed large numbers of children, and that the mills were dirty, dark, and unsanitary places, a curious argument of the reformers was not simply that children were working, but rather that they had so much free time and this promoted idleness. Most children were employed at rather minor jobs in the mills which were not nearly as strenuous as those filled by adults. An example was that of "doffer" — an individual who changed out the bobbins on the spinning frames when they were filled and who frequently had four or five hours of "free" time in each day. The reformers would not object to this if the free time was filled with schooling or play, but instead they argued, it was filled with idleness, waste, and gossip.

Until the middle of the first decade in the twentieth century, the standard mill work day, Monday through Friday, was 12 hours long, with an additional 6 hour day on Saturday. In addition, mills were allowed to work operatives 70 hours in "make-up" time per year. With no means to enforce these laws, however, the mill day became whatever the mill owner made it. Most operatives began work at 4:30 in morning and ended their day at 9:00 at night. The remaining 7½ hours belonged to the operative. This grueling schedule made the

[52] This tripartite division of mill workers included no category for blacks, since they were routinely excluded from mill work. Although black slaves were frequently used in textile mills during the 1840s, the cotton boom of the 1850s and associated upward pressure of slave prices shifted them out of the mills and into the cotton fields. Mill work, by societal definition, became established as "white" work by the 1880s. Even efforts to attract immigrants was abandoned, partially because Southern mill owners were unable to obtain the "right kind of immigrants," and partially because the immigrants were repelled by the xenophobia and poverty of the South.

workers little more than adjuncts to the mill equipment itself. It also drove a wedge between the townspeople and mill workers.

Even when laws were passed in other states to limit the work day and child labor, South Carolina strongly resisted. When age and hour laws were enacted, they were noted for their inadequacy and lack of enforcement. For example, an act introduced in 1906 to establish a 10-hour day in cotton mills was strongly fought in the South Carolina legislature. At the time there were 130 cotton mills with 125,000 operatives, 30,000 of which were children under the age of 15 and an additional 35,000 of which were women. One proponent of the reduced working hours observed:

> everything the mills do is paraded before the public and this legislature in bright colors. They tell you of the schools and churches they have built. I admit this is commendable, and on behalf of the people, I sincerely thank them, although it is nothing more than charitable, right feeling people should do for their unfortunate fellow beings (Speech of Representative G.L. Toole of Aiken County in defense of Bill Number 8).

The first effort at achieving compulsory public education resulted in a 1915 law making it a local option. This, however, resulted in little benefit to the mill children. Of the 167 mills in the state at the time, only 21 were covered by the law in the middle of 1916, and 12 of these were located in town districts, such as Greenville where operatives were an electorial minority. In 1914 a law passed which increased the child labor limit to 14 years. It is interesting to note that the reformers promoted a "package" of laws — all designed to reinforce compulsory school attendance or limit child labor. For example, registration of births was not inaugurated in South Carolina until 1915, when it was advanced as necessary to enforce the education and child labor laws. Marriage licensing was not begun until 1911, and was designed to prevent premature marriages by working children anxious to achieve financial independence from their parents. There were even proposals to require shorter pay periods in the hopes that smaller payments would force operatives to live on cash rather than credit (see Anonymous 1916).

In spite of all these efforts, child labor laws were typically not enforced, or perhaps even unenforceable. Carlton notes that in 1909, just prior to federal enforcement of child labor laws, an inspection of 36 South Carolina mills found 447 children at work.[53] Ninety percent these were illegally employed. Speaking about South Carolina's laws one of the federal inspectors observed, "There are holes enough in it for anybody to drive a four-horse wagonload of children thru" (quoted in Carlton 1982:188). Perhaps just as importantly, the mill life "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).

The only brief intermission in this gradual march of progressive reform occurred in the early 1910s when Cole L. Blease and his followers achieved power using the voting bloc of mill workers. Bleaseism peaked in the mid-1910s. Greenville's mills consistently gave Blease and his followers around 70% of their votes (in 1914

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[53] Violation of the child labor laws continued. A 1915 case is typical:

> On inspection of the Brandon Mills, Greenville, a child by the name of Loyd Bayne was found at work in the mill, being covered by sworn statement of age No. 22291, which showed this child to be over twelve years of age. The inspector, doubting this age, made investigation and proved by the Bible record that the child was only eleven years of age. Warrant was sworn out against J.E. Bayne, parent, for wilfully misrepresenting age of child and suffering it to work in the mill under twelve years of age. The parent, finding out that a warrant was out against him, slipped away to another State with his family (Anonymous 1916:47-48).

Woodside voted 80% for Blease). In contrast, townspeople were adamantly opposed to Blease, and in the Greenville cities, he typically received less than 20% of the non-mill vote. Blease took great pains to woo the mill workers, but many historians have dismissed his appeal as "lacking substance," and noting that he offered no real program. The insinuation, of course, was that Blease carried mill operatives largely because they were ignorant. Carlton suggests a different analysis:

> his lack of a "program" is irrelevant, for he drew the hard core of his support from a constituency which regarded the government as its enemy, as an engine of oppression controlled by a hostile class. Blease's supporters were spiritual, if not intellectual, heirs of an older America whose citizens viewed all concentrations of power as dangerous, and all government bureaucracies as corrupt and self-interested. Accordingly, mill voters were devoted to Blease precisely because he was not an innovator, or even a conservative, but rather an obstructionist (Carlton 1982:224-225).

One might say that Blease's "program" was to have *no* program; and that suited the mill workers and engendered him their support. In time, however, it became obvious that the only weapon the Bleaseites had to use against the townspeople and reformers was obstruction. While this bought Blease votes in the mills, the vast middle ground of South Carolinians began to realize that he offered only additional strife and discord. While the Blease faction lasted through the 1920s, Blease gradually transformed into a rather conventional racial demagogue.

Twentieth Century Mill Life

There is no doubt that to many poor, landless whites the mills offered a sanctuary. The benefits the mill offered, beyond a steady job, were company-sponsored activities such as schools, churches, and recreation facilities. The company provided housing, access to electricity, and relatively inexpensive items in the stores. In addition, health care facilities were eventually added to the list. Some were offered as necessity, others to attract operatives to stay, and others as a result of the reformation movement.

Housing, provided by the mill at a nominal rent, was typically located adjacent to the mill so workers would loose no time in getting to and from work. For example, the Samson-American Spinning Company village was only a 5 minute walk from the gates of the mill. Rent was charged by the room, varying from no charge up to a dollar a month. It appears that the average rental was 50¢ per room, although in the Greenville area rooms were rented at 75¢ and at least one informant from the American Spinning Company village reported rooms rented at the very low rate of 25¢. The typical houses were promoted as:

> 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 crowing, 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).

At the American Spinning Mills village one informant remarked that a variety of houses were available and that even the duplexes had doors between the two halves so they could be opened up for very large families (McCuen and Trinkley 1993). The National Register nomination of the Woodside Cotton Mill Village provides a detailed architectural examination of the different forms of structures which made up the sample of 343 surviving mill houses and provides insight into the planned architecture of a mill village.

At the American Spinning Company's village, older residents remembered the use of sewage holding tanks on the back porches, with trucks coming occasionally to empty the contents. One resident recalled that prior to the holding tanks, privies were located along the back lot lines. Modern sewer systems, in most mill villages did

not appear until the 1930s and many were not connected until the 1950s. A survey of four Spartanburg County mill villages in 1916 found the method of human excrement disposal varied from surface privies, to pails, to a few houses connected to a sewer system. Most, however, received very low sanitation marks and many villages had a relatively high incidence of typhoid (Goldberger et al. 1920a). The same survey of Spartanburg villages found that water was rarely obtained from the mill, but was commonly taken from dug wells or pumped from drilled wells (Goldberger et al. 1920a:1709).

By the 1930s many villages, such as the American Spinning Company's, used mill dumps to dispose of trash, while burning of trash was also practiced, usually at the rear of lots. Goldberger et al. (1920) report that the "domestic environment and habits of the local [mill] population" were universally poor, suggesting that trash disposal, like other aspects of the sanitary condition, improved dramatically in the second quarter of the twentieth century.

At least by the 1930s, the American Spinning Company provided electrical lines off the street, behind the houses. Individuals were then responsible for "tapping" into this main line, suggesting that only minimal use was made of electricity. Heating of homes was provided almost exclusively by coal and residents of this same village recalled coal being purchased through the mill with the cost deducted from their pay. The typical house used about 2 to 3 tons per season and this load would be dumped in the rear yard off the alleys which ran between rows of houses, and hauled as needed to the house.

Many of the American Spinning Company informants mentioned the prevalence of gardens in the rear yards and it seems that these gardens were depended on for a source of fresh vegetables during the spring and summer. One informant remembered a neighbor who converted a garage behind their house into a chicken coop, although the owning of poultry was a rarity in the village. The American Spinning Company also provided a cow barn and pasture for their operatives.

Goldberger et al. (1920b) provide additional, albeit generalized detail concerning food usage in nearby Spartanburg mill villages studied in 1916. Not unexpectedly they found that lower income workers (those earning under $6 per adult male per 15-day period; compared to the higher income group, with wages in excess of $14 per 15-day period) purchased very small quantities of all meats (except salt pork), green vegetables, fresh fruits, eggs, butter, cheese, preserved milk, lard, sugar, and canned foods. Those with the lowest incomes in the village purchased the largest amounts of salt pork and corn meal — staples of the low income Southern diet. Dried peas, beans, and fruit were typically available even to those in the low income brackets, as was rice and bread.

Locally produced fresh meats, however, became uncommon after January. Because swine were also slaughtered in the autumn and winter, locally produced pork, other than salt pork, was uncommon in the spring and summer food supply. The availability of meat from local vendors and stores varied from village to village. Informants indicated that there was no American Spinning Company store, at least in the second quarter of the twentieth century. It is probable that the company, like many others, chose not to get into the retail business, although many did rent out space to storekeepers.

Goldberger et al. (1920b:33) found the number of households with gardens also varied tremendously from village to village. Where present, they were virtually all planted very late in the spring, because the long work hours and shortage of daylight after work. Consequently, the typical garden was a late summer producer. Curiously, there is no mention, either in the historic accounts or by the informants from the American Spinning Company village (McCuen and Trinkley 1993:31), of canning the vegetables raised in the gardens.

A general synthesis of mill village life, specific to Greenville County during the second quarter of the twentieth century is provided by Laura Smith Ebaugh (1933). This source may be consulted for additional background.

Restoring Other Industries

While agriculture dominated Greenville,

the community continued to grow and, to some degree, diversify. Richardson (1930:91-96) quotes at length the late nineteenth century recollections of Charles A. David, which have been published by the *Greenville News*. The 1875 *Elford's Greenville Edition of Miller's Planters' and Merchants' Almanac* (Anonymous 1875) provides a glimpse of Greenville in the early years of the postbellum period. The almanac lists four attorneys' office, 10 dry goods stores, a dentist, a druggist, and even a firm specializing in fertilizer.

It also provides some insight on the growth of banking after the Civil War. Greenville had only one bank, the National Bank of Greenville (founded only a few years earlier in 1872), with paid up capital of $100,000. While modest compared to Charleston's financial institutions (the People's National Bank of Charleston had paid up capital of $1,000,000), Columbia's Carolina National Bank had capital of only $300,000 and the National Bank of Spartanburg has paid up capital in the same amount as the National Bank of Greenville. Regardless, the financial foundation of the upcountry was being laid with the capitalization of these institutions.

Many of the South's railroads were destroyed by the end of the Civil War and even those which did not suffer direct attack were crippled. The South Carolina Railroad, for example, was not back in operation until two years after the Civil War. By 1875, however, Greenville was connected to the outside world by the Greenville and Columbia Railroad, which had 142½ miles of track connecting the two towns. In addition, the Greenville and Columbia Railroad offered a connection to the Atlanta and Richmond Air Line Railroad's main line between Atlanta and Charlotte. Toward the end of the century South Carolina's railroads underwent a fundamental change orienting them away from Charleston and toward the north and west. While Charleston suffered, the upcountry was finally connected to a wide range of major markets. In 1894 the Southern Railway was organized, connecting Washington to New Orleans by way of Spartanburg and Greenville. About the same time a route was finally completed across the Appalachian Mountains, connecting neighboring Spartanburg with Cincinnati. The Southern Railway acquired the South Carolina Railroad in 1899. Also formed during this period was the Atlantic Coast Line, crossing South Carolina's lowcountry, and the Seaboard Air Line, which extended from Norfolk to Atlanta by way of Chester and Greenwood. The smaller Piedmont and Northern Railroad operated between Greenwood, Greenville, and Spartanburg (Anonymous 1907:503-505; Kovacik and Winberry 1989:119-121; McCoin 1983:37, 57). The growth of the railroads was phenomenal — from the end of Reconstruction to the turn of the century the South built railroads faster than the nation as a whole, so that by 1890, nine of every 10 Southerners lived in a railroad county (Ayres 1995:7).

The 1870 Industrial Census records only 50 firms, less than a quarter shown on the 1860 census, and only $208,637 in capital, less than half recorded for Greenville in 1860. Only eight of the 16 townships are posted[54], suggesting that the census, rather than just reflecting the defeat of the Civil War, may also reflect an incomplete record. As in the past, the most common type of industry was the grist mill (accounting for 12 of the 50 firms recorded). There are six blacksmiths and five saw mills. Two of the more interesting types of industries appearing for the first time were the gas works of B. Babcock which produced 180,000 cubic feet of gas valued at $2000 in the Gowansville Township and the sorghum mill of Alfred Taylor in Chicks Spring Township. Taylor is reported to have produced 1400 gallons of molasses having a $700 value with only a $300 investment.

Three cotton factories are enumerated — Lester and Brothers in Bates Township which produced 221,841 bunches of yarn; the Batesville Manufacturing Company, which produced 105,000 yards of cotton sheeting, 210,000 yards of shirting, and 46,000 pounds of cotton yarn; and Harrison and Turbyfill, which produced a very modest 20,000 bunches of yarn and 300 pounds of waste.

These three cotton factories reported

[54] Those present include Dunklin (one firm), Fairview (10 industries), Austin (eight industries), Gantt (five industries), Greenville (11 industries), Chick Springs (three industries), Bates (six industries), and Glassy Mountain or Gowansville (six businesses).

account for $87,000 in capital, or 41.7% of the capital reportedly invested in Greenville.

By 1880, 166 firms are included in the Industrial Census, tripling the number from 1870. In spite of this upsurge in businesses, however, the invested capital is still significantly less than before the Civil War. Grist mills are the most common recorded activity, accounting for nearly a third of those included. The next most common industrial sites were the 39 cotton gins recorded in the county. For the first time brickyards are recorded, including three in Greenville Township, one in the City of Greenville, and one more in Grove Township. Curiously, only one cotton factory, Sullivan Manufacturing Company in the Oaklawn Township, is recorded. This, coupled with the seemingly very slow recovery from the Civil War suggests that this census is also flawed. Supporting this assessment is the 1884 review of Greenville County (Anonymous 1884), which reports 188 establishments for Greenville County, including eight cotton mills, 98 grist mills, two iron foundries, 64 saw mills, and 16 other establishments. The invested capital according to this account is well over pre-Civil War levels, at $1,338,200 — making the report much more trust worthy than the surviving Industrial Census.

The one industry entirely absent in the postbellum — at least in the official records — was that of the distillery. As previously mentioned, South Carolinians found the federal tax on stills and alcohol to be a thinly veiled reprisal directed at the Southern states. Miller reports that the three "rifle clubs" formed in Greenville in 1876 to oppose Reconstruction were not only forerunners of the Klan, but were also "composed largely of illicit distillers" (Miller 1991:42). After the Civil War Revenue Officials were almost as common in the upcountry as Freedmen's Bureau agents, and perhaps even less popular. David Harris comments on several neighbors charged with making untaxed alcohol, one of whom chose the 30 days in jail over the fine (Racine 1990). On another occasion he notes that there is no one to distill his peaches, "on account of the high taxes on stilling" (Racine 1990:470).

By 1876 the Eighteenth Regimental Infantry, stationed in Greenville and Spartanburg, was routinely called on to help enforce federal liquor laws. The active use of military troops, however, agitated an already sensitive population. Moreover, troops in the South were being transferred to the West to quell a number of Indian "uprisings." In spite of these problems the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service, Green B. Raum, specifically requested that federal troops be maintained at Morganton, North Carolina; Greenville, South Carolina, Athens, Georgia; Huntsville, Alabama; Knoxville, Tennessee; and Atlanta, Georgia specifically for the enforcement of the federal alcohol laws. Greenville County was recognized as one of the worst locations and eventually so many officers were threatened, injured, or killed, that many refused to serve as deputy marshals (Miller 1991:106).

In 1882 the South Carolina legislature passed a local option law and Greenville voted in prohibition. The 1884 overview of the county specifically mentioned that the prohibition law:

> was hailed with delight when it passed, and it has worked great good in Greenville County. The chief benefit derived is the abolition of that which contributed so much to the demoralization of the labor of the county. There have been but few violations of the law, except in the mountainous portions of the county, and in these the more efficient enforcement of the United States laws recently by revenue raider under command of Dr. J.F. Ensor and the prosecution of a number of offenders by the State officials have reduced the traffic in whiskey to a minimum. With the substantial people of the county Prohibition is very popular, and they are clamorous for the abolition of barrooms in the city[55]

[55] Before the State Dispensary System was devised by Governor Benjamin Tillman, the City of Greenville was "wet" and at one time in the early 1890s

Table 5.
Principal Greenville County Industries in 1915

Bakeries
- J.A. Curreton and Company, Greenville
- Greenville Baking Company, Greenville

Brickyards
- Carolina Brick and Tile Co., Greenville
- Marietta Brick Works, Marietta

Clothing Manufacturing Plant
- Nuckasee Manufacturing Company, Greenville

Confectionery Shops
- Staveori Brothers, Greenville
- Rogers Ice Cream Company, Greenville
- Palmetto Cream Company, Greenville
- Panagokos Brothers, Greenville

Electric Plants
- Belton Power Company, Belton
- Greenville-Carolina Power Company, Greenville
- Cedar Falls Light and Power Company, Greenville
- Southern Power Company Steam Plant, Greenville
- Southern Public Utilities Company, Greenville

Fertilizer Factories
- Carolina Phosphate Company, Greenville
- Independent Guano Company, Greenville
- Southern Cotton Oil Company, Greenville
- Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, Greenville

Foundry and Machine Shops
- American Machine and Manufacturing Company, Greenville
- Greenville Iron Works, Greenville
- Mountain City Foundry and Machine Works, Greenville

Furniture Companies
- Greenville Mantle and Manufacturing Company

Glass Manufacturing
- The Globe Optical Company, Greenville

Gas Plants
- Southern Public Utilities Company, Greenville

Ice Plants
- Greenville Ice and Fuel Company, Greenville
- Carolina Public Service Company, Greenville
- Greer Ice and Fuel Company, Greer

Leather Goods
- O.M. Goodlet, Greenville
- Pates & Allen Company, Greenville

Lumber Companies
- Wilson Saw Mill, Saluda
- Greenville Lumber Company, Greenville
- W.L. Hollman Lumber Company, Greenville
- Hunter-Wilson Lumber Company, Greenville
- A.D. Plumley, Landrum
- Greer Lumber Company, Greer

Mattress Companies
- Greenville Mattress and Spring Bed Mfg. Co. Greenville
- Greenville Loom Reed and Harness Company, Greenville

Mineral and Soda Water Plants
- Chero-Cola Bottling Company, Greenville, Greer
- Coca-Cola Bottling Company, Greenville
- Chick Springs Company, Chick Springs
- Quality Bottling Works, Greenville
- Verner Springs Water Company, Greenville

Patent Medicine Manufacturers
- Scales-Wilson Company, Greenville

Stone Quarries
- Butler Marble and Granite Works, Greenville
- East Side Marble Works, Greenville
- C.M. Wing Granite Quarries, Travelers Rest

Tobacco and Cigars
- Seidenberg & Company (branch), Greenville

> as well as in the county, urging that their pernicious effects are felt by the entire county (Anonymous 1884:n.p.)

Miller likewise comments that "the Dark Corner of the Glassy Mountains in northern Greenville County . . . was 'inhabited by a population more inclined, apparently, to illicit distilling than to any lawful occupation'" (Miller 1991:152).

By the second decade of the nineteenth century Greenville was reported as supporting nine flour and grist mills: The Athens Milling Company (Travelers Rest), Mountain City Milling Company (Greenville), Eagle Roller Company (Greenville), E.F. Griffin (Greenville), Jones' Mills (Fountain Inn), Earle's Mill (Landrum), Cedar Falls Roller Mill (Fountain Inn), Gilder Creek Roller Mills (Greenville), and Mountain Creek Mills (Greenville). (Anonymous 1916:Table 16). There were another two listed only as grist mills: Berry's Mill (Greer) and J.R. Weathers (Fountain Inn) (Anonymous 1916:Table 17). Other industries are listed in Table 5.

Greenville at the Turn of the Century

By the first decade of the twentieth century Greenville boasted phenomenal growth, spurred largely by the railroads. By then Greenville was on the main line of the Southern Railway,

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had as many as 18 saloons, each paying a license of $1000 a year to the city (Richardson 1930:96).

connecting Washington and Atlanta, as well as Columbia, Charleston, and points in Florida. There were also the Western Carolina Railroad, Seaboard Air Line and Atlantic Coast Lines. An electric line was being built from Anderson, with a line to Belton open by 1907. Other railroads were being proposed to connect Knoxville with Greenville and Greenville to Greenwood. These trains not only provided connections for people, but at least 17,149 freight cars passed through Greenville in 1906, marking Greenville as a rising commercial center.

Real estate in the City of Greenville, with a population of about 30,000, was valued at $1,560,225 in 1900 and had increased by over 54% to $2,414,310 in 1906. Bank capital had increased from only $100,000 in the 1870s to $1,000,000, just $100,000 less than Columbia's banks (Anonymous 1907:560-561). Greenville was also becoming a city. Building permits for approximately $500,000 of construction were issued in 1906 and that same year saw the addition of 27,360 feet of sewage lines and 11½ miles of concrete sidewalks. While most of the county's roads were still dirt (or often mud), the city laid 25,500 yards of macadam. The city water supply, began by the American Pipe Manufacturing Company (dba Paris Mountain Water Company) in 1888, was still in private hands, but had expanded in 1901 by the construction of additional storage capacity in downtown Greenville (Hawkins 1984). In April 1860 Alexander McBee installed a small reservoir on Pendleton Street and piped the water to a location near Pendleton and Augusta streets (Anne McCuen, personal communication 1995). In 1918, the water department would be purchased by the city and the beginning of modern purification chemistry would be installed. The Greenville Carolina Power Plant, on the Saluda River about five miles from the city, was built in 1906 and furnished the earliest electricity for both the city and several of the mills. Telephone service in Greenville began about 1889, although outlying areas of the county, such as Caesar's Head, wouldn't be connected until the 1920s (Batson 1993:373-374).

Perhaps Greenville's first major contact with the outside world since the Civil War was the short Spanish American War (April 21, 1898 to August 13, 1898). This 10-week war, which many felt was fought for no good reason other than to bolster American policy and the weak Presidency of William McKinley, resulted in only 379 battlefield deaths, although an additional 5,100 soldiers would later die of diseases, primarily typhoid, malaria, and yellow fever, contracted during the campaign. The public goal of freeing Cuba from Spanish rule was achieved, along with the acquisition of the Philippines.

The United States, unprepared for war, quickly sought to establish training camps and one was solicited for Greenville by Alester G. Furman, one of the City's most prominent citizens (Smeltzer 1954:15). The city, however, remained in many ways closed in on itself and was willing to accept the training camp only once assurances were granted that "no Negro troops" would be sent to Greenville (McKoy 1968:96). Called Camp Wetherill, in honor of Alexander Macomb Wetherill who was one of the first men killed at the Battle of San Juan in Cuba on July 1, 1898, the camp was divided into two sections. The First Army Corps was situated on E.E. Stone property to the north of Earle Street extending from Buncombe Street almost to the present Wade Hampton highway. The other section was located to the south and east of Anderson Street near the present Mills Mill. The Second Division Headquarters were located to the west of Anderson Street on the spot where a hospital was later constructed (Campbell 1981; McKoy 1968:95-96; National Archives, RG 77, Drawer 146, Sheet 33).

Although described as a tent camp, photographs of Wetherill (C.L. Bailey Collection, New York Public Library) reveal that a relatively large number of log cabins and even some frame houses were constructed in the camps. The photographs also suggest that the land was rather hastily cleared, and many trees and even some scrub were still present. Not all troops, however, lived under such primitive conditions. The antebellum Mansion House Hotel was converted into the First Division Headquarters and was occupied by the commanding officers throughout the war (McKoy 1984:27). The camp was apparently quickly abandoned by the military and McKoy remarks that afterwards the Stone property "became Greenville's first real estate development,"

being auctioned off by Furman and yielding what seemed at the time an "astronomical" sum of $15,000 in a singe day's selling (McKoy 1965:103).

Furman was again influential in acquiring a camp site in Greenville during the First World War (Smeltzer 1954:18). Although Greenville had to share the location with Spartanburg, the camp was still envisioned as a tremendous economic boom to the town. Named Camp Sevier, in honor of American Revolutionary War hero, John Sevier, it was first occupied by Company C of the First South Carolina Infantry in early July 1917. Construction of the camp was begun that same month, with J.E. Sirrine named the Supervising Engineer and J.F. Gallivan named the Contractor (Murphy and Thomas 1936).

The war caught the United States so unprepared that National Guard divisions were converted into regular army units. Camp Sevier is perhaps best known as the training ground for units from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee which were later named the Thirtieth Division (Murphy and Thomas 1936:17). The Eighty-First Division was eventually transferred from Camp Jackson, in Columbia, to Camp Sevier to finish their training (Shelton 1955). By about May 1918 the last troops left Camp Sevier and it appears to have been closed like its predecessor. Little information, however, has been identified concerning the decommissioning of Camp Sevier, although it is clear that the property reverted to private ownership and by the 1950s was the location of increasing residential construction.

Like other National Guard camps, Sevier did not have the comforts of regular army training facilities. There were, for example, no barracks, and like Camp Wetherill earlier, the troops lived in tents. This, coupled with the unseasonably cold winter of 1917-1918, resulted in a deadly influenza epidemic, along with the spread of meningitis and smallpox (Campbell 1981:78; Withington 1971:80). Some of the buildings, such as the mess halls, bath houses, latrines, and possibly exchanges, were apparently of wood construction. There were also large magazines, quartermaster and ordnance stores arranged alongside the railroad sidings which were of frame and log construction. Murphy and Thomas also comments that the camp consisted of:

> individual supply houses and infirmar[ies] . . . . The Remount Station, with its stables and corrals, formed within itself a small village . . . . The Divisional Bakery occupied a row of special buildings and other detailed service organizations, such as salvage depot, automobile repair shops, and shoe repair shops were houses in their individual quarters. . . . The [base] hospital buildings, connected to each other by plank walks at the same height as the porches, formed within themselves a veritable city of their own. The group of building comprised an administration building, wards for patients, nurses quarters, officer's quarters and quarters for the enlisted personnel, together with supply buildings and kitchens (Murphy and Thomas 1936:28-29).

Much of this camp was still present in the mid-1950s. Ida Jane Shelton told of "many buildings" still standing in 1955, surrounded by the growth of what was called "Piedmont Park," and commented that even the road names were the same — the main road going through the camp was Base Hospital Road and the road from the city to the camp was still called Camp Road. Fifteen of the original houses around the base hospital were still standing and being used and recently a couple had converted the old hospital laundry, with three foot thick walls, into their house. She also commented that:

> fragments of shells and bullets are frequently picked up. Several staunch powder houses have stood the years best of all. There are cement copings and pillars to be found in almost every yard, and the old trenches refuse to be evened out. Down where the old drug supply building was, there is still strewn the old empty bottles and broken glass (Shelton 1955).

Agriculture into the Depression

Greenville's agriculture changed relatively little into the twentieth century. From 1900 to 1920 the number of Greenville farms increased about 12% from 6,016 to 6,762, although the acres of improved land in these farms fell about 5% from 195,528 acres to 186,515 acres. Between 1910 and 1920 the average acres per farm declined from 62.7 to 54.2 and the average number of improved acres per farm declined from 29.5 to 27.6. In spite of these changes, there was a steady increase in cotton production. The number of bales harvested in Greenville County increased from 26,536 in 1900 to 51,189 in 1920 — nearly a 93% increase in yield.

Looking at the long trend, from 1880 through 1920 (Table 6), corn acreage in Greenville county held fairly stable, with a gradual and modest increase in yield. The acreage devoted to both oats and wheat declined over this period. While the production of oats declined, the decline was not what might be expected given the reduction in acreage. On the other hand, wheat production fell rather drastically. The acreage planted in cotton nearly doubled between 1880 and 1920, with the number of bales produced increasing from 17,064 to 51,189.

The Bureau of Soils provided an overview of Greenville agriculture in 1921:

> Cotton is the principal cash crop in the greater part of the county; practically none is grown in the mountain districts. The acreage of cotton, according to the census reports has steadily increased during the last 40 years. The average yield was between 185 and 190 pounds of lint cotton per acre in 1879, 1889, and 1889; 209 pounds in 1909; and 324 pounds in 1919. . . . much of [this increase] is due to better cultural practices, such as the use of better varieties, improved methods of handling, and the extensive use of commercial fertilizer. . . . The advent of the boll weevil in 1920 and 1921, and the consequent decrease in acreage and yields of cotton, has emphasized the need of greater diversification of crops.

Corn ranks second in importance as an income crop. It is grown both for sale and for home consumption. The greater part of the crop is grown in the northern third of the county, the river bottoms being planted almost exclusively to corn. The acreage has increased gradually since 1879, and the average yield has been about 11 to 12 bushels per acre. According to information obtained from the farmers the average for the upland is about 10 to 15 bushels, and for the bottom land about 25 to 30 bushels. . . . most of the corn is used for feeding work stock and fattening hogs; some of it is ground into meal for making bread; and a small part is sold for cash or traded for merchandise at the stores.

Wheat is not sown extensively. The acreage is variable, but has averaged about 10,000 acres since 1880. The average yield per acre is about 7 to 12 bushels. Most of the crop is used at the various custom mills in the county, but some is sold. . . . Oats are gown chiefly for feeding on the farm, and the acreage varies considerably from year to year. The average yields in the years reported by the census have ranged from 6.6 bushels to 14.3 bushels per acre. The low average is undoubtedly due to late sowing and the use of poorer lands for oats.

About 46,000 gallons of syrup were made in 1919 from sorghum, which occupied an area of 1,082 acres. The syrup is used

principally on the farm or sold in near-by towns. . . . Orcharding is not practiced extensively on a commercial scale. One peach orchard is situated 2 miles west of Greer and another 1½ miles southeast of White Oak Church. These orchards . . . give good returns in favorable years. Most of the apples are grown in the mountainous districts in the northern part of the county. These orchards are not so well cared for and the products are of an inferior size but good flavor. Most of the fruit finds a ready sale within the county. Plums and cherries are next in importance, and some quinces, figs, and a few grapes are grown. Some small vineyards, situated mostly in the central and northern parts of the county, are well kept. Both grapes and grape juice find a ready sale in the county, and grape growing has prospects of becoming a more important industry. . . .

The proportion of farms operated by tenants increased from 52.6 per cent to 60.8 per cent in the period from 1880 to 1910, but in 1920 the proportion of tenant-operated farms fell to 56.4 percent. A majority of the tenants are negroes. There are various systems of renting. Some rent for a definite quantity of lint cotton. Under one system, the tenant furnishes the mules and half the fertilizer and receives two-thirds of the cotton and three-fourths of the corn. Under another system the landlord furnishes the land, mules, and half the fertilizer and receives half the crop. This appears to be the plan most commonly practiced and most desirable from the standpoint of the landlord, as it allows him to exercise more control over the management of the land (Watkins et al. 1924:193-196).

Only a few years after this account of Greenville's agriculture was written there were unimaginable changes. Beginning with the Wall Street crash in 1929, the most serious economic catastrophe in American history hit the nation. President Herbert Hoover was at first bewildered, and then defensive, about the collapse of the American economy. Although able to direct a successful war relief effort in Europe, Hoover could never accept that the suffering resulting from the collapse of capitalism was as great as the suffering caused by war. It has been suggested that he was emotionally paralyzed by the fall of a system which had brought him such exceptional personal success. Unable to face the reality and make substantive changes, his efforts were traditional at best and insulting at worst. The government's foremost remedy, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation pumped millions back into failed banks, with no apparent purpose or result. While Hoover insisted that prosperity would return, the economy continued to sink lower.

In 1932 a record number of Americans turned out at the polls — and voted for the Democratic candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt. By 1933 the nations business activity dropped to half the 1929 levels and factory employment fell by 40%. Unemployment and underemployment took over the labor force. Roosevelt's government began to take shape during this period and a variety of

Table 6.
Acreage and Production of Leading Crops in Greenville County Between 1880 and 1930

	Corn		Oats		Wheat		Cotton	
Year	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bushels	Acres	Bales
1880	52,599	582,156	9,282	62,673	11,605	62,132	45,572	17,064
1890	53,528	668,355	15,473	125,117	9,704	58,222	66,020	28,485
1900	63,549	621,380	4,889	34,540	13,128	77,480	69,713	26,535
1910	57,181	641,765	89,60	113,036	5,064	34,404	72,474	30,279
1920	58,072	708,141	3,905	55,947	4,964	36,034	79,035	51,189
1930	44,262	586,735	1,334	31,307	2,097	21,582	87,989	49,669

unique solutions were devised by the think tank that Roosevelt assembled. Most were never enacted. Those which were put into place were underfunded.

Not surprisingly, Roosevelt's reaction to the Depression was essentially a conservative one. He sought, ultimately, to shore up America's traditional economic structure. For example, John Robinson notes:

> Central to a capitalistic economy . . . lies the private banking system; by F.D.R.'s inaugural, this structure has collapsed, having failed utterly to respond adequately to this calamity. Few could have then quarreled with a decent burial of the moribund system. But in action typifying his approach to the larger problem, the President revived the corpse by infusing new blood in the form of tax money, rescuing private enterprise with public aid (Robinson 1981:6).

There can be no doubt that the Depression era was a "lost decade" for the Southern industrial worker — such as those working in Greenville's textile mills. There were no advances in union organization, wages, or fringe benefits. In fact, the level of industrial jobs would not return to pre-Depression levels until 1939, and even then wages continued to fall short of the pre-Depression period.

There is also no doubt that Americans *did* starve to death in the depths of the depression (Robinson 1981:4). Thousands joined lines at garbage dumps for the privilege of scavenging what they might from the refuse. Homeless found the parks their only refuge, while others lived in cardboard boxes or rusted out automobiles. Others relied on the generosity of neighbors frequently no better off then themselves. Families picked through the overripe fruit discarded by grocers for their daily meals.

Tenants, however, were in an even worse predicament than most mill workers or urban people. In 1930 62.7% of all Greenville's farms were operated by tenants, up from 56.4% in 1920. Nearly two-fifths of these were operated by blacks. Half of all southern farms grew cotton. In Greenville County, 88.5% of the farms grew cotton. Tenancy was already bad in the South and the Depression only worsened the already untenable conditions of the tenants. Faced with ruinous prices for agricultural products, the farm owners did everything possible to wring the last cent of profit out of the tenants.

While the "New Deal" offered help to many people, Southern farmers were largely forgotten. Most of the programs which were begun primarily benefited land owners, not tenants. For example, under the first Agricultural Adjustment Act land owners might received 50% more money for plowing under their cotton than for harvesting it. The tenant who formerly cultivated this land, however, received only a tenth his former (inadequate) income. Through collusion with local officials administrators of the act, many tenants saw nothing for their efforts.

Robinson confirms that the tenants fared worse than any other group during the Depression. Although they had less to lose, they were barely surviving before the crash. Robinson observes that:

> the starkly inhuman conditions of life revealed in the cropper's own testimony are verified by travelers who compared Southern tenant life with that of the Russian or Chinese peasantry. On society's lowest rung, with the shabbiest housing, the skimpiest clothing and the poorest diet, an American peasantry toiled in the South (Robinson 1981:13).

Greenville's tenants were not necessarily better off than other sharecroppers, but Woofter (1936:2) does note that Greenville, Pickens, and Oconee counties, exhibited levels of tenancy under 70%, compared to adjoining counties where tenancy was as high as 80 or 90%. The cotton belt has typically been divided into three regions — the Atlantic Coastal Plain, the Black Belt, and in the upper northwestern corner of the state, the Upper

Piedmont. Including the counties of York, Cherokee, Spartanburg, Greenville, Pickens, Oconee, and Anderson, this section was characterized as having few, scattered, and small plantations with tenants. Only 7.4% of the tracts in the region were more than 260 acres. In Greenville County only 1.0% of the farms were greater than 260 acres.

While there are no data specific for Greenville, Woofter notes that in the Upper Piedmont the owner's net income was $1,710 in 1930. The net income of a sharecropper, however, was only $104, while that of a share tenant averaged $170. Most of the plantations had a variety of forms of tenancy, and fully 65% of them had both white and black tenants, representing the most homogenous region in South Carolina. By this time, however, Piedmont plantations were worn and wasted. The average value of the land, the buildings, and even the machinery being used were the lowest in the state. This region also spent the least amount of money to raise crops — $1,282 per plantation, compared to $2,945 in the Atlantic Coastal Plain and $1,750 in the Black Belt.

By the late 1930s government programs largely failed and self-help efforts were either non-existent or pathetic efforts. As late as 1938 some ten million workers were still seeking non-existent jobs. It took the Second World War, with its draft and insatiable demand for war industry workers to bring the United States fully out of the Depression. These events also took from the farms the next generation of potential sharecroppers, breaking at least one of the chains of poverty in South Carolina.

Greenville participated in the training of troops during the Second World War just as she had during the Spanish-American War and the First World War. In 1941 the Greenville Army Air Base was established on 2,372 acres just outside the City of Greenville. It served as a training installation for B-24, B-25, and B-26 aircrews, later becoming a replacement training base for B-25 crews. In 1951 the name was changed to Donaldson Air Force Base, in honor of Greenville native O.W. Donaldson, a WWI flying ace (McCoin 1983:127). The base was phased out in 1963 and the land was returned to the county. Although the facility was quickly converted into an industrial park, the land was later found to be contaminated with hazardous materials — the legacy of a previous generation's lack of environmental consciousness. It may be that this will be the focus of future historians tracing Greenville's history through the late twentieth century.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND AND POTENTIAL

Introduction

This chapter presents information about the archaeology that has been done in Greenville County, the archaeological potential of the county, and the management of these archaeological resources. The vast bulk of archaeological investigations in the county consists of survey level studies in areas to be impacted by highway construction (see, for example, Brockington and Morgan 1987; Caballero 1984a; Trinkley 1985a). In fact, of the archaeological studies completed by 1990, approximately 83% were done as a part of highway widening or construction (see Derting 1990:248-257). An additional 10% were associated with the placement of sewer lines or other utilities (see, for example, Cable and Michie 1977; Drucker 1979). This leaves only about 7% of the work associated with either development tract survey or data recovery. Figure 19 shows the location of archaeological studies performed in the county. The accompanying citations can be found in the bibliography. It should be noted that the accompanying citations provide all citations for archaeological work in the county. However, only those that were available for review at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology are shown on the map. It shows the heaviest concentration of studies in the central portion of the county located primarily along existing highways or within the city limits of Greenville. It also illustrates that Greenville County, compared to the coastal counties of South Carolina, has received little archaeological attention.

Unfortunately, unlike areas such as the Savannah River Site, the Richard B. Russell Reservoir, and Sumter National Forest where extensive surveys have taken place, Greenville County has not received similar attention, and very little is known about issues such as changing settlement pattern, patterns in lithic resource use, or prehistoric and historic lifeways. As a result, archaeological and historical research from other portions of the state presently must be used to help make predictions about site locations and frame research issues for the county.

The most intensive archaeological survey associated with Greenville County was performed to assess impacts from the construction of the proposed Laurens-Anderson connector highway from US 276 north of Laurens to US 76 east of Anderson, South Carolina (Goodyear et al. 1979). This study identified a number of historic and prehistoric sites in Anderson, Greenville, and Laurens counties. Drawing from resources including the few local surveys, large surveys and excavations in geographically similar areas such as Spartanburg, Laurens, and McCormick Counties, excavations or other studies dealing with technologically similar or identical sites, and historical resources, we will attempt to provide a basic predictive (or perhaps more accurately, projective)[1] model for settlement during the different prehistoric and historic time periods. We will also provide information on the "archaeological profile" of site types such as a blacksmith's shop or a tavern. In addition, we will identify some of the more basic and important research questions that need to be addressed for each site type.

By reviewing the available data, we can then provide a picture for Greenville County's archaeological potential. There are many aspects of the county's past that some people may not have even considered because they associate an

[1] A predictive model uses data available in certain portions of an area and makes predictions on the remaining area. A projective model uses data from other areas which is then projected onto another study area to make predictions about site locations. With the projective model, it is presumed that settlement models from other areas will hold true in the study area. Alternatively it can be used as a baseline to help explain why settlement is different in the study area.

Key to Figure 19, Locations of Archaeological Studies in Greenville County

1. Adams and Trinkley 1992a
2. Adams and Trinkley 1992b
3. Adams and Trinkley 1992c
4. Adams and Trinkley 1994
5. Anonymous 1994
6. Bragg 1918
7. Brockington and Morgan 1987
8. Butler et al. 1987
9. Caballero 1983a
10. Caballero 1983b
11. Caballero 1983c
12. Caballero 1984a
13. Caballero 1984b
14. Caballero 1984c
15. Caballero 1984d
16. Caballero 1986
17. Caballero 1988a
18. Caballero 1988b
19. Cable 1977
20. Carrillo 1979
21. Combes 1973
22. Combes 1974
23. Drucker 1979
24. Drucker 1980
25. Drucker 1986
26. Drucker and Anthony 1977
27. Drucker et al. 1993
28. Drucker et al. 1987
29. Drucker et al. 1981
30. Espenshade et al. 1992
31. Goodyear 1978
32. Goodyear et al. 1979
33. Hartley 1975
34. Jackson 1975
35. Jackson and Drucker 1984
36. Joseph 1991
37. Joseph et al. 1995
38. Martin and Drucker 1987
39. Reed and Wheaton 1993
40. Rinehart 1994
41. Rinehart 1995
42. Roberts 1986a
43. Roberts 1986b
44. Roberts 1986c
45. Roberts 1986d
46. Roberts 1987
47. Roberts 1988a
48. Roberts 1988b
49. Robets 1989
50. Roberts 1990a
51. Roberts 1990b
52. Roberts 1991
53. Roberts 1992a
54. Roberts 1992b
55. Roberts 1994
56. Shumate 1993
57. Styer 1991a
58. Styer 1991b
59. Styer 1992
60. Tippett 1980
61. Tippett 1988a
62. Tippett 1988b
63. Tippett 1989a
64. Tippett 1989b
65. Tippett and Caballero 1989
66. Tippett and Trinkley 1979
67. Tippett and Trinkley 1980
68. Trinkley 1978a
69. Trinkley 1978b
70. Trinkley 1978c
71. Trinkley 1978d
72. Trinkley 1978e
73. Trinkley 1979
74. Trinkley 1980a
75. Trinkley 1980b
76. Trinkley 1980c
77. Trinkley 1981a
78. Trinkley 1981b
79. Trinkley 1981c
80. Trinkley 1981d
81. Trinkley 1981e
82. Trinkley 1982a
83. Trinkley 1982b
84. Trinkley 1982c
85. Trinkley 1982d
86. Trinkley 1982e
87. Trinkley 1982f
88. Trinkley 1983a
89. Trinkley 1983b
90. Trinkley 1984a
91. Trinkley 1984b
92. Trinkley 1984c
93. Trinkley 1984d
94. Trinkley 1984e
95. Trinkley 1984f
96. Trinkley 1985a
97. Trinkley 1985b
98. Trinkley 1985c
99. Trinkley 1985d
100. Trinkley 1993a
101. Trinkley 1994
102. Wetmore and Jackson 1990
103. Wheaton 1977

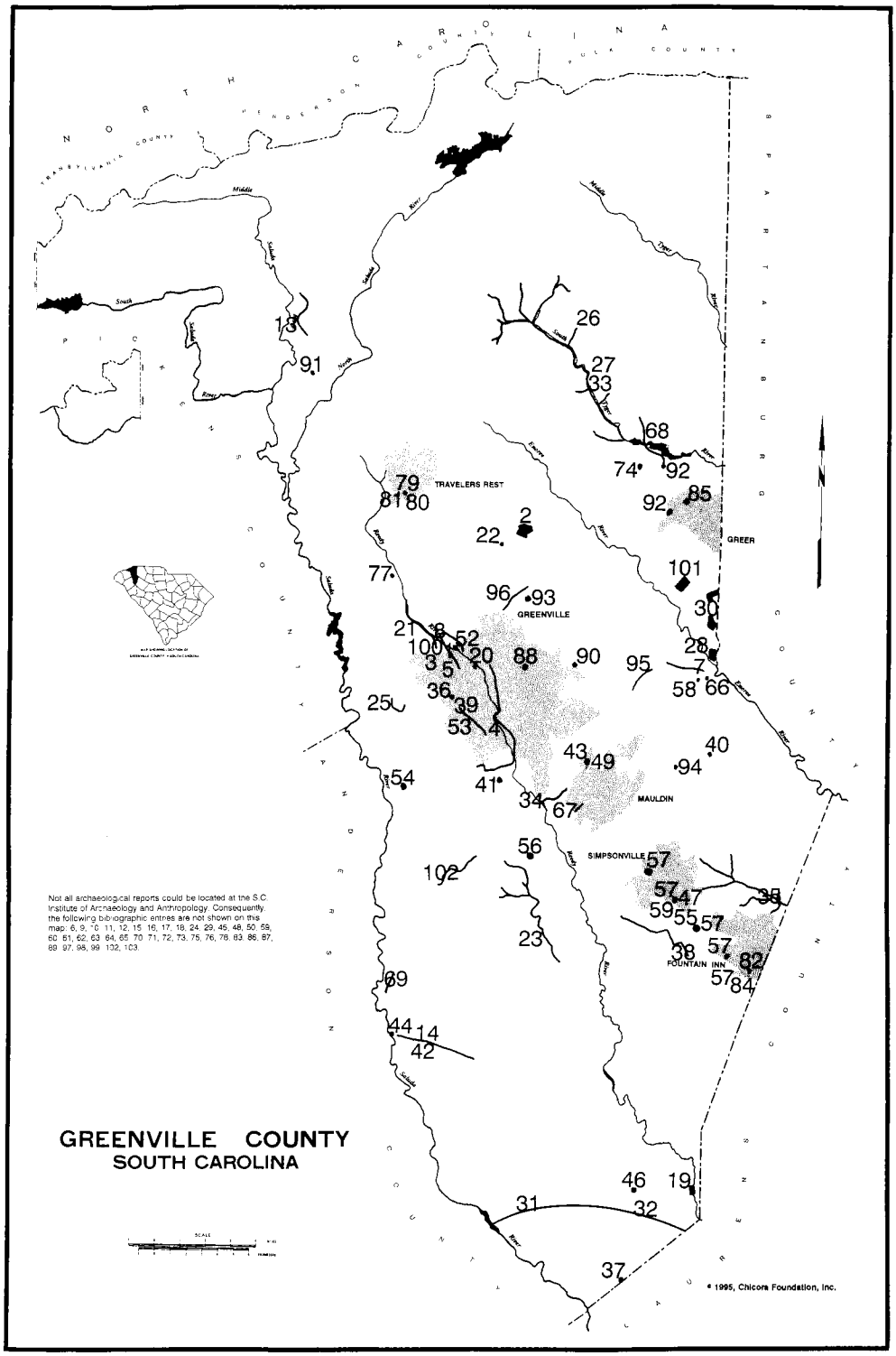


Figure 19. Locations of archaeological studies in Greenville County.

archaeological site with recovering artifacts such as ceramics, buttons, bottle glass, etc. However, there is much more to archaeology than these types of artifacts. Archaeology can also recover information regarding technology or construction that only stains in the soil (rather than the more "eye catching" artifacts) can provide and can address questions such as changing technology. It is hoped that this study will help identify these more obscure sources of archaeological potential. This information can then be compared to the rest of the state or elsewhere to see how Greenville County developed similarly to or differently than other parts of the state or nation. It can then help to define Greenville County's cultural identity through time, by helping us understand questions such as "What was it like to live in Greenville County in 1810, or 1850, or 1880?" or "What was it like to be an Indian living in Greenville County around 1200 A.D?" However, it should be pointed out that Greenville County did not exist in a vacuum. This is particularly true for the Native American inhabitants who were much more mobile than the historic people. As a result, questions related to Native American lifeways need to be addressed using a wider regional framework.

The management of these archaeological resources is important and should be approached with everyone having the same goal in mind: to identify important sites and to address important questions about Greenville County's past so that we can form a picture of how different types of people lived through time. It is helpful, then, to organize resources or potential resources in to "study units" to make archaeological resources more manageable. We can then determine which "study unit(s)" best describe(s) the site (since sometimes more than one study unit is represented) and determine whether or not the site is likely to be able to address the important research issues listed.

The prehistoric section of the report is organized entirely differently than the historic section because of the type of information available. For prehistoric archaeology most of what we know is based on the few archaeological surveys performed in the county or by other studies in the Piedmont region of South Carolina. This section is divided into temporal units such as Paleoindian, Early Archaic, and so on because so little is known about the intricacies of prehistoric life in Greenville County or, for that matter, anywhere else in the state (see Figure 20 for an outline of the cultural sequences). The historic section is divided into functional units such as Urban Sites, Gold Mines, Grist Mills, etc. This provides a more complete understanding of questions of importance since we are able to draw on historical documents and identify questions or issues that they fail to address. At the end of each "study unit" presented (e.g. Late Woodland Period or Farms and Plantations) research questions are identified, providing a framework for assessing the importance of a site based on its ability to address these questions. While the questions raised are probably not complete, simply because we did not think of them all, and since new research questions continuously arise as people identify new and fruitful avenues of inquiry, they do at least identify some of the most basic problems appropriate for archaeological study.

Prehistoric Archaeology

In the Carolina Piedmont, lithic scatters are the most common type of prehistoric site encountered. Goodyear et al. (1979:131-145) found that lithic scatter sites located in the inter-riverine Piedmont were geographically extensive and exhibited little artifact diversity. These sites have been interpreted as:

> limited or specialized activity sites which represent resource exploitation or other distinct functions. Nearly all investigators working in the Piedmont have related these sites to activities involving hunting, nut gathering, and procuring of lithic raw materials (Canouts and Goodyear n.d.:8).

Although the vast majority of these sites are located in eroded areas and exhibit little to no subsurface integrity, Canouts and Goodyear (1985) argue that they have analytical value. This value lies in their horizontal rather than vertical dimensions. They argue that:

> [f]uture investigators of upland sites must effect broad-scale

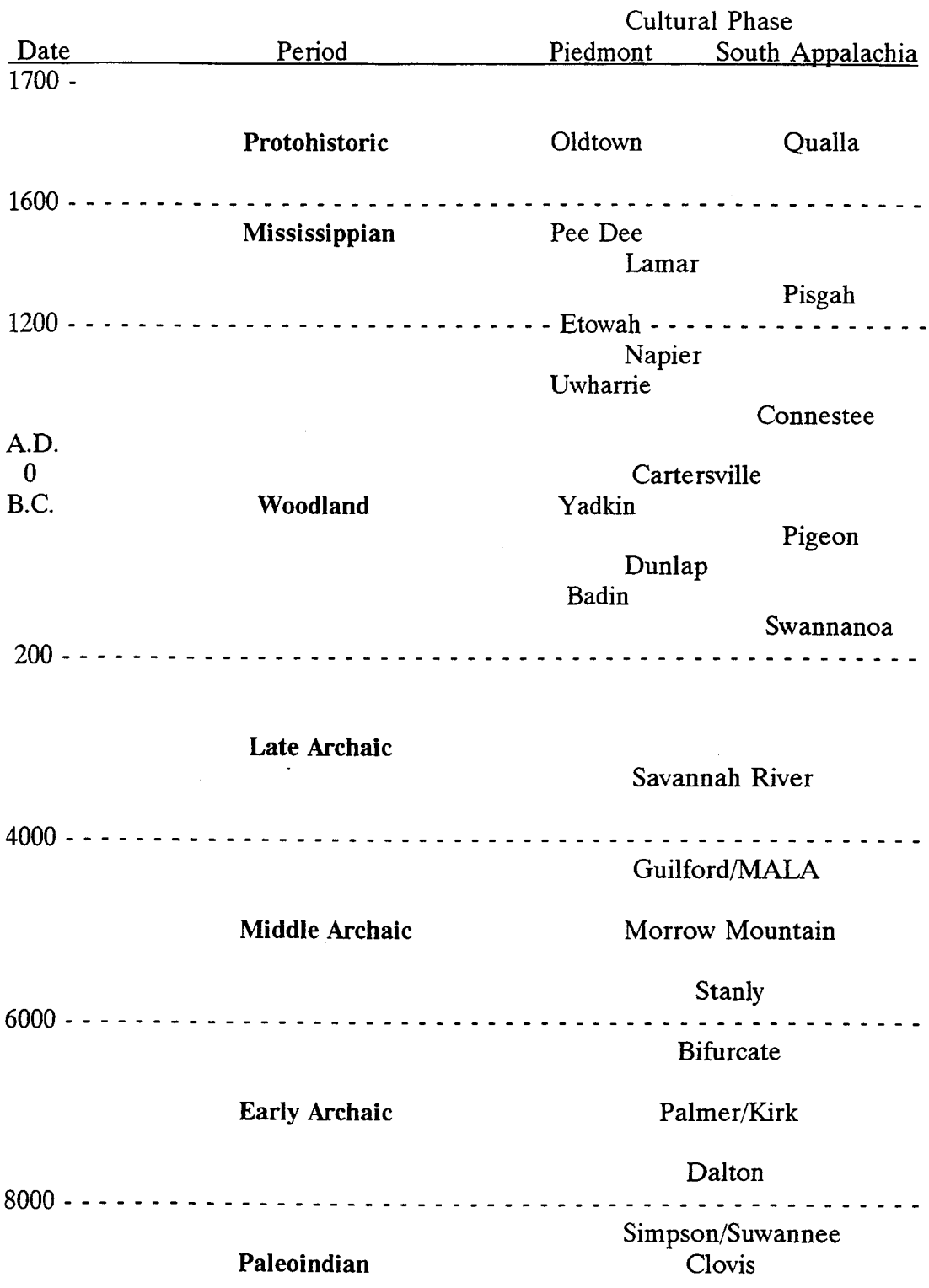


Figure 20. Cultural sequence for the South Carolina upcountry.

> spatial analyses comparable to the temporal analyses effected through excavation of deeply stratified sites. Both endeavors are necessary, and neither is sufficient for the total understanding of Piedmont prehistory" (Canouts and Goodyear 1985: 193).

One observation that Canouts and Goodyear (1985) made is that lithic raw material ratios change through time. For instance, at the Gregg Shoals site in Elbert County, Georgia, the Early Archaic assemblage reflects greater use of non-local cryptocrystalline materials and the Late Archaic, greater use of non-quartz local material (see Tippitt and Marquardt 1981). Examination of changing use of lithic resources will help archaeologists better understand issues such as the extent of seasonal rounds, trade networks, and social organization. Clearly, the arguments put forth by Canouts and Goodyear (1985) argue strongly for a higher regard for the "lowly" lithic scatter; a very common occurrence in the Piedmont.

In addition to lithic debris, prehistoric remains can be exhibited through food refuse (e.g. animal bone and phytolithic plant remains), evidence of shelter, cooking, storage, and the presence of pottery (although pottery is only found in later contexts). Typically, in earlier contexts such as the Paleoindian and Archaic Period, there is nothing more than lithic debris; not necessarily because that was all the inhabitants were involved with at the site, but because the inhabitants were few and stayed there for so short a time. This would result in little food bone, and what food bone did exist probably deteriorated since the quantity of bone was so poor that soil conditions could not be set up to preserve the bone. Where bone was deposited more densely at more permanent Woodland settlements, it is possible that the amount of calcium provided by the bone set up a condition where at least some bone could be preserved. Shelter or housing remnants will also probably not be found since the early Indians tended to move frequently, making it unnecessary to have anything more than an unsubstantial shelter which will not likely produce archaeological features. Usually, these early sites are limited in the types of questions they can address. This does not necessarily mean that they are unimportant sites, it only means that we must focus on those questions that the sites can address and perhaps draw from the negative evidence to answer other questions.

Paleoindian Period

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).

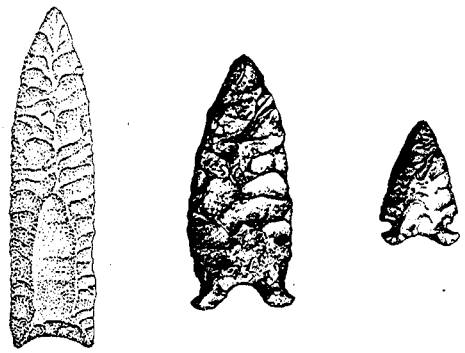


Figure 21. Examples of Paleoindian points.

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).

Very little work in the state has been able to focus on Paleoindian settlements because of the

rarity of the site type. No evidence was found for Paleoindian occupation in the Laurens-Anderson inter-riverine area, which is not surprising since elsewhere in the state these sites are usually found clustered along major drainages and their tributaries which is interpreted by Michie (1977:124) to support the concept of an economy "oriented towards the exploitation of now extinct mega-fauna." According to Goodyear et al. 1989:33) only two Paleoindian projectile points have been found in Greenville County. An additional Paleoindian projectile point was recently reported by Mr. Richard Sawyer from the digging of a pond (Richard Sawyer, personal communication 1995).

A.S. Rowell reported to Laura Bragg that he had recovered artifacts that he believed were "of Paleolithic Age" (letter to Laura M. Bragg from A.S. Rowell, n.d., The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina). He found the site on the sideslope of a hill adjacent to Hurricane Creek which feeds the Saluda River. He stated that "in following the bank from the camp down to the creek I observed several different stratas or layers, and found specimens in each one of them. In the upper layer were the Neolithic specimens while in the lower most layer I came upon the type of workmanship and evident Antiquity of the specimens sent to you." While his finds may only have represented Archaic material, the letter does suggest the potential for stratigraphic deposits similar to those found by Joffre Coe in the North Carolina piedmont.

One site identified in the Sumter National Forest (Price 1992), in neighboring Laurens County, is believed to have a possible Paleoindian component (38LU317). It is situated on a ridge saddle adjacent to a spring which feeds into the Enoree River, located only about 0.3 miles to the north. This fits well with previous arguments that Paleoindian sites will be located adjacent to major drainages.

Anderson (1992:32) suggests that the comparatively low density of Paleoindian diagnostics in South Carolina may be because the state could have been on the edge of the ranges of groups centered in other areas. He suggests that permanent settlements elsewhere probably occurred later in the Paleoindian period, only when population levels had grown appreciably in these centers. This would help to explain the overlap in stylistic traditions (such as the Clovis, Suwannee, Simpson, and Dalton) observed in South Carolina which perhaps resulted from populations expanding outwards from these centers.

Since archaeologists know so little about Paleoindian sites, there are a vast number of research questions that need to be addressed. However, at this early stage of knowledge, the primary goal should simply be the identification of Paleoindian sites. Michie (1977) found that Paleoindian sites were more common on the Fall Line and in the Coastal Plain. He noted that "[i]n the majority of cases the Clovis has been found near the intersection of creeks and river valleys, especially on the highest portion of land near those intersections" (Michie 1977:90). He also found that each point was found as a single occurrence and usually the site had low artifact density or was multicomponent with Early Archaic points and tools. Subsequently, Tommy Charles of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology began a survey of private collections and witnessed some differences from Michie's work. For instance, he found that more specimens manufactured from Piedmont metavolcanic materials than Coastal Plain chert and suggested that there was little difference in density of Paleoindian sites between the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain. Although he examined only two specimens from Greenville County, it is likely that they are representative of the materials that the Paleoindians used. These specimens were manufacture from quartz or "Ridge and Valley" chert. Mr. Sawyer's specimen was manufactured from metavolcanic argyllite, adding to the range of lithic materials known to have been used.

Given this previous research, areas with a higher likelihood of Paleoindian occupation can be identified. For instance, the confluence of the Saluda River and Cooper's Creek or the Reedy River and Laurel Creek fits the description offered by Michie (1977) and Charles (1986) (Figure 22). Once these sites have been located, a settlement model for this portion of the state should be made with possible refinements to region models proposed by others (e.g. Anderson 1992; O'Steen et al. 1986). In addition, they should be evaluated

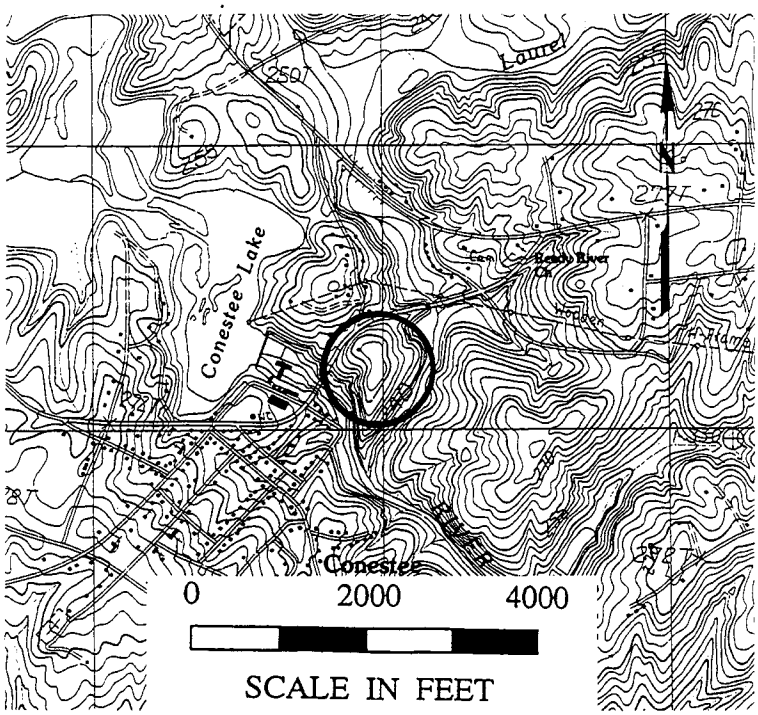


Figure 22. Example of area with a relatively high potential for Paleoindian occupation or use.

for their potential to address research once their condition has been determined. These research questions may be very simplistic since occupation density is believed to have been so low. While ambitious, important questions regarding Paleoindians include:

- What made up the diet of Paleoindians?
- What types of structures did they build?
- What was their travel range and what resources affected that range?
- Did Paleoindians take advantage of water resources like fish?
- How many people made up a Paleoindian band?

Archaic Period

The Archaic period, which dates from 8000 to as late as 500 B.C. in the Piedmont, 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).

Prehistoric sites in the Piedmont inter-riverine zones are for the most part characterized as "upland lithic scatters" (House and Wogaman 1978:xii). These sites are shallow deposits without stratigraphic definition, contain a diversity of artifacts, and are commonly disturbed by plowing and/or erosion (Canouts and Goodyear 1985; Trinkley and Caballero 1983:27).

Early Archaic

During the Laurens-Anderson study (Goodyear et al. 1979), four sites with Early Archaic components were identified. Each of these sites contained a single example of Dalton[2] points or probable Dalton preforms made of indigenous Piedmont quartz. The following Palmer phase was found to be very common in the area and was represented by 28 sites. While most of the specimens were manufactured from the local quartz, some were manufactured from Coastal Plain chert from the Flint River formation located in the lower coastal plain of South Carolina and Georgia. There were also examples of metavolcanic rhyolite from the Carolina Slate Belt and what may be "Ridge and Valley chert" from eastern Tennessee.

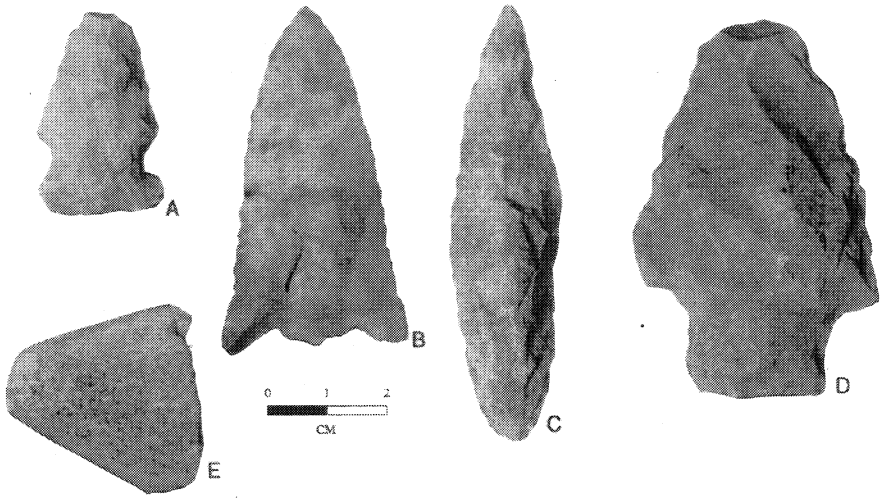


Figure 23. Examples of Archaic Period tools. A, Palmer Corner Notched; B, Kirk Corner Notched (stem broken); C, Guilford; D, Savannah River Stemmed, E, atl-atl weight fragment.

At these sites a wide range of tool types were identified including a large number of unifacial and flake tools believed to be associated with the Early Archaic occupation. Goodyear et al. (1979:197) found that while Early Archaic sites with unifaces were found throughout the corridor, sites on ridgetops which were large watershed divides produced higher counts. They believe that the large number of sites producing Palmer points is related to environmental changes at that time. The large diversity in lithic raw material provided information regarding their "mobility patterns and regions of interactions" (Goodyear et al. 1979:198).

Anderson and Hanson's (1988) band/macroband model of Early Archaic settlement was formulated primarily to evaluate data from the Savannah River basin. In the Savannah River Valley, settlement organization of the Early Archaic people was "characterized by the use of a logistically provisioned seasonal base camp or camps during the winter, and a series of short-term foraging camps throughout the remainder of the year" (Anderson 1992:36). During the early spring, the groups are believed to have moved toward the coast, then back into the upper coastal plain and piedmont during the later spring, summer, and early fall. During the winter they returned to their base camp incorporating some side trips to other drainages for aggregation events by groups from two or more different drainages. These aggregation sites are believed to have been located on Fall Line river terraces (Anderson 1989a:36). One example of a postulated base camp is the G.S. Lewis site at the Savannah River Site. This site is located on a ridge adjacent to the confluence of Upper Three Runs Creek and the Savannah River. Given this scenario for the Savannah River basin (which likely applies to other river basins), Early Archaic sites in the Greenville area were likely occupied from summer until fall and don't include aggregation sites. Anderson and

[2] Some researchers (see, for instance, Anderson 1992) classify Dalton as Paleoindian while others (Goodyear et al. 1989) classify it as Archaic.

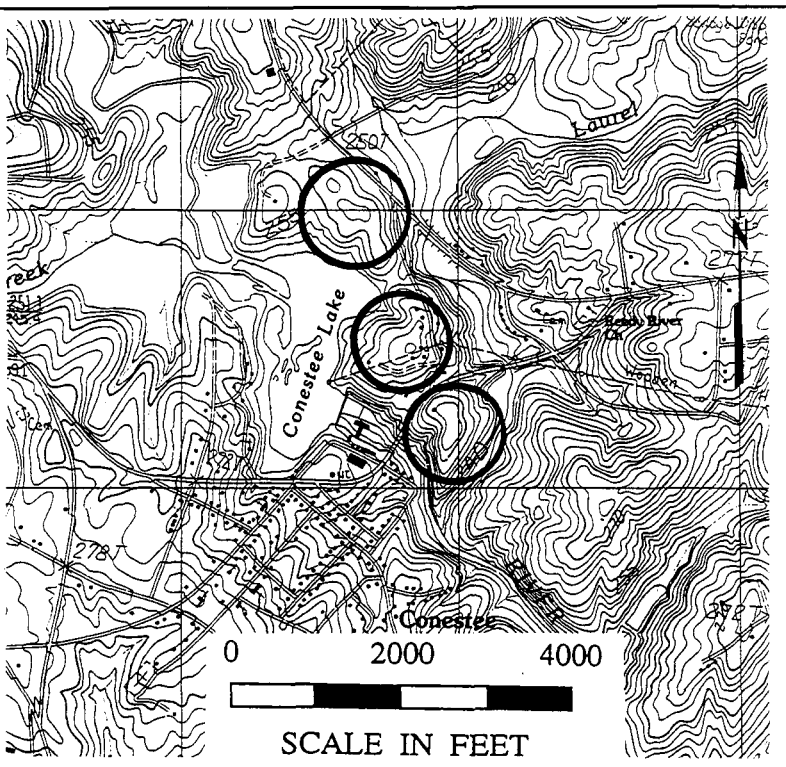


Figure 24. Example of areas with a potential for Archaic Period occupation or use.

Hanson (1988) place the Greenville area in the Saluda/Broad macroband settlement system. At the band level, they proposed "co-residential population aggregates" consisting of 50 to 150 people which occupied and moved primarily within one drainage basin. They projected that individual macroband population was between 500 and 1500 people. They also formulated a spatial model for the distribution of individual bands over the South Atlantic Slope.

Anderson (1989b) notes that data from the Savannah River Site and the Richard B. Russell Reservoir "suggest that a decline in utilization of the Coastal Plain may have occurred at the same time as an increase in utilization of the Piedmont [and] may be a part of a trend noted in the terminal Early Archaic in the general region. Settlement patterning in any given area was thus likely shaped by a range of variables, such as local resource structure, as well as by more regional trends in climate, population density, and these patterns apparently changed appreciably over time" (Anderson 1992:39). Data from the Laurens-Anderson study and the Savannah River project suggests that inter-riverine sites will be found on hills between watershed divides and riverine sites will be located on knolls adjacent to a major confluence.

Like the Paleoindian period, evidence of Early Archaic people usually consists of lithic debitage and finished stone tools. Evidence of other aspects of their lives may be difficult, if not impossible to find. Nonetheless, there are important research questions that need to be addressed, if sites can be found to answer those questions. Future research into the Early Archaic should include the following questions:

- During what season(s) were Early Archaic sites occupied in Greenville County and how do they fit into Anderson and Hanson's (1988) band/macroband model?

- How did Early Archaic people use the riverine and inter-riverine

zones?

- What was their diet?

- What types of shelters did Early Archaic people build?

- How far did they travel to get the things they needed to survive and did they revisit these places as a part of their yearly rounds?

- What types of tools did Early Archaic people use?

Middle Archaic

Morrow Mountain and Guilford points constituted the primary evidence for Middle Archaic (5000 to 3000 B.C.) occupation in the Laurens-Anderson corridor (Goodyear et al. 1979). Morrow Mountain constituted the vast bulk of these projectile points and were present in both the I and II varieties.[3] Over 95% of the 145 points were manufactured from the local quartz, which parallels other findings in Piedmont South Carolina. Guilford was not nearly as prominent and consisted of 35 finished specimens or preforms, all of which were manufactured from quartz.[4] Figure 23 illustrates examples of typical Archaic Period artifacts.

The Middle Archaic period was found to consist of the largest number of sites. In terms of geographic distribution, Goodyear et al. (1979) found that the Morrow Mountain phase was much like the Palmer phase, with sites occurring on ridges between watersheds. However, the almost complete reliance on local quartz separates the Morrow Mountain and Guilford phase sharply from the earlier Palmer phase. They suggest that "[t]he large number of Middle Archaic sites well dispersed through the inter-riverine areas and the abundant nature of chipped quartz remains on these sites suggest frequent movement and activity throughout the Piedmont of South Carolina" (Goodyear et al. 1979:207). Data from early reservoir projects (cf. Wauchope 1966) as well as inter-riverine observations by Caldwell (1954; 1958) and Coe (1952) made it clear that there were sharp contrasts between riverine and inter-riverine sites in terms of artifact diversity and density, and in the use of shellfish (Sassaman and Anderson 1994:134). With the advent of cultural resource management in the 1970s, additional data was available and further emphasized these differences. All of this data indicated that the largest and densest sites were located along large rivers, and that small, sparse sites were found throughout the uplands. While these differences were clear, what remained unclear was the relationship between riverine and inter-riverine sites in a settlement-subsistence system, and how, if at all, this system changed over time (Sassaman and Anderson 1994:135).

House and Ballenger studied this issue during their survey work on the proposed Interstate 77 project in 1976. They classified riverine zones of containing only the largest rivers while inter-riverine zones consisted of smaller rivers and streams. House and Ballenger (1976) argued that streams with a ranking of 3 or higher[5] contained resources that were not abundant in the

[3] Coe (1964) describes Morrow Mountain I as a small triangular blade with a short pointed stem, while the Morrow Mountain II is described as a long narrow blade with a long tapered stem. While he describes them as different types, he notes that many people have chosen not distinguish between the two.

[4] Preforms represent an intermediate stage between flakes from secondary cores and quarry blades. Some are worked bifacially, although most are unifacial and still retain the platform and bulb of percussion. Quarry blades are usually bifacially worked and are made to allow easy transportation of lithic materials until the time it is needed to be made into a projectile point. Some researchers have used the terms preform and quarry blade interchangeably, meaning the bifacially worked ovate blade.

[5] According to the system, based on Strahler (1957) 1st order streams are the fingertip tributaries at the head of a stream and may either be year-round or seasonally flowing streams. A 2nd order stream is formed by the confluence of two 1st order streams. A 3rd order stream is formed by the confluence of two 2nd order streams, etc. This system requires that at least two streams of a given order be joined to form a stream of the next highest order. The main stem of a river will always have the highest order.

uplands (fish, turtle, raccoon, etc.), whereas smaller streams had a higher density of deer and nut masts. The resulting archaeological assemblages from these distinct areas should, themselves, be distinct (House and Ballenger 1976; Sassaman and Anderson 1994). They divided their sites into habitation and extraction sites[6] using a lithic tool classification scheme that would allow functional sorting of the two site types. From the information gathered using this analysis, coupled with data on the seasonal availability of resources, they created a Middle and Late Archaic settlement model:

> involving spring and summer residence along major rivers; a move to seasonal base camps in upland creek valleys in September to take advantage of deer concentration in upland hardwood zones, with some exploitation of other resources as well; and then a return to riverine-located winter quarters with permanent houses in about December when the coldest months arrived, the deer rutting season came to an end, and the acorn mast in the hardwood forests began to be exhausted (House and Ballenger 1976:117).

The Windy Ridge site (House and Wogaman 1978), while fitting the expected upland site profile as proposed by House and Ballenger (1976), may have been used as a habitation site during the Middle Archaic. Other projects also complicated the model. Work in the Richard B. Russell Reservoir (Anderson and Schuldenrein 1985; Tippett and Marquardt 1984) examined a number of sites with Morrow Mountain components. Interestingly, none of these riverine sites produced denser or more diverse remains than did inter-riverine sites. This suggested that Middle Archaic people were not using the riverine and inter-riverine areas much differently in this part of the state (Sassaman and Anderson 1994:137).

Sassaman (1983) attempted to more closely examine Middle and Late Archaic settlement patterns by examining sites from a number of piedmont studies. He found that Middle Archaic settlement in the South Carolina Piedmont did not fit the riverine-inter-riverine model. This suggested that Middle Archaic people were much more mobile, perhaps moving residences every few weeks which fit Binford's (1980) definition of a foraging society. Binford (1980) proposed that foragers had high levels of residential mobility, moving camps often to take advantage of dispersed, but similar resource patches. Collectors stayed in one location longer, by sending out specialized work parties to exploit resources in widely dispersed and distinct resource patches. He believed that differences in environmental structure could be traced to large scale climactic factors. He further noted that a collector system could arise under any conditions that limited the ability of hunter-gatherers to relocate residences. During his work in the Haw River area of North Carolina, Cable (1982) argued that postglacial warming at the end of the Pleistocene led to increased vegetational homogeneity which encouraged foraging.[7]

Sassaman (1983) suggests that this indicates a large degree of homogeneity of the piedmont environments. They also had a high degree of social flexibility, allowing them to pick up and move when needed. This high level of mobility did not allow them to transport much material, which in turn, alleviated the need for elaborate or specialized tools to procure and process resources at locations distant from camp. Since quartz is practically everywhere in the piedmont, tools could be easily replaced and were expedient. The high mobility and the expediency of tools helps to explain the abundance of Middle Archaic sites in the piedmont without having to imply a population explosion. Sassaman called this

[6] An extraction site is an area where resources (such as fish, lithic raw material, etc.) were obtained and is often represented by lithic debitage and perhaps small camp sites. A habitation site is a seasonal or temporary camp where these resources were usually consumed, used, or worked.

[7] Since the vegetation was homogeneous and there were no concentrations of resources people moved from place to place foraging rather than settling near or in these resource concentrations.

model the "Adaptive Flexibility" model (Sassaman 1983; Sassaman and Anderson 1994).

Future research on Middle Archaic sites in Greenville County should attempt to address the following questions:

- Do Greenville County's Middle Archaic sites fit into Sassaman's "Adaptive Flexibility" model?
- Is there evidence for seasonal use of the piedmont landscape as Anderson and Hanson (1988) suggest for the Early Archaic?
- If Middle Archaic people were more mobile than Early or Late Archaic people, did this affect their diet?
- If Middle Archaic people were more mobile than Early or Late Archaic people, was their architecture more expedient?
- What is the range in lithic raw material quality? Since they appear to have been using only local materials, did they at least take the time to locate the better quality outcrops?
- Are there any meaningful differences between Morrow Mountain I and II projectile point types?

Late Archaic

Savannah River Stemmed and Otarre[8] stemmed points are the primary indicators of Late Archaic settlement in the Laurens-Anderson study area. Ten Savannah River phase sites and seven Otarre phase sites were identified. Quartz tools, which were found in overwhelming abundance at earlier sites, consisted only of about 57% of the Savannah River assemblage. Other materials included "silicates, volcanic slate/argillite, and unknown igneous/metamorphic" (Goodyear et al. 1979:207). The Otarre assemblage reflected a trend away from igneous/metamorphic rock, with a concentration of quartz and siliceous materials. The incorporation of more types of lithic raw material as well as the fact that Late Archaic diagnostics are much fewer than Middle Archaic diagnostic artifacts indicates a sharp decrease in residential mobility.

Many of these Late Archaic sites produced fire cracked rock which was found on major ridges between watersheds. Goodyear et al. (1979:209-210) found that the inter-riverine picture of the Late Archaic contrasted quite sharply with river sites. Artifacts at riverine sites were diverse and included steatite vessels and netsinkers[9], ground stone axes, rock mortars and handstones, atlatl weights, and chipped stone drills. In the upland sites, the assemblage consists almost entirely of chipped stone bifaces and debitage. Purrington (1983) also noted this trend for the mountain region of North Carolina. At the Savannah River Plant, both riverine and upland sites contained a full range of tools, but no architectural features have been located.

Soapstone became an important lithic resource in the Late Archaic period for manufacturing of cooking vessels, and a number of soapstone quarries have been identified in Spartanburg and Cherokee counties (Ferguson 1976). Unfortunately, little is known about patterns in local soapstone use, although Elliott (1981) argues that soapstone exchange in the upcountry was facilitated by local reciprocal relationships. Soapstone was also probably used as a mechanism to maintain long distance relationships through long distance trade. Sassaman et al. state that:

[8] According to Oliver (1981) the Otarre type is contemporaneous with the Savannah River stemmed type and fall within the category of "Small Savannah River Stemmed".

[9] Sassaman (1991:87-88) states that "perforated and grooved objects are common items in Late Archaic assemblages of the Savannah River Valley. Both the grooved and perforated varieties have been referred to as "netsinkers", but the more common perforated slave was apparently used as a cooking stone."

[c]ompared to sites in the upper and lower reaches of the Coastal Plain, a higher proportion of sites in the middle portion of the plain contain soapstone artifacts. This may indicate that soapstone distributions were not merely the result of distance-decay from sources, but were much more dependent on the social composition of exchange alliances (Sassaman et al. 1988:90).

Figure 25. Soapstone bowl typical of those manufactured in the Piedmont during the Late Archaic (courtesy of the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina).

For the Late Archaic, John White (1982) also applied a riverine/inter-riverine dichotomy. He demonstrated that riverine sites were much more dense and diverse than inter-riverine sites, but also identified the existence of diverse and sometimes dense assemblages at upland sites. He argued that they were habitation camps during periods of seasonal dispersal from riverine aggregation bases.

Although Steven Savage (1989) has proposed a "Late Archaic Landscape" model, a number of researchers (i.e. Anderson 1989a; Cable 1994; and Rafferty 1992) have noted that his study was seriously flawed by the "misappropriation of data from the Richard B. Russell survey" (Sassaman and Anderson 1994:142). The purpose of the work was to attempt to apply the locational methods of GIS to the analysis of Late Archaic social systems in the Upper Savannah River Valley. However, he only chose to use early intensive survey data and ignored subsequent data from testing and excavation. In addition, he chose to ignore problems such as multicomponentcy and representativeness (Cable 1994). Although it was considered a noteworthy study since it was the first to use Geographic Information Systems (GIS) for the analysis of settlement distribution, "the errors detract from the potential value of Savage's approach" (Sassaman and Anderson 1994:142).

It is the Late Archaic period sites that contain the earliest prehistoric burials. While earlier burials existed, apparently skeletal remains have decayed beyond recognition. Beginning with this period, we can begin to address questions relating to health and disease as well as status. Research questions relating to the Late Archaic should include:

- How did Late Archaic people differently use the riverine and inter-riverine zones?
- What types of houses did they build?
- What did their diet consist of, based on faunal and floral

remains as well as chemical analysis of skeletal material?

- From what types of diseases did Late Archaic people suffer?

- What were their burial practices?

- Was the social stratification within Late Archaic period groups based on evidence burial goods?

- What types of tools did Late Archaic people have?

Woodland Period

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. Regardless, the period from 2000 to 500 B.C. was a period of tremendous change.

The subsistence economy during this 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.

Early Woodland

Brooks and Hanson (1987) noted significant changes in the density and distribution of upland tributary sites during the Woodland period in the Steel Creek area of the Savannah River Plant. Brooks proposed that as tributary associated habitats became more productive with floodplain maturation that upland tributary terraces became areas of more permanent occupation. For the Savannah River area, the data suggested to Brooks that annual settlement ranges in the Early Woodland period were restricted to tributary watersheds (Sassaman et al. 1990:315).

Artifacts typical of the Early Woodland in Greenville County consist of Dunlap and Swannanoa ceramics (similar to the Kellog focus of Northern Georgia). The Dunlap series is characterized by a medium to coarse sand paste, fabric impressions, and vessels with a simple jar or cup form. The Swannanoa ceramics, with heavy crushed quartz temper, are cord marked or fabric impressed conoidal jars and simple bowls. Other surface treatments consist of simple stamping, check stamping, and smoothed plain (Keel 1976:230). Early Woodland projectile point types consist of Savannah River Stemmed (and its variants) and Swannanoa Stemmed.

Land use during the Early Woodland period in the Greenville County area suggests extensive use of the inter-riverine zone. Two sites (one in Greenville County and one in Laurens County) contained dense remains and were located on the south face of a slope adjacent to springs. Goodyear et al. (1979:230) suggest that these sites "reflect a fall-winter occupation period with subsistence activities primarily related to nut gathering and deer hunting. If these two sites in fact represent fall-winter base camps it would represent a strong break with previous Archaic systems and their settlement strategies for exploiting inter-riverine biotic resources". Based on these previous studies, Early Woodland sites are most likely to be found adjacent to springs or the upland terraces of tributaries (Figure 26).

Research questions regarding the Early Woodland should include:

- Do the few studies in the Greenville County area accurately reflect the preferred location of Early Woodland settlement?

- What types of food did they eat and does it reflect the perceived movement at this time away from exploiting inter-riverine biotic resources?

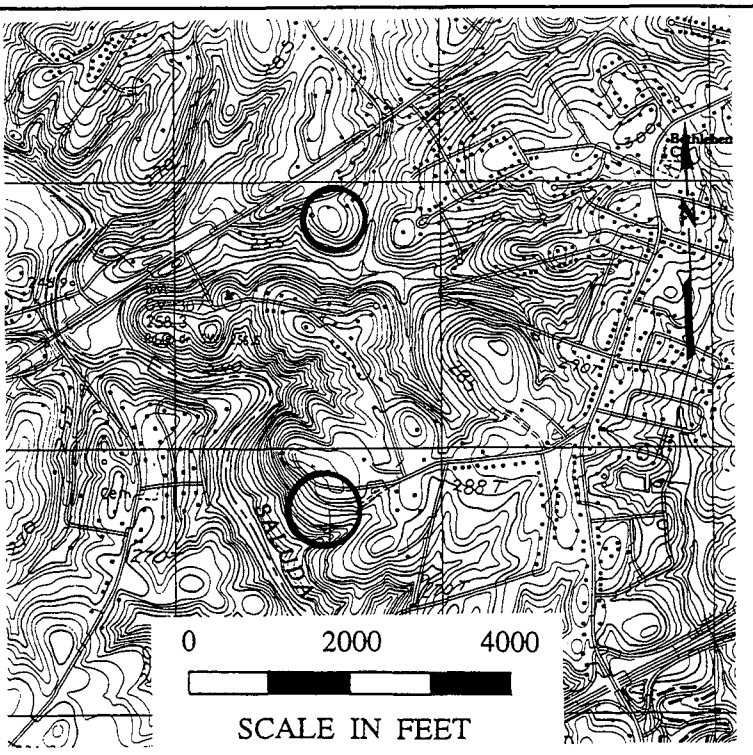


Figure 26. Example of areas with a potential for Early Woodland Period occupation or use.

- What types of houses did they live in?

- During what season(s) were these sites occupied?

- How did they bury their dead?

- Is there evidence for social stratification reflected in the burials?

- Is there any evidence of significant change from the Late Archaic to the Early Woodland? Did the advent of pottery really change lifeways that much?

- What types of diseases did Early Woodland people suffer from?

- What types of tools did Early Woodland people have?

- How were villages spatially organized and is there evidence for specialized work areas?

Middle Woodland

The Middle Woodland period is found "virtually lacking" in the Laurens-Anderson inter-riverine zone. One densely occupied site in adjacent Laurens County was found in an unusually large floodplain of a rank 2 stream. Goodyear et al. state that:

> [g]iven the habitation like character of this site, plus the large number of simple stamped bearing floodplain sites along larger streams such as the Reedy River, it is tempting to see agriculture playing a role in the apparent re-orientation to flood-plain environments during the middle Woodland period in the Piedmont environment. In this

> regard, the middle Woodland period sites and their locations would seem to presage the late prehistoric Mississippian period pattern during the latter, where large agriculturally related villages were constructed along fertile stretches of floodplain (Goodyear et al. 1979:230-231).

This new pattern is also reflected in the Savannah River Valley where Savannah terrace sites at the mouth of Upper Three Runs Creek were being occupied again for intensive settlement. Midden accumulations at several sites indicate long term occupation or repeated occupations of these sites by relatively large groups (Sassaman et al. 1990:315).

Pottery typical of the Middle Woodland in the Greenville County area consists of the Pigeon and Cartersville series. Pigeon is quartz tempered with surface treatments of check stamping, simple stamping, and brushing. The Cartersville type is characterized by sand or grit paste with the primary surface treatment being cordmarking, although there are also check stamped and simple stamped varieties. The Cartersville series is thought to be closely related to the Deptford series on the Coast. Anderson and Schuldenrein (1985:720) suggest that Cartersville continues well into the Late Woodland period. Projectile points typically found in association with these pottery are the Pigeon Side Notched and Corner Notched types.

Testing at 38LU107 (Wood and Gresham 1981) demonstrated that one of the most intensive occupations of this multicomponent site was during the Middle Woodland period. This site is located on a knoll adjacent to South Rabon Creek, near its confluence with North Rabon Creek. A number of features were encountered including a large, deep pit, post holes, and a stone hearth. This indicated that even sites on plowed knolls can and do produce subsurface features.

Since the Middle Woodland period reflects a new pattern of settlement, questions regarding how quickly this change occurred and how the transition to horticulture affected their material culture should be examined. Clearly, this change did not occur over night and perhaps examination of radiocarbon dates from upland and riverine sites during this transition period will begin to clarify questions regarding change in lifeways.

Other questions regarding the Middle Woodland period should include:

- Since there is a change in lifestyle and foodways due to the move to horticulture, are there any new disease patterns that appear?
- What types of houses did Middle Woodland people live in?
- How were villages spatially organized and is there evidence for specialized work areas?
- Is there evidence for social stratification in the burial remains?
- What types of foods did Middle Woodland people eat?
- What types of tools did they use?

Late Woodland

Small triangular points which are generally believed to be diagnostic of the Late Woodland and Mississippian periods consisted of 12 examples in the Laurens-Anderson study. Ten of these were manufactured from quartz while the other two where manufactured from either rhyolite or a Piedmont silicate. These projectile points were typed as "Mississippian triangulars" and included what they believed were Uwharrie or Pee Dee Triangular types and the Hamilton Incurvate Triangular type. Napier and Connestee Series pottery are typical Late Woodland types for the Greenville County region. The Napier series is a fine sand tempered ware with fine complicated stamped designs. The Connestee series is a thin walled sand tempered ware with brushed or simple stamped surface decorations. There are also

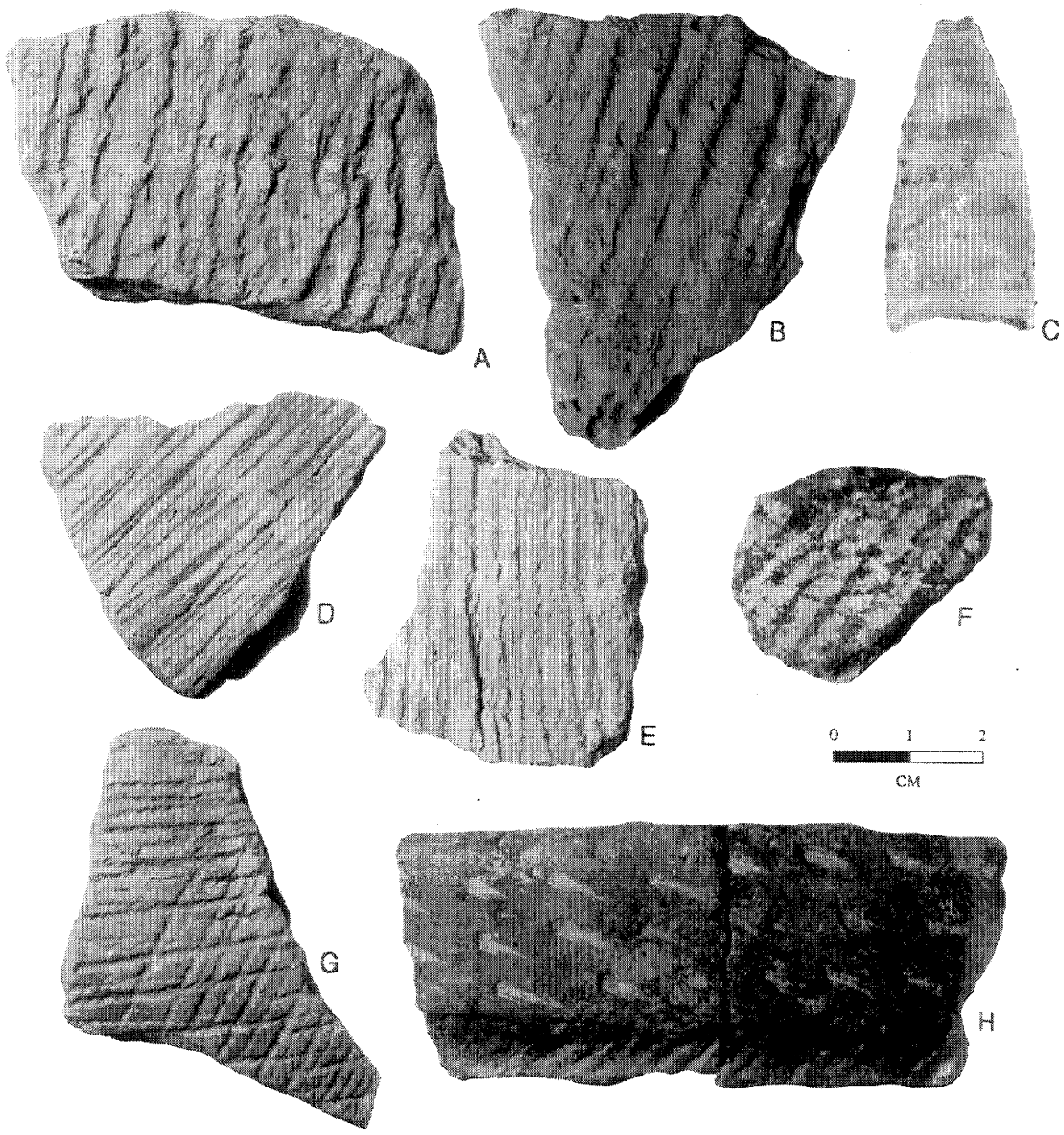


Figure 27. Examples of Woodland Period artifacts. A, Badin Cord Marked; B, Yadkin Cord Marked; C, triangular projectile point; D, Connestee Simple Stamped; E, Connestee Cord Marked; F, Pigeon Check Stamped; G, Swannanoa Cord Marked; H, Pisgah rim.

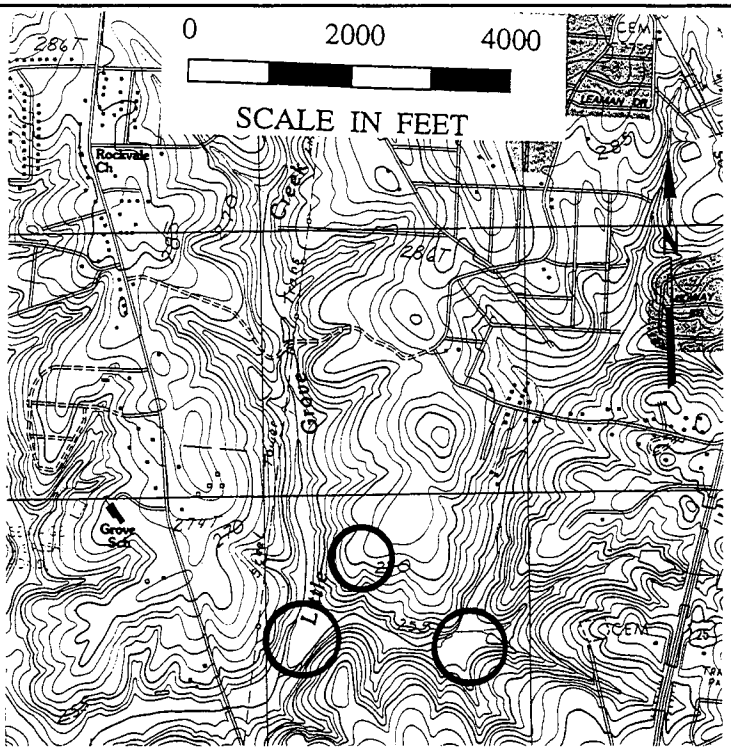


Figure 28. Example of areas with a potential for Middle and Late Woodland occupation or use.

cordmarked, check stamped, fabric impressed, and plain varieties (Trinkley 1990).

According to Sassaman et al. (1990:317) Late Woodland occupations in the Savannah River Valley consisted of small habitation sites along all available terrace locations of both tributaries and the Savannah River. This increasing use of low-lying terraces suggests the increased exploitation of floodplain habitats, perhaps including maize agriculture, although no direct evidence has yet been found at the Savannah River Site. Figure 28 shows areas of higher probability for Middle and Late Woodland sites, located on floodplains and terraces or knolls adjacent to confluences.

Keel (1976) reported on the Garden Creek Mound No. 3 which contained a dominant Connestee component based on George Heye's 1915 examination of the mound. Later work at Garden Creek Mound No. 2 examined a portion of a village with a large quantity of Connestee remains. A number of post holes were exposed revealing one discernable square house with rounded corners measuring about 19 by 19 feet in outline. In addition, there were a number refuse pits and hearths. The hearths included both rock filled and surface hearths. There were also a number of burial pits (see Keel 1976:99; Figure 15). It is likely that Connestee sites in Greenville County will contain similar features.

Research questions relating to the Late Woodland could involve how these people used the uplands and what the location of these floodplain sites says about social organization. It is possible that the Late Woodland Indians were very similar to the Mississippian Indians and the historic Cherokee in the sense that towns, particularly within the same drainage, saw themselves as part of a larger community. During the Archaic and Early Woodland periods, people may have been more socially associated with settlements between large drainages which may have switched to drainage-based relationships as people began settling on river and creek terraces.

Other research questions should include:

- How were settlements spatially organized and is there evidence for spatial activity areas?

- What did Late Woodland houses look like?

- What types of food did they eat?

- What types of crops did they plant?

- From what kinds of diseases did they suffer?

- Is there evidence for status differences in the burial remains?

- How did Late Woodland Indians use the upland areas?

Mississippian Period

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.[10] The period is characterized by complicated stamped pottery, complex social organization, agriculture, and the construction of temple mounds and ceremonial centers.

In the Greenville County area, Mississippian pottery includes the Pisgah and Qualla series. Pisgah ceramics are tempered with unmodified river sand, although some earlier examples contain both river sand and crushed quartz. It is decorated with complicated stamping, check stamping and ladder-like rectilinear patterns (Dickens 1970; Holden 1966). It should be noted that the Qualla series extends well into the historic period (ca.1500-1908) and is characterized by complicated stamping and bold incising. Other types described by Egloff (1967) include burnished, plain, check stamped, cord marked, and corncob impressed. At Tuckasegee brushed examples were also identified (Keel 1976). Other artifacts associated with the Mississippian period include triangular projectile points, flake scrapers, microtools, gravers, perforators, drill, ground stone objects (celts, pipes, and discoidals), and worked shell and mica (Keel 1976).

Very little evidence of Mississippian period occupation was found in the Laurens-Anderson inter-riverine survey area which is not surprising given the focus on riverine resources during this time period. Very little evidence of Mississippian occupation has been documented at the Savannah River Plant and no formal settlement-subsistence model has been created for this area (Sassaman et al. 1990:317). However, Anderson (1994) has provided a detailed examination of evidence for political change at Mississippian sites in the Savannah River Valley and should be consulted for more information.

Excavations at large Mississippian sites in the Upper Piedmont include work at the I.C. Few site which was examined as a part of the Keowee-Toxaway Reservoir project sponsored by Duke Power Company (Grange 1972). Simpson's Field (38AN8) on the Savannah River was also investigated during the Richard B. Russell Reservoir studies (Wood et al. 1986). Work at the Chauga site (38OC47) in nearby Oconee County evidenced occupation in the Early and Late Mississippian period. Ten stages of mound building were found at the site along with burials and palisades. There is evidence for increasing impoverishment of the residents through time, since burials associated with the latest phases of mound building contained fewer grave goods than earlier phases in both the occupation during the Early Mississippian and the Late Mississippian (Anderson 1994:303-305). Homes Hogue Wilson (1986) examined burials from the Warren Wilson site in western North Carolina and provided some preliminary conclusions regarding social structure based on location of burials according to age and sex. For instance, she found more males than females were buried under structure floors. These males included primarily those under 25 or over 35 years old. She also found that individuals buried

[10] Small pox was a major cause of death to a large number of Native Americans during the historic period. The smallpox epidemics of 1734 and 1783 reportedly killed half of the Cherokee population (Hatley 1993).

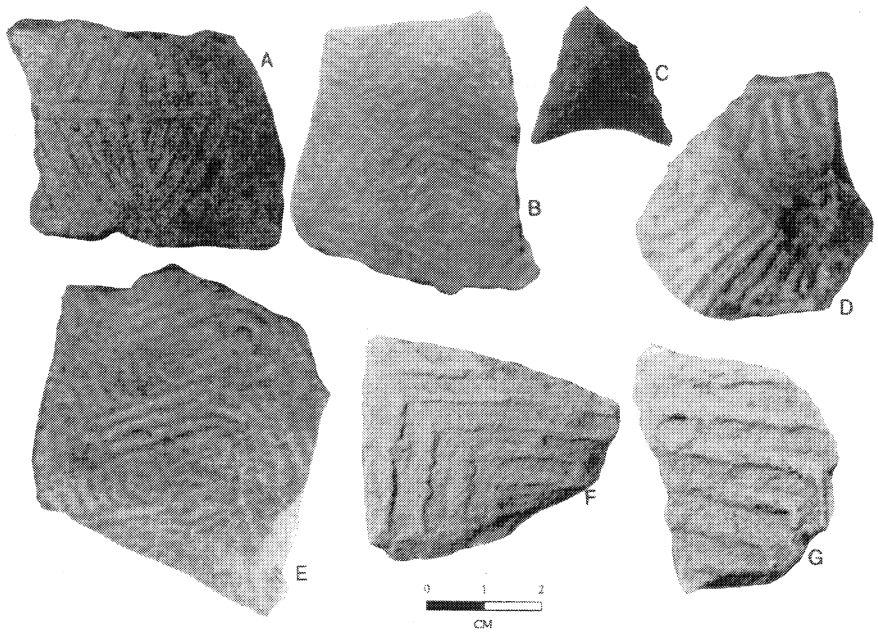


Figure 29. Examples of Mississippian Period artifacts. A-B, Etowah Complicated Stamped; C, Caraway Triangular projectile point; D-E, Lamar Complicated Stapmed; F-G, Qualla Complicated Stamped.

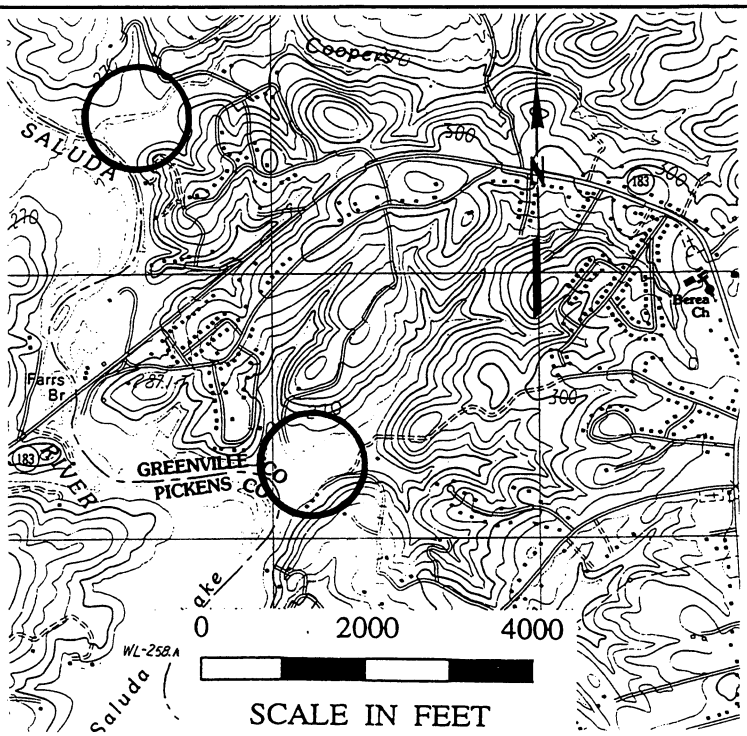


Figure 30. Examples of areas with a potential for Mississippian Period and Historic Indian occupation.

inside of structures were more likely to have burial goods than those buried in public areas. Burial feature types included pit burials, side-chambered burials, and central-chambered burials. Studies such as this can give great insight into the social organization of prehistoric societies.

A number of mounds have been documented in Greenville County. Laura M. Bragg (1918) reported on a mound at "Caldwell Plantation" measuring about 40 feet in diameter and five feet in height. The mound was trenched through the center, finding evidence of hearths at the apex, beneath of which was human remains, sassafras wood, soapstone and slate pipes, and a polished celt. A second mound, located off of Buncombe Road between Greenville, South Carolina and Hendersonville, North Carolina was also examined. The mound was 100 feet in diameter and about 15 feet high. In addition to Indian artifacts, several slave burials were inadvertently disturbed. The investigators excavated a 15 foot square through the apex of the mound and then "a passage out to the east side". These excavations found evidence of six construction layers. J. Walter Fewkes also made collections from mounds in the Greenville area although nothing is known about their context (UGA 1969).

A.S. Rowell (Rowell n.d.) reported a cave site to Laura Bragg which may have been occupied by Indians familiar with agriculture. The site was about 14 miles from Piedmont, South Carolina on the banks of the Reedy River. The cave was about two feet high and five feet deep with a small level area in front of it. On one side of the opening was a "square block which a mortar for grinding corn had been worked out" (Rowell n.d.).[11]

The largest amount of regional work has taken place in the North Carolina mountains at sites such as Tuckasegee, Garden Creek, and Warren Wilson. At Tuckasegee a possible town house was uncovered measuring about 23 feet in diameter with a central hearth (Keel 1976). At Warren Wilson several roughly square structures were uncovered and they all measured on the average about 21 feet square. Burials were common inside of these houses and pit features were abundant. Artifacts at the Warren Wilson site included ceramics from the Swannanoa series up through the Pisgah series. (Dickens 1970).

Most of the Mississippian research in South Carolina has focussed on ceremonial mound centers, with very little research on moundless or hamlet sites. Research thus far, however, indicates that Mississippian sites are found along major drainages in locations favorably disposed to both agriculture and the exploitation of riverine resources (Ferguson 1971). Other models (e.g., Ward 1965, Steponaitis 1983, and Anderson 1990) emphasize a "linkage of Mississippian sites with easily tilled, highly fertile floodplain soils, and factors influencing the spacing of centers and subsidiary sites across the region" (Anderson 1989c:114) Research in Greenville County should not only identify and examine any ceremonial mound centers, but also the relationship of moundless settlements and hamlets. Research questions could include the following:

- How did mound centers and hamlet villages interact?
- What types of crops were they growing?
- Do burials reflect status differences?
- How are structures within hamlet sites spatially organized?
- What did these structures look like?
- From what types of diseases did Mississippian people suffer?
- How did Mississippian Indians use the upland areas?

Historic Period

For the historic period, the data is much richer. This is not because more historical archaeology has been done in Greenville County, but because of the historic documents available that provide details that would otherwise be

[11] This "square block" also may have been used for processing nuts -- or it could have been natural.

unavailable at present. While some may ask "If we have historic documents, then why do we need to do historical archaeology?", this is an easy question to answer. Much of the history has been written by the elite, literate, and white citizens who have their own personal concerns and points of view, and tended to overlook people such as black slaves, and poor or common whites. As a result, there is little that we know about their lives and it is at this level that historical archaeology becomes important. These people were the ones that made Greenville County prosperous; they were the farmers, the blacksmiths, the tailors, the mill workers, and the miners. This does not mean to suggest that the study of the "elite" is unimportant because it is necessary to understand how they articulated with the "common" people, but there were more of the common than the elite and there is so little known about this "silent majority".

For the historic Cherokee, we know little about how the presence of Euro- and African-American culture impacted their lives. We do know that many Indians died of smallpox and other European diseases and that the remaining ones were eventually removed from South Carolina. However, we don't know a lot about how foreign influence impacted their foodways, their architecture, the organization of settlement, or their values. In short, we do not know what it was like to be a Cherokee Indian on the Carolina frontier.

Historic Indians

Fogelson and Kutsche (1961:88-89) describe the lands of the Lower Cherokee as "comparatively flat lands on the banks of the Tugaloo and Keowee Rivers and their branches in what is now northwestern South Carolina" (Figure 31). Because of the advancement of the white frontier, there was a great deal of intertribal strife and boundary rearrangements precipitated by the dislocation of tribes east of the Cherokee. With direct contact with the white pioneers war ensued and a number of Cherokee villages were destroyed. Both war and disease reduced the population dramatically.

Swanton (1952) lists a number of Lower Cherokee towns in the upstate in Oconee and Pickens counties and recently, Sheriff (1991) and her elementary school students compiled data from various accounts and maps providing composite descriptions of various Lower Cherokee towns in South Carolina. Mooney (1928) estimates that the total Cherokee population was about 22,000 in 1650. He states that in 1715 the Lower Cherokee had a population of about 2,100, although Swanton (1952:223) believes that this estimate is too low. In 1755, estimates for North Carolina gave five divisions of the tribe with a total of 2,590 people. They were forced further west, removing them from the area by 1838 although a few remained in the mountains as refugees until 1842. The Qualla Reservation in western North Carolina was set up for them at this time where a number continue to remain. A 1930s estimate placed the North Carolina population at 1,963 (Swanton 1952:223).

Historically, the Lower Cherokee used the western Piedmont of South Carolina as a hunting territory. The eastern limits of this hunting territory were defined by the presence of the Catawba Indians. According to Logan (1859) there was a common hunting ground between the Lower Cherokee and the Catawba Indians which encompassed the districts of Richland, Fairfield, Chester, and York. Hatley (1993) states that the Cherokee hunting grounds had been modified by years of purposeful intervention and some of the most productive hunting areas were the old fields and planting lands. "These patches -- soil licks, sand ridges, canebrakes, and old fields, maintained in a sere of young growth by light burning -- provided a habitat where deer could predictably be found" (Hatley 1993:212).

Goodyear et al. (1979) suggest that a translucent "Ridge and Valley"-like chert is the result of late prehistoric and/or Cherokee activities.[12] In looking for an archaeological correlation, they found that these translucent "Ridge and Valley"-like cherts are mainly restricted to piedmont counties west of the Broad River. No archaeological work has been conducted in Greenville County associated with a Lower Cherokee village and it is likely that a major village does not exist since they are believed to be

[12] Goodyear et al. (1979) provide no firm statement as to whether or not the chert is indeed Ridge and Valley.

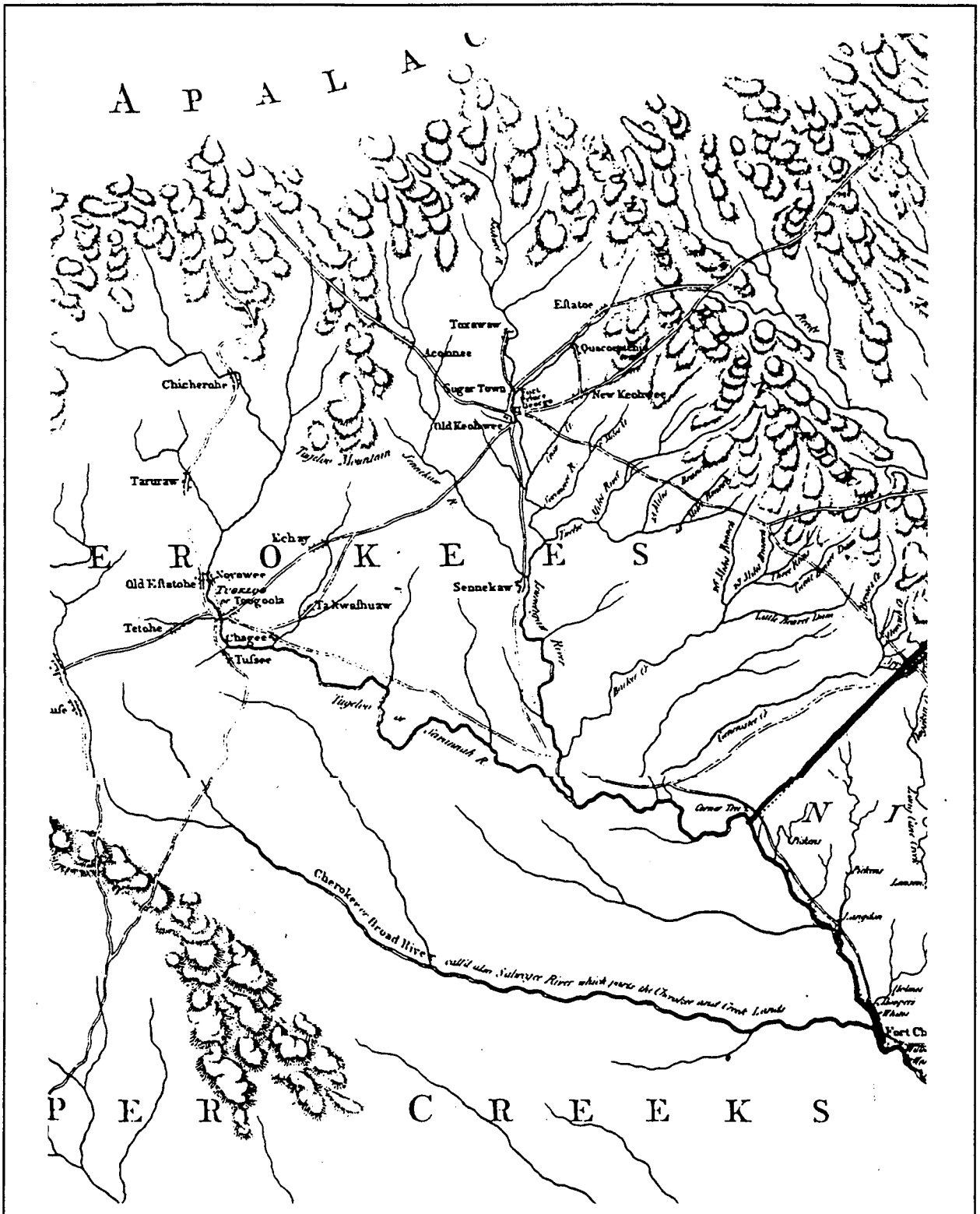


Figure 31. Mouzon Map of 1775 showing the Indian Territory and Cherokee towns.

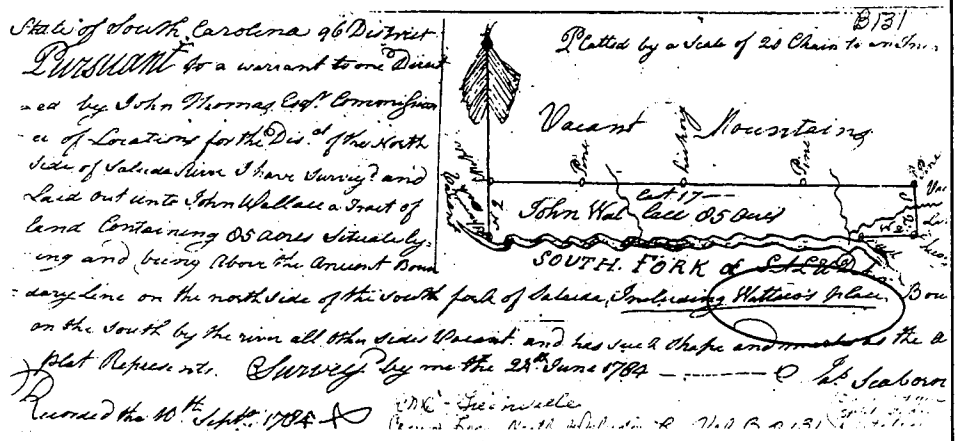


Figure 32. 1784 Seaborn plat showing a reference to "Wattaco's place" (Greenville County RMC, Commissioner of Location, Vol. B, p. 131).

primarily located in Oconee and Pickens counties. However, there are likely to be a number of camps and/or hamlets that were continually revisited during hunting forays in the land dividing the Catawba and the Cherokee. In fact, several land grants for eighteenth century Greenville County give enigmatic references to Indian settlements. In several instances, late eighteenth century surveyors reference *Wattacoo's* (also *Watticoo, Waterco, Wattacoe*) camp site on their surveys. For example, surveyor Joseph Whitner laid out property for himself in 1785 that was located "one mile below Wattacoo's place". There are references to other possible historic Indian settlements including "Uceties camp" as well as "Oyl Camp Creek" (Breedlove and McCuen 1993:35-36) (Figures 32 and 33).

The settlement pattern for the village sites and individual house sites was at the base of hills adjacent to tillable land and sources of fresh water. If arable land was abundant, houses would sometimes be clustered in the middle of fields (Fogelson and Kutsche 1961:90). The seasonal planting cycle seems to have strongly affected the rhythm of eighteenth century Cherokee life. Small hunting parties went out from late October to the early spring, with shorter hunting trips during the summer (Gearing 1958:1150). Often, these summer hunting forays took place only after the corn was planted and before it was ready to be harvested (Fogelson and Kutsche 1961). This may have had an impact on the season of use of Greenville County Cherokee camps or hamlets.

Bartram describes their pattern of settlement:

> An Indian town is generally so situated, as to be convenient for procuring game, secure from sudden invasion, having a large district of excellent arable land adjoining, or in its vicinity, if possible on an isthmus betwixt two waters, or where the doubling of a river forms a peninsula. . . . At other times however they choose such a convenient fertile spot at some distance from their town, when circumstances will not admit of having both together (Bartram 1928 [1791]:400-401).

Artifacts associated with the historic Cherokee include the previously discussed Qualla ceramic type. It should be noted that Egloff (1967:68-75) argues that there is marked variation in Qualla ceramics between the Georgia and South Carolina towns, the North Carolina towns, and the Tennessee towns. This argument was later bolstered by evidence from Tuckasegee (Keel 1976). In addition to Qualla ceramics, small triangular projectile points are also typical, as well as evidence of European interaction. The

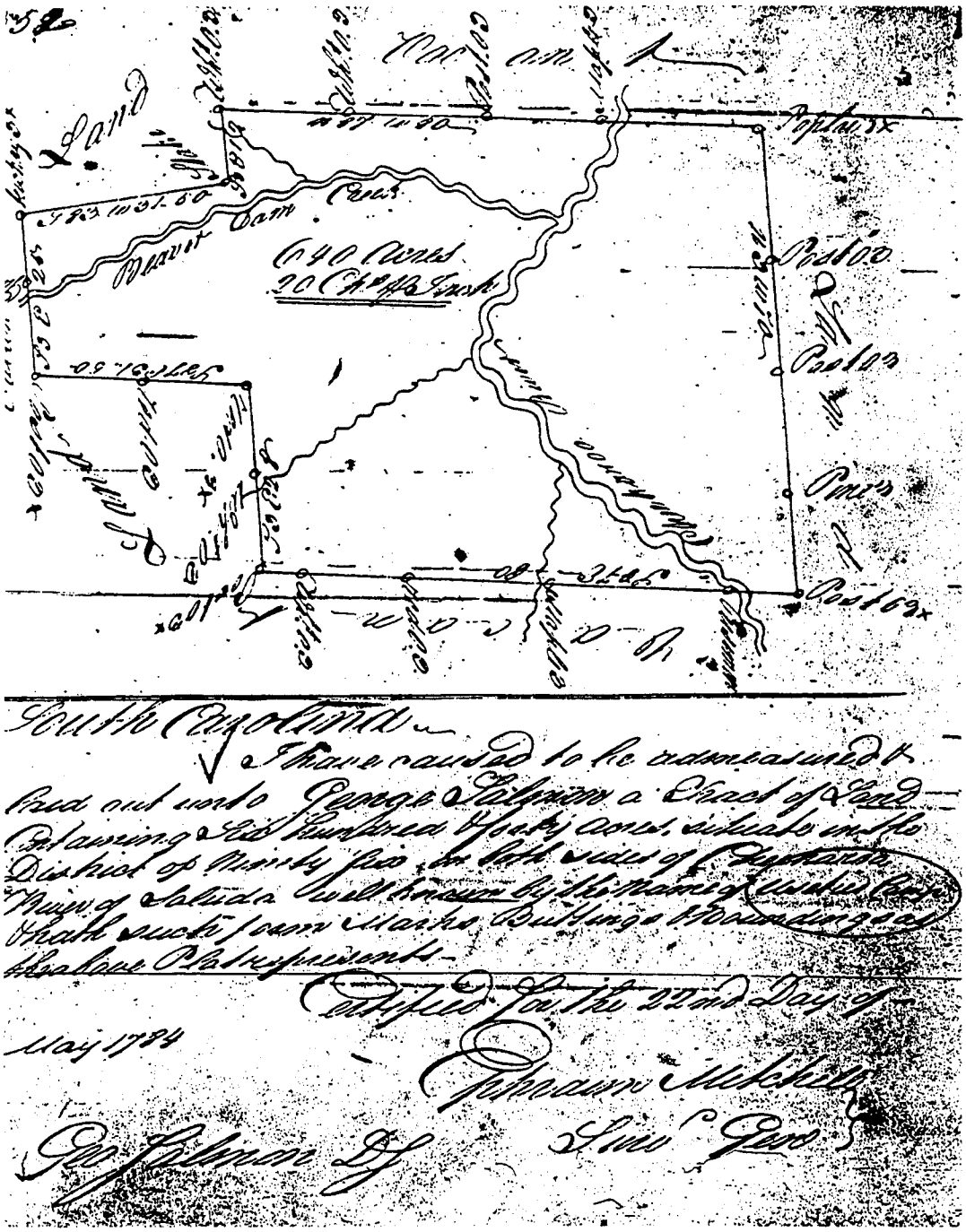


Figure 33. 1784 Salmon plat with reference to Useties Camp (Greenville County RMC, DB A, p. 50).

Cherokee town of Tomassee (38OC186), situated on a terrace overlooking Tamassee Creek in Oconee County, was tested to evaluate the condition of the site following deep plowing and vandalism by pothunters (Smith et al. 1988). The work identified the presence of an eighteenth century Cherokee occupation. Fortunately, the south half of the site remains in pasture and the landowner has agreed to cease deep plowing on the presently disturbed portion of the site. A number of pit features dating to the Cherokee occupation were uncovered and excavated. Posts associated with a rectangular or square structure measuring at least 20 feet on one side were identified. In addition, there were two historic Cherokee burials. One infant burial was accompanied by a necklace of 121 small, wire wound barley corn beads and two pairs of silver ball and cone earrings, one pair in each ear. They believe that these kinds of grave goods place the date of the burial after circa 1750 (Smith et al. 1988:42). An extended adult burial was also located which contained 12 metal buttons (Smith et al. 1988:44).

Work at Estatoe (38OC47) by Miller (1959) and Kelly and de Baillou (1960) indicates that the mound had a series of building levels. A series of structures was built on the apex with a central fire pit. The final mound construction is believed to be contemporary with the final phases of construction at Tugalo and Chauga. The Estatoe site is located on the west bend of the Tugaloo River on a slight ridge and is contained by a large bend in the river (Egloff 1967:7). The Chauga site (38OC1), however, does not appear to date as far into the protohistoric period as Estatoe (Egloff 1967).

For the past several years Gerald Schroedl and Brett Riggs have held archaeological field schools at the Chattooga Site in Oconee County. They located house sites as well as the council house during the first season of investigations. Work during the second season focused on the excavation of the council house. These excavations revealed a portion of the exterior wall, interior benches, and central floor. Datable artifacts at the site places the structures use between about 1720 and 1740. The floorplan of the council house was found to be comparable to those found at mid eighteenth century Overhill Cherokee townhouses (Schroedl and Riggs 1990a, 1990b).

Qualla phase ceramics were also predominant at the Tuckasegee site in North Carolina. Here, no dwelling houses were excavated, but a townhouse was uncovered. The circular townhouse was 23 feet in diameter with a central hearth. A.R. Kelly and R.S. Neitzel (1961:24) describe a similar hearth from the Chauga site in Oconee County which belonged to historic Cherokee. This hearth was believed to have ceremonial implications (Keel 1976).

Michael Harmon (1986) has reviewed historic Cherokee sites inundated by the Keowee-Toxaway Reservoir. The work done here in the late 1960s was a salvage project rather than a cultural resource management project and, therefore, did not obtain any detailed data on the sites investigated. Nonetheless, of the 39 sites investigated, ten contained evidence of eighteenth century Lower Cherokee occupation through the presence of Qualla ceramics and eighteenth century European ceramics on the same site. Harmon's emphasis was the examination of the use of European artifacts in Cherokee culture rather than the geographic settings of these sites. However, this has previously been discussed through Bartram's accounts and other works (e.g. Beuschel 1976; Kelly and de Baillou 1960; Smith et al. 1986) and applies to the Keowee-Toxaway sites.

As previously mentioned, the most likely Cherokee site type in Greenville County is a hunting camp, although it is possible that individual families may have lived in these areas. Once their function has been identified, they should be compared to assemblages from the Cherokee towns to determine how these people related not only to the Cherokee villages, but also to the encroaching white settlers.

Research questions could include:

- What types of Cherokee houses existed in Greenville County and how do they compare with houses from the large villages and small hamlets?

- How long were they occupied

and were they occupied seasonally?

- What types of food did they eat?

- What kinds of crops did they grow?

- What impact did European and African culture have on their lives?

- What kind of relationship did they have with the large Cherokee towns?

- Do their burials reflect social status or give any evidence of social structure?

- From what types of health problems did the historic Cherokee suffer?

Farms and Plantations

Historic period archaeology in the Greenville County area has focused primarily on the late nineteenth and twentieth century occupations, essentially because the area was so lightly settled during the earlier periods. Mills (1972 [1826]:576) states that the population of the Greenville District was very sparse until near the end of the eighteenth century. In 1793 the *State Gazette of South Carolina* reported that the Pendleton and Greenville districts had at least 20,000 inhabitants. Seven years earlier, only 40 families were reported living there (Orser 1988:24).

Although no detailed archaeological survey of large portions of Greenville County has been performed to provide a local agrarian settlement model, work at the Savannah River Plant (Brooks and Crass 1991) can used as a comparison and modifications can then be made to fit Greenville County. Brooks and Crass (1991:78-79) found that during the first century, settlements were oriented toward major watercourses. Later in the eighteenth century settlers began occupying areas further up the larger drainages. Upland settlement was very sparse. In the Savannah River area, the proximity to water was due to the need to be near the primary artery of transportation. In addition, soils which contain a greater amount of organic matter are found in this area. For the Greenville area, navigable water courses did not exist. However, the need for water to power mills probably made water access equally important. Areas which would have been considered ideal for the construction of mills would have been narrow drainageways with a fall or shoals with a drop of at least three feet (see Evans 1840; Newman 1984; Swain 1885).

In addition, some of the drainages offered rich farmland. The geography of Greenville County is such that there was usually no problem in including some sort of water course in a property. The land is characterized by narrow ridges, usually flanked by streams. Since most of the eighteenth century settlers in Greenville County were farmers, property often either bounded creeks or straddled creeks to take advantage of any rich bottom land that was available. Where actual farm houses were located in these areas is not clear, although it is probable that they were located near other activity areas such as the mill and fields. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that they were primarily located on knolls adjacent to creeks or at the base of hills next to the agricultural fields. Evans suggests that, "[i]nstead of choosing sites on the rivers, he [the Scotch-Irish] preferred the hillsides; using the wooded ridges for summer pasturage and the streams, as at home, as boundaries so that the neighbors had a share in the bottom-lands" (Evans 1965:44).

Goodyear et al. (1979) identified 29 historic sites, primarily dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the Laurens-Anderson corridor. At the time of this survey, twentieth century archaeological sites were regarded as having little research value. During the writing of the Laurens-Anderson report, the investigators decided that ignoring the twentieth century sites was a mistake since a number of anthropological problems they proposed required understanding the entire geographic development of an area (Goodyear et al. 1979:232).

Not surprisingly, Goodyear et al. (1979) identified only one site with eighteenth century materials. This site in Greenville County contained

two sherds of white salt glazed stoneware, strongly suggesting an occupation before 1775 (South 1977). The site, which also contained ceramics dating into the early nineteenth century, was located on the end of a narrow ridge nose overlooking a small creek.

Clearly the very earliest settlers were in a precarious position being located adjacent to the Cherokees whose actions could be unpredictable and who were often considered untrustworthy by the white settlers (see McDowell 1958)[13]. In addition to understanding settlement pattern and the basic fabric of everyday life, future research should focus on examining the possible material correlates of interaction with the Cherokees.

Based on Mills' Atlas (1969 [1825]), by the 1820s Greenville County had a fairly good road network and house sites were more often being located adjacent to these roads, although settlement was still probably heavily water oriented. This movement toward roads is at least partially due to the introduction of the cotton monocrop in the early 1800s (see Mills Atlas 1969 [1825]). According to Anne McCuen who has researched Greenville County's early settlement, the increasing orientation to road networks is also partially due to an increase in merchant businesses that needed to be located along roads which ran across the tops of ridges (Anne McCuen, personal communication 1995).

Very little archaeological research has been done on nineteenth century farmsteads in the upstate. However, in neighboring Spartanburg County, Benjamin Resnick (1988) recorded standing architecture and performed test excavations at the Williams Place house site (38SP109). The structures that were extant during his study were believed to have been erected sometime between 1839 and 1850 by Robert R. Williams, although the site may have been occupied by his father as early as 1805 (Resnick 1988:29-31). The arrangement of structures concentrated at two centers consisting of the main house and its services structures and the dependency structures. Within the mainhouse complex were the farmhouse, kitchen, smokehouse and commissary. Dependencies included a still house/barn, frame barn, log barn, and corn crib. There were two isolated structures consisting of a smaller house site about 200 feet from the mainhouse complex (believed to have belonged to a freedman) and a blacksmith shop located about 175 feet from the mainhouse complex. Other features included a road network and a dammed pond constructed in 1945. Without standing evidence, it is likely that many of these structures would have been overlooked in an archaeological investigation; not because they weren't interesting, but because they leave little archaeological evidence. Clearly, there were many activities that took place at farm sites including those specialized activities that may be archaeologically detectable such as sewing or pottery manufacture.

Although constructed during the eighteenth century, the primary period of occupation at Rosemont Plantation in Laurens County was the nineteenth century (Trinkley et al. 1992). Work at plantation sites will provide data on a segment of society that was in the higher economic stratum and will provide important information about the range of lifestyles present in the Piedmont. Historical research indicated that a small log house was initially constructed which was replaced by a larger home built adjacent to the Saluda River. It was the later house which was the focus of archaeological testing. Other structures identified either historically or archaeologically included a school/library, flanker, kitchen, possible slave houses, and a possible smokehouse. In addition to work the at structures, the remnant ornamental garden was also mapped. The archaeological data suggested that the occupants of Rosemont were indeed wealthy through the presence of expensive ceramics and personal items as well as the presence of an elaborate garden.

Archaeological investigations at the Kilgore-Lewis Spring House site (Carrillo 1979) were performed primarily to aid in the restoration of the spring. It was part of a larger project to restore the springhouse and surrounding area to approximate its eighteenth and nineteenth century appearance in an area which was once a part of a formal garden. The spring house was initially

[13] Likewise, the historic Cherokee did not trust the white settlers, who kept encroaching on their hunting grounds and eventually pushed them out of the state all together.

constructed in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and associated with a plantation purchased by Waddy Thompson in 1807. Artifacts generally dated to late nineteenth century and consisted primarily of South Carolina dispensary bottle fragments. The spring house was found to be an elaborate piece of work suggesting that the planter was wealthy.

At both Rosemont Plantation and the Kilgore-Lewis spring house, the archaeological evidence suggests that at least some upcountry planters lived in opulent surroundings for this part of the state. However, little work has been done at area plantation sites indicating that this generalization is based on very little data. In addition, almost nothing is known about the slave population that supported this lifestyle.

There has been no published study on slave archaeology of the South Carolina upstate. Work by Orser (1988) at Millwood Plantation in Abbeville County focussed primarily on the tenant population. However, he notes that the slave force there between 1830 and 1860 grew from 55 to 195 individuals and this growth was heavily impacted by the lucrative cotton staple. The owner, James E. Calhoun, had three plantations by the 1830s and was a very wealthy individual (Orser 1988). In Greenville County, such large plantations, as they are considered in other portions of the state, did not exist.[14] Most people who had slaves only had a few, perhaps one to ten. Typically, a large plantation had anywhere from 20 to 50 slaves, and these were uncommon (Anne McCuen, personal communication 1995). However, McCuen (1991:72-74) does list one exceptionally large planter in a Deed of Trust dated May 14, 1831. This planter, Rawlins Lowndes, lists 137 slaves.

Given the demographic situation of Greenville County plantations, the relationship between master and slave was probably very different than in other parts of the state. They likely worked side by side, and because of this interaction, the slaves probably developed a different sub-culture within the larger African-American community. This sub-culture was probably quite different than that which developed in the South Carolina lowcountry. McCuen suggests that the relationship between master and slave did not change significantly after freedom (Anne McCuen, personal communication 1995). Since, African-Americans are under-represented in the research, future work should focus on a better understanding of slave and freedman life in the upstate.

The remainder of the sites that Goodyear et al. (1979) located dated to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and primarily represent tenant farming sites. These sites are road oriented, and since little is known about earlier eighteenth century settlement, no changes in settlement pattern can be strongly argued (Goodyear et al. 1979).

Twentieth century archaeology at the testing or data recovery level has focussed on rural tenant and owner sites in neighboring Spartanburg County (Joseph et al. 1991; Trinkley and Caballero 1983) as well as the Sampson Mill Village in downtown Greenville (Trinkley 1993a). The work at the Sampson Mill Village allowed the researchers to begin to understand how the move from farm to mill affected late nineteenth/early twentieth century upcountry citizens and will be discussed in more detail later.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the Savannah River Valley, Brooks and Crass (1991:79) suggest that major watercourses are still the centers of occupation, with the smaller drainages being in-filled. However, the sand ridges are also heavily occupied. Examination of the Greenville County road map for 1940 shows that there is very little settlement along creeks, and most of the houses are shown adjacent to roads.

Work by Joseph et al. (1991) at the Finch farm site in Spartanburg County revealed a relatively dispersed settlement pattern such as witnessed by Resnick (1988). The settlement consisted of the main house, log barn, large barn, cider mill, molasses mill, log corn crib, pig pen, smoke house, blacksmith shop, hay barn, tenant house, and other barns. Other features consisted of two springs, an orchard, and a garden. There were also a number of more modern features of the site

[14] In this chapter, the term "plantation" refers to any farm with slaves.

which included piles of wooden pallets, garage, trailer, metal storage shed, etc. (Joseph et al. 1991:Figure 20; Figure 25).

At the Webb tenant house associated with the Finch farm the house was characteristic of many tenant houses having an open floorplan. There was no plumbing as evidenced by the presence of a two seater outhouse and was warmed by a fireplace and wood cooking stove.

Probably the most complete study of upstate tenancy was performed by Charles Orser (1988) at Millwood Plantation. Although initially occupied in the 1830s, Orser focusses on the material basis of tenant life in the postbellum up through about 1925. He examined the spatial organization, architecture, and possessions of a relatively stable population of African-Americans who had crossed the threshold into freedom. Whether Abbeville County is directly comparable to Greenville County is highly questionable. For example, in 1850 Abbeville County's slaves consisted of approximately 60% of the population, whereas in Greenville County slaves consisted of only about 33%. Nonetheless, the Millwood study provides valuable comparative information.

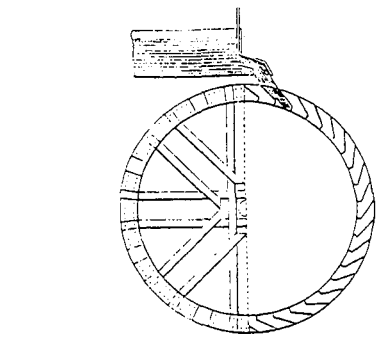
Research questions related to the farm and plantation could include:

- How does the layout of these sites change through time?
- What are the range of activities found at these sites?
- In terms of range of activities how do tenant sites, small landowner sites, and plantation sites differ?
- Is there evidence for settlement pattern change through time?
- Is there material evidence for interaction with the historic Cherokees at early sites?
- How do slave and plantation sites in the upcountry compare with those in the lowcountry?
- What was the lifestyle of an upcountry slave and how did it compare with the lowcountry slave?
- Under what situations were former slaves able to buy property, and how do property owning blacks compare with those who were tenant farmers?
- How are Scotch-Irish farmsteads similar to or different from farmsteads in areas settled by other ethnic groups, such as Germans? And if they are different, is there a point where both groups are "assimilated" and the differences disappear?

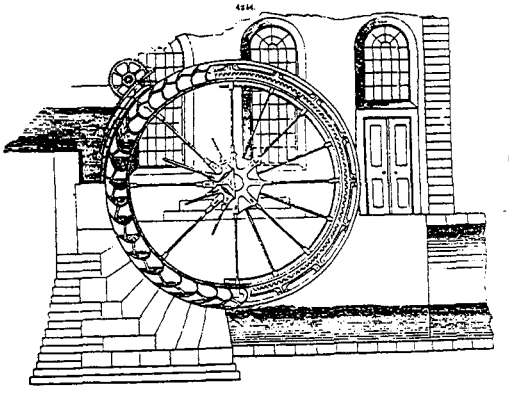
Grist Mills

The location of grist mills was bound by geographic variables; the primary necessity being the presence of falls or shoals with a drop of three feet or more. In 1840 Oliver Evans suggested that when siting a mill, an inexperienced miller should ask the advice of several experienced millers and determine which is the best advice to follow. He states:

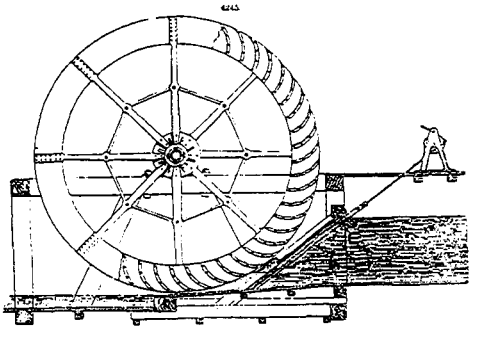
> [t]he first, perhaps, fixes on a pretty level spot for the mill-house, and a certain rock, that nature seems to have prepared to support the breast of the dam, and an easy place to dig the race, mill-seat, &c.
>
> The second passes by these places without noticing them; explores the stream to the boundary line; fixes on another place, the only one he thinks appointed by nature for building a lasting dam, the foundation a solid rock, that cannot be undermined by the tumbling water; fixing on a rugged spot for the seat of the



Overshot



Breast



Undershot

Figure 34. Overshot, breast, and undershot wheels (from Appletons' *Cyclopaedia of Applied Mechanics*).

house; assigning for his reasons, that the whole fall, must be taken in, that all may be right at a future day. He is then informed of the opinion of the other, against which he gives substantial reasons (Evans 1840:275).

Essentially all mills were built similarly with the only major visible difference being the wheel which is either an undershot, breast, or overshot wheel. The type of wheel depends on the height of the falls. An undershot wheel normally accommodates a fall between 3 and 8 feet. A breast wheel accommodates falls between 8 and 16 feet, while an overshot wheel is used on falls between 16 and 36 feet (Figure 34). While an undershot wheel can be used on higher falls, the use of a breast wheel is more efficient since it provides more gravitational power. The water is supplied to the wheel with a flume which directs the water to the wheel paddles. The size of the wheel depends not only on the height of the fall, but also the size of the grinding wheel. Evans indicates that the most efficient of these wheel types was the overshot (Evans 1840).

Another type of wheel which was typically used in the mountains was the tub wheel. Unlike the other wheel types which had their long axis vertical, the tub wheel which normally measured only about three feet around is laid horizontally within the mill house. Its paddles are fed with water under pressure. The water from the falls goes down the flume into a holding tank. When the mill is ready to be used, the gate to the holding tank is opened which allows the water to

go down a chute which narrows near the wheel, providing the pressurized water. This allows the wheel to turn which then rotates the mill stone. The grain is then ground between the top mill stone and the lower stationary stone (Wigginton 1973:142-163). The advantage of the tub mill was that it was relatively compact and could be used under tight physiographic constraints, such as narrow creek or river valleys. They were also less expensive to build and operate, and could be operated from smaller streams.

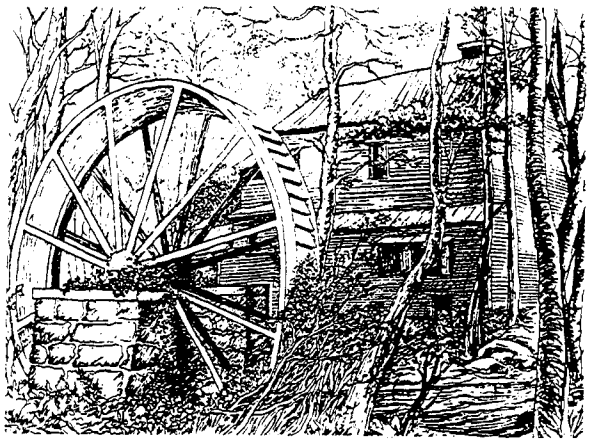


Figure 35. Anonymous pen and ink drawing of Gilreath's Mill near Greer (courtesy of the S.C. Department of Archives and History).

According to Newman (1984) until the mid-nineteenth century the most common of these types was the undershot and overshot wheel although there were modifications (including the breast wheel) for specific locational and manufacturing situations. After 1850 the development of the turbine through a process of practical trial and error culminated in the development of the "mixed flow turbine" in the 1870s. The mixed flow turbine often took place of the undershot wheel because of its superior efficiency. In the Russel Reservoir, Newman (1984) found that two of seven mill sites dating into the late nineteenth century had undershot wheels which was surprising since there was more efficient technology available.

Newman (1984) reviews several surveys of millsites in both the mountains and the piedmont including the Russell Reservoir on the Savannah River, the Wallace Reservoir on the Oconee River in Georgia, a four county area in northwest Georgia, and the Columbia Reservoir in southern Middle Tennessee. Since Greenville County is located within both the piedmont and mountain region, a discussion of his findings is pertinent.

He found that in the piedmont (represented by the Russell and Wallace Reservoirs) where cotton was the economic base and where the textile industry became important, there was evidence for plantation based mills serving only the plantation. In the mountain region, which never saw the development of the textile industry and where cotton was of lesser importance, private intermittently run tub mills seem to be represented only in mountainous northwest Georgia. The water powered milling industry persisted until the 1950s in the mountain region while largely disappearing in the piedmont shortly after the turn of the century (Newman 1984:102-103).

The type of motive power was related to local physiographic conditions, the local economy, or mill function. In the Russell and Wallace Reservoirs millers had access to steep natural falls and an abundant supply of water. Therefore, the efficiency of the motive machinery was probably not the primary factory. The use of the undershot wheel probably could have provided ample power given the abundance of water available. In the mountainous Columbia Reservoir the situation was different due to the limestone river banks. Because of these banks, races could not be constructed and therefore, the water power was confined to the head created by the immediate fall and the height of the dam. In addition, dam height was limited by law to seven feet to allow navigation, although this was not likely of concern in the mountains of Greenville County since there was no navigable watercourse. For the Columbia mills, the advantage of the mix flow turbine which could operate under low head conditions meant a dramatic increase in power for the Columbia mills. Again, low head may not have been a concern in the Greenville County mountains, and perhaps an overshot wheel was more commonly used. In northwest Georgia traditional technology continued

to be used on both minor tributaries and for the adaption of turbine power on larger streams as demand for services increased.

The *Yearbook of South Carolina* (1907) more precisely defines the demise of grist mills in the state. It states that in 1900 there were 564 mills in operation, while in 1905 there were only 29 establishments still operating Unfortunately, the names and locations of these mills are not mentioned. However, these few mills were producing more than the 564 mills in 1900 as a whole which indicates that milling had quickly become a large scale business as opposed to a family or community operation. In the early 1880s Greenville County had a large share of the state's grist mills. Only Marion and Orangeburg counties had more grist/flour mills. There were 98 grist/flour mills under operation in Greenville County and none were considered to be merchant mills "except one or two in a small local way". Eighty-two were water powered and 12 were steam powered (Anonymous 1884). As one got further toward the coast it appears that steam power was more common. For instance, of Sumter County's 78 mills only 28 were water powered, and of Richland County's 21 mills, only five were water powered. This is in sharp contrast to upstate counties such as Greenville or Anderson, where of the 85 mills, 65 were water powered. Given the topography of Greenville County, there were many areas suitable for mill sites and Mills Atlas (1825) shows a number of them on the rivers and the larger tributaries and a number are also found on much later maps such as the 1882 Kyzer map.

Table 7.
Flour and Grist Mill Wheels listed in the 1880 Industrial Census for Greenville County

Type	#	Range of height of falls (in feet)	Mean height
Overshot	25	10-37	20
Willis	3	8-30	19.3
Turbine	9	9-20	14.5
Breast	5	6-16	11.5
Undershot	1	8	8
Outer discharge	1	8	8

Unlike earlier censuses, the 1880 Industrial Census for Greenville County provides relatively detailed description of grist mill operation in the nineteenth century providing information on the type of wheel used and the height of the falls. The census lists overshot, breast, undershot, turbine, outer discharge, and Willis wheels. All but the Willis wheel and outer discharge wheel have been previously described. Unfortunately, no description of a Willis wheel has been located, but given the range of falls that it accommodated it may have been a type of turbine.

Though no direct reference for an "outer discharge" wheel was located, it is likely that it was an outward-flow turbine (Fourneyron Turbine). With this wheel, the water enters from above and is guided by curved blades to be discharged laterally at the base of a circular chamber (Benjamin 1895:919). Table 7 provides information on the number of different wheel types and the range of falls. Illegible entries were excluded. Interestingly, no tub mills are mentioned which may suggest that nowhere in Greenville County was the terrain so rugged as to necessitate the use of a tub mill. Alternatively, in those regions where the terrain was sufficiently rugged, there were not enough people to support an operation at a community level.

Research questions relating to grist/flour mills in Greenville County could include:

- Under what conditions were water powered mills modified into turbine powered mills when the technology became available?

- Did grist/flour mills operate longer in the mountainous region of Greenville County than in the piedmont region?

- Where were the merchant mills located and did their location have anything to do with them becoming merchant mills?

- Of the water powered mills how many used tub, undershot, breast, or overshot wheels and were there clear physiographic reasons for their use?

- Is there much variability in architectural configuration? If there is variability why does it exist? Is it related to physiographic reasons?

Distilleries

In the remote mountain areas farmers milled or kept the corn they needed for personal consumption and the excess corn that they could not get to market was converted to whiskey. While the whiskey could be consumed locally, it could be more easily sold than corn out of the field (at least when it was legal) since it could be kept indefinitely. As Blitz (1978:93) noted, "[a] pack horse could carry more whiskey than it could grain, so whiskey production had a practical purpose". During prohibition one Southern mountain resident argued:

> [w]e have no means of bringing the produce of our lands for sale either in grain or in meal. We are therefore distillers through necessity, not choice, that we may comprehend the greatest value in the smallest size and weight. The inhabitants of the eastern side of the mountains can dispose of their grain without the additional labour of distillation at a higher price than we can after we have disposed that labour upon it (Kephart 1913:151).

Because of this situation, it seems plausible that many grist mill operators as well as others who were growing corn in the upstate were also involved in distilling corn into whiskey either legally or illegally. Surplus fruit was also used to make brandies. Mills (1972 [1826]) notes that there are a number of distilleries in the district, but that they are all domestic[15]. The industrial censuses for Greenville County list a number of distilleries in the 1850s and 1860s, but none are listed thereafter. During Reconstruction, there was a federal liquor law prohibiting the distilling of grain from the end of the Civil War up through prohibition. Miller (1991:42) stated that near Greenville there were three "rifle clubs" which were organized to overthrow Reconstruction in 1876. Most of these people were illicit distillers intent on protecting their income and threatened by "governmental regulation". The trouble between government agents and the "lawless element" continued up through the turn of the twentieth century.

> Old moonshiner strongholds continued to give trouble [in the early 1890s]: the Dark Corner of the Glassy Mountains in northern Greenville County, South Carolina, was 'inhabited by a population more inclined, apparently, to illicit distilling than to any lawful occupation.'" (Miller 1991:152).

Resnick (1988) states that one of the structures at the Williams Place site functioned as a still house. During the Civil War era, Robert Williams is known to have operated a still and was selling alcohol (whiskey/brandy) on a commercial basis. Apparently, the still house was converted to a barn later on, probably after the war when making liquor became illegal. Unfortunately, no excavations took place at this structure. Still houses should typically be found near streams, due to the need for plentiful water.

The physical evidence of distilling or moonshining depends on whether the still was dismantled, abandoned, or destroyed. It seems likely that the valuable copper parts may have been salvaged. Artifacts found at a still site in northern

[15] Interestingly, Mills (1972 [1826]) discusses the poor and distilleries under the same heading, which indirectly suggests an association between the poor and making liquour.

Alabama consisted of large pieces of broken stoneware vessels, large metal containers and fuel oil cans. There was also corrugated iron. Other artifacts which might be expected include fruit jars, glass jugs, buckets, and fieldstone or bricks (Blitz 1978).

Research questions regarding distilleries might include:

- Was there a strong market for locally made alkaline glazed stoneware jugs among distillers based on archaeological evidence?

- What was the socioeconomic status of people who distilled and does this status change when making liquor becomes illegal?

- How did federal liquor laws affect the quantity of whiskey being made and how did it affect the location of stills?

- What is the topographic location of still sites (near water, in hollows, or hidden areas)?

- Do stills near houses date prior to Reconstruction?

Saw Mills

In Greenville County, saw mills were as, if not more, numerous than grist mills. Saw mills provided the lumber necessary for the construction and provided a way to make use of the wood supplied through clearing the land for new agricultural fields.

Early saw mills were powered the same way that grist mills were powered; by water using the water wheel. By the late nineteenth century, most saw mills were still water powered. Of the 19 mills listed in the 1880 Industrial Census, only six were steam powered. Six were listed as using overshot wheels, two were breast or quarter breast mills, and four were turbine powered. It is possible that there were more mills than show up in the 1880 Industrial Census, since an 1884 study (Anonymous 1884) states that there were 64 saw mill in the county which were "generally small and do purely local business". They employed 135 whites and 49 blacks. Of these mills, 36 were water powered while 28 were steam powered.

Commonly used was the up and down saw driven by a crankshaft and powered by water. The mechanism moved a series of vertical saw blades up and down, sawing a log into several planks at once. Later, saw mills incorporated more specialized equipment such as band and circular saws.

Saw mills in the early part of Greenville County's settlement were located in the same types of physiographic areas that grist mills were located. The machinery to saw the wood was probably housed underneath an open shed building, with a number of other shed buildings being used to cover the lumber and allowing it to dry in a more controlled setting. Later on, as other types of power became available, there was much more flexibility in the location of saw mills.

In times when milling of wood was needed on site and there was no water power, saw trestles or saw pits were set up and either open or frame pit saws were man powered. Archaeological evidence of these areas is likely to be slim. The only remains may be broken parts of saw blades and remnants of the saw pit.

The only saw mill to be investigated in South Carolina is in Berkeley County within the historic boundaries of Middleburg Plantation[16], and the survey level work focused on the adjacent settlement rather than the mill itself. A 1786 plat showed the location of a "saw house" and a 1794 plat referred to it as a "saw pit". Efforts were made to determine if there was any permanent slave occupation in that area since early twentieth century maps showed a cluster of buildings in that area. The investigations identified a settlement dating from as early as the late eighteenth century through the mid twentieth century with a peak in use around 1860. Above ground evidence believed

[16]The site number of the main house and slave row is 38BK38, while the number for the saw house settlement is 38BK1733.

to be associated with the "saw house" or "saw pit" consisted only of a depression measuring about 9 by 15 feet. The presence of a settlement suggests that milling operations here were on a fairly large scale (Affleck 1990).

Research questions associated with saw mill sites might include:

- What is the archaeological profile of a saw mill?
- At sites where saw mills occur, are they the major industry or is milling secondary to another endeavor?
- Can a saw mill site be archaeologically identified?

Blacksmith Shops and Foundries

One of most common industries listed in the industrial censuses of Greenville County was blacksmithing. The shops occurred in both rural and urban settings. In rural settings, while some people may have considered blacksmithing their profession, many farmers were also skilled at blacksmithing and had small personal operations.

According to Light and Unglik (1984) a blacksmith's shop should have at least three clearly recognizable functional areas within it. The most important area was the work area which will included the bellows, the anvil, workbench, and vise. In larger shops there migh also have been a carriage bay where wagons that needed to be repaired could be stored. The storage area would have included stock, seldom used tools, mandrels[17], and swages[18]. Last, there would have been a domestic area where the smith and his clients could eat and relax (Light and Unglik (1984:11-12).

During their excavations at a blacksmith shop at Fort St. Joseph in Canada, they found evidence of the anvil base which was the remains of a spruce stump. They also found clinkers, charcoal, iron stock fragments, tools related to the art of blacksmithing, tools that were being repaired or made, as well as domestic items. All of this suggests that a blacksmith's shop will be archaeologically distinctive. Some blacksmiths were also involved in coppersmithing or tinsmithing, while sometimes individuals specialized in these metals. The most distinctive artifacts would be rivets and patches for repairing kettles, pans, etc.

As stated previously, blacksmithing was also done on the farm, as evidenced by the presence of a shop at the Williams Place (Resnick 1988) and the Finch farm (Joseph et al. 1991) in Spartanburg County. The key identifying artifacts associated with the shop at the Williams Place included the number and type of bricks composing the forge and the sizable amount of iron artifacts that represented the manufacturing activities conducted there. One test unit was placed inside the shop and the artifacts recovered included horse/mule shoe scraps, wrought iron implements (e.g. wagon hardware), nails, bolts, and washers. The blacksmith's shop may have been an early component of the farm complex based on the presence of a few wrought nails (Resnick 1988:63). However, it should be considered that wrought nails are what was made at blacksmith shops even into the twentieth century.

Foundries in Greenville County included a Confederate foundry as well as metal working at the Greenville Coach factory. Clearly, these types of operations were specialized and did not overlap much with the products manufactured by the small blacksmith. These foundries probably had specialized tools, specifically for making the types of goods they needed. In the 1880s, two foundries/machine shops were listed and included Greenville Machine Works and Palmetto Iron Works (Anonymous 1884). The archaeological profile of a large scale foundry operation is unknown. Survey by Chicora Foundation at the Palmetto Confederate Ironworks in Columbia, revealed that analysis of artifactual remains can be tedious. Often they consist of parts of larger items that are much more easily identifiable when attached the whole. As expected, the vast majority of artifacts were iron. According to the 1884

[17] A mandrel is a cylindrical rod around which metal is forged, cast, molded, or shaped (*Oxford English Dictionary* 1971).

[18] A swage is a die stamp for shaping metal on an anvil (*Oxford English Dictionary* 1971).

Sanborn Insurance Map, the Palmetto Ironworks consisted of nine structures. The main structure contained the "Pattern and Machine Shop", the "Forge", and the "Shop" which included a 15 horsepower engine, the foundry with a "core oven", and an unlabeled room containing a cupola. Other structures consisted of a building with a "Pattern Shop" and "Office", a building used for "Pattern Storage", another "Pattern Shop", three sheds, and two unspecified buildings (Trinkley 1993c).

Questions related to smithing and foundries might include:

- What is the difference in scale between an urban and rural blacksmith shop?
- How were the needs of urban consumers different from rural consumers?
- What types of metals was the smith involved with?
- Did he have an adjoining shop where he sold goods?
- What was the economic status of a smith compared to other professions?
- Does the profile of a smith's shop change through time?
- Was the smith involved in gun smithing?
- How do blacksmith shops in an industrial setting (such as the Greenville Coach Factory) compare with other types of blacksmith shops?
- What is the archaeological profile of a large foundry? And what types of support structures did they normally have?
- Did the owner or manager live nearby? And what was his economic status?

Iron Industry

Articulated with blacksmithing and foundries was the iron industry. There has been some research in the Greenville County area involving the upcountry iron industry, which began in the late eighteenth century (Ferguson and Cowan 1993). These industries, like grist mills, developed adjacent to rapids and waterfalls to provide power. According to Ferguson and Cowan (1993) other important environmental factors included the presence of iron ore, hardwood forests (fuel supply), marble or metamorphosed limestone (as a fluxing agent), and building stone.

Ferguson and Cowan (1993) have documented only three ironworks in Greenville County, but nonetheless they were part of a band extending from Catawba County, North Carolina to Anderson County, South Carolina. Between 1775 and 1802 there were at least eight ironworks in the South Carolina piedmont. In the Greenville District, these included Henry and Joshua Bensons' works[19] on the Reedy River; Adam Carruth and Lemuel J. Alston on the Saluda River, and Elias Earle on the north fork of the Saluda River. Most of the ironworks during this time period were isolated country furnaces and/or forges. They had limited production schedules and output, developed in somewhat isolated rural areas and usually served only the local market (Ferguson and Cowan 1993:170-171).

In addition to making items such as firebacks, nails, anvils, bar iron, pans, pots, kettles, skillets, dutch ovens, and stoves, some owners and operators also had gun factories. These included Adam Carruth and Elias Earle of the Greenville District. For instance, Carruth who started manufacturing guns in 1801 expanded his ironworks into a large armory during the War of 1812.

[19] In 1826 Mills notes that "[f]ormerly an armory was established in this district, on the waters of Reedy river; but since the peace it has declined. Benson's iron works are in this district; and another formerly stood near the village, on Reedy river, which was burnt" (Mills 1972:575 [1826]).

One interesting endeavor by Elias Earle was an attempt to establish an ironworks on Cherokee lands between 1807 and 1815 at the mouth of Chickamauga Creek on the south side of the Tennessee River. A treaty with the Cherokees was carried to Washington by Earle and although President Jefferson was agreeable, the Senate determined that the tract was within the state of Tennessee and Tennessee refused to relinquish her claim. Therefore the endeavor failed.

According to Ferguson and Cowan (1993) the iron manufacturing activities in northwestern South Carolina by the 1830s were dominated by the South Carolina Manufacturing Company, the King's Mountain Iron Company, and the Nesbitt Iron Manufacturing Company, none of which were located in Greenville County. The closest was the South Carolina Manufacturing Company which controlled approximately 25,000 acres within Spartanburg County adjacent to the Pacolet River and western Cherokee County. In Greenville County, no foundries or iron works are listed in the industrial census of 1850, 1860, or 1870. In 1884 (Anonymous 1884) two "foundries or machine shops" were listed and include the Greenville Machine Works and Palmetto Iron Works.

Smith (1982:28) states that "iron plantations" are characterized by large land holdings, a distinctive settlement form and spatial organization reflecting centralized control by the owner, specialized production, and a distinct division of labor. How this is reflected archaeologically is unclear since to date, only two sites have been documented. They include the Nancy Mountain site in York County and the Thicketty Mountain Iron Ore Pits in Cherokee County. At the Thicketty Mountain site ore pits that were once clearly visible are now obscured by agricultural activities that have filled in many of the pits. Some are still visible and range from about 15 to 30 feet across and 6 to 9 feet deep (Ferguson and Cowan 1993).

There were probably a number of structural features associated with the manufacturing process and general operation of the plantation. At William Hill's iron plantation in York County there was "a good two story brick house, 40 by 35 feet, with cellars, and other necessary buildings, together with four grist mills and two saw mills (*City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* 1795). This quote identifies distinctive aspects of the early iron works. Later iron works were much more complex. In the mid-nineteenth century the Swedish Iron Manufacturing Company the structural features were described in the following manner:

> . . . Ironworks, Buildings, etc. --- These consist of two blast furnaces, forge, attached to which are four hot-blast, blooming (Catalan) files, one refining fire, one puddling furnace, shingling hammer, rolling mill, nail factory (with six cutting-machines), foundry, machine shop, pattern shop (with a large stock of patterns), blacksmiths' and wagon shops, with the full complement of tools required in such establishments, grist and saw mills, a large and commodious mansion house, boarding house, store, a sufficient number of dwellings for workmen, and other outside buildings necessary (Shepard and Jones 1866:17).

As this quote illustrates, these "iron plantations" tended to be fairly self sufficient due to their isolation and often produced their own food and housing for the workers.

Archaeological evidence of the early iron industry in the South Carolina piedmont has been identified at 12 sites, ten of which were recommended as eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. This is a significant number of sites found with enough integrity to be considered eligible. Therefore, it may be that ironworks are typically found in areas that have not been exposed to later development activities.

Winter (1994) explains eighteenth century blast furnace technology for the Chesapeake area, which applies to the South Carolina Piedmont. The furnaces were substantial, stone structures shaped like truncated pyramids. They were usually about 25 feet square and 25 to 35 feet tall. The stack enclosed two chambers -- the bosh and the hearth

which were both lined with sandstone. The bosh received the ore, limestone, and charcoal through an opening in its top. The hearth formed a repository for the molten iron and slag after it had been processed in the bosh. One side of the hearth contained a small opening for a pipe (called the tuyere) which brought the forced air from the bellows. The bellows which were 20 to 25 feet long and several feet wide were powered by the waterwheel (Winter 1994:210).

Beside the furnace stack sat the casting house. Here the molten iron was tapped from the furnace into a long sand trench. This trench was referred to as the sow, and its side trenches were called pigs. Some of the iron was cast to form stoves, hollowware, and other objects (Winter 1994:210).

Archaeology at the Antietam Furnace uncovered the furnace foundation, the bellows platform, a flue, a drain, and the waterwheel pit. Remains of the casting house had apparently been destroyed. Much of the stone rubble that covered the area had evidence of having been heated and was coated with slag. This suggested that it originated from the furnace stack. Most of the artifacts recovered dated to the third quarter of the eighteenth century and primarily consisted of discarded iron objects , tools, and nails.

The furnace base at Antietam measured about 12 feet square. The wheelpit interior was well preserved and measured 33.5 feet long and 6.5 feet wide. All four sides were constructed with dressed, dry-laid limestone. In addition, three parallel trenched spaced about five feet apart were identified. They were about 10 feet long and two to three feet wide. The size and configuration of these features suggested that this held the platform that supported the bellows mechanism (Winter 1994:211-212).

Ferguson and Cowan (1993) list a number of research problems for iron plantations. These questions include:

- How much variation is there in furnace style and construction in the area?

- What were the mining and quarrying technologies, and how do they compare between eighteenth and nineteenth century operations?

- What types of iron products were manufactured in the region?

- How are these sites spatially patterned across the county and how is the site patterned within?

- How do these ironworks articulate with the rural way of life. For instance, William Hill's iron plantation had a grist mill. Was he growing crops in addition to running an iron plantation, and if so, was this common?

- How do Greenville County's iron plantations fit into Smith's model?

- What types of additional activities took place other than mining and forging iron, such as mills, stores, etc., and how were they organized across the landscape?

Tanneries

Another common profession listed in the late nineteenth century industrial censuses was tanning. Earlier, tanning was a very valuable skill due to the lucrative fur trade with the local Cherokee Indians. A few tanneries have been examined in the southeast including one in Edenton, North Carolina (Garrow et al. 1978) and one in Charleston, South Carolina (Zierden et al. 1983).

At the First Trident site in Charleston, Zierden et al. (1983) recovered a large number (n=217) of leather scraps in a marsh, all of which had been altered. For instance, several had hand punched holes and many had a straight cut edge. They also found a couple of small unidentifiable tools which they believed were associated with

leather working. Unfortunately, since leather does not often preserve well, evidence of a tannery based on its presence will likely not be found.

Artifacts that would survive might include unhairing knives, fleshing knives[20], vat hooks[21], sleekers[22], and strap metal. Since skins were often soaked in solutions in large vats, strap metal should be a common artifact. The presence of a stream or some other source of flowing water was desirable, since it allowed the skins to be easily rinsed.

In many cases the entire process was done by hand with the only exception being the horse-driven oak-bark-grinding mill. Although, according to Fisher (1986), there were a number of variations on the original plan, the mill, which ground bark to use in the tanning process, consisted of a grinding wheel which was placed on an axle attached to a rotating post. The axle was pushed by a horse which rolled the wheel over a channel filled with oak bark. Some evidence of this device or a similar one is likely to be present.

In the 1880 Greenville County Industrial Census, which provides the most detail for all censuses examined, there were three tanneries. Of these tanneries, two milled the bark using horsepower, while the third milled it using an overshot waterwheel as a source of power.

Questions related to tanneries might include:

- What types of structures are associated with a tannery?
- Where do tanners fall on the socio-economic scale and does this change through time?
- What types of archaeological features are associated with the tanning process?
- Were some of the tanners involved in leather working such as making saddles, harnesses, boots, shoes, etc.?
- How common was it for tanneries to be found on private farms?
- Where were urban tanneries located? Are they on the edges of town because of the space they may have required or because of their smell?

Woodworking

Woodworking in some form was also common in the industrial censuses and included people listed as general woodworkers, chair and wagon makers, carriage makers (including the Greenville Coach Factory), and cabinet makers. While there are no particular features that might be archaeologically identifiable in relation to woodworking, there may be a number of discarded or broken tools or equipment which suggest woodworking activities. Such tools might include axes, adzes, specialized saws, files, hammers, nails, rivets, planes, chisels, gouges, awls, bores, cabinet hardware, and carriage and wagon hardware (Sloane 1964).

Within the occupations listed, some can be considered as craft while others are part of a commercial industry. Chair makers, cabinet makers, and general woodworkers would be included under craft, whereas wagon and carriage makers are commercial industry. In instances like the Greenville Coach Factory, both woodworking and blacksmithing occurred and will produce a profile that should be distinguishable from the cabinet or chair maker since the hardware needed was different.

Questions related to woodworking could

[20] Fleshing and unhairing knives are both double handled curved knives used for either cleaning scraps of flesh from the hide or removing loosened hair.

[21] A vat hook is a long-handled, blunt-pointed hooked pole used for stirring the hides in the tanning pits.

[22] A sleeker is a tool used for smoothing leather, used in finishing the tanned hide.

include:

- Can work areas and other activity areas be identified in a shop?

- Can the types and variety of woodworking be identified through the presence of specialized tools and hardware?

- What was the socio-economic status of a woodworker in instances where they lived near or at their shop?

Tailor Shops

Tailors were also included in the list of industries for Greenville County in the late nineteenth century. Stanley South (1960) investigated a public house at Brunswick Town in North Carolina that was interpreted as having been later used as a tailor shop. The tailor's shop provided a very distinctive archaeological profile with a large number of clothing items being recovered including glass beads, straight pins, buckles, buttons, sleeve buttons, thimbles, and scissors. The public house had six rooms with three internal fireplaces. During the excavation of the public house and tailor shop, a large quantity of straight pins were recovered from five of the six rooms. South interprets the sixth room as being a possible office.

Although not listed in the industrial census, seamstresses were probably very common in Greenville County, particularly in the town of Greenville. In Charleston, many of these seamstresses were also prostitutes. As Trinkley and Hacker state:

> [t]his is not to say that the trades of the mantua maker, milliner, or seamstress were "codes" for prostitution. Nor does it mean that all white or black women engaged in these professions were prostitutes. But the information provided by Roberts and others suggests that women in these trades were most often forced into prostitution as an alternative to incomes so low that they were inadequate for even the basic human necessities (Trinkley and Hacker 1995:63).

Given this information, a slightly different interpretation could be made for the Public House at Brunswick Town.

While Charleston perhaps had a larger demand for prostitutes than Greenville because of the number of sailors coming into the port town, it is likely that Greenville also had a number of women involved in this occupation. If so, future research should examine if many of them, like the Charleston prostitutes, were also practicing as seamstresses.

If the income of a seamstress was so low, it may be that tailoring was not very profitable, and male tailors will be on the lower end of the economic scale. As a result, it is possible that a certain social strata predominated that trade.

Research questions related to tailor shops might include:

- Is there evidence that the tailor lived at the shop?

- What is the socioeconomic status of a tailor or seamstress?

- Is there evidence for specific work areas?

- Did some of the tailoring consist of a home craft sold out?

- Was the tailoring profession predominated by one race?

- Is there evidence of tailoring or seamstressing activities at other Public Houses?

Pottery Production Sites

Recent work by Drucker et al. (1993) in

the Middle Tyger River Valley has identified or revisited a number of stoneware pottery kiln sites. The 16 kiln sites located in Greenville and Spartanburg counties operated from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century and the Middle Tyger River Valley has been identified as a major center of stoneware production with its roots having begun in the Edgefield District.

Previous research by Baldwin (1993) in the Tyger River Valley and in the Edgefield District (Castille et al. 1988) suggests that pottery production sites are often located adjacent to roads and houses. Often they are on "sloping landform margins, where kilns were dug into slopes to take advantage of the earth's natural insulation" (Drucker et al. 1993:5). The associated clay extraction pits are generally found along tributary streams. Clarence Belcher collected clays for a source located about six miles from his pottery shop (Drucker et al. 1993:74).

Pottery production sites contain two major elements: the shop and the kiln. Carnes (1989) has suggested that kiln sites will have artifacts such as glazed and unglazed stoneware, kiln furniture (such as testers, saggers, stackers, props, fillers, and wads), glaze millstones, architectural debris, slag, glaze chunks, coal, clay or sand concretions, and domestic artifacts (such as non-stoneware ceramics, bottle glass, etc.).

At the shop, after the clay had been conditioned, it was shoveled into a pug mill where it was ground by mule power into a fine paste. According to Zug the device was:

> essentially a barrel with a set of rotating knives or pegs inside it . . . a simple mechanical device designed to grind the clay into fine particles, remove the air bubbles, and bring the clay to the proper consistency for turning (Zug 1986:121).

Also in the shop would be the kickwheel which the potter would used to turn the clay into pots. The shop likely would house a stone mill for grinding the glaze as well.

The kiln type used in the production of the stoneware was known as a groundhog kiln. These kilns were low, rectangular cross draft kilns with a firebox on one end and a short chimney on the other. These kilns got their name from the fact that they were normally built into a slope with only the chimney and the fire door visible (Vlach 1990:22).

Drucker et al. (1993) provide future research issues, however, many were specific to the sites found. The one general research question they present is:

> [w]hat can Tyger River area and other piedmont pottery kilns tell us about the evolution and regional variation of kiln design and construction during the 19th and early 20th centuries? In particular, are there correlations or associations between kiln location, size, and orientation (vertical and horizontal placement)? Individual potters' socioeconomic status and number of kilns? Access to natural resources? Market factors? Regional economic trends (Ducker et al. 1993:155).

They also urge looking not only at the production sites, but also at the domestic sites in order to place stoneware production in a more integrated historical context.

Another question that might be asked relates to the type of glazes used. While the Edgefield potters exclusively used alkaline glazes, potters in the Seagrove area of North Carolina not only used alkaline glazes, but also salt and slip glazes. How were the Middle Tyger River potters affected by these two potting areas? Also, can a local style be identified based on forms and glazes, or is it a combination of styles from other potting centers?

Questions relating to organization of labor also need to be addressed. Were these commercial potters, or was the activity only occasional?

Interestingly, Drucker et al. (1993)

performed microprobe analysis on 10 alkaline glazed sherds from five Tyger River pottery sites. The purpose was to compare paste and glaze composition and color of historical sherds with known products made using similar technology. Two modern control sherds were prepared by a Tyger River potter, Billy Henson, for comparison. Their results were useful for general comparison of glaze samples when compared to visual observations. They found, for example, that a sherd with light green glaze color and light gray paste had the highest percentage of calcium. In the control sherds, they found that the higher the percentage of kaolin clay present the higher the overall calcium percentages. No statistical analysis was performed because of small sample size (Drucker et al. 1993:165-166). Examination of a larger collection would be interesting since there appears to be potentially significant differences among the historic sherds and between the historic sherds and the modern control sherds (see Drucker et al. 1993:167-168; Table B-1). This analysis may help to address questions about variability in the types of clays and glazes used.

Brickmaking

Although no brickmakers were found in the 1850, 1860, or 1870 industrial censuses, five establishments are listed by the 1880s (Anonymous 1884). Brickmakers appear to have been in operation earlier since in 1826 Mills (1972:577 [1826]) states that "[b]esides rock, very good brick, for building, is made of the clay found everywhere; a proof of which may be had in the village." In addition, the historical research suggests several kilns elsewhere in the county. Why they do not show up in the industrial censuses of 1850, 1860, and 1870 is unknown.

One activity of brickmaking which will leave a diagnostic feature is clay mining. According to Gurke (1987:5) the most common practice in the United States and Britain for mining clay was digging by hand in shallow pits. In one example he provides from Philadelphia the clay was "dug in spits, each spit being one foot deep, four feet wide, and 16 feet deep, which makes a mass for one thousand bricks" (Gurke 1987:5). The kilns for firing the bricks were probably within reasonable distance of the clay deposits, so that large amounts of clay would not have to be hauled over long distances for preparation and firing.

The pug mill was one of the earliest mechanical devises used in brickmaking. Early pug mills were usually a wooden tub through which ran a vertical shaft of wood. A series of blades was attached to the shaft. The clay and temper was dropped into the top of the container and as the clay made its way down, it was mixed with the rotating blades.

Once the clay was mixed it was molded into bricks. This was either done by hand, patting the clay into rectangular boxes, or spreading the clay on the ground and cutting the clay into rectangles. After they are molded they are allowed to thoroughly dry before they can be taken to the kiln. Often, large sheds were used to store bricks while they dried to help quicken the process, since rain is unpredictable and slows the drying process a great deal. Often these sheds were heated to reduce the humidity levels. Once they were dry, they were taken to the kilns to be fired.

Temporary kilns included the scove or field kiln and the clamp kiln. The scove or field kiln was made out of the dried green bricks. The sections had bricks 35 to 40 courses high and at the bottom of each section was an arch or firebox that ran the length of the kiln. After the kiln was set, a wall of burnt brick was put around the kiln and was daubed over with mud to prevent unwanted drafts. Fires were lit in the arches, and continually fed until near the end of the firing when the arches were covered by stones or an iron door. The kiln was dismantled after firing and the bricks were ready for sale. The clamp kiln worked similarly, however, there are no arches, but rather "live holes" which extend the length of the kiln and are about 7 inches wide and 9 inches high. The smaller fire box is possible because the green brick has mixed within it the coal dust necessary for complete burning. With both the scove and clamp kiln bricks were unevenly fired, with bricks on the bottom receiving more heat than those on top (Gurke 1987).

Because to the uneven heating problem, the downdraft kiln was invented. This directed the heat along the walls of the kiln or outside by means of a flue to the top of the kiln. There the curved or domed roof and the draft caused by a

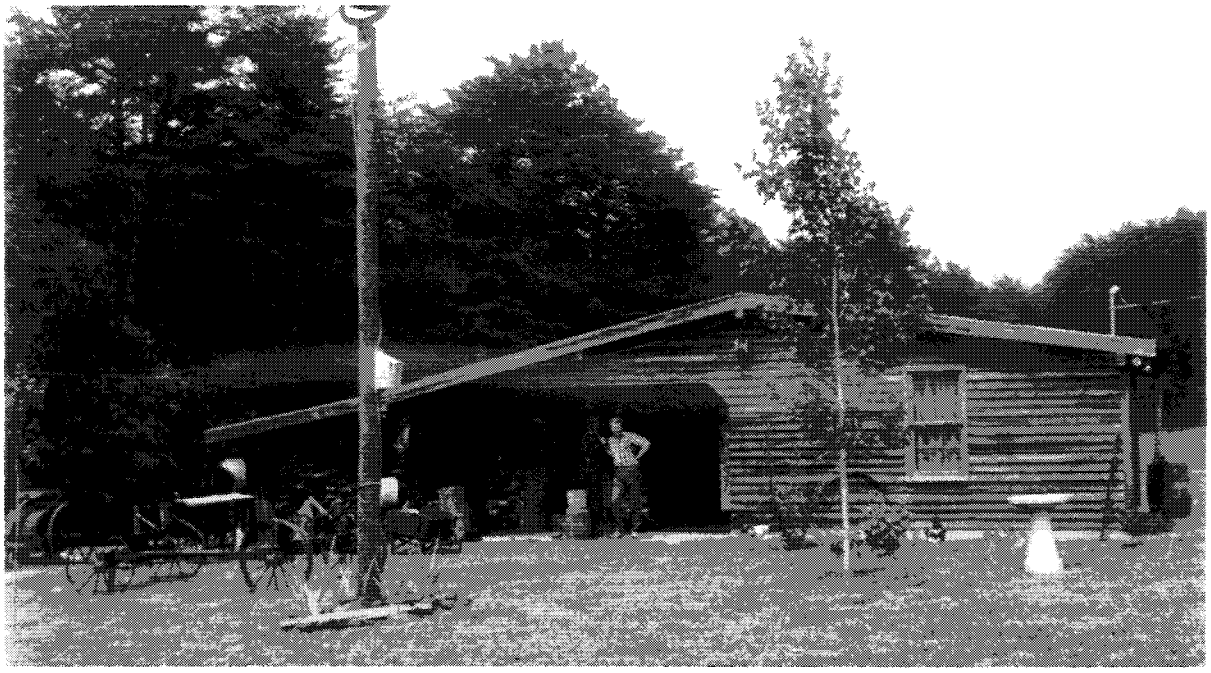


Figure 36. Billy Henson's pottery shop and kiln in Lyman, South Carolina. ©, All rights reserved, McKissick Museum, The University of South Carolina.

Figure 37. Close-up view of Billy Henson's groundhog kiln. ©, All rights reserved, McKissick Museum, The University of South Carolina.

tall attached chimney forced the hot air downward through the bricks and out through openings in the floor. This provided more uniform firing of the bricks. These downdraft kilns were constructed in a circular (also known as bee hive) and a rectangular form (Gurke 1987).

Permanent kiln types consisted of the Hoffman continuous kiln and the tunnel kiln. In the Hoffman kiln a series of chambers were connected in a racetrack oval or circle with the wall between being temporary. The advantage of this kiln was that while bricks were firing in one part of the kiln, they could be unloaded in another part, allowing for continuous use of the kiln. Kilns of this type are known to have had fires burn in them continuously for 50 years. The tunnel kiln consisted of a long low tunnel just large enough to accomodate a steel car loaded with green brick. The car, which ran on rails, was provided with a platform and walls built of firebricks to prevent heat damage. While new green bricks were entering one end, fired bricks were emerging from the other (Gurke 1987:32-34).

Research questions associated with brickmaking might include:

- Is brickmaking not listed in the earlier censuses because the operations were small and impermanent?
- What types of support buildings are associated with brick kiln operations?
- How do Greenville County's brick kilns compare in terms of output with brick kilns in the Charleston area?
- What sort of kiln technology was normally used?
- Were there associated settlements for these workers and who were they?
- Were some kilns associated with plantations that had some other economic basis?
- Who operated the kilns? Slaves? Poor or middle class whites?
- Did the kilns operate continuously or just when a few bricks were needed?

Gold Mines

Most of the archaeological work on gold mines has taken place at the Reed mine in Cabarrus County, North Carolina (see, for example, Knapp 1973; Trinkley 1986; 1988). At the Reed mine, gold was obtained through a number of methods which changed through time. When mining began in 1803 up through 1830 mining consisted primarily of digging pits along or in Little Meadow Creek, extracting the gold bearing rock, and washing and panning it for gold; essentially, retrieving only the placer deposits,[23] During the 1830s, the miners moved uphill above the creek and look for gold in underground quartz veins by digging shafts and tunnels. After the Civil War mining and panning continued sporadically. In 1890 a ten-stamp mill was erected to process the gold. The formal operation of the mine continued up through World War I (Knapp 1973:xiii-xiv).

In Greenville County, Lieber (1859:64) noted that gold was not widely distributed and was not being regularly mined. However, he mentions a couple placer mines operating including Carson's Gold Mine (known as the McBee mine in the early twentieth century) on the Greenville/Spartanburg county line. Another mine was located on Wild Cat Creek. In the early twentieth century seven areas were mentioned by Earle Sloan as being either actively mined or exhausted (Sloan 1979:32 [1908]). It appears that some small attempt was made at both of these mines to mine veins, although these attempts were, for the most part, unsuccessful. For Carson's Mine Lieber (1859:66) states that "[v]eins, indeed, abound on the property, and some of them contain a little gold;

[23]A placer deposit is an alluvial deposit of gold, meaning that it eroded from uphill ore deposits down onto an alluvial floodplain or creek bottom.

but I much doubt their size, extent in depth and value, and shall only be too happy to find myself mistaken". As for the Wild Cat Creek Mine, he states "[e]xplorations made in the adjoining hill were entirely unsuccessful, the gold in the veins being very small in quantity, although the character of the gravel in the deposits forbids the belief in its distant transportation, and would naturally refer its gold to these veins" (Lieber 1859:66). He also mentions a couple of other deposits on "the lands of the Hon. Mr. Westmoreland and of Mr. Wm. Dickey, and others in the immediate vicinity. Some of these have been worked, although imperfectly, so that considerable portions of the deposits yet remain. In south-eastern Greenville, isolated pieces of gold have been picked up within reach of freshets in the Ennoree, but the topography does not indicate the probability of any deposit, and it is probable that such nuggets may be of recent transportation" (Lieber 1959:67).

Approximately 50 years later, Earle Sloan lists eight gold mines, all of which appear to be placer mines. However, the Cureton Mine on the Middle Tyger River did yield some ore deposits. He states that:

> [t]wo test shafts, respectively 12 and 14 feet in depth, have been connected by a tunnel along the strike of the vein. Vein stringers of quartz aggregating about 18 inches in thickness irregularly break across, and follow, the line of stratification near the surface; these veinlets are gradually converging towards the bottom of the test shaft . . . . Selected samples afford irregularly high returns of gold. The property commends itself as entitled to deeper exploration than has yet been undertaken (Sloan 1979:33 [1908]).

Since Greenville County's gold deposits were mostly placers, no direct comparison can be made between them and the Reed Gold mine in North Carolina. However, Knapp (1973:1-25) provides a description of the early period of Reed mine use which primarily consisted of placer mining.

First, the miners picked up the obvious, large chunks of gold from the creek bed and in the process learned to recognize "grain gold" in the gravel of the stream. This was the gold that had been deposited through erosion from the sideslopes of the adjacent hills. Often the small grains would travel downstream until it reached a bend where often particles settled. After settling, the larger and lighter gravel rose while the finer, heavier gold particles gravitated toward the bedrock and formed a layer of rich auriferous (gold bearing)material. The miners devised a method to sort and separate gravel, sand grains, mud, and gold dust in such a way to retrieve only the gold. This method was known as panning. Basically, panning used the specific gravity of the different types of particles to separate out the gold. Unfortunately, panning was an extremely slow process with little yield. As Knapp (1973:5) notes, "[a]n experienced, diligent worker might wash fifty pans in a day, but this still was only 1 cubic yard of gravel." As a result, a more efficient method was used to extract the placer deposits. A rocker, which was constructed with a box with a tin bottom full of punched holes, shook back and forth on a steel slider with water pumped on the clay, sand, etc. The smaller particles, including the gold would fall through the holes while the larger particles stayed in the rocker.

At the Reed mine and at other mines, mercury was sometimes used to extract gold. The mercury would amalgamate with the gold. The resultant compound was then heated to distill off the mercury, leaving pure gold. The mercury, collected during the distillation process, would be reused (Knapp 1973:13).

Dension Olmstead noted in 1824 that a barrel rocker was being used at the Reed mine and that the creek bed and bottom lands of Little Meadow Creek in an area of 50 to 100 yards wide and for a quarter of a mile up the creek was filled with many small pits and dirt piles (Olmstead 1824).

The rocker was shortly replaced with a "long tom" or sluice which could handle larger quantities of material. It was not until after the 1820s that miners began mining ore deposits, which Greenville County did not have. Therefore, placers continued to be mined up through the twentieth

century.

Although mining effectively ended around World War I in Greenville County, there was probably an increase in activity during the Great Depression as people looked for other sources of income. Mining still occurs today, but only as a small scale recreational activity.

Although no one has published a description of the types of structures and features that might be present at a placer mine, Knapp (1973:x-xi) provides a glossary of terms providing some insight into what might be present. Features, structures, and artifacts that one might find at Greenville County gold mines include an iron retort (for removing mercury), evidence of hydraulic mining (exposing surface ore by washing away earth and rock with water under pressure), mining pits, pans, shovels, rocker parts, sluice, and tailings (which are waste deposits from processing ore at the mill). In addition, at the Engine Mill House Trinkley (1986) found some unusual stoneware which he believes was used to ship mercury to the mine. The stoneware is not local and its origin is unknown.

Research questions directed toward gold mine sites are listed below and deal with technology, site patterning and signature, organization of labor, and the presence of camps or residences. In relation to labor, Lieber (1859:68) suggests that slaves should be excluded from work at deep mines because of "the carelessness of negroes, and their present high price, as well as the considerate feelings of precaution which a master naturally entertains for his servant . . . ." However, he recommends their use at placer deposits since the labor is cheap and reliable.

Research questions related to gold mining in Greenville County, could include the following:

- How did changing technology alter the face of Greenville County gold mine sites?

- What is the patterning of gold mine site locations?

- What was the organization of labor (Were these mines family operations? Who was involved in the mining? Was the gold mined all year or only during agriculturally slow periods?)

- What is the archaeological signature of placer mine sites?

- Are there any short term or permanent domestic occupations (such as campsites, owners housing or slave housing) at gold mine sites?

Taverns/Inns/Public Houses

In many instances, taverns, inns, and public houses were words interchangeable. Inns and public houses were not only authorized to sell alcoholic beverages, but also rented out rooms for the night. A tavern was more often equated with a place where food and beverages were served, but sometimes also rented out rooms.

Only one tavern has been excavated in South Carolina. However, several have been examined in the Mid-Atlantic states of North Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. Unfortunately, most are urban taverns which may provide an archaeological profile different from ones in rural Greenville County. These urban tavern owners would have had much better access to manufactured goods, whereas taverns in the South Carolina rural upstate may have had little access to manufactured goods.

Mills' Atlas (1969 [1825]) shows a number of taverns and inns in Greenville County in 1820, most of which are situated south of the city of Greenville. They include Seaborn's tavern, Garrison's tavern, Pollard's tavern, and E. Green's tavern. North of Greenville there is only one reference to what is interpreted to have been a tavern or inn, called Bridge Lodge. It was located at the foot of the mountains adjacent to the north fork of the Saluda River and may have served as the "last resting point" before entering the sparsely populated mountain region. In Mills' *Statistics of South Carolina* (1972 [1826]) he mentions that the town of Greenville had three good public houses in

1826. The only mention of rural taverns that he makes is "[t]he taverns are increasing in number, and improving in entertainment as the travelling increases" (Mills 1972:575 [1826]).

Since taverns/inns/public houses served to feed, house, and entertain people their artifact pattern is probably distinctive, although not yet discovered. Typically there were individual rooms with fireplaces, a kitchen, as well as a public room. While it seems that little would be found in the lodging areas since people tended not to "move in" for extended periods of time, it is likely that the public room and kitchen would have large quantities of artifacts. For instance, at Wetherburn's tavern at Colonial Williamsburg (Hume 1969), a large quantity of brandied cherries were found in bottles still intact, buried up against the inside wall of the tavern's kitchen. Apparently, burying bottles was a common practice in the eighteenth century as testified by the 1753 supplement to Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*:

> [s]omething also depends on the place where the bottles are set, which ought to be such as exposes them as little as possible to the alterations and impressions of the air: the ground is better for this purpose than a frame, sand better than the bare ground, and a running water, or a spring often changed, best of all [quoted in Hume 1969:26].

One might expect large quantities of pipe bowls and stems as well as large quantities of plates, eating utensils, cups, mugs, and bottle fragments. Coleman et al. (1990:170) suggest that urban taverns, which are predicted to have more of a social function than rural taverns, would have more artifacts associated with socializing, such as tobacco pipes and bottle glass. Rural taverns, functioning more for traveller subsistence, might have a higher percentage of ceramics.

Many taverns did not stand alone, but were surrounded by a number of support structures and features. Court records sometimes provided detailed descriptions and include this one from Delaware:

> one dwelling House occupied for a Tavern with a kitchen under the same ruff, one room of sid house wants plastering the rest of the house in reasonable repair their is one new porch at the Front of the said House there is on said Premises one new Log Meet house also one new said Log Corn Crib one brick one wants some repair one log barn with stables at one end in reasonable repair one new stable one shed for Horses to stand under with Clabbord ruff some what wore one garden pailed in, in midling repair, and a few scatterind apple trees . . . (quoted in Coleman et al. 1990:64).

Further south in North Carolina, Stanley South (1960) excavated a public house and tailor shop. On C.J. Sauthier's 1769 map of Brunswick town, the lot containing the public house had a number of other structures and a well. One structure may have served as a kitchen and dining area, while other structures may have served as stables, laundry, etc. Privies were surely present as well. The public house itself was a barracks style building with six rooms and three internal double chimneys. Although located in an "urban" setting, it seems reasonable that public houses and taverns in rural settings had similar amenities.

In South Carolina, Zierden et al. (1982) examined McCrady's Tavern and Longroom. Based on the artifactual remains, McCrady's catered to a high status clientele. The artifact pattern for the longroom fell within the range of the Carolina Artifact Pattern (South 1977) for the two major groups of kitchen and architecture. However, the percentages for tobacco were significantly higher which corresponds to findings at other tavern sites.

Questions relating to public houses, taverns, and inns might include the following:

- Is the artifact profile of a tavern, etc. different from a domestic structure?

- At rural taverns, etc. what types of support buildings are commonly found?

- Did some of the support structures serve not only the tavern, but also the dwelling house for the tavern-keeper and family?

- How are taverns in the upstate different from or similar to taverns on the Coastal Plain of South Carolina?

- How are South Carolina taverns different from taverns in the Mid Atlantic states or elsewhere?

- What types of activities went on at rural taverns?

- Did some local residents turn their own homes into taverns or inns?

- How do rural taverns compare with urban taverns?

Country Stores

One important aspect of rural life was the country store. In Greenville County, they were beginning to make a presence in the early nineteenth century, however, it wasn't until after the Civil War that they became important aspects of the community. Although Mills' Atlas (1969 [1825]) is not complete, it provides at least a sample of what was present in the Greenville District in 1820. He shows the presence of only three rural stores (Ballard's, Toney's, and unnamed), all located south of Greenville. In his statistics of the state (1972 [1826]) he does not make mention of the importance of these stores to the district, suggesting that they did not make an impression on him. However, this suggests that rural residents of Greenville County had little access to consumer goods without going into the town of Greenville. Mountain residents may have had to do without most consumer goods.

After the Civil War, as large plantations were broken up into smaller units and communities were predominated by the yeoman or tenant farmers, country stores became much more numerous all over the state. Since most rural Southerners were isolated, merchants were now concerned about the convenience of the stores to their customers. Where railroads were being built, company representatives encouraged the building of warehouses, stores, and railway stations at strategic points. Everywhere else, the stores were springing up in locations where it was believed that there were enough people to make them profitable. There was also the demand for an agency which could exchange small quantities of goods for equally small amounts of diverse rural produce. In addition, the buying and selling of cotton was now removed to these crossroads villages (Clark 1944).

Emancipation and the shift of white farmers into cotton cultivation handed new power to South Carolina's merchants. These new opportunities resulted in a large increase in the number of trade establishments. In areas that were heavily populated by blacks, such as the Coastal Plain, the new firms were crossroads merchants who, according to Hammond had "become an important factor in the organization of labor and in the distribution of wealth" (Hammond 1883:659). In the piedmont, where merchants had been numerous before the war, increase not only occurred in small rural communities but also in larger towns. Simply put, before the war plantations had provided necessities to the black slaves whereas in areas not dominated by a plantation economy such as the Upper Piedmont, country stores already existed to provide necessities to the farmer. Emancipation created a need for new country stores in areas that were formerly supplied by plantations.

In Greenville County, during the postbellum, black tenant farmers made up about 56% of the tenant population, whereas in counties where plantations were larger and more prevalent the black tenant percentage was often much higher. For instance, in Aiken County black tenants composed 95% of the labor and in Berkeley County black tenants comprised 90% of the labor (Anonymous 1884). In 1940, white farmers in Greenville County numbered 4,388

individuals whereas black farmers consisted only of 1,219 people. For Aiken County white farmers consisted of 1,734 individuals and black farmers consisted of 1,656 individuals, and in Berkeley County, there were 817 white farmers and 2,253 black farmers (1940 Census).

These local merchants were one of the most important sources of credit. For the sharecropper or tenant farmer, many times the landlord controlled the local business. Therefore, through the farming business the landlord secured one-half to two-thirds of the tenants' produce, and through his commercial operations he could potentially secure the rest. The interest was generally exorbitantly high, "justified" by the risk. The security was the entire crop which, after being harvested and ginned, had to be turned over for disposal by the creditor in payment of the debt. Since there was often only one store per community, the tenants and sharecroppers tended to be a "captive audience" (Johnson et al. 1935). Often the planter paid the hired hands in scrip which could only be used at a given store (Woodman 1968). In the Upper Piedmont most of the former plantations did not create commissaries or stores, although a small number (7.5%) did. Regardless of whether or not the landlord owned the store, a lien system prevailed in the South.

For both the yeoman farmer and the tenant/sharecropper, the country store offered a myriad of merchandise including foodstuffs, clothing, farm tools, horse hardware, musical instruments, toiletries, drugs, and sports equipment. In addition to providing necessities and luxuries, the store was also a meeting place where the idle could sit and talk to the other idle, play checkers, or watch the pedestrian traffic.

The archaeological signature of a country store is not known. If it is unknown at the time of discovery that the site contained a store, it may be difficult to apply a function. For instance, store owners sometimes lived above or behind the store front, which would cause the site to produce a domestic artifact pattern. Some (Honorkamp et al. 1982) have suggested that commercial activity is likely to be poorly represented in the archaeological record, with the vast majority of artifacts representing the domestic component. In contrast, Honorkamp (1980) suggests that sites with both craft and domestic activities will generate at least some byproducts indicative of site function. What these by-products might consist of at a country store is unknown.

If the owner did not live there, there may be little clear evidence that the site functioned as a store. Since stores often served as a social center, with people often gathering on the front porch particularly in the summer, there may be a distinctive trash disposal or littering pattern. There is likely to be a large quantity of bottle glass, crown caps, and pull tabs from drinking beverages on hot days. Questions related to country stores could include:

- How common was it for a store owner to live at the store?
- How are these stores spaced across the landscape?
- If the owner lived there what was his/her economic status?
- Is there archaeological evidence for a large degree of social activity?
- If so, how is this activity exhibited in the archaeological record?
- Is there evidence for other buildings such as a cotton warehouse or granary at the store?
- What does historical research indicate about changing consumer demands through time?
- How does an antebellum store compare with a late nineteenth century store in terms of architectural configuration and amenities?

While these questions are not exhaustive they can at least provide insight into the development of the country store and the fabric of interaction that

occurred there.

Cemeteries

A number of researchers (e.g. Atkinson and Turner 1987; Garrow et al. 1985; Rose 1985; Trinkley and Hacker-Norton 1984; Wegars et al. 1981) have demonstrated the value of examining physical remains (i.e. skeletal material, coffin hardware, and jewelry) in cemeteries to better understand issues surrounding status, ethnicity, diet, disease patterns, and belief systems. These works have shown that there is more to a cemetery than the names and dates of the individuals buried there or the decorative styles of cemetery markers.

In the 1970s archaeologists first became aware of African-American mortuary patterns through the work of John Combes (1972) on the South Carolina coast. That work was largely based on previous anthropological or folklore studies such as Parsons (1923), Michael (1943), Glave (1891), Georgia Writers' Project (1940), and Puckett (1926). More recent discussions include those by Fenn (1985), Nichols (1989), Thompson (1983), and Vlach (1978). These studies describe the African-American practice of placing items on graves and attribute the practices to African beliefs.

Deetz's (1977) work at an Anglo-American cemetery in New England provides a seriation of tombstone styles illustrating a shift from death's heads to cherubs to urns and willow trees in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In addition to these stylistic shifts, was also a shift in verbiage used in the epitaphs, illustrating patterns of change in Anglo-American culture.

In addition to Deetz's work, Diana Combs (1986) has examined tombstones from Georgia and South Carolina. However, she focused on the more elaborate designs and the cemeteries she examined were concentrated along the coast. The meanings of the various motifs used were discussed as well as their relationship to religious beliefs. Although not exploring the upstate, the study provides useful comparative data from the lowcountry.

Recent work such as that by Trinkley and Hacker-Norton (1984), Rose (1984), and Garrow et al. (1985) has emphasized the study of coffin hardware and osteological remains. These studies, undertaken when the cemetery is to be relocated, are a necessary adjunct to the formal and legal routine of relocation as specified by South Carolina law. Rathbun observes:

> cemetery data are extremely important above and beyond the usual categories associated with distinctive persons, design features, and association with historic events. This narrow definition of historic importance fails to recognize that human remains provide data of considerable historic importance. Not only are many segments of the population omitted from typical historical sources, but the skeletal remains provide empirical evidence directly relevant to broad historical issues in health, nutrition and social customs. The biological history of our nation has received insufficient attention . . . . Even if some of the information inferred from bioarchaeological analysis is available from other sources, validity and accuracy of other records can be evaluated through comparison with the physical evidence (Rathbun 1985:208).

While most of the previously discussed works deal with low country African-Americans, they provide both a baseline for the study of African-American biocultural archaeology in the upstate, and a data base to compare against Anglo-American cemeteries.

Generally cemeteries are begun for three social groups which include:

- *family* — to provide a burial place for family and extended family;

- *church members* — to provide a burial place for members of a church, or

- *community* — to provide a burial place for members of a town or community.

A fourth cemetery type, which actually might be considered to be a combination of the three, is a slave cemetery. While slaves within the same plantation were not necessarily all related to one another, they probably consisted of a small number of extended families, making them a combination of a family and community. It is also probable that they were all of the same religious faith and went to the same church. All of these cemetery types might and probably will provide different profiles.

The family cemetery is the smallest of the three types and contains a limited number of surnames. The type, style and variety of tombstones may depend on the time period, the changing wealth of the family, the availability of materials, and the religious denomination of the family. Stones could range from unmarked fieldstone markers to cut marble markers. Sometimes family cemeteries were surrounded by low stone walls or iron fences which clearly demarcated the boundaries, but not always. Unfortunately, there has been no formal study of cemetery location and their proximity to the family farm or plantation.

Perhaps equally as small is the slave cemetery which sometimes was used into the postbellum period. Since slaves were poor and blacks during the postbellum were usually equally poor, the variety of stone styles might be limited. It is likely that most were fieldstone during slavery and poured cement during the postbellum. If the cemetery persisted into the modern period, they were probably marked with granite markers or metal tags. How strongly African beliefs were followed in the upstate is unclear. However, in the lowcountry these cemeteries were often located in wooded areas some distance away from the slave settlement and were not fenced. In addition, there were often decorative plantings or grave goods which still might be visible today. These grave goods are commonly found in lowcountry cemeteries and are known to occur at least as far inland as Richland County as there are several early twentieth century graves in the B.F. Randolph cemetery with grave goods. Such cemeteries need to be documented in Greenville County, if they exist. If they don't exist, then their absence should be explained.

The decorative style of markers at church cemeteries is often restricted by the religious beliefs of the church members. While there may be a variety of markers, they were probably limited in range of style at certain points in time (see Deetz 1977). In addition, there may be decorative motifs or epitaphs that are common in family clusters. It is possible that ethnicity will also be visible through decorative motifs and the presence or absence of grave goods or decorative plantings.

Community cemeteries are often found in downtown areas. While some are also located on the outskirts of towns, most are very modern cemeteries that sprung up in the 1960s and 1970s when cemeteries were set out in acres of grassy land with few or small trees. Community cemeteries of age, typically have a large variety of stones since they harbor individuals from a number of different background and beliefs. Here, it is likely that both rich, middle class, and poor people were buried in the same cemetery, often grouped by family. It is possible that wealth played a role in where the person was buried, but presently the role of wealth in burial location is unknown.

All of these cemetery types can provide very significant information beyond who the people were, when they were born, and when they died. They can address questions relating to social and economic status, beliefs and symbolism, health and disease, and community make up.

For family cemeteries, these questions could include:

- Is there evidence for changing economic and social status?

- What beliefs are represented in the material remains such as tombstones, coffin hardware, and jewelry, and can it be related to religious denomination?

- Did members of the family suffer from any health problems

and were any of these genetic?

- Are aspects of their diet reflected in their skeletal remains?

- Is there a pattern in cemetery location in relationship to the family homestead?

Questions regarding slave and freedman cemeteries might include:

- Is there evidence for improving economic conditions from slavery to freedom?

- How do the material remains (i.e. tombstones, jewelry, and coffin hardware) of blacks and whites of similar economic status compare?

- How does the health of blacks and whites of similar economic status compare?

- How do upcountry slaves and freedmen compare with lowcountry slaves and freedom?

- What health and diet problems did slaves and freedmen experience?

Questions regarding church cemeteries might include:

- What is the range of social and economic status and how does this compare with other denominations?

- What beliefs are represented in the material remains such as tombstones, coffin hardware, and jewelry?

- What types of differences occur between white and black Baptist churches and does religion or ethnicity take precedent in the material remains?

- Do these beliefs appear to change at any point in time?

- Does health and diet relate to economic status?

Questions regarding community cemeteries might include:

- What is the range in social and economic status?

- What is the range in religious beliefs?

- Does the location of individual or family graves in any way reflect socioeconomic status?

- Do the archaeological remains of community cemeteries differ from rural church or family cemeteries?

- Are there any community patterns in health and disease?

Urban Sites

The city of Greenville was begun around Richard Pearis' trading post and grist mill established on the Reedy River between 1760 and 1770. The city was established in 1786 and about a decade later Lemuel J. Alston offered a site for the court house. He also laid off 400 acres round the court house plat, laying out a proposed village called Pleasantburg although the town was always referred to as Greenville. Since most settlers were interested in agricultural land, the lots did not sell well and Alston sold 11,000 acres, including the town of Greenville, to Vardy McBee in 1815. Through McBee's efforts, the town became a trading center for surrounding counties. Greenville also became known as a health resort for lowcountry planters escaping the malaria and humidity of the lowcountry summer (Building Preservation Technology 1981:11).

Mills describes the town of Greenville in the 1820s stating that:

> [t]he public buildings are, a handsome brick court-house, (lately erected,) a jail, a Baptist meeting-house, an Episcopal church, and two neat buildings for the male and female academy. Of public houses there are three which will vie in accommodation and appearance with any in the state. The private houses are neat; some large and handsome. . . . The number of houses is about 70, and the population about 500 (Mills 1976:573 [1826]).

These references provide some idea of the types of buildings present during Greenville's early existence.

Although it is unknown what types of services and goods were available in Greenville early on, by the mid to late nineteenth century the industrial censuses list tanneries, boot and shoe makers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, tin shops, silver platers, saddle and harness makers, tailors, carriage makers, chair and wagon makers, cabinet shops, guns shops, builders, and bakeries. Some, if not all, of these types of industries were in operation in "downtown" Greenville. In fact, by the late 1850s, Greenville had the South's largest carriage and wagon plant known as the Greenville Coach Factory and later as the Markley Carriage Factory.

Wesley Breedlove has performed some limited salvage excavations in the downtown area. Unfortunately, since these projects were not funded none of the results have been published. As a result, no published urban archaeology dealing with Greenville's early existence has been performed although deposits associated with industries, public buildings, and households are probably still present. Sites in urban settings tend to be more complex than those in rural settings because of the intensity of occupation and the continual building, tearing down, and rebuilding. Anne McCuen has performed a lot by lot study from downtown Greenville's beginnings through about 1856 (Anne McCuen, personal communication 1995). Such a study is invaluable to understanding what types of activities took place on a particular lot through the mid-nineteenth century and to understanding the archaeological components it might possess. It is also a great initial step in evaluating the archaeological potential of the downtown area.

Site formation at urban sites tend to be complex since they consist of artifact deposition, artifact redistribution, or removal of artifacts from the record altogether (see Zierden and Calhoun 1984:104-195). This process can go on several times and will be most complex in older cities. In towns like Greenville that have not been occupied as densely and for as long as towns like Charleston, this complexity is different, if not less. First of all, the deposits are not as deep. In downtown Charleston, historic deposits alone can extend to more than five feet in depth.

In addition, there are natural processes, like scouring and erosion, that affect urban site formation. Work in downtown Augusta, Georgia by Joseph (1993) indicates that upcountry urban deposits may not be as dense as those found in urban sites along the coast. Most of the project area was located on the ridge slopes leading to the Savannah River and it appeared that periodic flooding swept away deposits from the surface leaving a fairly shallow occupation horizon. It is likely that erosion also played a hand in the shallowness of the deposits.

In downtown Columbia, auger testing of the Palmetto Ironworks site by Chicora Foundation (Trinkley 1993b) indicated that deposits generally ranged from 0.9 to 1.5 feet, although one test was over 2.1 feet in depth suggesting the presence of a feature. Complex lensing was not evident in these tests as it might be in an urban Charleston setting.

Testing of historic sites in downtown Laurens by Payne and Hulan (1986) also found that urban deposition in the Piedmont area is not deep. But although sites are not deeply deposited, the work by Joseph (1993) suggests that these sites are still relatively complex. Stripping in areas of the site revealed a very large number of features which would require "teasing apart" to determine which building episode they are associated with (see Joseph 1993:209, Figure 71). In these urban situations, mechanical stripping is probably not the

ideal approach to interpreting the deposits. Because of this urban complexity, it is important to carefully hand excavate the remains to determine what they are associated with.

Greenville was impacted by the cotton monocrop. Cotton factories and gins sprang up in many areas in the early nineteenth century and became a major way of life at the end of the nineteenth century as a response to wartime disorganization, emancipation, and changes in transportation and communication (Carlton 1982:14). Cotton mills and their associated villages became their own urban areas with a number of support facilities such as stores, hospitals, recreation facilities, churches, etc. As a result, they can provide significant data regarding the lives of people of various economic means involved in the same industry.

Excavations were performed at the Sampson Mill Village (Trinkley 1991) although the funds available restricted the amount of fieldwork that could be done. However, the work illustrated that early twentieth century urban mill village sites can have rich deposits and yield significant archaeological information about mill life.

Figure 38. View of a portion of the Sampson Mill village in 1908.

The archaeological and historical research at the Sampson Mill Village suggested that white mill families were somewhat better off than their black rural counterparts. For instance, the village contained more toys than the tenant sites. In addition, the mill families had access to a number of facilities that their rural counterparts did not. They probably received better health care, education, and more opportunities for socialization and recreation. However, mill workers were not well off and cut financial corners when they could as revealed by the presence of spindle rings at the site. A local informant explained that employees would often take home wooden spindles for heating fuel to reduce the cost of heating their homes with coal. In terms of refuse disposal, ditches and gullies tended to be the primary repository of trash. Research into diet concluded that tenant farmers and mill workers at similarly and that they were both equally involved in canning garden vegetables (Trinkley 1991). Since the work at Sampson Mill village was limited and provided only a brief glimpse into the lives of the mill workers, mill villages should continue to be considered an important archaeological and historical resource. In addition, these sites often have living informants which are a valuable part of the historical record.

The mill villages provide architectural data, information on trash disposal, diet, urban landscapes, as well as status. Research questions related to mill villages could include:

- How do the lifestyles of the mill worker and supervisory personnel

compare?

- What are the refuse disposal patterns at the mill village?

- How do urban mill village patterns compare with other urban and rural patterns?

- How has mill life changed through time?

- What types of activities took place in the mill village?

The Pelham Mill ruins in eastern Greenville County are currently on the National Register of Historic Places. These ruins provide another angle at looking at mills and mill life since this site represents the remains of the industrial complex dating from about 1820 through 1935. Drucker and Jackson (1987) presented a number of topics which this type of site might address. These questions include:

- What was the character and physical layout of the mill through time?

- What types of rooms and work areas did the mills contain? This question would include the functional identification and excavation of late nineteenth and early twentieth century work areas, buildings, and/or rooms to gather information about the operation and by-products of these activity areas.

- What types of local services (sawmills, blacksmiths, and gristmills) were provided by the mill?

Since this mill dates as far back as 1820s, locating the associated mill village is important since it may be able to address questions relating the labor organization changes through time. Obviously, Emancipation strongly impacted the mills and there is a switch from primarily black slave labor to white labor.

While examination of mill life relates primarily to the lower and middle classes of white people of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, questions relating to rich whites also need to be identified and addressed. In Charleston, we know that townhouses tended to contain more expensive items than rural plantation homes. We also know that some of these planters who owned Charleston area plantations and townhouses had summer retreats in Greenville. For instance, Charlestonian Henry Middleton built Whitehall in Greenville County sometime after 1813 as a summer retreat from the lowcountry malaria and humidity. Work at these types of sites might yield interesting and significant information about the lives of the wealthy in upstate settings and how it compares to assemblages in urban and rural Charleston. In addition, antebellum sites could be compared to postbellum sites to see how the poverty experienced during Reconstruction affected the material possessions of the once wealthy. Other questions could include:

- Were upstate houses "show cases" and were they intended for entertaining?

- Were goods and furniture transported back and forth from the lowcountry to their Greenville homes?

- Did only the wealthiest own property in the upcountry?

- If so, how does this affect the archaeological record?

In addition, nothing is known about the lives of urban blacks. Since they were generally not hired in the mills during the postbellum period to work alongside whites, it is likely that many remained tenant farmers. Opportunities for blacks in the city of Greenville appear to have been limited to only those who had previously been urban slaves. Recently, Anne McCuen has discovered a standing and occupied house built by a freedman in the 1870s. He bought the property from his former owner and built the house which

is still occupied by some of his descendants. Before and after slavery he worked as a blacksmith (Anne McCuen, personal communication 1995). Questions relating to the black citizens of the city of Greenville could include:

- What was the lifestyle of blacks during and after slavery?
- What was the lifestyle of rural versus urban blacks?
- What was the range of economic means and what were the variables that affected this range for urban blacks?
- How do white millworkers and urban blacks with specialized skills compare?

Military Sites

Military sites in Greenville County consist of late nineteenth and early twentieth century training camps associated primarily with the Spanish-American War and World War I. Both appear to have been temporary, having only been used during one war, and both can provide information specific to these time periods.

Camp Wethrill was a Spanish-American War training camp. Little is known about it although photographs show a number of log cabins within the camp (C.L. Bailey Collection, New York Public Library). It has never been archaeologically recorded and little is known about its present condition. Wesley Breedlove believes that he has located the site, although he has not found much above-ground evidence (Wesley Breedlove, personal communication 1995). According to Armstrong (1976:593), military installations built after the war, between 1900 and 1905 were not nearly as primitive as ones built earlier. A large number of these camps were built because of the change in American policy which formerly opposed large peacetime standing armies. These new camps contained a large number of amenities (e.g. schools, libraries, amusement rooms, etc.) that the camps during the Spanish-American War did not have. This strongly suggests that soldiers may have found life at Camp Wethrill fairly spartan and boring.

Camp Sevier which was a briefly used World War I training camp is located within the city limits of Greenville and has been affected by a number of activities including modern commercial and residential development (Shelton 1955). The site had been previously identified by Wesley Breedlove and was recorded by Steve Smith of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. The camp was found to be spread over a large area of northeastern Greenville with only little pockets of the camp remaining. During this visit, trench lines and rifle pits in one isolated area were mapped in. In addition, Mr. Breedlove showed Mr. Smith the area of various remains including two standing chimneys in a residential yard, a magazine, and at least three warehouses still standing at the railroad yard (38GR202 site form).

Camp Sevier was set up to train National Guard troops, making them into Regular Army soldiers, and was make-shift since there was no space at Regular Army training camps. The men lived in tents in rows along company and battery streets. There may have been more permanent common use buildings. Murphy (1936) describes buildings that were combined store-room, kitchen and mess halls, but does not say if they were larger tent enclosures or actual frame buildings. He goes on to say that there were latrines and bath houses at the end of company streets with large boilers providing warm water for winter bathing. There were also post exchanges, three magazines, warehouses, supply houses, infirmaries, and guard houses. In addition there were a number of stables and corrals. There was a Divisional bakery, a salvage depot, automobile repair shops, shoe repair shops, fire station, and a base hospital complex. The hospital buildings were connected to one another by plank walks and included an administration building, wards for patients, nurses quarters, officer's quarters and quarters for the enlisted personnel as well as supply buildings and kitchens. Clearly some of these structures were much more permanent buildings as witnessed by the presence of ruined structures located by Mr. Breedlove.

While there were military regulations that

camps were supposed to follow during the Spanish-American and World War I era, they sometimes did not consistently do so. We know from photographs that structures at Camp Wethrill consisted primarily of log cabins, whereas tents were used at Camp Sevier reflecting its impermanency. It is likely that tent structures were not regulation for training camps, but given the unpreparedness of the United States entering into World War I, the use of tents is understandable.

The reason for the use of log construction at Camp Wetherill is not immediately clear. Wood was a locally available, free resource if you were using timber from the property land. Log construction also made it possible to have immediate use of the lumber, rather than having to have it milled either on site or some place else. The use of what may have been expedient, suggests that there was some flexibility regarding the building modes used at training camps during the Spanish/American War.

Research questions and issues that military camps may address include:

- Were the permanent buildings at Camp Sevier pre-exisiting; a mix of pre-existing and new buildings, or all new buildings?

- Where was the line drawn in terms of what could be housed or stored in tents?

- How does Camp Sevier compare with other make shift training camps and how does it compare to permanent camps?

- Why was log construction used at Camp Wetherill?

- Is Camp Wetherill typical of Spanish-American War training camps?

- How were both Camp Sevier and Camp Wetherill organized?

- What were the living habits of the soldiers at both camps in terms of food consumption, garbage disposal, recreational activities, etc.?

- Can status differences be identified between officers and enlisted men?

- How closely were camp regulations followed?

Site Formation Processes

Important to understanding sites as they are found in the ground is a discussion of site formation processes. Piedmont sites were altered by processes that the Coastal Plain may not have experienced, such as heavy erosion. A discussion of urban site formation was presented in the section describing urban archaeology and should be consulted regarding its information.

There are a number of factors that affect the nature of the site in the ground. We have previously discussed how urban environments are affected by continual building, tearing down, and rebuilding and that some urban sites are not as deeply deposited as those in towns such as Charleston or Savannah which were occupied for longer periods of time and saw more intensive use. A discussion of site formation processes is necessary in order to understand what archaeologists should expect to find in terms of depth, stratigraphy, and complexity.

In sum, sites tend to be located in two general geographic areas: knolls and floodplains. As previously discussed, sites located on knolls are generally subjected to erosion due to clearing and continued plowing of these areas. As the soil is plowed and erodes downslope, future plowing goes deeper and deeper into the site, eventually plowing features completely out. According to a 1934 USDA erosion survey, Greenville County exhibits varying amounts of erosion ranging from moderate sheet erosion to moderate sheet erosion with occasional gullies, to severe sheet erosion with occasional gullies. The most severe erosion is found on hills and side slopes adjacent to the Saluda River. The lightest amount of erosion is

found away from rivers where slope angles are not as steep. For the Greenville County area, a large part of this erosion did not begin until the early twentieth century except in the very southern portion of the county where erosion was a problem during the antebellum period (Trimble 1974:15). Little erosion probably occurred during the Indian occupation of Greenville County, since they tended to focus on cultivation of the bottomlands. However, the cultivation of "second bottoms" or stream terraces may have deposited soils into the "first bottoms" (Trimble 1974:32).

These bottomlands and stream terraces are the other areas most commonly occupied or used. While upland soil erosion caused the deposition of soils in these bottomlands, the scouring of occasional floods often carried these deposits off. In the Uwharrie Mountain region of North Carolina (providing a similar geographic setting to Greenville County) Joffre Coe found that, in general, there was very little soil build-up on these floodplains. Whatever soil was deposited was scoured away. However, there were isolated build-ups in some areas. At the Doerschuk site a:

> projecting outcrop of rock formed a large eddy area during the period of major floods. This resulted in the deposition of greater quantities of coarser materials than would have been true on the open floodplain. A second factor to be considered is that the narrow valley and projecting rock outcrops have prevented the formation of mature meanders and this area has been largely protected from lateral or bank erosion (Coe 1964:21).

Although not common, occasionally sites are found on side slopes and these are the sites which are most likely to have been subjected to heavy erosion. It is here where sheet erosion with some gullying has probably taken place. For instance, 38MC915 was found on a sideslope adjacent to Stevens Creek in McCormick County. This sideslope exhibited gullying and artifacts were found from about halfway up the slope down to a very narrow second terrace above Stevens Creek. It is quite possible that many of the artifacts that were originally deposited upslope eroded down to the narrow terrace where the bulk of artifactual remains were recovered (Adams 1993).

Very few archaeological features were encountered at the Finch farm site which Joseph et al. (1991) attribute to the amount of plowing and erosion. They provide good news and bad news about piedmont archaeology suggesting that:

> the horizontal integrity of Piedmont sites can be expressed even within plowed contexts. Work at 38Sp97 (prehistoric site) and 38Sp101 (Finch farm site) indicates that meaningful clusters of artifacts can be read in the surficial distribution of prehistoric and historic artifacts within plowed contexts. This is the good news. The depth of plowing exhibited by Piedmont farms, the use of subsoil as an agricultural horizon, and the intensity of erosion over the course of the past 200 years has severely damaged the subsurface integrity of Piedmont sites, and this is the bad news (Joseph et al. 1991:256).

Therefore, while subsurface features are likely to have been destroyed (except in non-erosional floodplains or urban contexts), unless they are unusually deep, surficial plotting of artifacts can yield valuable information.

Summary and Future Research

As is suggested by this summary, very little archaeological work has been performed in Greenville County, particularly at the data recovery level. No large-scale prehistoric excavations have taken place in the county and all that is known about Greenville County's prehistory is based on survey level investigations and most of the large-scale settlement models presented are based on data collected elsewhere in the state. No historic sites clearly associated the Lower Cherokee have been archaeologically recorded with the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. However, the work by Breedlove

and McCuen (1993) provides strong evidence for the location of a number of sites. Virtually nothing is archaeologically known about Colonial or Antebellum lifeways in this area or the rest of the upstate. Some limited work has been done at the Rosemont Plantation main house complex in neighboring Laurens County (Trinkley et al. 1992), but little is known about the lifestyles of upcountry slaves and more investigations of upcountry plantation main houses are needed to provide a clearer picture of plantation lifeways. In addition, there is no archaeological information regarding urban life. Early twentieth century research has focussed primarily on tenant farms, owner farms, and a mill village and even these studies are sparse.

The research questions for Greenville County are quite numerous since so little is known about its prehistoric and historic occupants. Questions posed within the previous text as well as broader questions are listed below.

As Canouts and Goodyear (1985) have stated, prehistoric sites consist primarily of upland lithic scatters and they argue strongly for their interpretive value. They can provide data concerning changing land use and changing preference or use of lithic raw materials.

A number of researchers have used a riverine/inter-riverine settlement model (e.g. Goodyear et al. 1979; House and Ballenger 1976; Sassaman 1983; White 1982) to characterize several different time periods. It would be useful to use this model to examine and characterize all prehistoric time periods so as to better understand how environmental and/or technological changes affected the movement and the settlement of people. Although Mississippian people, for instance, are known to have occupied river terraces, little is known about how they used the upland environments. Also, it is still not clear if and how the move to riverine settlements affected social organization. In addition, while some of the large late prehistoric riverine settlements were ceremonial mound centers, there were also moundless settlements and small hamlets. Future research should focus on how the inhabitants of each of these settlement types related to one another.

In addition to settlement and social organization issues, questions regarding diet, environment, technology, and long distance exchange need to be addressed. Prehistoric burials can also yield important data regarding social organization and health and diet. Ethically, archaeologists examining Native American burial remains should involve the Native American community to ensure their interests are met.

For the historic time period, questions regarding the relationship of eighteenth century settlers to the historic Cherokee Indians need to be addressed. Questions arise regarding how the change from the self-sufficient style of life on the frontier to increasing access to manufactured goods affected area residents. In addition, questions could examine how the new monocrop of cotton affected settlement locations of small farmers, planters, and slaves.

Research at late nineteenth/early twentieth century sites should examine how freedom affected former slaves through the examination of black tenant farms. These could then be compared to white tenant farms, white farm owners, and white mill operatives and supervisors to examine a whole range of questions relating to the social and economic relationships of blacks and whites; the poor and the middle class; the rural and the urban.

SIGNIFICANT HERITAGE SITES

Greenville County exhibits a very large number of heritage sites. For example, as of May 1995, 44 properties had been recorded on the National Register of Historic Places. Sixty-seven sites are listed as part of a 1982 survey of Greenville County (10 of which are duplicated by the National Register listings). Additional sites have been recorded by the South Carolina Appalachian Council of Governments (Anonymous n.d.). Over 200 archaeological sites have been recorded at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology while many more sites have been identified by Mr. Wes Breedlove and other avocational archaeologists in the area. The S.C. Department of Archives and History, as well as other organizations, have recorded sites in the Greenville area. Local historians have identified a wide range of additional sites.

Regrettably, prior to this project these sites have never been correlated and combined into one document. This has resulted in duplications and other administrative nightmares. It has seriously hindered the management of Greenville's resources since it is impossible to clearly understand what has been lost and what is left. But perhaps most importantly, it has resulted in confusion surrounding the public's understanding of what is, and what is not, a significant resource.

To meet the resource management needs of Greenville County we have adapted a heuristic device employed by Fairfax County, Virginia — a two-tiered hierarchy of significance consisting of eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places and public significance which is displayed in Figure 39.

Within Greenville County there is a very large, and as yet unknown, universe of heritage sites. It consists of both below-ground archaeological sites and above-ground historic buildings. Of these resources we have identified 3152 sites — some are archaeological sites, some are standing structures, some are cemeteries, some are other types of resources. Clearly these are not the only sites in Greenville County. There are others.

Likewise, there are also sites which have already been destroyed. Of the known resources, a number are likely not to be considered particularly important either to the citizens of Greenville County or to scholars studying the county or region. There are, however, sites which do have value to the citizens of the county. These are the publicly significant resources. Some of these possess characteristics which could potentially make them eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. Others will certainly move from the category of "publicly significant site" to "National Register site." Clearly all sites eligible for, or listed on, the National Register are also publicly significant sites.

National Register Eligibility. The criteria for determining eligibility for inclusion on the National

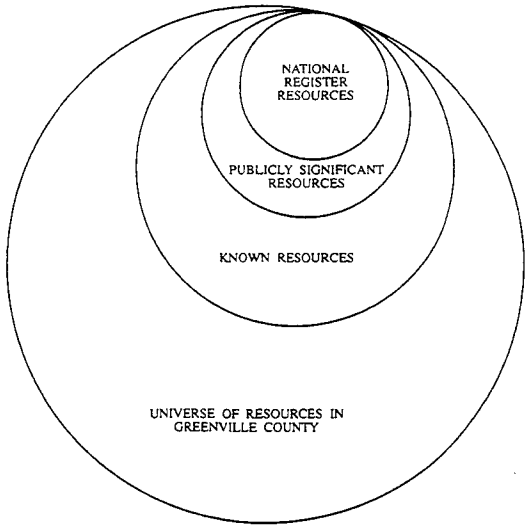


Figure 39. Hierarchy of resource significance in Greenville County.

Register are very general and serve primarily as guidelines for evaluating resources significance within the framework of the local community, as well as within the framework of the cultural contexts and the research questions scholars develop from those contexts. The eligibility criteria are intentionally broad and flexible to allow the evaluation of a wide range of resources over time. The National Register is intended to be alive, reflecting changes in society, not a static "roll of the dead." The basic criteria for the National Register is established by 36 CFR 60.6:

> The quality of significance in American History, architecture, archaeology, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and;
>
> 1. that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
>
> 2. that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
>
> 3. that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
>
> 4. that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

In order to meet these criteria, a minimum amount of information must be available about the resource to allow the site or structure to be evaluated. This information typically consists of the physical characteristics possessed by the resource. In very broad and general terms, an archaeological resource must:

> 1. possess sufficient integrity to allow appropriate research questions to be addressed;
>
> 2. possess sufficient information to allow for the interpretation of resource chronology and function;
>
> 3. possess sufficient information to identify specific and defensible boundaries;
>
> 4. possess sufficient diversity of material culture and resource components to permit appropriate research questions to be addressed.

Recently, Townsend et al. (1993) have offered additional clarification of the evaluation of historic (and by extension of the methodology, prehistoric) sites. The evaluative process typically involves five steps, forming a clearly defined, explicit rationale for either the site's eligibility or lack of eligibility. Briefly, these steps include:

> 1. identification of the site's data sets or categories of archaeological information such as ceramics, lithics, subsistence remains, architectural remains, or sub-surface features;
>
> 2. identification of the historic context applicable to the site, providing a framework for the evaluative process;
>
> 3. identification of the important research questions the site *might* be able to address, given the data sets and the context;
>
> 4. evaluation of the site's archaeological integrity to ensure that the data sets are sufficiently well preserved to address the research questions; and
>
> 5. identification of "important" research questions among all of those which might be asked and

answered at the site.

In contrast, an architectural resource:

1. must possess sufficient integrity of structure and detail to convey the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction;

2. in clusters of resources, possesses sufficient integrity of structures, sites, and environment to be read as a distinguishable entity and to convey information about past ways of living;

3. possess integrity of style, either pure example of any style and vernacular adaptation, or integrity of original style and subsequent alterations which reflect the structure's history; or

4. possess sufficient information to allow for an interpretation of the property's role in Greenville's historical development.

Just as archaeological significance has been refined, so too are the architectural requirements constantly being evaluated and refined. Recently, National Register Bulletins have dealt with such topics as nominating industrial sites, sites more recent than 50 years old, and landscape sites. And while cemeteries are not normally considered eligible, there are clearly defined exceptions allowing burial places to be placed on the National Register.

Public Significance. The prehistoric and historic heritage of Greenville County is of considerable importance to the public. This heritage offers a sense of place, it commemorates the history of a people, it offers the potential to better understand the past and how people lived, and it offers an economic base for heritage tourism and the promotion of a better style of living. Consequently, it is important to evaluate the county's resources, especially those which don't seem to immediately meet the criteria for National Register eligibility, from the viewpoint of public values. For example, a Civil War site such as The State Military Works may have been subjected to so much disturbance that it retains little archaeological integrity and would probably not meet the National Register criteria. In spite of this, the local community may care very strongly for "their own piece of history," with the site maintaining considerable public significance. In another example, several of Greenville's early antebellum structures have undergone extensive modifications, losing their architectural integrity. Yet the residents of the area often place a high value on these symbols of their past cultural landscape.

It is essential in developing a plan for managing Greenville's resources that sites and structures of public significance be recognized, treated with respect, and legitimately considered for preservation. In fact, ***publicly significant resources are no more nor less valuable than the resources considered significant in terms of the National Register criteria — their value is simply derived from different concerns.***

The criteria used to evaluate resources should therefore incorporate the views of the public on the importance of resources in their local communities. It seems likely that the citizens in the City of Greenville may have different concerns than citizens of Greer, or those living in the Moonville area. Involving citizens in heritage resource planning and management in this way will help ensure the success of the resulting management plan since citizens will have "bought into" the preservation of local resources.

A heritage resource should be considered be to of public significance if it:

1. meets the criteria for National Register eligibility;

2. possesses information on or represents any aspect of heritage considered important by a discrete population, ethnic group, or community; or

3. possesses the potential to serve, or already serves, as a focus of

community identify and pride; or

4. possess characteristics that are potentially useful in educating the public about the past and how it is studied; or

5. possesses characteristics suitable for the exhibit and display of objects, ruins, or stabilized or restored structures for public enjoyment.

One or more of the following characteristics should be exhibited by a resource for it to be determined to meet the criteria of public significance:

1. characteristics required to meet the criteria for listing on the National Register; or

2. sufficient quantity and quality of both physical and documentary information from and about the resource to (a) satisfy an educational program of study (formal or informal) or (b) permit the techniques used in studying the past to be demonstrated; or

3. presentability of physical information from and about the site (i.e., quality of information must be high); or

4. community affirmation of the value of the resources, regardless of their inherent characteristics.

The preceding prehistoric and historic contexts (developed for both archaeological and historical sites) provide the necessary information for evaluating resources under these criteria, and for developing more specific criteria for each context and type of resource.

Sites Recorded on the National Register

A number of sites have already been identified as meeting the criteria for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places and are briefly discussed below. The sites are listed by their most common name (although other historic and common names are also mentioned) and are alphabetized by either the last name of the individual or the first word. Hence, **A**merican Cigar Factory is placed before the Arthur **Barn**well House, which is found before the William **Bat**es House. Although most of these sites were placed on the National Register for their above ground remains, a brief mention is made if the site is likely to also include archaeological remains.[1] If below-ground remains are likely, special care should be taken during any ground modifying activities. Regardless of how minor the disturbance may seem, there is the possibility that significant archaeological resources may be destroyed. For example, even the trenching associated with termiticide treatments can destroy the information present in the original builder's trench associated with foundation walls.

American Cigar Factory. This four-story, rectangular brick building built ca. 1902 by the American Improvement Company was one of the largest brick buildings in Greenville when originally constructed. It was one of the five factories operated by the American Cigar Company located in the South. Situated in the heart of Greenville's central business district, it employed 150 girls and young women when it began production. Only the building itself, measuring about 137 by 92 feet, has been nominated to the National Register.

Arthur Barnwell House. Located about six miles east of Greenville, this two and a half story wood frame house is reputed to have been built between 1880 and 1900 by the Pelham Manufacturing Company as a residence for its first president. The house is the only local example of the Queen Anne style. The house is significant for its association with the development of Pelham Mills, a cotton factory established in the 1880s.

[1] Even when only the building itself has been nominated, it is still possible that archaeological remains may exist under the structure, depending on the nature of the property and its construction techniques. Raised pier buildings, as well as some slab constructions, even in urban settings, can preserve archaeological remains. All possibilities should be investigated and it should never be taken for granted that archaeological remains have been destroyed.

Also situated on the 4.4 acres covered by this nomination is a barn supported by a raised brick foundation. Perhaps included in the nomination, but not clearly documented by the nomination or shown on attached maps, is associated pasture and "a small stone dam located in a creek bed and foundations of former outbuildings." This property is likely to include archaeological remains.

William Bates House. The William Bates House is a two-story vernacular structure thought to have been built about 1835. Built on granite and fieldstone piers, the structure is covered with clapboard siding. The house is primarily significant for its associative value as the home of the textile pioneer, William Bates. The 10.9 acres nominated includes the house, a well, a barn, and a spring. Across the creek, but not within the nominated acreage, is the ca. 1881 mill which was erected to replace the original Bates mill.

Fountain Fox Beattie House. This large Italianate dwelling was originally a much smaller, rather plain residence that was begun about 1834 by Fountain Fox Beattie for his bride, Emily Edgeworth. It originally stood on East North Street and underwent numerous alterations. In the 1940s it was relocated and adapted for use by the Greenville Women's Club. It was later moved a second time, to its current location on North Church Street. During this move the nomination incorporated a total of 2.4 acres surrounding the structure. While archaeological remains may be present, they will not be associated with this particular structure.

Broad Margin. Situated near downtown Greenville, Broad Margin is a private residence designed by Frank Lloyd Wright. Completed in 1954, the house is situated on a sloping 2-acre lot in such a manner that it cannot be seen from either the road or surrounding dwellings. The house is constructed into the slope of the property and the roof line begins at the ground level on the northern side. It is built of 12 inch thick steel reinforced concrete walls and cypress wood. The floors, highly polished red-colored concrete, have copper pipes embedded in them to provide heating. Much of the furniture in the house, also built of cypress, was especially designed and constructed for the dwelling. It is considered a fine example of Wright's natural, or "Usonian," homes and is one of less than 20 of Wright's buildings in the Southeast. There is only one other Wright home in South Carolina (Auldbrass in Beaufort County).

Chamber of Commerce Building. The 10-story rectangular Chamber of Commerce Building, designed by the firm of Beacham and LeGrand was constructed in 1925 by the engineering firm of J.E. Sirrine and Company. The skyscraper, one of the first in Greenville County, has brick sheathing laid in Flemish bond and a first story with smooth ashlar stone quoins. The building shows the influence of the Chicago School of skyscraper design and also of the neoclassical style. Only the building itself, measuring about 102 by 42 feet, has been nominated to the National Register.

Cherrydale. Cherrydale, a two-story frame structure, is significant both as an example of Greek revival architecture and as the home of James Clement Furman, a Baptist preacher active in educational and political affairs in South Carolina during the mid-nineteenth century. The structure is thought to have been built in the 1840s by George Washington Green, with Furman purchasing the property from Green sometime prior to his death in 1891. Approximately 20 acres surrounding the house were nominated to the National Register. Today these surroundings are dominated by lawn and an orchard. Archaeological remains are likely to be included.

Christ Church and Churchyard. The extant building, begun in 1852, replaced the original small church which was erected in 1825 on approximately the same site. The church was consecrated in 1854. Alterations to the church include a western gallery, a north and south transept, enlargement of the chancel and balcony, construction of a Galilee porch at the northwest corner, and excavation for undercroft beneath the church. Historically Christ Church is Greenville's oldest organized religious body (dating to 1820), as well as the City' oldest church building. It has traditionally been recognized as an outstanding example of Gothic architecture, although it is considerably altered from its original design. The Historic American Buildings Survey recorded the building in 1934, prior to many of the changes. In

the churchyard are buried a former governor of South Carolina, Benjamin Franklin Perry, as well as a number of locally significant individuals. Archaeological, as well as forensic anthropological, remains are expected at this site.

Cureton-Huff House. This is a two-story frame farmhouse situated in rural Greenville County which was reportedly built about 1820 for John Moon Cureton. Cureton was a prosperous farmer and his house and farm are representative of the vernacular building modes, construction technology, and limited stylistic awareness common to an upper-middle income farmer in a rural community. The house has been little altered. It was originally built on a hall-and-parlor floor plan, but was converted shortly after its construction to a central-hall configuration. The nominated property includes about 13 acres, incorporating the house, historic outbuildings, and a cemetery. Archaeological, as well as forensic anthropological, remains are expected at this site.

Davenport Apartments. This three-story U-shaped brick building was constructed in 1915-1916. The apartments were developed by G.D. Davenport, a wealthy businessman of Greenville County and served as the first apartments in the city, housing middle-class businessmen and workers. The building is interpreted as architecturally significant as a local interpretation of early twentieth century architecture, combining several elements from contemporary styles. Only the building lot was nominated, covering an area measuring about 125 by 157 feet, or 0.44 acre.

T.Q. Donaldson House. Located in the City of Greenville, the T.Q. Donaldson House is thought to have been built as a private residence by William Williams about 1863. It was originally built as a one and a half story cottage, but soon after its construction a second floor was added. It features numerous elements which are reported as exemplary of the Italianate style, including its basically rectangular shape, the low hip roof with deep boxed cornice and paired decorative brackets, and the two over two windows on the second story. The nominated property, of just under 2 acres, also includes a three-room frame, weatherboarded outbuilding, thought to have been a kitchen and servant's quarters. Archaeological remains are likely on this property.

Earle Town House. The Earle Town House is a late Palladian or Georgian residence apparently built at least by 1810 by Elias D. Earle. Set back about 160 feet from James Street, the residence is a two-story frame structure with a brick foundation. Associated with the structure, and incorporated into the nomination, are the park-like grounds, including a grillwork fence, front garden, ivy mound, and rear garden with a fountain. Archaeological remains are likely on this property.

Col. Elias Earle Historic District. This district contains 87 properties, most of which are residential. Two of these, Whitehall and the Earle Town House, are independently listed on the National Register. The district is significant for its mixture of early twentieth century architecture. Elias D. Earle, a prominent nineteenth century Greenville citizen, owned the James Street portion of this district which includes the Earle Town House (discussed above). After 1900, the area was subdivided into residential lots and housing began to be built, primarily in the 1920s. The district includes excellent examples of Colonial Revival, bungalow, shingle, and Tudor housing, as well as a range of vernacular forms. The district incorporates 46 acres. Archaeological remains, especially urban archaeological remains associated with the development of this neighborhood, are expected within this district.

Fairview Presbyterian Church. Organized in 1786, Fairview Presbyterian Church is one of the oldest churches in the South Carolina upcountry. The existing building was constructed in 1858 and is a white clapboard two-story structure with few alterations. It exemplifies the Greek Revival architectural style. The twin entrances under the portico and the side doors which lead to the gallery, are indicative of the meeting house style which frequently influenced rural churches. Six acres have been placed on the National Register, which includes the building, associated grounds, and cemetery (although not specifically mentioned by the nomination form). Archaeological, as well as forensic anthropological, remains are expected at this site.

First National Bank. The First National Bank, situated at the corner of Main and McBee Streets in downtown Greenville, is an Art Deco two-and-a-half story structure sheathed in sandstone with a polished black granite door frame and base. The building was designed by the Atlanta architect S. L. Trowbridge in 1938. Not only is it Greenville's only Art Deco structure, but it is also significant for its association with the old National Bank of Greenville, chartered in 1872. The nominated property incorporates the building footprint of less than 1 acre, measuring about 185 by 76 feet.

Gilreath's Mill. Also known as Heller's Mill, Bruce's Mill and Taylor's Mill, the site is situated about 4 miles northwest of Greer. The original mill, thought to have been built in the first half of the nineteenth century, is a two-and-one-half story frame building. The original building, although altered over its history, is still standing. The mill closed all operations about 1950. The nomination notes that the mill "is one of the few remaining mills in South Carolina that recalls the vital tradition of rural industry." In 1882, for example, Gilreath's Mill was one of 720 grist mills in South Carolina producing 22% of all manufactures, second only to cotton products. Five acres surrounding the mill were nominated to the National Register. Archaeological remains, especially industrial archaeological remains, are likely present at this site.

John H. Goodwin House. The John H. Goodwin House (also known as the Blythe-Goodwin-Hagood House) is a two-story building in the foothills of northern Greenville County. The house appears to have been constructed in stages between about 1790 and about 1840. The earliest portion appears to be a two-story, single-pen, log dwelling. The house was substantially enlarged with a two-story braced-frame addition in the early nineteenth century. It is recognized as a fine example of a vernacular, upcountry farmhouse with some attempt at refined detail. The National Register nomination also points out that "the property is . . . important visually as a reminder of the history of the upcountry of South Carolina, and according to tradition, as a stage-stop and store on the old road between Greenville and Asheville." The nominated property includes 0.814 acre, although it does include a one-story, frame store building, constructed in the late nineteenth century. Original shelving is still intact within the building. Several frame sheds, also dating from the late nineteenth century, are located north of the house, but outside the nominated property. The nomination reports that, "the present owners indicate that several earlier outbuildings, including small buildings believed to have been slave residences, are no longer standing" although there is no information on their location. There is a significant likelihood of associated archaeological remains, although it is unclear how many are included on the nominated property.

Greenville Baptist Church. Also known as the First Baptist Church or Downtown Baptist Church, this is a large Greek Revival structure constructed at least by 1858. It was designed by Samuel Sloan, a noted architect of the mid- to late-nineteenth century. Organized in 1831 with 10 members, the church by 1930 had become "by far the largest church in Greenville County." The nominated property includes 1.37 acres.

Greenville County Courthouse. The Greenville County Courthouse is the county's fifth courthouse, built between 1916 and 1918 on South Main Street in Greenville. It is a significant example of early twentieth century public architecture on a monumental scale in the piedmont South. It is also significant for the high quality of its design and construction. It is the only existing public Beaux Arts style building in Greenville County. The property nominated includes the building lot, measuring about 196 by 50 feet, and incorporates the building, a vault, and associated open space.

Greenville Gas and Electric Company. Also known as the Duke Power Steam Plant, this complex consists of two buildings constructed about 1890. The larger served as a coal-fueled, steam-powered electric generating plant. The second building is a two-story rectangular brick building originally used as offices for the power company. The two buildings, and the Greenville Gas and Electric Light Company, are significant to the City of Greenville as one of its earliest electrical plants. The nominated acreage includes the lot measuring about 132 by 389 feet, or about

1.2 acres. There is some potential that the property may contain urban archaeological remains.

Greer Depot. Also known as the Piedmont &Northern Depot, this site is located in the central business district of Greer. It was originally built about 1913 for the Piedmont and Northern Railway as a passenger and freight depot and also provided space for the town council of Greer. It is a masonry building which combines a one-story warehouse with a two-story station. The depot and rail line were instrumental in helping service both the rapidly increasing population and the manufacturing needs of the area. The growth in Greer and in upper South Carolina was primarily the result of the establishment of several textile mills in the area from the 1890s to the 1920s. The Greer Depot was the halfway point on the railroad between Greenville and Spartanburg. The Piedmont and Northern Railway was one of the first electric railroad systems built to main-line steam railroad specifications and was the largest electric rail system in the region. The Greer depot provided an important transportation and commercial link to other towns and industries along the 101-mile route. In the depot's early days eighteen passenger and four freight trains a day stopped there. The nominated property, just under a half acre, includes the building and track frontage, but does not include an associated gravel lot to the north of the depot.

Hampton-Pinckney Historic District. The Hampton-Pinckney Historic contains 47 structures primarily dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is one of Greenville's oldest extant residential neighborhoods and contains three church structures. Architecturally, it is representative of various styles and stages in Greenville's development, with most structures dating after 1890. Historically, a number of prominent local community leaders have lived in this area, including both Heyward Mehon and Henry Briggs, both of whom served as mayors of Greenville during the early 1900s. The district includes about 21 acres. Archaeological remains, especially urban archaeological remains associated with the development of this neighborhood, are expected within this district.

Imperial Hotel. A portion of the Imperial Hotel, with a U-shaped footprint, was constructed as early as 1912 as a seven-story skyscraper with a buff colored brick veneer over a steel frame. It was subsequently enlarged in 1919. The structure is significant as Greenville's first skyscraper, illustrating the commercial growth of the city. It was designed by Greenville architects F.H. and J.G. Cunningham as a 90-room commercial hotel. The nominated property measures about 145 by 143 feet on the southwest corner of Washington and Richardson streets.

Isaqueena. Also known as the Gassaway Mansion, this structure was built as a residence between 1919 and 1924 by Walter and Minnie Quin Gassaway. It is a three-story building with a full basement and is constructed of random bond stone masonry. The structure incorporates Neoclassical Revival, Neo-Gothic, and Neoclassical styles. The eclectic blend may support the belief that the mansion was designed by Minnie Quin after she took a correspondence course in architecture. Described as "one of Greenville's most unusual buildings," the Gassaway Mansion is representative of the exuberance and prosperity of the 1920s. The nomination incorporate 2 acres, including several outbuildings.

Josiah Kilgore House. Built at least by 1838, the Josiah Kilgore House (also known as the Boyles-Kilgore-Lewis House) is one of the oldest structures in Greenville County. Architecturally, it is an example of the application of the Palladian style to what is otherwise an upcountry farmhouse. It is a two-story frame structure on a brick foundation. It was originally located in what became a commercial area of downtown Greenville adjacent to Buncombe Street Methodist Church. It was moved to its present location in McPherson Park near an 1825 spring to prevent demolition and has undergone "adaptive restoration" for use by the Greenville Council of Garden Clubs. The nomination includes a total of 5 acres, although clearly the surrounding property has no historical association with this particular structure.

Lanneau-Norwood House. The Lanneau-Norwood House is a two-and-a-half story brick mansion built for Charles H. Lanneau about 1877. It is significant as an outstanding example of the Second Empire style and for its association with

prominent residents of Greenville. Charles H. Lanneau, the first occupant of the house, organized the Huguenot Plaid Mill and operated a cotton mill (destroyed by fire) in the vicinity of the house. Later the house was acquired by John Wilkins Norwood from the Lanneau estate. Norwood was a prominent banker and businessman. The nominated property, totalling 1.395 acres, includes a two-room, one-story brick servants' quarters, a brick garage, and a small greenhouse. It is likely that archaeological remains are associated with this property.

McBee Methodist Church. This octagonal structure is architecturally unique, being designed by John Adams, a local wheelwright who felt that more seating space could be obtained by the eight-sided arrangement. It is a fine example of the octagonal architecture in vogue during the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout its existence, the church has served as a meeting place for the community and local tradition holds that the church was a rallying point for induction into the Confederate army. No acreage or boundaries are specified, so it is assumed that the nomination covers only the physical building.

Mills Mill. Constructed in 1895, Mills Mill is a three-story, brick building in the shape of an ell. It was one of the major mill complexes located within the city of Greenville in the nineteenth century. Built by Captain Otis P. Mills after the formation of the Mills Manufacturing Company in 1894, it opened with the capacity of 5,000 spindles but was expanded to house 27,000 spindles and 740 looms by 1903. The nomination covers an irregular parcel accounting for 6 acres and includes "all significant buildings an structures." Although no associated mill village is included, the property may contain significant industrial archaeological deposits.

Pelham Mills site. These ruins and associated archaeological site (38GR165) are the remnants of a cotton factory which operated under several different owners from 1820 to 1935 on the Enoree River (Figure 40). The ruins encompass a complex series of stone and brick foundations which span the floodplain, rock shoals, and terrace overlooking the river. Originally founded as a modest 144-spindle factor operated by an itinerant New England minister, the manufacturing operations at the Pelham Mill site epitomize the tenacity and deep-rootedness of the textile industry in the South Carolina Piedmont, where abundant water and labor resources were concentrated. The site embodies physical evidence of the birth and growth of the piedmont textile industry, which continues to be one of the major shapers of South Carolina's economic, social, demographic, and landscape character. The nominated site includes a 6.8 acre tract, with the physical boundaries closely corresponding to those of the mill's late nineteenth century period of operation.

Pettigru Street Historic District. Apparently included as a portion of the Greenville Multiple Resources Area, the 1982 National Register nomination fails to provide any substantive information concerning these properties. Fortunately, *The Historic Resources of Greenville, South Carolina* by Building Conservation Technology (1981:60-69) provides considerable detail. The district is reported to contain "an interesting collection of architectural styles which reflect the growth of Greenville from the 1890s to 1930" (Building Conservation Technology, Inc. 1981:61). The district includes 78 structures, but the study noted that the neighborhood was in a transitional phase, with much of the property being gradually zoned for commercial activity. There is the potential for archaeological remains, especially urban archaeological remains, to be associated with the development of this neighborhood.

Poinsett Bridge. This is a massive stone bridge with pointed arches of rough wedge-shaped blocks under which runs Gap Creek. Constructed in 1820, the bridge is part of the old State Road from Charleston to North Carolina. The Poinsett Bridge is one of the oldest spans extant in South Carolina and is named for Joel Poinsett, director of the South Carolina Board of Public Works who was also secretary of war and minister to Mexico. There is some evidence that the bridge was designed by Robert Mills, who became State Architect and Engineer for the South Carolina Board of Public Works in 1820. No boundaries are provided, but the nominated property is under a acre in extent.

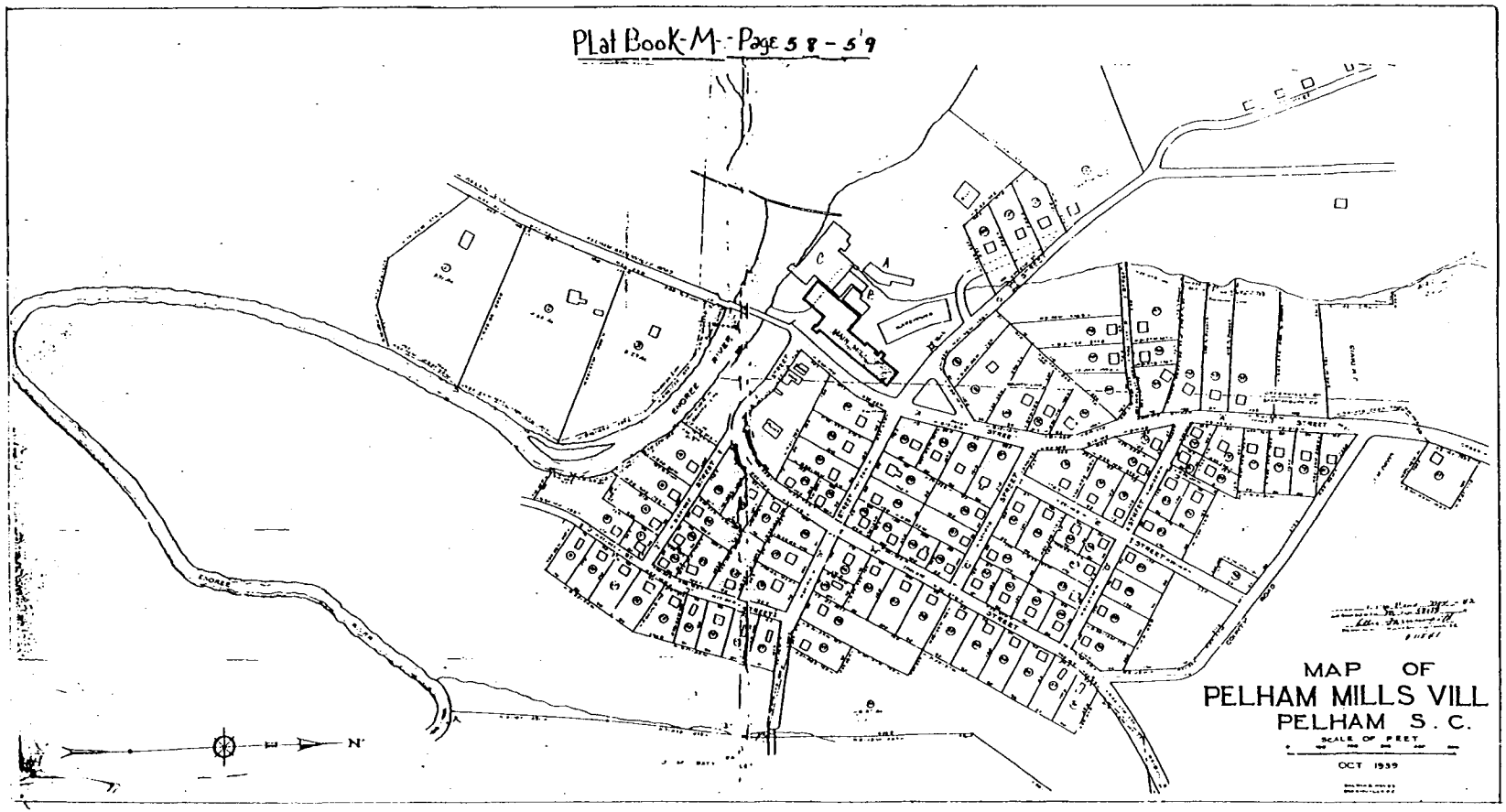


Figure 40. Plan view of the Pelham Mill and village (Greenville County RMC, Plat Book M, pages 58-59).

Poinsett Hotel. Built in 1925, the Poinsett Hotel was designed by W.L. Stoddard, a New York architect and was built by the firm of J.E. Sirrine Company. It is a 12-story skyscraper with a narrow rectangular plan and an L-shaped facade. It was built on the location of the Mansion House, an 1824 resort Hotel. The Poinsett Hotel remained active until the 1970s when it was transformed into apartments for the elderly. The nominated property apparently includes only the building itself, measuring about 60 by 351 feet.

Reedy River Falls Historic Park and Greenway. Also known as Vardry Park or the Furman University Botanical Garden and Arboretum, this 14 acre tract is not only the geographical but also the historical center of Greenville. The site includes the 50 foot Reedy River Falls and a secondary set of rapids in a rocky gorge downstream. The riverbank portion of the park includes the old Furman University botanical gardens and arboretum, as well as the ruins of an early mill. The park area includes exceptional archaeological potential, especially for the investigation of the industrial site still situated on the property.

Reedy River Industrial Complex. Historically known as Huguenot Mill, Greenville Coach Factory, and Markley Carriage Factory, this property is located in the central business district of Greenville and represents the city's historical development into a leading manufacturing and textile center. The 8 acre tract contains six structures constructed between 1850 and 1914 — the Greenville Coach Factory Blacksmith Shop (built about 1857), the Markley Carriage Factory Paint Shop (built by 1915), the Markley Hardware Store (built between 1902 and 1908, burned and rebuilt in 1920), the Huguenot Mill (built in 1882), the Huguenot Mill Office (built between 1890 and 1900), and the cotton warehouse for Huguenot Mill (built between 1908 and 1913). The property is significant as the only area in downtown Greenville which has maintained its historic and architectural character as a nineteenth and early twentieth century industrial and commercial district. There is a potential for urban industrial archaeological remains at this National Register site.

George Salmon House. Located near the North Saluda River in northern Greenville County, the property is also known as the C. Douglas Wilson Farm. George Salmon built the original log house on this property about 1784 and may have been responsible for enlarging the loft area into a second story. A two-story brace and tenon extension transformed the log house into a plantation plain style house in the mid-nineteenth century. A kitchen wing was added in the late nineteenth century. In 1984 the house was moved about 100 feet from its original location and pivoted 90 degrees from an easterly direction to a northerly direction. The property is significant because of its association with one of Greenville Count's earliest settlers, George Salmon, a prominent surveyor. The house was originally part of Salmon's 3,000 acre farm. Today a 2.6 acre tract is included in the nomination. Four contributing structures are also included: two multipurpose hay, grain, and equipment storage buildings, a small chicken coop, and a smokehouse. Of these, only the smokehouse likely dates from the mid-nineteenth century. Nearby, but apparently not within the nominated property, is a half-acre cemetery where George Salmon is buried. Although the house has been moved from its original location, there remains considerable potential for significant archaeological remains.

Simpsonville Baptist Church. The Simpsonville Baptist Church, also known as the First Baptist Church of Simpsonville, is situated on Church Street in downtown Simpsonville. Built in 1913, it is a two-story, five bay, hip-roofed, Flemish-bond brick structure set on a brick foundation with an ashlar water table. It is a Romanesque Revival building with twin towers on the west facade that exhibit a Moorish influence. It is a excellent example of early twentieth century church architecture and of the stylistic interpretations of Luther D. Proffitt, architect of Spartanburg, South Carolina. The nominated property, incorporates only the structure and a small amount of surrounding land.

Tullyton. Also known as the Bolling-Stewart House, this property is situated in rural Greenville County near Fountain Inn, at a community previously known as Tullyton. The property includes two, two-story load-bearing brick

buildings built about 1821 and 1839 as a residence/commercial structure and residence, respectively. The ca. 1821 building is partially in ruin, although the ca. 1839 building is in good repair and is a good example of late Federal-early Green Revival architecture. The structure and ruins are significant as surviving examples of early nineteenth century brick construction in rural upcountry South Carolina. The ca. 1821 structure was owned by T.F. Sullivan and Company, a cotton and mercantile-trading company. When T.F. Sullivan and Company dissolved around 1834, Micajah Berry and Thaddeus C. Bolling, two partners in the firm, established Berry and Bolling. The ca. 1839 house was built by Bolling. The property incorporates the two structures in a 5.78 acre parcel. There is the potential for associated archaeological remains, since there are reported to be a separate kitchen and slave quarters.

John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church. Also known as the John Wesley United Methodist Church, this two-story brick structure was built between 1899 and 1903. It is a vernacular version of the Gothic style of church architecture. After the Civil War ended, the Methodist Episcopal Church sent preachers and teachers to work among freedmen in the South. In 1866 John Wesley's congregation was organized by the Rev. J.R. Rosemond, a "slave preacher" before the Civil War, under the name of Silver Hill Methodist Episcopal Church. Initially the church met in a building owned by a white congregation, but after voting to affiliate with the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, rather than the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the congregation acquired a long building. Now demolished, this was called the Hopkins Turnout. A second location was occupied until the current church was completed in 1903. John Wesley is one of the earliest churches organized by Rosemond and one of the earliest separate black congregations in the state. The property measures 79 feet square.

Whitehall. Whitehall is a simple frame structure originally built as a summer home for Charlestonian Henry Middleton after 1813. Middleton, a member of one of South Carolina's most prominent families, son of Arthur Middleton (signer of the Declaration of Independence), was himself a president of the Continental Congress, a U.S. Senator, a member of the S.C. House of Representatives, and Governor of South Carolina. Whitehall served as Middleton's summer home until 1820, when it was sold to George Washington Earle, a Greenville attorney and clerk of court. The property is considered significant not only for the prominent owners, but also for the "grounds" and associated "fabric." The nomination, however, fails to specify the boundaries, although the property is listed as less than one acre. There is modest archaeological potential, reduced only by the small amount of associated property.

Williams-Earle House. Also known as Holly Hill and Ivy Lawn, this two-story T-shaped frame building is believed to have been completed about 1850, with the rear portion of the Greek Revival house begun about 1820. It is primarily significant for its architectural elements and integrity of location. Dr. Thomas Williams, who is believed to have constructed the house, moved to Greenville as a child and eventually became a prominent Greenville physician and landowner. Dr. Williams called his plantation on Brushy Creek "Ivy Lawn." The nominated property encompasses 7 acres and includes the house, kitchen house, cotton house, and outbuildings, but it is intended to exclude "the adjacent non-historic undeveloped property," in spite of the comment that these excluded lands represent "one of the largest areas of woodland remaining in the city." There is the potential for exceptional archaeological potential at this site.

Woodside Cotton Mill Village Historic District. This is an early twentieth century industrial site located just outside the western city limits of Greenville. The village shows a changing pattern of housing types and is divided into four parts by man-made and natural features. The Woodside Cotton Mill is the centerpiece of the Woodside village and lies on a prominent ridge surrounded by supporting industrial buildings and the housing built for the Woodside workers. There are 21 key properties contributing to the character of the district and 259 other properties contributing to the character of the district. The mill was first constructed in 1902 by local grocery merchant John T. Woodside and the first village houses were constructed that same year. His company made several major additions to the mill,

the last and largest in 1912. In addition to the cotton mill, the village contains 343 surviving mill houses, one cotton waste house, one mill office building, one recreation building, two churches, one baseball park, and one pasture/common garden area. This site is a good example of an early twentieth century urban South Carolina textile mill village. The spatial integrity of the village complex has bee maintained. Mill and community exist in the same relationship as it has for more than eighty years — the massive cotton mill rising above the village of modest cottages built for the workers. Transportation arteries have also survived without major change. The property incorporated 162.4 acres. There is the potential for exceptional archaeological research in this district, although an evaluation of integrity is essential.

Working Benevolent Temple and Professional Building. Situated at the corner of Broad and Fall streets, the Working Benevolent Temple and Professional Building is a three-story, brick building with a steel superstructure. Built in 1922, the building is 100 feet long and 70 feet wide. It is significant for its historic association with the development of Greenville's black business district. It was designed, built, and financed by the Working Benevolent State Grand Lodge of South Carolina, a black health, welfare, and burial benefit society. The site served as the administrative offices and headquarters of the lodge, and was also intended to attract young black professionals to Greenville by providing office space. The building was the focus of Greenville's Civil Rights activities during the 1960s. It continues to serve the black community. The nominated property includes only the physical structure and no surrounding land.

C. Granville Wyche House. This is an architect-designed eclectic Italian Renaissance residence built in 1931. Its symmetrical blond brick front facade has a two-story, five bay central block and one-story balconied projections at the side elevations. It is primarily significant as an example of depression-era Italian Renaissance architecture, although it is also ascribed significance because of its original owner, C. Granville Wyche, a U.S. Attorney who achieved some fame for his prosection of bootleggers, but who is better known for his active political career. A total of 5.2 acres are included in this nomination.

West End Commercial Historic District. This district consists of 20 commercial properties south of the Reedy River in the City of Greenville. Focused on the intersection of River, South Main, Pendleton, and Augusta streets, the resources date from about 1869 through 1939, with most dating from the 1880s to the early 1920s, a period of extensive development in the area. This district began after the Civil War near Furman University and the nearby Greenville and Columbia Railroad depot. The nominated property includes 4 acres with 14 structures defining the character of the district. There is the potential for urban archaeological research within this district.

HABS/HAER Sites

The outgrowth of the mutual interests of historians, preservationists, and technical professionals was the formation of the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) in 1969. HAER was founded as a companion program to the Historic American Building Survey (HABS) which, since the 1930s, has been recording and studying America's architectural heritage.

The only HAER activity in Greenville County is the recordation of the Poinsett Bridge, which has been listed on the National Register and is discussed in the previous section. Unfortunately, no drawings were produced, but the Library of Congress does have 18 photographs and two pages of associated Notes (HAER No. SC-14; LC Shelf Code: 1988(HAER); 58). This rather meager activity is disappointing considering the exceptional mill history of the region.

HABS has documented six Greenville County sites. Broad Margin (HABS No. SC-597), listed on the National Register, is documented with 28 photographs and two pages of notes (LC Shelf Code: 1988(HABS): 79). Christ Episcopal Church (HABS No. SC-13-6), also listed on the National Register, is documented by 14 drawings, five photographs, and four pages of notes (LC Shelf Code: SC, 23-GRENV, 1-). The Lanneau-Norwood House (HABS No. SC-599), listed on the National Register, has not been fully recorded, but there are a series of 17 photographs and two pages of notes (LC Shelf Code: 1988(HABS): 79). The associated

Lanneau-Norwood Carriage House and Garage (designated HABS No. SC-599-A) has been documented by one photograph (LC Shelf Code: 1988(HABS): 79). The Paris Mountain State Park Bathhouse (HABS No. SC-598), at Paris Mountain State Park, off S.C. Route 253, constructed as a part of a depression era WPA project, has been documented by no photographs and two pages of notes (LC Shelf Code: 1989(HABS): 21). The Joel Poinsett House (HABS No. SC-183) is documented by a single photograph (LC Shelf Code: SC, 23-GRENV. V,1-). This photograph has not been examined, but since the Poinsett House burned in 1886, the HABS documentation is of some *other* structure.

South Carolina's Metal Truss Bridge Inventory

In 1981 an engineering survey of South Carolina's metal truss bridges was undertaken using Federal Highway Administration funding (Elling and Witherspoon 1981). Just as the public was becoming aware of America's technological heritage, there was also increasing concern over the large number of "functionally obsolete" or "structurally deficient" bridges in the country. The need to replace many of the early metal truss bridges and the corresponding importance of preserving the more significant ones presented a dilemma. There were few records concerning some of the bridges, and those records present rarely provided the information necessary to understand the structural significance or rarity of the various bridges. After a number of historic resource surveys pointed out the loss of these sites to bridge replacement projects, the State Historic Preservation Office finally requested historic documentation from the S.C. Department of Highways and Public Transportation. It was this need for additional information — prompted initially by archaeological investigations undertaken by one of the authors of the current study — that eventually prompted a statewide inventory of metal truss bridges.

One wooden covered and seven metal truss bridges were recorded for Greenville County. Considering the numerous crossings in the county, this finding alone reveals the losses which preceded the initial study. These bridges are discussed below.

Hampton Street Bridge. Located on S-47 (Hampton Street), crossing the Southern Railroad, this bridge is a Warren through truss with parallel chords and in pin connected. The span length is 164 feet and the bridge has a width of 19.2 feet. It was designed in 1909 by the Southern Railroad. Although the design was likely conventional for its type and age, Elling and Witherspoon comment that, "it is noteworthy in that it represents the only pin-connected Warren truss (either pony truss or through truss) found on the highway system in South Carolina" (Elling and Witherspoon 1981:140). They also note that the flooring system is unusual, consisting of closely spaced timber beams spanning between trusses and supported by steel I beams, which carry the floor load to the truss joints. Most truss bridges have a stringer and floorbeam arrangement. This bridge was found eligible for inclusion on the National Register by the Keeper of the Register in 1982.

Hillside Church Road Bridge. Located on S-455 (Hillside Church Road), crossing the Reedy River, this bridge is a Pennsylvania Petit through truss which is pin connected. The span length is 200 feet and the width is 15.7 feet. This is the longest pin-connected truss found on the highway system in South Carolina and it is the only Pennsylvania Petit bridge still surviving in the state. The bridge was moved to its present location in the 1930s or 1940s by the State Highway Department from a previous, but unknown, county road location. This bridge was found eligible for inclusion on the National Register by the Keeper of the Register in 1982.

Walker Road Bridge. Located on Walker Road (a county road without a number), crossing the Enoree River, this bridge is a Warren pony truss with parallel chords and rigid joints. The span is 43 feet in length and the bridge is 17.0 feet in width. It replaced a timber bridge sometime after 1926 and just downstream a grist mill, known as Subers Mill, was operating prior to 1900. Nearby is a monument to Laodeces (or Laodicca) Langston, a heroine of the Revolutionary War. The bridge itself is conventional, although Elling and Witherspoon (1981:144) observe that not only is the truss supported by the conventional end abutments, but it is also supported at two intermediate points by diagonal struts which are

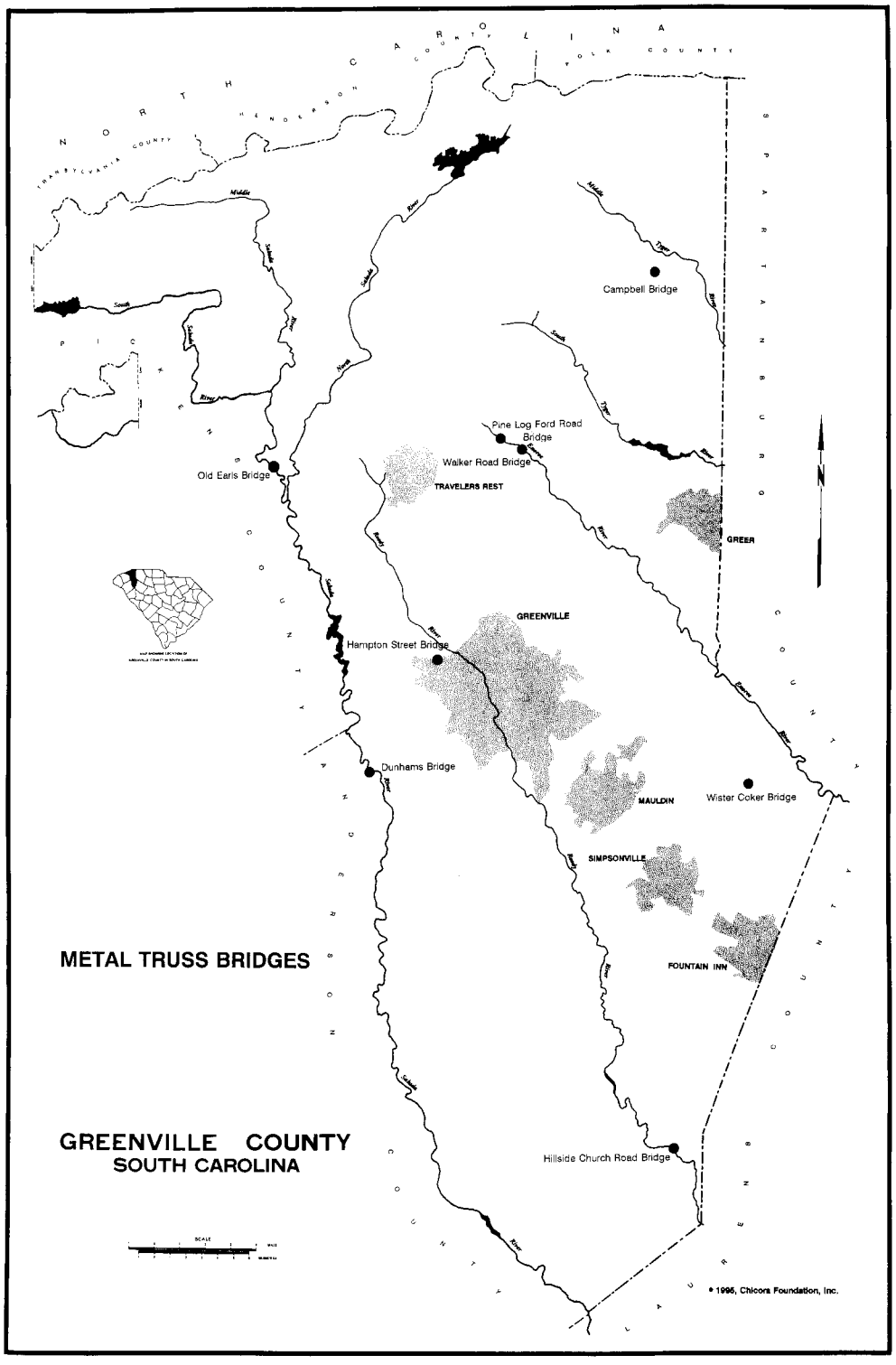


Figure 41. Map showing the general location of metal truss and covered bridges in Greenville County.

anchored to the abutments.

Pine Log Ford Road Bridge. Located on Pine Log Ford Road (a county road without a number), crossing the Enoree River, this bridge is a Warren pony truss with parallel chords and rigid joints. The span is 43 feet in length and the bridge is 15.8 feet in width. While seemingly similar at first glance to the Walker Road Bridge, Elling and Witherspoon remark that "several significant differences exist in member cross section shapes, indicating that the two bridges were not duplicate designs" (Elling and Witherspoon 1981:145). A plate on the bridge states, "Built By: Greenville County//1924//H.P. Dill//Supervisor." While this implies that the County was involved in bridge building, it remains possible that a commercial firm under contract to the County actually produced the bridge. At least one wooded bridge preceded this span, which appears to have been moved from its original location. This bridge was found potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register by the S.C. State Historic Preservation Officer in 1982, but the Keeper of the Register has requested additional documentation. Consequently, this bridge should be considered potentially eligible.

Wister Coker Bridge. Located on Jonesville Road (a county road without a number), crossing Gilder Creek, this is a pin connected Pratt pony truss. The span is 62 feet in length and 12 feet in width. The bridge is reportedly named for an individual who lost his life in an automobile accident on the bridge in the 1930s. It has rather conventional design details, although it is one of three bridges which evidence a somewhat unusual tapered vertical member design. No information on its construction date was found. Elling and Witherspoon remark that:

> A grain mill, known as Kilgore Mill, operated adjacent to the bridge site into the early 1800s, according to a local resident. The crossing of Gilder Creek at the site was a ford until the present bridge was installed (Elling and Witherspoon 1981:146).

This bridge was found eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places by the Keeper of the Register in 1982.

Campbell Bridge. Located on Campbell Bridge Road (a county road without a number), crossing Beaverdam Creek, this is a wooden covered bridge with a Howe truss. The span length is 34 feet and the width is 11.2 feet. Elling and Witherspoon (1981:147) remark that this is the only wooden covered bridge still in use in South Carolina. It was erected over Beaverdam Creek in 1902, but was apparently moved from another location. This bridge was recommended as potentially eligible for inclusion on the National Register by Elling and Witherspoon, but the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office found that not enough information was presented to allow a determination of eligibility. As the last remaining wooden covered bridge standing, this is an important resource to Greenville County and additional research should be conducted to achieve an eligibility determination. Until then, the bridge certainly possesses public significance and should be preserved.

Dunhams Bridge. Located on the Old S.C. 81 crossing of the Saluda River, this is a Parker through truss with rigid joints. The span length is about 150 feet and the width is approximately 16 feet. It was designed by the Highway Department in 1925 and was erected initially on its present site, replacing another steel truss bridge located slightly upstream. New S.C. 81 crosses the Saluda with a concrete bridge.

Old Earls Bridge. Located on abandoned S.C. 186 crossing the Saluda River, this is a Pratt through truss with rigid joints. The span measures 131 feet and has a width of about 16 feet. It was moved to its present location, where it replaced a 110 foot long wooden covered bridge just upstream in 1953, from its original U.S. 17 Edisto River crossing. The bridge was built in 1919 by the Virginia Bridge and Iron Co. It was abandoned in 1973 when a concrete bridge and a new section of S.C. 186 were built several hundred yards upstream.

Recorded Archaeological Sites

The South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, as of May 15,

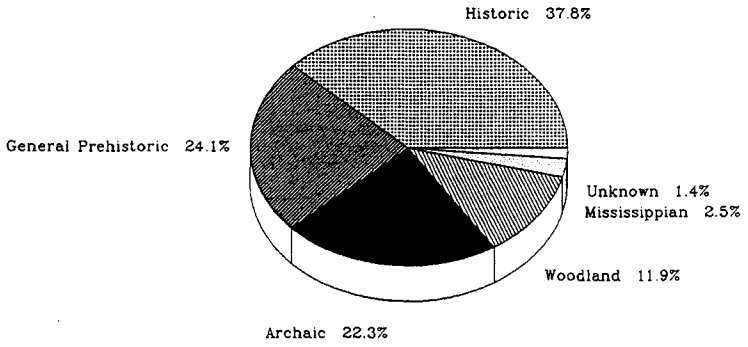


Figure 42. Archaeological components of sites recorded by the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.

1995, has recorded 221 archaeological sites in Greenville County. The recordation of these sites spans approximately 80 years and as a consequence there is a considerable range in quality of information contained in the files. For most it is possible to gauge only rough temporal parameters — Archaic, Woodland, Mississippian, Prehistoric (when a more refined assessment is impossible), or Historic. Likewise, it is difficult to evaluate the research potential, and National Register eligibility, of most sites in these files. Consequently, this report accepts at face value the assessment either contained on the form or abstracted from the discussion of the site's description. The information is presented in Table 8 below. These 221 sites consist of at least 278 components.

Examining the temporal divisions first, nearly two-fifths (37.8%, n=105) of them are classified as historic period, almost exclusively nineteenth or twentieth century. There are 67 indeterminate "prehistoric" components, representing almost a quarter of the sample (24.1%). Of those site forms which mentioned diagnostic remains, the most common component dated from the Archaic (22.3%, n=62), followed by the Woodland Period (11.9%, n=33), and Mississippian (2.5%, n=7) (Figure 42). The dominance of Archaic components is probably not surprising given what we know about other Piedmont assemblages. Likewise, the relatively small number of Mississippian sites is not unexpected, given the ethnohistoric characterization of Greenville as sparsely occupied. There are four components (representing 1.4% of the total) which could not be identified to even broad prehistoric/historic periods based on the site forms (although all probably are prehistoric). Two are petroglyphs — a very rare site type in South Carolina worthy of special protection (Figure 43).

Turning from temporal period to probable significance, when only the broad categories of prehistoric and historic are considered, components recommended as not eligible dominate. Of the prehistoric components, 40.2% (n=27) were recommended as not eligible, 29.9% were recommended as potentially eligible (n=20), and no evaluation was offered from 29.9% (n=20) of the components. Of the 105 historic components, 53.3% (n=56) were recommended as not eligible, 31.4% (n=33) were recommended as potentially eligible, 10.5% (n=11) had no evaluation, and 4.8% (n=5) were already listed on the National Register. When defined prehistoric components (i.e., components identified as Archaic, Woodland, or Mississippian) are considered, in each case those with no recommendation dominate. However, 27.4% of the Archaic components (n=17), 24.2% of the Woodland components (n=8), and 28.6% of the Mississippian components (n=2) are recommended as potentially eligible. Overall, of the 278 components incorporated in the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology site files, no recommendation concerning eligibility is offered for 30.2%, 1.8% are already listed on the National Register, 28.8% are recommended by the investigator as potentially eligible, and 39.2% are recommended as not eligible (Figure 44).

While it is the best archaeological management information available for Greenville County, the data presented should be carefully interpreted and used with considerable skepticism — clear biases in site types and evaluations were

Table 8.
Listing of Archaeological Sites Recorded by the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology for Greenville County, as of May 1995

Site #	Type	Eligibility
38GR1	A/W/M	PE
38GR2	M	-
38GR3	M?	-
38GR4	P	-
38GR5	P	-
38GR6 [1]	H	-
38GR7 [2]	H	-
38GR8 [3]	H	-
38GR9 [4]	P	-
38GR10	P	-
38GR11	P	-
38GR12	?	-
38GR13	A	-
38GR14	W	-
38GR15	P	-
38GR16	P	-
38GR17	A	PE
38GR18	P	-
38GR19	P	-
38GR20 [5]	H	NR
38GR21 [6]	H	NR
38GR22 [7]	H	-
38GR23 [8]	H	NR
38GR24 [9]	H	NR
38GR25 [10]	H	NR
38GR26	A	-
38GR27	P	-
38GR28	H	-
38GR29	P	-
38GR30	P	PE
38GR31	P	PE
38GR32	W	PE
38GR33	A	PE
38GR34	P	PE
38GR35	P	PE
38GR36	A	PE
38GR37	W	PE
38GR38	W	PE
38GR39	P/H	PE
38GR40	P	NE
38GR41	P	NE
38GR42	A/W	PE
38GR43	P/H	PE
38GR44	P/H	PE
38GR45	P/H	PE
38GR46	P/H	PE
38GR47	P	-
38GR48	A/P/H	PE
38GR49	P/H	PE
38GR50	P/H	PE
38GR51	A	PE

[1] This site was a charcoal kiln excavated by SCIAA

[2] Site is a cemetery

[3] Vardry Mill

[4] This is a petroglyph location

[5] Christ Church

[6] Earl Town House

[7] Court House, now destroyed

[8] McBee Methodist Church

[9] Poinsett Bridge

[10] Whitehall

Site	Type	Eligibility
38GR52	A/W/H	PE
38GR53	P	NE
38GR54	?	PE
38GR55	A/P/H	PE
38GR56	P/H	PE
38GR57	A	PE
38GR58	P	PE
38GR59	A	PE
38GR60	A	PE
38GR61	P/H	PE
38GR62	P/H	PE
38GR63	P	NE
38GR64	A	PE
38GR65	A	PE
38GR66	P	-
38GR67	P	-
38GR69	H	NE
38GR70	P	-
38GR71	P	NE
38GR72	P	PE
38GR73	P	NE
38GR74	P	NE
38GR75	P	NE
38GR76	A	PE
38GR77	A	PE
38GR78	P	NE
38GR79	H	NE
38GR80	A	NE
38GR81	A/W/H	-
38GR82	P/H	PE
38GR83	P	NE
38GR84	P/H	NE
38GR85	P/H	NE
38GR86	P	NE
38GR87 [11]	H	PE
38GR88	P	PE
38GR89	P	-
38GR90 [12]	H	PE
38GR91 [13]	H	-
38GR92	H	NE
38GR93	H	PE
38GR94	P	-
38GR95	A	-
38GR96	A/W	-
38GR97	A/M	-
38GR98	not used	
38GR99	A/W	-
38GR100	A/W	-
38GR101	A/W	-
38GR102	A/W	-
38GR103	A/W	-
38GR104	A/W/M	-
38GR105	not used	
38GR106	A/W	-
38GR107	A/W	-
38GR108	A/W	-
38GR109	A/W	-
38GR110	A	-
38GR111	A	-
38GR112	A/W	-

[11] Waddy Thompson Spring, excavated by Carrillo

[12] Griffins Mill

[13] Portion of a road bed

Site	Type	Eligibility
38GR113	A/W	-
38GR114	P	-
38GR115	P/H	-
38GR116	A	-
38GR117	not used	
38GR118	not used	
38GR119	A	-
38RG120	A	NE
38GR121	P	NE
38GR122	P	NE
38GR123	P/H	NE
38GR124	H	-
38GR125	A/W/H	-
38GR126	A/W/M	-
38GR127	not used	
38GR128	W/M	-
38GR129	A	-
38GR130	not used	
38GR131 [14]	?	-
38GR132	P	NE
38GR133	H	NE
38GR134	H	NE
38GR135	H	NE
38GR136	H	NE
38GR137	H	NE
38GR138	H	NE
38GR139	H	NE
38GR140	H	NE
38GR141	P	NE
38GR142 [15]	H	PE
38GR143	H	NE
38GR144	H	NE
38GR145	H	NE
38GR146	A/H	PE
38GR147	H	PE
38GR148	A/H	NE
38GR149	H	NE
38GR150	H	NE
38GR151	A	NE
38GR152	A/W	NE
38GR153	A	NE
38GR154	A	NE
38GR155	A	NE
38GR156	A	NE
38GR157	A	NE
38GR158	A	NE
38GR159	A	NE
38GR159	A	NE
38GR160	A	NE
38GR161	W/M	PE
38GR162	A	NE
38GR163	P/H	NE
38GR164	P	NE
38GR165 [16]	H	PE
38GR166	P/H	NE
38GR167	A/H	NE
38GR168	A	-
38GR169	A/H	NE
38GR170	H	NE
38GR171	P	-
38GR172	W	NE

[14] Stone weir

[15] Jones Mill

[16] Pelham's Mill

Site	Type	Eligibility
38GR173	A/H	NE
38GR174	W	NE
38GR175	W	NE
38GR176	A	NE
38GR177	H	PE
38GR178	H	NE
38GR179 [17]	H	PE
38GR180	P/H	NE
38GR181	H	NE
38GR182	H	PE
38GR183	H	NE
38GR184	H	NE
38GR185	H	NE
38GR186	W	NE
38GR187	H	NE
38GR188	W	NE
38GR189	H	NE
38GR190 [18]	H	PE
38GR191	H	NE
38GR192	H	NE
38GR193	H	NE
38GR194	H	PE
38GR195	H	NE
38GR196	H	NE
38GR197 [19]	H	PE
38GR198	H	NE
38GR199	H	NE
38GR200	H	NE
38GR201	H	NE
38GR202 [20]	H	NE
38GR203	H	NE
38GR204	H	NE
38GR205 [21]	?	-
38GR206	P	NE
38GR207	P	NE
38GR208	P	NE
38GR209	P/H	NE
38GR210	H	PE
38GR211	H	PE
38GR212	H	NE
38GR213	H	NE
38GR214	H	NE
38GR215	H	NE
38GR216	H	NE
38GR217	H	PE
38GR218	H	NE
38GR219	P	NE
38GR220	H	NE
38GR221	H	NE
38GR222	H	PE
38GR223	H	PE
38GR224	H	PE
38GR225	H	NE
38GR226	W	PE
38GR227	W	NE

[17] Salem Methodist Church Cemetery

[18] American Spinning Mill Village

[19] William Henson pottery kiln site

[20] This site represents a portion of Camp Sevier

[21] This is a petroglyph location

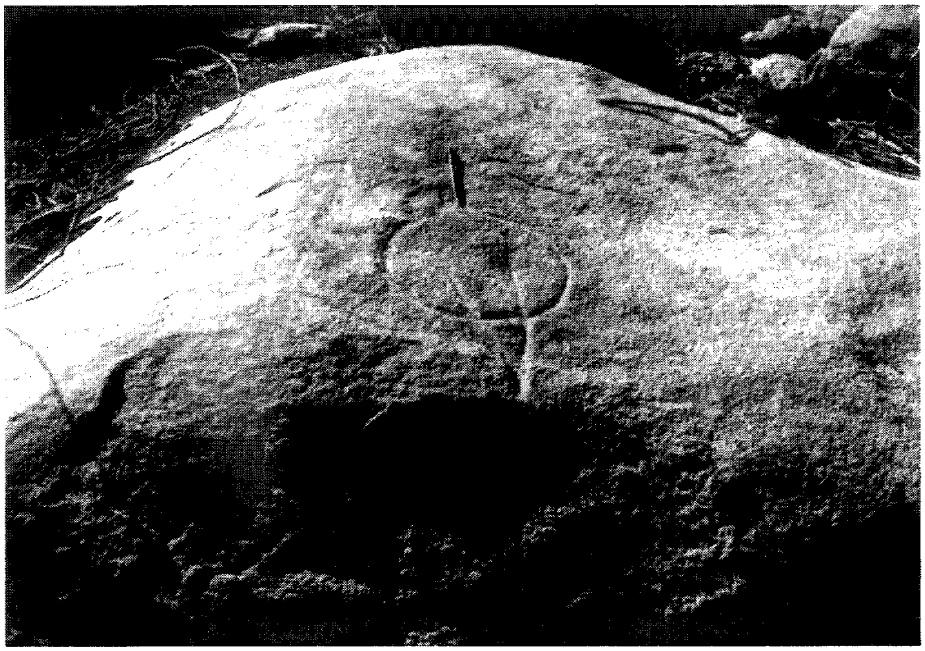


Figure 43. Example of petroglyph, recorded as 38GR9 (photograph courtesy of the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology).

observed as the site files were examined. Regardless, it seems likely that while the proportion of prehistoric and historic sites may be skewed, there is good reason to believe that the rough proportions of Archaic-Woodland-Mississippian sites for Greenville is not too far out of line. Likewise, the information also demonstrates that many of the heritage resources identified for Greenville will have neither public nor National Register significance. The information offers at least a point from which additional research can begin.

Other Historic Sites

This category includes sites recognized either through the erection of a State Historical Marker (Helsley 1992), listing on the 1982 Greenville County Reconnaissance Historic Preservation Study, or inclusion in *Historic Places in the S.C. Appalachian Region* (Anonymous n.d.). They are listed and briefly described below. Examination will reveal a clear bias toward standing structures, although many of the sites are certain to include below ground archaeological remains. All should be considered of public significance and worthy of preservation efforts. Many may also be eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

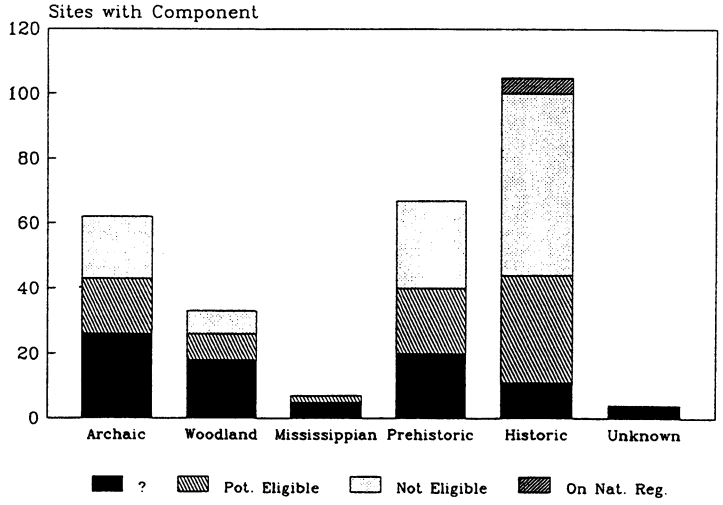


Figure 44. Site components and eligibility.

Governor Joseph Allston House. Also known as Honour Place, the original house was built about 1810 by Joseph Allston. He and his wife, Theodosia Burr, often summered in the house. It burned in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and was rebuilt at least by 1860. In the early 1900s it was owned by John Honour.

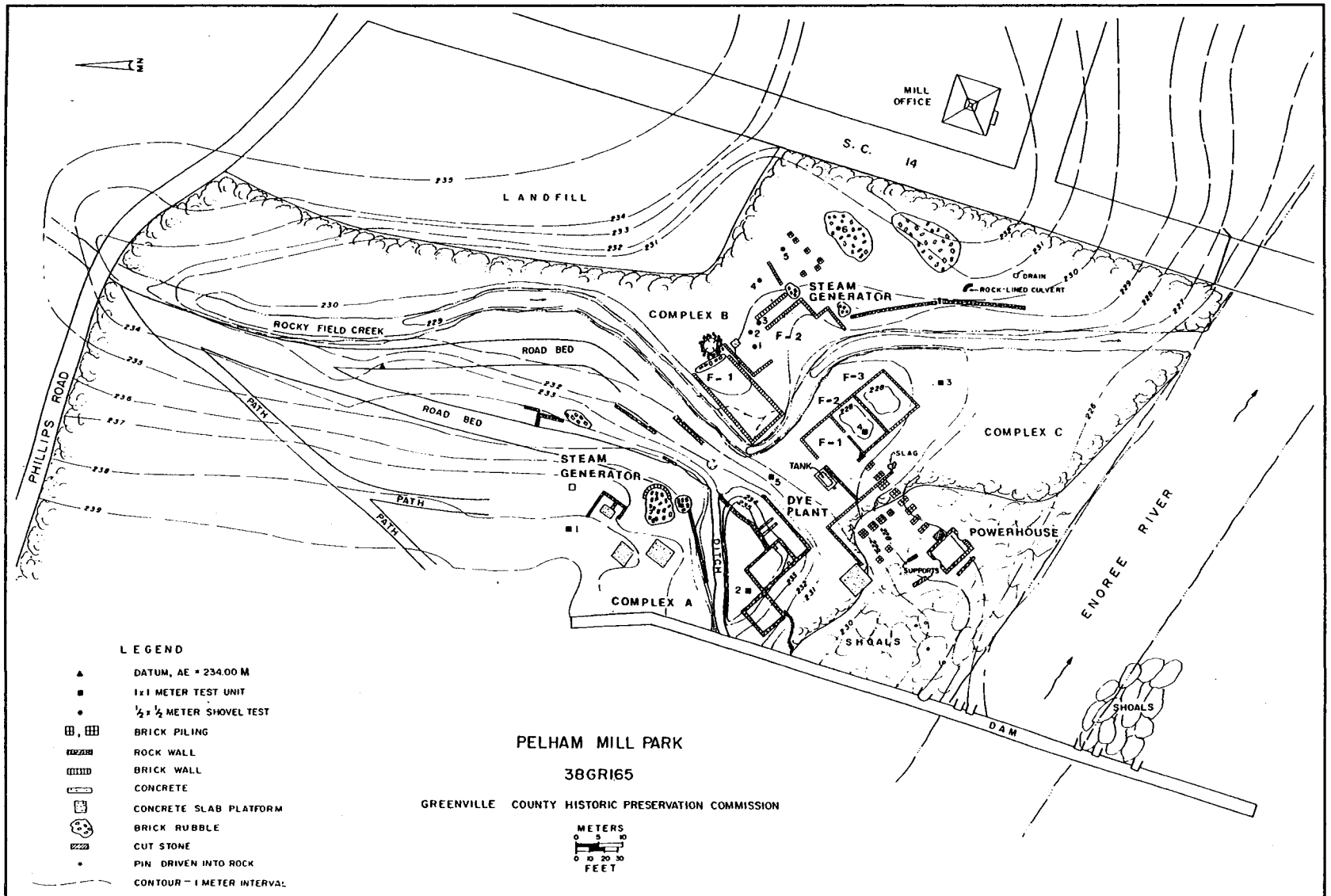


Figure 45. Plan view of the archaeological ruins (38GR165) at the Pelham Mill National Register site (courtesy S.C. Department of Archives and History).

Anderson House. Built in 1851 by Chevis Montgomery, the house exhibits round floor joists and hewn and pegged sills.

Austin House. Also known as Gilder, this structure was built around a log cabin. On the grounds is Dr. Austin's medical office and some suggest that nearby on Gilder Creek is the site of the 1760 massacre of Mary Austin, the daughter of Nathaniel Austin, the original settler.

Ballenger's Mill. Built in 1806 by Tinsley Ballenger and known throught time as Green's Mill and Dicjie's Mill, it was owned by Tinsley Ballenger in the 1860s and 1870s. The mill is now used as a recreation area for the Tigerville Community and contains some of the original machinery.

Site of Baptist Courier Offices. The *Baptist Courier* began publishing in Greenville, South Carolina at this location in 1879.

O'Hara Barton House. Built about 1857, the house has a unique pass-through server between the kitchen and dining rooms.

Batesville Manufacturing Company. Ruins of one of Greenville's first successful cotton yarn mills, the site is situated on the Enoree River and was built about 1830. The original three story building burned in 1881 and was replaced by the existing one story structure.

Hudson Berry House. The land on which the house stands was purchased in 1795 by Hudson Berry who had moved into the Greenville area from neighboring Laurens. Berry operated a grist mill and later one of the first cotton spinning factories in Greenville. The house may have been built prior to Berry's purchase.

Hudson Berry Mill Ruins. Situated at Cedar Falls on the Reedy River, the mill was purchased by Berry from Michael Purcle in 1795.

S.C. Berry's Mill. This combination grist mill and cotton gin was built in the early 1900s by S.C. Berry and was operated by a wooden water wheel. Later a flour mill in a metal building was added, powered by a metal water wheel. This may be the site of an earlier cotton mill operated by John Weaver and an even earlier thread factory owned by McCool.

Birnie-Lewis House. Built about 1900, this is a two-story structure with a low hipped roof. While not clearly documented, the association of Birnie with this structure would place its construction as early as the 1860s.

Site of General John Blassingame, Jr. House. Blassingame was a boy soldier in the Revolution, serving as a private in Brandon's Regiment. Later, he became a general in the South Carolina militia.

Site of the Block House. This was a fort and trading post in Indian Country which later became a surveyor's mark for the Indian Boundary line and for the boundary between North and South Carolina.

Briggs House. Built by Henry Briggs, former mayor of Greenville, this brick house is best known for its mahogany woodwork, stained glass windows, and huge bathrooms.

Buncombe Street Methodist Church. The Greek Revival style church was built in 1872.

Caesar's Head. A popular resort hotel was built east of this mountain rock in 1851, only to burn that same decade. It was rebuilt and remained a resort destination until it burned again in the 1950s.

Site of Camperdown Mill. In 1874 George Hall and O. H. Samson formed Sampson, Hall & Company, leasing land on the Reedy from Vardry McBee. A mill later known as Vardry Mill was built. In 1875 stock in the Camperdown Mill was sold to a number of investors and the "new factory house" was completed in 1876. The Camperdown Mill, which began the textile revolution in Greenville was demolished in 1961.

Site of Carruth's Gun Factory. Adam Carruth manufactured guns for the War of 1812 and the site is shown on Mills' Atlas of 1820 as "Carruth's Armory."

Barksdale Charles House. Built by Barksdale Charles about 1860, the farmhouse is typical of many which were built in the South Carolina upcountry.

Israel Charles House. Built about 1840 by Israel Charles, this house is constructed of pegged logs with four stone and brick ornamented chimneys.

John Charles House. This house was used as a hotel for stagecoach travelers and traders going to Augusta markets.

Chestnut Oaks. Built about 1874 by Dr. E.E. Dukes, this two-story house is built of brick made on the property. To the rear is the original kitchen, now

used as a guest house. Dr. Dukes owned a vineyard located across Pelham Road from the house. A house was likely built on the property as early as 1792.

Chick Springs. Dr. Burwell Chick opened a resort at these springs in 1840 and it continued in operation until the Civil War. Afterwards the area was operated as a resort, sanitarium, and eventually as an amusement park.

Site of Chicora College. Organized in 1893 as the Presbyterian Female Seminary, the institution operated as the Chicora College for Young Ladies from 1898 until 1906 when it was purchased by Bethel and Enoree Presbyterians. In 1915, the institution was consolidated with a similar college in Columbia, with the Greenville building burning shortly thereafter. The Columbia institution eventually moved to Charlotte, North Carolina, where it became known as Queens College.

Choice Summer House. Federal two-story house built about 1820.

Abraham Collins House. This house was built about 1824 by Abraham Collins.

Site of State Military Works. Deeded by Vardry McBee to the State of South Carolina for use as an armory and foundry, four buildings were constructed and rifles were manufactured here during the first several years of the Civil War. The operations and buildings were later transferred to Columbia, with the property reverting back to McBee. The property was eventually transferred to A.N. Bozeman (Clinkscales 1964).

Confederate Monument. Erected in 1892 to those from Greenville who died in the Civil War, it was originally located in the center of Main Street, but was moved to its present location at the entrance to Springwood Cemetery in 1924.

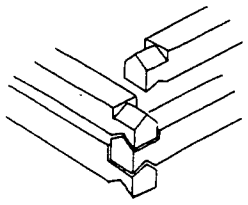


Figure 46. V-notched logs.

Cromwell Barn. Built about 1870, this structure incorporates half of a log cabin, with a stone chimney and "V" notching, into a frame barn. The barn was apparently moved its present site after 1910 from North Carolina.

Dickey House. Purchased about 1825 by Lewis H. Dickey, this two-story frame house has a tapestry chimney and what are reported to be upstairs slave quarters in each side of the upstairs porch. There is some evidence that the structure may have been present when the tract was purchased from Francis Adams.

John Dill House. Built about 1870 by John Dill, magistrate for the local community, the house contained the Ben Post Office, a hearing room, and a jury room.

Noel V. Dill House. This structure, built of pegged logs covered with weatherboarding, sits on land purchased by Dill in 1803.

T.J. Earle House. This antebellum residence was built near Gowansville by the Rev. T.J. Earle. It is of substantial construction with foot-thick brick walls.

Earl's Bridge. This covered wooden bridge which originally spanned the Saluda River between Greenville and Pickens counties has been destroyed.

Edgewood Cemetery. This cemetery is situated in Greer, behind the Episcopal Church of the The Good Sheperd.

Edward's Mill. The wooden mill and ruins of the rock mill are on the Mountain Creek of the Enoree River.

First Baptist Church. Located in Fountain Inn and built in 1891-1892 for a congregation organized in 1880, the building was moved from its original location to the present site in 1910.

First Presbyterian Church. Organized in 1848, the first church building was erected on the edge of what is today West Washington Street. The cornerstone of the present building is engraved September 6, 1882.

Fork Shoals Baptist Church. Organized in 1780, the church's second building, which forms the core of the present church, evidences pegged timbers. Associated with the church is a historic cemetery, which includes the grave of Hudson Berry.

Fountain Inn Cotton Mill. This mill was founded in 1897 and was significant in the development of the surrounding community. The bricks used were reportedly made nearby.

General B.D. Garrison House. This is a Federal-style house built by Garrison, who served in the War of 1812.

Hardy Gilreath House. This is an antebellum house, which legend says was built using slave labor.

Glassy Mountain. A landmark described as early as 1805, Glassy Mountain has a 1,000 foot high cliff with a sheer rock face.

Golden Grove Baptist Church. This was an early African American church. The current building is the second church.

Site of the Battle of Gowens Fort. Gowens Fort, in November 1781, surrendered to Loyalists and Indians under the command of "Bloody Bill" Bates. The inhabitants of the fort were killed, with only one individual, Mrs. Abner Thomson, escaping. Upon hearing of the massacre, Major Buck Gowen gathered a party and pursued. Although Bates escaped, a party of his Indians was attacked at their camp on the headwaters of the Tyger River and routed.

Gowensville Baptist Church. Built by the Rev. T.J. Earle, who is buried in the associated cemetery.

Great Cane Brake Battle. At this site along the south side of the Great Cane Brake Creek on December 22, 1771, tories under the command of Patrick Cunningham were defeated by a force of South Carolinians under the command of William Thomson.

Greenville Army Air Base. This is a World War II camp which later became Donaldson Air Force Base and is now being developed as an industrial center.

Site of Greenville Courthouse. The courthouse was apparently designed by either Joel Poinsett or Robert Mills during the 1840s, although the building was not completed until 1855. This Gothic building was replaced in 1916 by a new courthouse, which is currently listed on the National Register.

Old Greenville Graveyard. Situated in Greenville, this is the burying ground for many of the area's earliest settlers, including members of the Earle and Yancey families.

Site of Greenville Male and Female Academies. Established in 1819 on land donated by Vardry McBee, two brick buildings were erected about that same time. Later the Female Academy was demolished for construction of the Conservatory of Music, while the Male Academy Building became the home of Col. J.L. Orr. Five other brick buildings were constructed, beginning in 1854, all of which have now been demolished.

Site of Greenville Women's College. Established in 1854 by the S.C. Baptist Convention, the Greenville Women's College eventually merged with Furman University in 1938, moving to the consolidated campus six miles north of Greenville in 1961.

Site of James Harrison House. Known as Carolina Brandon, after Brandon, the home of the Harrison family in Virginia, this house was built by one of the early settlers of lower Greenville County. Remnants are said to include some of the garden and "quaint slave quarters."

Site of Hite's Massacre. In 1776, Indians and Tories killed Jacob Hite and his son, James, and carried off his wife (who was subsequently killed) and his two daughters.

Holly Hill. Completed about 1850 by Dr. Thomas Williams, a portion of this Greek Revival style house dates as early as 1830.

Indian Boundary Line. The present Greenville-Spartanburg line was the eastern boundary between the Cherokee Nation and the Province of South Carolina from the end of the Cherokee War (1759-1761) until 1777 when the Treaty of Dewitt's Corner extended the western boundary of South Carolina to the Savannah River.

Dr. William Ioor House. Built about 1830, by one of America's first playwrights, Dr. William Ioor.

Judson Cottage. Built about 1870, this is a Gothic pattern-house with bargeboard and labels over windows and doors.

Kelley's Mill. Situated about 6 miles northeast of Traveler's Rest this two and one-half story mill is on the North Enoree River. Portions of the mill were constructed during the late 1800s, although Mills' Atlas reveals that the site was known as Benson's Mill in the 1820s.

Landrum House. Build about 1910 by C. Montgomery Landrum, this 12-room, two-story house is typical of those built during the prosperous period prior to the First World War.

Site of Dicey Langston House. Laodicca Langston served as an informer to her brothers, who were Patriot leaders in the area, of Tory movements.

Lebanon Church. A United Methodist Church, also called the Grove, established in the vicinity of S-68 and S-69 by 1790, with the present building completed in the 1850s.

Lickville Presbyterian Church. Built about 1885, this frame church has a spire.

Lowndes Hill Plantation. Built in 1828 by Thomas O. Lowndes, this structure served as a summer home during Greenville's resort period. It is reported that the floor joists are cypress, transported from Charleston.

Matoon Presbyterian Church. African American church built in 1887, after being organized in 1878. The church is named for its organizer, the Rev. S.M. Matoon.

Alexander McBeth & Co. General Store. In operation as early as 1794, three years before the founding of Greenville, this is one of the first stores in the up country of South Carolina.

McCulloch House. Built about 1885, this two-story frame house has been "remodeled."

McCullough House. Also known as Cedar Hurst, this structure was built about 1812 by Joseph McCullough, using hand-hewn timber. It served as a stagecoach stop and is shown on Mills' Atlas of 1825. Taylor (1964:18-19) reports the presence of two "slave burying grounds," as well as the McCullough family cemetery on the property. Brick kilns are also said to be present on the plantation.

James McDavid House. Built about 1850 by James McDavid, the house was enlarged in 1880. Although a typical up country farmhouse, it is noted for its bracketed and boxed cornices.

Mostellar's Mill. Built about 1814 for Phillip Mostellar, this grist and wheat mill operated continuously until 1966.

Oak Grove School. Located in the Glassy Mountain Township.

Paris Mountain. Originally owned by Richard Paris, 500 acres was granted by the State in 1800 to Alexander West, with 600 acres on the south side sold by West's heirs in the 1850s to Waddy Thompson who developed it as his homesite in the area of the present Furman home. James Bensey (also Benney or Bennie) was granted 1933 acres of Paris Mountain in 1836. Also associated with Paris Mountain were the Altamount Hotel, a popular tourist resort in the 1890s, and Mr. Hubbard's castle.

Henry Paris Place. This house was built in the last decade of the eighteenth century or first decade of the nineteenth century by Henry Paris, who moved from North Carolina into the Greenville area in 1790. It is a log saltbox house covered with weatherboarding.

Parkins Mill. A mill built by Allen Parkins about 1816. A structure associated with the mill is still standing.

Site of Benjamin Perry's Law Office. Location of Reconstruction Governor Benjamin F. Perry's office.

Piedmont Manufacturing Company. Organized in 1874, this cotton mill was built on the

Saluda River.

Site of Prospect Hill. Antebellum home of Lemuel Alston, situated at the top of present West McBee Avenue where it remained until demolished in 1920 for a high school.

Robert Quillen's Office. Quillen was the creator of the syndicated cartoon feature, "Aunt Het." He built this small Greek Revival office about 1920. Nearby is a monument, "In Memory of Eve, the First Woman," which he erected.

Site of the Record Building. The Record Building was designed by Robert Mills and was built in 1824 as the second courthouse for Greenville. It was constructed of brick in a Federal style with curved stairs on either side of the portico. It was demolished in 1924 and replaced by the current Chamber of Commerce Building, ironically constructed to stimulate local business.

Reese House. Built about 1878 by Igatius Few Reese, this house has a two-story porch with ginerboard.

Rock House. Also known as the Captain Billy Young House, this structure was built about 1800 by William Young. It is a Federal style house of fieldstone with massive doors and an avenue of sycamores leading to it. Warner (1971) mentioned extensive "renovations" to the house which included significant changes to the fabric.

Rowland Cabin. Built by Thomas Rowland about 1800. Rowland was first granted about 149 acres on the Saluda River in 1785, but by the time of his death in 1836 he owned around 2,000 acres in Pickens and Greenville counties.

Site of San Souci. Also known as the Gov. Benjamin F. Perry House, San Souci was built in 1877 by Perry. The Victorian mansion later became the San Souci Country Club and was eventually demolished.

Camp Sevier. Named in honor of John Sevier, a Revolutionary War hero, this was a World War I training camp for the 20th, 30th, and 81st Divisions from May 1917 through February 1919 (see Murphy and Thomas 1936).

Sirrine Cabin. A one-and-a-half story frame structure which has a single pen log core with half dovetail notching. The house, on stone piers, also has a stone chimney.

Site of Southern Baptist Seminary. This was the site of the first building of the First Baptist Church and, in 1859, it became the location of the Southern Baptist Seminary, the first general Baptist seminary in the South.

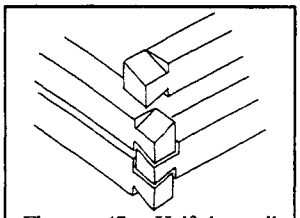


Figure 47. Half-dovetail notching.

Southern Railroad Depot. Built about 1890 for the Richmond and Atlanta Air Line Railroad, this brick building with bellcast hip roof originally had a large tower.

Suber's Mill. The earliest buildings here, including a distillery and corn mill, were built about 1860 by James Suber. It is one of the few remaining water-powered corn mills in this region.

Sullivan or Grove Cemetery. Cemetery founded at the original location of Lebanon Church west of the Reedy River near the Greenville-Laurens county line.

Jesse Taylor House. Built about 1837 by Thomas Taylor, this is the original Plantation house of the Taylor Planation and the oldest structure in the Town of Taylors.

Site of Old Textile Hall. Subscriptions to the Textile Hall Corporation built this exposition Hall in 1916. Today the site is occupied by the parking lot for St. Mary's Catholic Church.

John Thomas - John Belton O'Neal House. Around 1784, John Thomas, Sr. built this house. It was later owned by Judge John Belton O'Neal, author of *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina.*

Trolley Barn. A brick structure with arched windows, this building was originally used as a generating station. The Trolley Barn, little

more than a garage, was located across the street.

Ware Place. This house belonged to Adam C. Jones, who willed it to his granddaughter, Mary Jones Ware, in 1842. Mary Jones married T. Edwin Ware, who was a state senator from 1848-1852 and 1860-1865.

Watts Place. Also known as the Old Watts Place, this two-story frame house was built about 1834 by a Rev. Watts, a Methodist minister.

Camp Wetherill. Situated in the Earle Street and Rutherford Road area of Greenville and behind Mills Mill. This was a Spanish-American War training camp.

Westboro Weaving Company. This mill complex dates to about 1890 with one- and two-story brick buildings.

Josh White Birthplace. White, a nationally known blues singer, was born in this house in 1915. He recorded under the names, "Singing Christian," and "Pinewood Tom."

Site of Nathan Whitmore House. This two-story house was originally owned by Chancellor Waddy Thompson. An Italianate veranda was built around the house about 1840.

Mrs. Hariet D. Wilkins House. This Victorian house was built about 1868 for William Wilkins by Captain Jacob Cagle. It is now occupied by Jones Funeral Home.

Woodside House. Built by Dr. James H. Woodside, father of the industrialist, John T. Woodside. The house is one of the main buildings in the village of Woodville.

AN OVERVIEW OF PRESERVATION EFFORTS

A Quick Overview of Preservation Efforts in Greenville County

The first historical society in Greenville County, the Upper Carolina Historical Society, was formed on May 23, 1923, only to wither away during the hard Depression economy of the 1930s. An interest in a second society grew out of the lack of sources for the book, *The Arts in Greenville*. In 1959, Laura Ebaugh worked with a number of local individuals who had interests in history, such as Albert L. Sanders, Albert Reid, and B.T. Whitmire, to form this second organization. The group called itself the Greenville Historical Records Committee and its first project was an effort to inventory personal and business records which might be available for historical research. In October 1961 the group listed eighteen family collections.

In the winter of 1961 this group's name was changed to the Greenville County Historical Society and an organizational meeting was held in April 1962. Since that time each succeeding president has selected his committee chairpersons and work is carried on through the meetings of the officers and Board of Directors, as well as through four open meetings each year. Historical papers are presented at these meetings and are periodically published as the *Proceedings and Papers of the Greenville County Historical Society.*

In the fall of 1969, the Society petitioned the Greenville County Legislative Delegation to enact legislation creating a preservation commission. In 1970, an act passed the S.C. General Assembly creating the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission. The Commission's first act involved efforts to preserve Greenville's Old City Hall. The membership of the Commission was originally appointed by the Governor on recommendation of the Greenville County Delegation. With the coming of "Home Rule" the Commission's membership became appointees of County Council, with one individual selected from each of the 23 voting districts. Although the Commission typically includes individuals with exceptional expertise concerning the County's heritage, it is not funded and acts only in an advisory capacity, severely limiting its ability to undertake preservation activities.

In January 1971 the Greenville County Planning Commission published *Recreation Facilities Study: A Plan and Program for Parks, Recreation and Open Space Facilities for Greenville County, South Carolina*. This report assessed the open space and recreation needs of Greenville County and proposed a large number of parks, suggesting opportunities for combining historical and recreational development. For example, the plan recommended that Edwards, Gilreath's, and Ballenger's mills be incorporated into county parks, and that the S.C. Department of Wildlife and Marine Resources (today the S.C. Department of Natural Resources), undertake the rehabilitation and interpretation of the S.C. Berry Mill.[1] The plan also recommended incorporating Poinsett Bridge into a picnic area and terminus of hiking trails.

In 1972 the South Carolina Appalachian Regional Planning and Development Commission published the study, *Historic Preservation in Appalachian South Carolina*. It found that preservation efforts had been uneven:

> Greenville County still contains good examples of the architectural styles in its history except for the immediate post-

[1] These actions were never undertaken and, in fact, the original equipment which was present in the S.C. Berry Mill has been sold off, becoming scattered and unavailable for any attempt at heritage interpretation. This alone was a tremendous loss to heritage tourism efforts in Greenville.

> Revolution period and the Late Victorian Age. The Romanesque Revival Period is represented by the U.S. Post Office (Old City Hall) which, if present plans are carried out [and they were] will be demolished between October 1972, and the spring of 1973. The few concentrations of late Victorian houses that exist are seriously threatened by commercial encroachment, highway construction, and deterioration. The Federal or Palladian style is well represented in the county. Less well represented is the Classic Revival Style. There are excellent examples of early Victorian, Gothic Revival, and French Gothic Revival . . . houses in the county (Anonymous 1972:106).

Reviewing the plan, it is clear that preservation was in its infancy. There was a clear bias toward architectural sites, with virtually no mention made of below-ground archaeological resources. Likewise, there was an emphasis on "refined architecture," while the more "common" vernacular styles were ignored.

Regardless, this document recommended an aggressive combination of institutional and private preservation efforts. Architectural surveys were recommended for the downtown Greenville area, Fountain Inn, Taylors, Travelers Rest, and Gowansville. Fourteen properties were recommended for nomination to the National Register (only a very few of which have been nominated), 11 properties were recommended to receive Historic American Buildings Survey documentation (none of which have been documented since the recommendation was made), and the Poinsett Bridge was recommended for nomination to the Historic American Engineering Record (the bridge is listed on the National Register, but has not received HAER documentation). The S.C. Appalachian Regional Planning and Development Commission also recommended that interpretative exhibits be developed for four locations in the county — again a program which apparently was never undertaken. Private preservation efforts were recommended for 26 residences, five churches, and two operating mills. Adaptive reuse programs were suggested for an additional three historic buildings.

The City of Greenville was singled out for special recommendations. An architectural survey was recommended for the downtown area of Greenville bounded by Washington, Academy, River, and Church streets. A second architectural survey was recommended for the area which included the Judson Cottage, the Lanneau House, and the T.Q. Donaldson House. A study was also recommended for the Hampton Avenue area. Private preservation efforts were recommended for six houses and six churches.[2] Four houses were recommended for nomination to the National Register and four were recommended for Historic American Building Survey documentation.

About the same time, a survey of historic sites in the Appalachian Region was prepared and distributed (Anonymous n.d.). This began the process of documenting a number of the County's resources, leading to the preparation of a number of National Register nomination forms in the mid- to late-1970s. It wasn't, however, until the following decade that anything approaching a thorough survey was undertaken in the City of Greenville. In the spring of 1981 the City of Greenville and the S.C. Department of Archives and History funded a survey of the City of Greenville, which was undertaken by Building

[2] It is important to mention, especially since a number of churches have been included in the previous discussions with six even being listed on the National Register, that the application of preservation law to religious property is a complex legal issue. While an appellate court in the State of Washington has ruled that the City of Seattle may not enforce local preservation regulations on properties being used primarily for religious purposes (First United Methodist Church of Seattle v. Hearing Examiner for the Seattle Landmarks Preservation Board, No. 22408-5-I (Wash. Ct. App. Jan. 17, 1995)), the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas has ruled that The Religious Freedom Restoration Act, used by a church to avoid complying with historic preservation ordinance provisions, is unconstitutional (Fores v. City of Boerne, SA-94-0421 (W.D. Tex. Mar. 13, 1995)).

Conservation Technology (1981). Over 700 individual structures pre-dating 1930 were identified, analyzed, and photographed during this study. In addition 10 individual properties and two historic districts were nominated for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

In 1982 the Greenville County Planning Commission produced *Greenville County Historic Preservation Study* (Meeks et al. 1982), an initial effort to combine the variety of small surveys and incidental reporting of sites into one document. The document inventoried a total of 67 sites, briefly reviewed several traditional preservation options, recommended additional survey efforts, recommended that the property owners of the surveyed sites be notified of their site's importance and of preservation assistance available, recommended that the county acquire five properties, and recommended that the records from the survey be filed with the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission. It seems that relatively few of the recommendations were ever acted upon (perhaps a warning to the authors of the current undertaking).

Since that time preservation efforts in Greenville might be described as "stalling." An effort to establish a textile museum was rebuffed by Greenville's textile industry. Although the County purchased the Pelham Mill site no use has been made of this outstanding site. And efforts to memorialize "Shoeless Joe" Jackson's ballpark are floundering. No county-wide architectural, archaeological, or historic site survey has been undertaken, no efforts have been implemented to assess or record the county's archaeological resources (beyond the admirable efforts of local citizens), and there is no county-wide preservation plan to help guide preservation efforts. In spite of these stumbling blocks, several additional sites have been nominated to the National Register, a number through funding provided by the Commission.

Why Preserve Our Heritage?

This is an eminently reasonable question, although many of us in preservation take the need for, or appropriateness of, preservation for granted. Put in other phrases — Why is the past important? Why should it be preserved? What good does it do? What is the reason for spending resources preserving the past?

The Intangibles

Often, historic preservation is justified because of the external benefits it offers to society. U.S. Representative John Lewis from Georgia has remarked that, "it is not enough to learn from history or a movie, we must make sure that these precious pieces of our history are preserved." Knowing and understanding our past, many have argued, creates better citizens and hence a better society.[3] Citizens take greater pride in their city's, county's, and country's historical achievements. This pride naturally boosts morale and enhances civic participation. Native American and African American groups can rightly take pride in the expression of their unique ways of life, their history, and their contribution to our Nation. Exploration of our past reveals the heights of which humanity is capable. The study supplies continual inspiration and promise. The exploration of the past makes it possible to keep on seeing, thinking, and reflecting afresh — and this freshness and willingness to explore the past is essential to the democratic process. Exploration of the past may offer social commentary by providing new insights into past lives, or how society reacted to past pressures. It may even help us to better understand the failures of past.

It is also important that a state which has so strongly advocated educational improvement and reform should also understand the irreplaceable role that historic and prehistoric resources can play in teaching us about our heritage. It is essential that the next generation of citizens understand the stories hidden within our archaeological sites and in our historic churches, houses, factories, and communities. The ability to reach out and touch the past, forming a strong a clear link between yesterday and today, offers an

[3] One of the earliest discussions of preservation for patriotic reasons is Charles B. Hosmer, Jr.'s *Presence of the Past*, a history of preservation in America up to 1926. He reveals that long before even the Civil War, America's need to create a national identity manifested itself in efforts to preserve historic sites.

unforgettable understanding of another way of life and helps our children better understand the fabric of life in South Carolina. By exploring and emphasizing African American and Native American history it is possible to strengthen the understanding that our heritage is the combined history and culture of all of our state's citizens.

Oftentimes historic preservation, through the exploration of the past, may challenge rather than reassure, and provoke rather than sooth. Archaeological research, in many ways, offers much more than history ever can since history is largely written by the well educated, the wealthy, and the white. History tends to ignore the poor, the underclass, the illiterate, making them invisible people. History is what others want us to know, archaeology offers the opportunity to explore the reality of the past without the filter of subjectivity added by some, perhaps many, historical accounts. Archaeology offers the potential to explore the lives of African American slaves that are largely known only through the dry history of white slave-owner account books and plantation diaries. While slave owners were concerned with how many acres a slave could hoe, or how much they had to be fed, the owner was rarely interested in how slaves lived, died, ate, or made their house a home. Likewise, our understanding of Native American groups in the historic period is dominated by traders and occasional visitors who had clear reasons for coloring their accounts. Archaeology offers the only opportunity for better understanding the reality of the past.

Part of this reality is also the understanding that history is not made up of single events, or great people, or unique ideas alone. As Tony Wrenn and Elizabeth Mulloy explained nearly two decades ago:

> Events are only punctuation marks; the process itself is history. It takes days and days of irritation and heat and insult, and grievance to provoke a revolution. A bicentennial commemorates 200 years — not just the years on either side of a hyphen (Wrenn and Mulloy 1976:15).

History is fluid and on-going. It involves both the great and the small. Archaeological studies help us better understand both the continuum and also the importance of the common person.

Many also point out that historic preservation is a "merit good" — simply because preservation is an important part of life, its perpetuation and dissemination merits government support. Like food, shelter, and education, some feel that everyone should be entitled to a minimum quantity and standard of historic preservation experience, whether that be exposure to historically significant buildings, a better understanding of past industrial technology, or the ability to explore Native Americans who lived thousands of years ago. The government allows preservation efforts to be available. Inherent in this the assumption that, without subsidy, the cost of historic preservation is too high relative to most consumer's incomes. It follows that there is an intrinsic wrong in making our history available to only the richest 20% of the population, who are likely to represent a very biased cross-section of our society.

The Economic Impact of Preservation

While recognizing and applauding the educational and community values advanced by preservation, we would be remiss, especially in this time of fiscal constraint, if we did not also consider — perhaps even stress — the economic impacts and potential benefits of preservation efforts. Donovan Rypkema has remarked that:

> I do not believe that the economic arguments for historic preservation are necessarily more important than aesthetic or cultural or social reasons. I do believe, however, that for those with the greatest ability to insure the survival of our historic resources — elected officials, bankers, building owners, public employees, real estate investors — it is the economic arguments that, at least initially, are the most compelling (Rypkema 1990:269).

The bottom line, for both the public and private

sectors, is that preservation is good business.[4]

Investment in renovating sound, established buildings that have the infrastructure, such as roads and utilities, to support them, offers a cost-effective alternative to the escalating price of new construction and urban expansion. The best information we have is that if no demolition is required a major rehabilitation will probably cost from 12% less to 9% more than the cost of new construction, with the typical building cost saving being about 4%. If, on the other hand, new construction requires the demolition of a pre-existing structure, the cost savings of rehabilitation will range from 3% to 16%. While these cost savings are admittedly nominal, there are other savings. Rehabilitation, when done right, can reduce the construction time by up to 18%, even more if there are significant regulatory requirements which slow the development process. Reduced construction time means reduced interest payments on construction loans and earlier receipt of project income. Consequently, rehabilitation projects can enjoy significant savings over new construction.

Historic preservation also has a measurable economic effect on the local community — not just the developer. Rypkema presents the scenario of a community posed to choose between spending $1,000,000 on new construction or $1,000,000 on rehabilitation and illustrates the tremendous difference:

- $120,000 more dollars will initially stay in the community with a rehab project compared to new construction.

- Five to 10 more construction jobs will be created for a rehab project than will be created by new construction.

- Four to five more new jobs will be created elsewhere in the community with rehab projects than will be created by new construction.

- Household incomes in the community will increase by $107,000 more with a rehab project than they will with new construction.

- Retail sales in the community will increase $142,000 as a result of the $1,000,000 rehab project, but only $108,000 as a result of a new construction with the same cost.

- Real estate companies, lending institutions, personal service vendors and the like will all receive more benefits from a rehab project than they would from new construction.

Perhaps the single best overview of historic preservation economics is offered by a 24-page booklet, "The Economics of Rehabilitation," distributed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation as number 53 of their *Information Series*. This should be required reading for every individual in preservation, and certainly for every individual who serves on a preservation commission.

A study of economic development models by the Bureau of Economic Research at the University of Louisville indicates that an investment of $100 million in historic rehabilitation would create $20 million in state and local taxes when all direct and indirect impacts are

[4] While often ignored, there is a positive link between environmental stewardship (which includes historic preservation) and positive financial performance. A recent study by Mark A. Cohen, a professor at Vanderbilt University's Owen Graduate School of Management, compared the Standard and Poor 500 companies within the same industry (oil companies with other oil companies, for example), over a four year period. He found that in over 80% of the comparisons the "low pollution" portfolios performed better than the "high pollution" portfolios. This is reinforced by the public's sentiments concerning the need for environmental protection. A recent Golin/Harris Group of Chicago poll found that 74% of those polled felt that the government should keep environmental protection as a priority, even if it meant slower economic growth.

considered. Comparable investment in new construction would return only $15 million. A 1988 study by the Center for Business and Economic Research at the University of Kentucky evaluated the economic benefits of 19 rehabilitation projects in the City of Bowling Green. The study found that a $4,000,000 investment in historic preservation returned twice that amount in direct output, created 232 jobs, and generated nearly $750,000 in additional state and local taxes (Anonymous 1993:19).

Preservation is also a sustainable choice. Sustainability means meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Preservationists, and the public, are beginning to realize that historic preservation offers an intrinsically sustainable option since it reuses the existing resource. In contrast, demolition of old structures is a perfect example of using future generations' resources without thought or consideration.

Every year there are around 11 billion tons of solid waste produced in the United States. Building waste accounts for 20 to 30% of that total, or upwards of 3 billion tons. One architect found that in Chicago there are 800 cubic yards of demolition waste generated every day. The Toronto Home Builders Association found that fully a third of all building waste was wood, either dimensional lumber or manufactured wood. One third of all the crude oil used is used in the United States. And 35 to 40% of that energy is used directly in the building industry.

The concept of embodied energy is essential to understand the need for preservation. Expressed by BTUs (a BTU is the amount of energy necessary to raise the temperature of one pound of water by 1°F), embodied energy is that included in a material from its harvest, mining or extraction, through the production or manufacture, eventual transportation to the building site, and final installation. In other words, the embodied energy is all of the energy necessary to get the finished product from the raw materials.

One case study found that a 1300 square foot house contains 4700 board feet of salvageable lumber, representing 55 million BTUs of embodied energy. All that would be lost if the structure were simply demolished and hauled away to a landfill. An average American household uses about 15 million BTUs of energy every year, yet bricks are such energy hogs that the same amount of energy is embodied in only 500 square feet of brick masonry (every brick represents about 14,000 BTUs of embodied energy). Five years of household energy is embodied in a typical single family dwelling, while 10 years is embodied in a typical office building.

Reuse of existing historic building is not only good for the community's sense of history, it also makes sound business sense. Reuse of historic structures reduces the energy use of new products and materials, minimizes construction and demolition waste, and helps preserve our planet's scarce resources.

The impact of historic preservation on communities has long been recognized by planners and mayors. Several years ago Dr. Ann Bowman of the University of South Carolina conducted a landmark study for the National League of Cities exploring economic development initiatives. She conducted a study of 320 cities — large and small — across the county, surveying the chief economic development professional. Dr. Bowman found that more mayors identified economic development as their top priority than any other issue, including crime. They realized that with economic development comes jobs and this alone reduced the prevalence of crime. The survey also asked which of 45 economic development tools were being used in the community. At the top of the list were such traditional municipal tools as infrastructure improvements, land acquisition, and business relocation. But of the 45, the seventh most often cited was historic preservation. Here historic preservation was recognized as an economic development tool not by preservationists, garden clubs, archaeologists, or the local historical society, but by economic development professionals. It was recognized not for some abstract contribution to the community, but as a economic benefit.

Dr. Bowman's work further reinforced the perception of historic preservation as an economic benefit by finding that of the 20 cities identified as

most successful in economic redevelopment, 15 of them are among the cities with the greatest amount of historic preservation efforts and rehabilitation projects. The top three — Baltimore, Boston, and San Antonio — hold historic preservation as a keystone in their redevelopment efforts.

Another important finding was that the mayors and economic development officials reported that their major target for development efforts was not an industrial area, retaining businesses, or attracting new businesses, rather their major target was the downtown area — the area where the greatest number of historic assets are located.[5]

While these facts and figures convincingly argue for the good business sense of historic preservation rehab projects, what of archaeological projects, including both the preservation of sites and also their excavation? We have previously commented that historic rehabilitation, dealing with structures, are more easily seen to offer economic benefits. For example, buildings offer rent and other sources of income, which archaeological sites can't offer, at least not directly. Nevertheless, archaeological sites do contribute to a community's economic well-being through heritage tourism.

Heritage Tourism and Archaeology

In general, the tourism industry is big business. It ranks as the first or second industry in 41 of the 50 states and represents 6% of the gross national product.[6] It is the largest employer in 13 states and the second largest in an additional 17 states. For every 100 jobs created directly by tourism or travel, another 48 are generated indirectly. And by the year 2000, tourism is expected to be the number one industry in the United States. It may surprise many people to discover that historic resources play an extraordinary part in tourism.

A survey by the National Tour Association of travelers over 50 indicates that 52% favor trips to historical sites and 62% traveling in group tours favor visits to heritage sites — over visits to beaches, fall foliage, festivals, and other special events. A survey in *Southern Living* found that historic sites are number one on the agenda of its readers when they go touring. Arizona found that 59% of their visitors each year tour historic sites — most of which are archaeological. The State Historic Preservation Center of South Dakota found that tourists visiting historic sites stayed an average of one day longer than the general tourist — emphasizing that individuals interested in history, preservation, and archaeology are likely to spend more in the local economy that those "passing through" to some typical tourist destination. There is also a growing African American travel market that is estimated to be worth $15 billion a year. A 1993 study by the National Travel and Tourism Awareness Council found that a third of the over 17 million international visitors to the United States explored historic places, making this the sixth most popular activity.[7] Jim Dunn (1995:2) provides an overview

[5] America could well learn more lessons from Europe, where strict planning, green belt laws, and pride in heritage help Main Streets thrive and protect the undeveloped countryside. Eighty percent of the UK's retail sales are conducted in towns, compared to only 4% in the United States. Britain and other European countries have recently imposed sharp restrictions on big malls and superstores introduced in the more laissez-faire 1980s that ruined some town centers (Milbank 1995).

[6] The 1991 domestic travel spending in South Carolina was $4,425 million, compared to $6,985 million in North Carolina, $7,760 million in Georgia, $3,372 million in Alabama, and $6,010 million in Tennessee.

[7] Heritage tourism is being explored by a wide range of groups. Recently Martin W. Beck, a partner in the Barbados-based consulting firm of Ernest & Young, conducted a pre-feasibility study of sites in the Caribbean for the Caribbean Conservation Association, recommending a chain of historic sites to add a unique dimension to the region, helping to differentiate the region from other "sun and surf" destinations. The cost would be a most $17 million dollars over a period of about five years — approximately half the price of one

of heritage tourism for our sister state of North Carolina, commenting that in 1994 tourism brought in over $7.9 billion in sales revenue and over $450 million in state and local tax dollars. More importantly, he offered good statistics on how heritage tourism contributed to that "big picture," noting that a study found most visitors (63.7%) come to North Carolina for its "scenic beauty." The second most common reason for visiting the state, held by 58.9% of those responding, were activities and places related to historic preservation, including visiting many of North Carolina's historic sites, ranging from the prehistoric Town Creek Indian mounds to the nineteenth century Reed Gold Mine. Beaches, camping, and a whole variety of other activities rank a distant third.

Table 9.
Annual Impact of 100 Additional Visitors a Day on the Average U.S. Community
(Adapted from the U.S. Travel Data Center)

Direct Impact	Total Impact*
$1.5 million in retain and service industry sales to visitors	$2.8 million in business receipts
$332,000 in wages and salaries	$768,000 in wages and salaries
29 new travel industry jobs providing additional income for with 23 households with 61 residents	67 new jobs providing additional income for 52 households with 141 residents
$116,000 in state and local tax revenue, enough to support 22 school children	$189,000 in state and local tax revenue, enough to support 35 school children
Two or more retail or service establishments	Four or more retail or service establishments

* includes direct, indirect, and induced impact

Museums, which typically house the artifacts of archaeological study, attract more than 600 million visitors a year. All of these individuals must be cared for and catered to, which means assets to the local economy ranging from hotel accommodations, food, film purchases, gasoline, and other amenities. Recently the economic potential for museums, historic sites, and museum villages has been recognized. For example, Gerald and Patricia Gutek have published a second edition of their *Experiencing America's Past: A Travel Guide to Museum Villages*. This guide directs readers to historic outdoor museums that offer opportunities to see, taste, and feel America's heritage. It provides not only information on the museum, such as its location, hours of operation, and cost, but also information on nearby accommodations and even interesting side trips.[8] Some of the best data, shown in Table 9, on the economic impact of tourism comes from the U.S. Travel Data Center.

Unfortunately, as a state, South Carolina is doing relatively little to attract heritage tourism. The 1991 Longwoods Travel USA examination of "South Carolina's Position in the U.S. Touring Vacation Market" found that "the current perception of South Carolina is a unidimensional stereotype of: beaches, beaches, and more beaches." In terms of culture, South Carolina's current image among touring vacationers is below the national norm in the areas of interesting architecture, and well-known historical sites and landmarks. The single-minded focus on the beach-resort experience, according to the study, "does not address the touring vacationer's top priorities: excitement, variety, and a sense of uniqueness and difference that makes it worthwhile to venture far to explore a new region." The report concludes by

new 300-room hotel. Heritage Projects, in York, England, has taken the information from the Coppergate archaeological digs and created the Jorvik Viking Centre — a spectacular exhibition below the streets of York. Loans to create the park were paid back five years ahead of schedule and the park is one of greatest heritage tourism successes in the world.

[8] There are no listings for South Carolina, again illustrating our failure to capitalize on the growing interest in history, historical sites, and fun interpretations of our past.

recommending the state place greater emphasis on "history, culture, unique architecture," as well as "touring attractions in the interior of the state, including interesting towns and villages with the heritage of the 'Old South,' plantation houses . . ." In other words, by emphasizing historic preservation, including the preservation and interpretation of significant archaeological sites.

The Quality of Life

In addition to tourism, preservation can also dramatically improve the quality of life for residents. A study completed by the Community and Economic Development Program at Clemson University found that retirees to South Carolina are almost equally divided between those who chose urban/suburban communities and those who locate in small towns and rural areas. While there are differences between the two groups (for example, those selecting the small towns tend to be a bit older, wealthier, and better educated), both groups make their selections on the basis of variety, which includes heritage issues. Turning again to North Carolina, a 1990 editorial in the *Salisbury Post* newspaper sums up the results of community improvements brought by historic preservation:

> The combined sense of history and vigilance that has grown out of the preservation movement gives Salisbury a special character. And the belief in investing in what we have, instead of abandoning the old and just encircling the town with new development, pays off aesthetically, economically, and socially. It would be hard to imagine Salisbury any other way (quoted in Dunn 1995:2).

And finally, the South Carolina Joint Legislative Committee on Cultural Affairs notes that there, "is an indisputable link between the development of new hotels, shops and restaurants" in areas which have taken steps to protect and enhance a range of cultural resources, including historic and archaeological sites, museums, and historical resources. In a survey conducted by the Joint Legislative Committee, 99% of the chief executive officers state that the availability of cultural activities in an area is an important consideration in choosing a new location. This makes historic preservation a vital component in the economic development of the state.

Of course, it should be realized that one of the fundamental underpinnings of successful heritage tourism and promotion is collaboration. Typically one historic site, or one museum, or one archaeological dig by itself does not have the power to generate increased regional spending, or to encourage tour groups to visit. On the other hand, a collaborative group which incorporates a broad range of programs and activities, perhaps including museums, historic sites, archaeological parks, restaurants, and recreational facilities, has this power. But, this tourism and economic base can only be developed when the community's heritage has been preserved and nurtured.

A Variety of Preservation Options

The Problem with Preservation

It seems clear that preservation is good for the community, it is good for the people, it is good for the lifestyle most communities want to maintain, and, perhaps most importantly, it is good for business. Why then do so few communities have pro-active preservation? Why is there so much anger directed toward preservation efforts?

Rypkema takes on some of the problems inherent in the preservation movement, dealing bluntly with the lack of progress made by so many preservation organizations:

> First, although the historic preservation movement has grown significantly over the past 20 years, if you take the total number of active preservationists and divide by the 240 million people in this country we are a statically insignificant movement. Yet I have never been to a preservation conference where the coffee break conversation didn't center around what other preservationists were mad at. Preservation Action is mad at the

National Trust who is mad at the Advisory Council who is mad at the Conference of SHPOs, who is mad at the Association of Statewide Preservation Organizations which is mad at the Local Preservation Commissions. This is silly — inane. We are simply too small a movement to waste finite energy on these kinds of internecine battles.

Second, preservationists are increasingly allowing themselves to be dupes of interests which are not promoting historic preservation but [are] only inflamed with anti-development fervor. Certainly there are many instances where to stand and say, "No more development!" is a worthy cause. But it is a cause that should stand on its own merits, not one that should rely on artificial preservation arguments. It is the Gresham's Law of political action. To the extent we as preservationists allow ourselves to be the front for causes which are at best tenuous from a preservation perspective, we diminish our credibility when real preservation issues are presented.

Third, many of us who are professionally trained preservationists have not yet matured beyond those "How many angels can dance on the head of a pin?" esoteric, undergraduate arguments. "Did you see what they did to the Smith Mansion? They restored it to 1814 instead of 1793. How could they do that?" To the extent we cannot outgrow that type of silliness, we will not be able to attract the broad based level of public support for preservation that it is entitled to (Rypkema 1990:268).

These observations, we believe, clearly reveal why some preservationists accomplish so little preservation and generate so much public resentment. Infighting and arcane arguments dilute effectiveness and alienate the public. Perhaps of even greater damage, too often the preservation movement is seen by the public as "anti-development" — a small group of malcontents who want time and progress to stop. The preservation movement is seen as wanting to save every old building it can find, no matter what the cost to society.

The Path of Regulation and the Problem with Preservation Ordinances

Coupled with these image problems, many in preservation when faced with the divided path of "to guide or to regulate" choose the path of regulation. Most often this path has lead to the adoption of a preservation ordinance. While in 1965 there were only 51 communities nationwide which had some form of design review preservation ordinance for their historic districts, this number increased to 421 in 1975, and by 1993 the number reached 1,800 (Cox 1994:2). Susan Henry (1993:52) notes that these ordinances are all very similar and are usually designed to protect clusters of historic properties, most often structures. She observes that:

> Enacted under state enabling authority, local historic district ordinances generally establish a preservation commission, procedures and criteria for designating historic districts and individual landmarks, and a process for reviewing and approving or granting a *certificate of appropriateness* for proposed alterations, demolitions, and new construction (Henry 1993:52).

Although we are certain that a detailed legal evaluation would detect significant differences, the various regulations are all very similar in form, content, and even wording as far as a lay-person is concerned. When comparing the "Model Historic

Preservation Ordinance" developed by the S.C. Department of Archives and History, the Historic Preservation Ordinance of the State of Wyoming, "A Model Historic Preservation Ordinance" published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the City of Natchez, Mississippi, historic preservation ordinance they all have a broad similarity.[9] Such ordinances tend to evidence two problems.

First, while historic district zoning can reduce demolition of historic structures, thereby protecting below-ground archaeological sites, even relatively minor alterations to the buildings can do considerable damage. Foundation work can destroy evidence of earlier buildings or the builders' trenches associated with the building being rehabilitated. Application of termiticide treatments requiring trenching will likewise destroy associated builders' trenches. Grading to control drainage or new landscaping can affect sheet deposits surrounding the structure. Additions can damage or destroy features like privies, cisterns, or trash pits.

This is a particular problem with the South Carolina model. Archaeological remains are not mentioned as a distinct issue, nor are they even included in the definition of "historic property." Rather than establishing a historic preservation commission (or some similar group), the South Carolina model establishes an "architectural review board," clearly revealing the overwhelming bias for standing architectural sites.[10] No archaeological input into this board, or its decision making process, is mandated. The model is inappropriate for ensuring the wise and effective management of a broad range of significant heritage resources and cannot be recommended.

A better model is that developed by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, which offers a definition of "historic site" clearly incorporating archaeological sites ("historic site means any parcel of land of historic significance due to a substantial value in tracing the history or prehistory of man . . . ") It also requires that at least historians serve on the commission, and more clearly indicates that effects to archaeological sites must be considered before a "certificate of appropriateness" is issued (specifically noting that "significant archaeological resources affected by a project shall be protected and preserved. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures shall be undertaken"). The Illinois act goes several steps further, defining "archaeological significance" and "site." It also insists on very broad representation from historical societies, museums, and others with "a demonstrated interest in prehistory, history, or architecture."

Henry, who explored an even broader range of preservation ordinances, found that the Historic Districts and Landmarks Zoning Ordinance of San Antonio, Texas:

> is a good example of integrating archaeological and historic building concerns in one ordinance and set of procedures. San Antonio's ordinance provides a means to designate and protect both archaeological sites and historic buildings and establishes a Review Board whose membership must include an archaeologist. A permit is required before construction, reconstruction, alteration, rehabilitation, relocation,

[9] Preservation ordinances were also examined for Michigan; Illinois; Oregon; Red Wing, Minnesota; Winona, Minnesota; Dane County, Minnesota; City of Eden Prairie, Minnesota; City of Cottage Grove, Minnesota; City of Santa Fe; City of Phoenix; Kauai County, Hawaii; Honolulu County, Hawaii; City of San Antonio, Texas; Berkeley County, South Carolina; City of Tualatin, Oregon; City of Columbia, Missouri; Maui County, Hawaii; City of Durango, Texas; City of Greenville, South Carolina; City of Columbia, South Carolina; City of Charleston, South Carolina; and City of Savannah, Georgia.

[10] This same bias is also revealed in the current City of Greenville "historic preservation program," which is clearly designed to offer protection only to buildings through the Historic-Architectural overlay district. Members of the Board of Architectural Review include two registered architects, two historians or individuals with an interest in historic preservation, and a member with expertise in real estate or finance.

> stabilization, sign installation, and demolition on a property containing a designated historic resource or archaeological site. The effects of the proposed work on designated, or inventoried but not yet designated, archaeological sites must be assessed by the property owner prior to the Board's review of the permit application. The Board's review of all applications for alteration and restoration considers the extent to which reasonable effort has been made to protect and preserve archaeological resources affected by the project (Henry 1993:53-54).

Even this approach, however, contains a flaw since the Board, when considering demolition, must only balance the value of the site against the value of the proposed replacement. It fails to provide substantive guidance on evaluating the appropriateness of the new structure or options for protection in place. Further, the San Antonio ordinance ignores the potential for new construction to damage or destroy archaeological sites, a rather significant oversight.

In November 1989 the City of Alexandria integrated archaeological site protection into other land-use regulations (although not exclusively historic preservation regulations). The ordinance covers only projects above a certain size threshold, but it defines ground disturbing activities covered by the regulations and requires approval of site plans prior to grading. It also requires that developers consult with the City Archaeologist for a preliminary assessment of impact to archaeological sites. If this initial assessment reveals a potential for significant archaeological resources, the developer must retain a qualified archaeologist to develop a resource management plan. Henry (1993:48) comments that the ordinance is "successful" because it requires archaeological coordination early in the development process and because the city employs professional archaeologists to administer the law.

The concern of incorporating archaeological resources aside, the second, and perhaps more significant, problem with many historic preservation ordinances is that they require property owners to do something[11] which in many cases is costly – at least in the short term. The legal foundation for preservation ordinances (at least for those that cover above-ground structures) is fairly clear and well established. The U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the basic constitutionality of historic preservation ordinances in 1978 in *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. City of New York* (438 U.S. 104 (1978)). Here the Court found three criteria that a preservation ordinance must meet to be found constitutional:

> ▪ The ordinance must promote a valid public purpose. It must somehow advance the public health, safety, morals, or general welfare.
>
> ▪ The ordinance must not be so restrictive as to deprive a property owner of all reasonable economic use of his or her property.
>
> ▪ The ordinance must provide for the citizen's constitutional right to due process, providing a mechanism for a fair hearing and rational procedures for those responsible to follow while enforcing the ordinance.

It is the second test or criteria which has recently attracted the most attention. As Henry points out, protecting archaeological sites by limiting the uses of the land "creates a tension among the rights of landowners to use their land, the interests, even 'rights,' of the public to know about the past, and the rights of certain groups to visit and use sites to

[11] An exception to this is the City of Durango, Texas archaeological ordinance which requires the City Archaeologist to examine development sites. If significant resources are found the City "shall encourage" further research, but does not require any action by the property owner. While this allows the recordation of sites at the City's expense, and likely results in some negotiated excavation projects by developers who see the research as positive public relations, it seems unlikely that laws without teeth will have much long-term preservation impact.

which they ascribe traditional value" (Henry 1993:15).

When property is physically taken there is no constitutional doubt that the owner must be compensated for the land taken. The issue is not so clear in what are called "regulatory takings," when the government enacts laws that regulate what an owner may do, or may not do, with or on his or her property. In the *Penn Central* case the Supreme Court emphasized that the second criteria of "reasonable use" did not mean that an owner is entitled to make the most possible money from the land, only that the owner must retain a "reasonable beneficial use" of the property.

Currently, the courts are reviewing legal action on a case-by-case basis. An ongoing case (Atlas Enterprises v. United States, No. 94-10L U.S. Ct. Cl. Feb. 14, 1995) is of particular interest to preservationists. The U.S. Court of Federal Claims denied a government motion for summary judgement in an action for compensation for the alleged "taking" of historic property along Washington, D.C.'s Pennsylvania Avenue. The court concluded that material facts concerning whether the owner had been denied economically viable use of his property by Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation historic preservation restrictions were in dispute and that insufficient information was available to determine whether the owner, at the time of the purchase, had reasonable investment-backed expectations for development without preservation restrictions.

Regardless, in the current political climate, however, may result in legislative bodies attempting to enact laws mandating the level of economic use an owner must be allowed. While this is likely a poor legal idea with little to recommend it other than blatant political grandstanding, it emphasizes that preservation by regulation will always be susceptible to attack.

An Alternative to the "Big Stick"

There is an alternative. Even within the framework of such regulations as preservation ordinances, comprehensive plans, and zoning laws, the local jurisdiction (such as Greenville County) has the option of using a broad range of incentives to preservation, rather than purely regulatory requirements.

Operating within the framework of zoning regulations, *allowable density* offers an excellent technique for the protection of archaeological sites. Higher density usually means larger square footages in urban areas (i.e., a larger footprint or a taller building) or a greater number of housing units permitted per acre of rural or suburban land. Under traditional ordinances, if the zoning allows a density that will essentially "fill up" a rural parcel, that means that any archaeological resources on the parcel will be destroyed. There may possibly be a confrontation between archaeology/preservation and development in which both sides will lose. To avoid this problem, a jurisdiction can establish low density limits, known as downsizing, which allow more room for the placement of buildings while preserving archaeological sites. Even better is allowing what is known as *cluster subdivision*, which allows the developer to build on smaller lots than those normally specified in the ordinance or subdivision regulations. This concentrates the building on a portion of the tract, leaving the rest undeveloped, reserving significant archaeological sites as common public use or green space. Another approach is called *incentive or bonus zoning*. A developer can earn an increase in density, or building height, by providing a beneficial contribution to the community, such as increasing open space, maintaining an appropriate facade, or preserving a significant archaeological site.

Of considerable potential is the more open-ended program of *proffers* — conditions between the jurisdiction and developer which are negotiated and become legally binding on other parties. This somewhat "free wheeling" program allows a developer to obtain concessions in zoning from the local government in exchange for concessions on preservation from the developer. Proffers may result in setting a site aside as a park, or may result in establishing a fund for the site's excavation, freeing the property for later development.

All of these approaches have in common the idea that by working with the developer to achieve a reasonable return on his investment, preservation can be achieved without conflict. As

Henry points out, they also require the local government staff to "[be] knowledgeable about archaeological preservation issues, [be] able to communicate archaeological values, understanding the business objectives of developers[12], and [have] skills in effective negotiation[13]" (Henry 1993:33). They also have in common the offer of creative solutions, exploring how traditional planning and zoning activities can be used to create an atmosphere for successful preservation. Innovation and a willingness to deal are critical, especially in the current climate.

Some, like Illinois, have also integrated a system for the transfer of development rights, including a mechanism for the deposit or banking of these rights. Henry explains that this technique separates the rights to develop a parcel from the other rights associated with the parcel. She notes that:

> The development rights of agricultural land or low density historic buildings, for example, are transferred or sold for use in another location where higher density development is permitted or encouraged. Subsequent development on the land from which these rights have been transferred can be limited to very low density or precluded altogether (Henry 1993:33).

In addition, this type of program tends to be successful only close to metropolitan areas with significant development pressure and a market for development rights to exist.[14]

Local jurisdictions also have it in their power to legitimately slow growth by promoting the continuation of traditional practices. The underlying assumption here is that development is not always appropriate or even needed. In some areas, traditional activities, such as farming or raising of orchards, are more appropriate or environmentally sensitive. By recognizing this early in the planning process, it is possible to prevent the land from being sold for development. For example, *agricultural districts* promote the continuation of farming by:

- providing incentives such as land assessment at actual use value rather than at market value,
- protecting the farmer from nuisance suits,
- limiting the ability of municipalities to annex farm land, and
- limiting the extension into rural areas that encourage development pressures.

Usually these agricultural districts are voluntary and require a minimum amount of acreage. Virginia, for example, allows local governments to establish local districts as small as 23 acres based on local criteria, which must be consistent with certain broad defining factors, such as "scenic and historic features of land uses" (Virginia State Code, Title 15, Chapter 30, Sections 15.1-1506 through 1513.8).

There are also a range of tax benefits which government can offer for site protection. Government is not directly paying for preservation but, using these techniques, is rewarding

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[12] Henry (1993:116) provides a very readable, sympathetic, and understandable synthesis of the typical developer's objectives, including profit, integrity of design, and reduction of risk.

[13] This last requirement is perhaps the most significant and requires an understanding of "win-win" negotiating — never narrow negotiations down to just one issue, different people want different things, and price is not always all-important. Of equal importance, both parties must achieve something of worth and value, otherwise there has been a "win-lose" negotiation and it is unlikely that the loser will ever sit down at a table with the winner again.

[14] While it might be argued that these conditions are not currently present in Greenville, we believe that establishing the framework for such a program prior to its actual need is essential. By the time the development pressures exist significant resources may be lost.

individuals and organizations that choose preservation voluntarily. Property taxes are perhaps the single highest, consistently re-occurring expense of a private landowner and may be one of the highest expenses of development. Just as there seems to be an increasingly shrill protest over so-called "takings," there is an equal clamor for "property tax relief."

Henry points out that the most common method for assessing property value is its value on the open market, based on the property's highest and best use. "Highest and best" use typically means development at the property's maximum potential under current law. This assessment practice creates significant conflicts with private and public preservation efforts, especially around urban areas and in resort communities. Urban sprawl and the need for additional developable space may drive up the value of neighboring undeveloped, rural, agricultural land. Henry also points out that market demand may increase the value of land far above the value of any buildings present, "creating an incentive for demolition and new construction" (Henry 1993:59).

An alternative approach is an *actual use assessment* or *use-value assessment*. This approach values the property on its current use, rather than on its full market value according to its development potential. This approach is frequently used to promote farmland retention and preserve viewscapes, but it is equally effective as a tool in both "bricks and mortar" and "archaeological" preservation. Likewise, the county should ensure that property value reductions resulting from conservation easements (discussed below) are also taken into account.[15] When individuals elect to preserve heritage sites for the good of Greenville's citizens they should be rewarded by the county recognizing that the value of that property is not as high as it might be under the "highest and best use." While this technique promotes heritage resource conservation, especially in areas with high development pressure, it is based on voluntary participation. And, like many of the other techniques we have discussed, it may offer only short-term protection. The strength of the program depends on the county establishing clear, effective, and strong withdrawal penalties.

Another approach utilizes *assessment freezes* and/or *tax abatements* to promote preservation efforts. Freezing the assessed value of a property or reducing the tax for a specified period of time are incentives for preservation efforts and are usually linked to "relieving the owner's burden of increased property taxes as a result of historic building rehabilitation" (Henry 1993:60). The obvious downside to such programs (as is also the case with actual use assessments) is that the local government bears the burden of a reduced tax base. We believe, however, that the societal benefits which accrue from preservation (ranging from community use of green spaces to better viewscapes to increased heritage tourism) offset this reduction. One program which Greenville should explore is that established by Arizona which assesses non-income-producing historic sites and properties listed on the National Register at 5% of their market value for up to 15 years. Clearly there exist a wide range of options and even a reduction of 25% would offer a significant incentive for preservation efforts.

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[15] Stephen Small, discussing conservation easements, observes that:

> The gift of a conservation restriction on land will reduce the value of that land, often considerably. If you donate a conservation restriction on your property, it would stand to reason that your property tax should drop. Unfortunately, I understand that many local assessors are not immediately responsive to the drop in value of restricted property, and some conservation-minded donors may end up fighting city hall over this matter. Your attorney will be able to help you with this fight, should it become necessary. There are court decisions that state when the value of property is reduced by a conservation restriction, the property tax assessments should generally drop by a similar percentage (Small 1988:32).

Greenville County should ensure that legal action is never necessary to achieve these reduced property tax assessments and that the county works **with**, not against, those seeking to preserve the area's heritage.

Encouraging Preservation by Private Landowners

While we have focused on government's role in preservation[16], it is also appropriate to explore how individuals can use current estate and income tax laws for preservation. **Before moving on, however, it is essential to stress that tax law is very complicated and frequently changes. It is essential to consult with an attorney and financial advisor. The information we discuss is not intended to represent legal advice.** Two very useful sources worth exploring before consulting with either an attorney or financial advisor are Janet Diehl and Thomas S. Barrett (1988) and Stephen Small (1988).

Table 10.
Techniques for Preserving Family Lands
(Adapted from Stephen J. Small, *Preserving Family Lands*)

What happens if John and Mary:	Income Tax Savings?	Estate Tax Savings?	What happens to Riverview?
Leave Riverview to the children in their wills	No	No	Forced sale for development
Make a gift to charity now of an easement on Riverview, and then leave Riverview to the children	Yes	Yes	Riverview goes to the children and will be protected
Make a gift to charity now of a remainder interest in Riverview	Yes	Yes	Riverview goes to charity and will be protected
Make a gift to charity of Riverview, or of an easement on Riverview, in their wills	No	Yes	Riverview will be protected
Give Riverview to the children now	No	Yes	Riverview might be protected
Sell Riverview now, for cash	No	No	Sold for development

Small explores the issue from the perspective of how to preserve family lands, but his approach is equally as effective in the preservation of archaeological sites on those lands.

Called an "eye-opener," Small lays out the scene: John and Mary purchased the 200 acre Riverview farm years ago for $100,000. Since then the value has crept steadily upward as urban sprawl moved toward their farm. Recently a developer offered them $5 million for Riverview, but they declined the offer. The property meant much more to them for its beauty and for what it might mean to their children. John and Mary also have about $2 million in other assets they have slowly built up over the years. If we relate this to Greenville County, we might add a ca. 1830 house and maybe even the ruins of a grist mill, along with a beautiful clear water stream. The farm would be situated just on the northeastern edge of Greenville, in the area between Greenville and Spartanburg.

John and Mary both have wills, drawn up years ago, in which the first to die leaves

[16] We believe that government's role in preservation is not only appropriate, but also necessary. While we do not wish to bog the reader down in a political thesis, it is a maxim of conservative political thought that the role of government is to do for its citizens what they cannot do for themselves. National defense, for example, cannot be achieved without a coordinating central authority. It is true that an individual, with all other factors being equal, can either choose to preserve a heritage site or choose to develop it. But, government has created conditions that do not make "all other factors" equal. As we have explained, tax assessments are typically based on "highest and best" use. Land plans fail to limit urban sprawl. Zoning may encourage high density use of property. Tax burden may prohibit green spacing as even a "break-even" option. The program we are recommending does not rely on government's use of regulations to require preservation, but rather offers options that allow citizens to voluntarily undertake preservation without suffering economic losses. This is an ideal example of government helping individuals collectively to do what they would not be nearly as successful at if they were to undertake the efforts individually.

everything to the survivor, and, on the death of the second spouse, the children inherit the estate. Small assumes that John dies first, leaving everything to Mary. He notes that under Federal estate tax laws, there is little or no tax due at that time. When Mary dies, however, he lays out the grim results:

> • The Federal estate tax on her $7 million estate is $2,660,000. . .
>
> • *Riverview must be sold to pay the estate tax.* The estate tax is due nine months after Mary's death, so the family may not even be able to wait for the "best offer."
>
> • Once Riverview is sold for development, the gently rolling hills and open fields will be gone forever. *The future of Riverview is completely out of the hands of the family* (Small 1988:1).

He offers two alternatives that succeed in providing both income tax and estate tax savings. One involves making a easement gift to a charity and then leaving the property to the children. The other involves making a remainder interest gift to a charity, which also protects the land although it will not be owned by the children.

In a gift of a conservation/preservation easement, some of your rights as a property owner are given up to the charity. For example, a conservation easement specifically involves the donation of development rights to a historic property or archaeological site.[17] The owner gives up the right to develop or change the property in certain ways in exchange for a charitable tax deduction. The owner may still live on the property or in the house, may sell or lease it, must pay taxes on it, and may pass it on to his or her heirs. For a structure or archaeological site to be eligible for an income tax deduction through a conservation easement approach, it must be either listed on the National Register or be located in a National Register district and be certified by the Secretary of the Interior as being of historic significance to that district.[18] The value of the gift, for charitable contribution purposes, is equal to the difference between the value of the property before and after the easement. Small, however, points out that limitations to the tax law may make it impossible to take the entire deduction in a single year:

> As a general rule, a gift of land, or of a conservation easement, or of a remainder interest in land, is only deductible *up to* 30% of the donor's adjusted gross income. Any amount of the gift remaining after the first year can be carried forward and deducted against income in up to five succeeding years (Small 1988:10).

In comparison to an easement where only certain rights are given up, in a remainder interest the charity receives out-right ownership of the property when the owner dies, although the owner reserves the right to live on the property until that time. Unlike an easement, a remainder interest does not need to meet any qualifications (such as listing on the National Register), if the owner places no restrictions on how the charity may use the property. However, to assure preservation of the site, it is essential that restrictions be placed on the use of the property and, when this is done, for the gift to result in income tax savings, the property must meet the same test as for an easement — it must either be listed on the National Register or it must be in a district and certified by the Secretary of the Interior.

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[17] Recent court cases emphasize the need to make easement restrictions clear. In a recent case, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals (Foundation for the Preservation of Historic Georgetown v. Arnold, No. 93-CV-1157 (D.C. App. Dec. 15, 1994)) underscores the need for careful language. Where an easement's terms are clear and unambiguous, they will be strictly enforced. Where there is ambiguity, the easement agreement will likely be construed against the holding organization rather than the property owner.

[18] Henry notes that "a tax attorney should be consulted to determine whether or not restrictions specifically designed for archaeological protection in these easements would require National Register listing before income tax benefits could be obtained" (Henry 1993:61).

Small suggests combining both approaches, giving "both a conservation easement . . . and a conservation remainder." He notes that using this approach the property owner:

> will be giving up nothing more than if the conservation remainder donation were the only gift, and the tax benefits will be considerably greater. For purposes of both the tax law and enforcement of the restrictions, I generally recommend that the easement go to one conservation organization and the remainder go to a different conservation organization. The gifts can be made at the same time or in the same year or the easement can be given in one year and the remainder interest can be given in a later year (for technical tax law reasons, the easement must be given first). It may be possible to make both gifts at the same time using only one document (Small 1988:17).

Clearly this is a complex issue that cannot be easily, professionally, or ethically, explained to the public without the use of an attorney and financial consultant. It should not the role of the county to provide this expertise. However, local preservation groups, including the Greenville County Preservation Commission, can develop simple handouts for the public which outline this preservation approach. One local example (which would require only the integration of archaeological site preservation concerns) is *Conservation Easements*, prepared by The Preservation Society of Charleston. These brochures, once prepared, could be mailed to individuals with significant property, historical organization members, and even placed in brochure racks in the tax assessor's office. In addition, the local preservation organizations should consider developing a workshop involving attorneys, financial planners, land planners, and county officials, to present the program to individual with property targeted for preservation.

Although donation of real estate containing prehistoric or historic sites can result in tax savings, the donation of artifacts from archaeological sites presents unique problems. The donation of artifacts from scientific excavations may be considered a charitable contribution by the Internal Revenue Service. Initially archaeologists and property owners valued collections based on the cost of the excavations, with the donor taking a deduction equal to the cost of excavation. This approach, however, is not accepted by the IRS and anyone using the technique, if audited, will be liable for back taxes plus interest and penalty. The IRS has consistently insisted that archaeological collections must use universal valuation principles, meaning that artifacts must be valued in exactly the same manner as antiques, with a dollar value placed on each flake, arrowhead, ceramic, or nail. Most archaeologists believe that there are ethical restraints on this approach to valuation of artifacts.[19] Since the IRS will not accept an unsupported value in a charitable contribution deduction, a "Catch-22" situation has developed. There seems little hope of changing this, so it is unlikely that this can be considered as a technique to encourage preservation efforts.

Preservation As An Alternative To Development

Several of the previous Greenville County preservation publications have encouraged the county to acquire historically significant properties, which could then be used as parks, recreation areas, or for site interpretation. This has not been done and many would argue today that there simply aren't the funds for this type of government activity. We would suggest that there are not sufficient funds for government ***not*** to undertake preservation using this approach. Others suggest

[19] These constraints are more clearly defined in the fields of conservation and curatorship. The Standards of Practice for American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works states that, "the conservation professional should be especially mindful of the considerable potential for conflict of interest in activities such as . . . appraisal . . . ." The American Association of Museums' *Museum Ethics* not only specifies the need for limited appraisals, but also requires that they "include an indication of how the determination was made."

that such efforts would stifle the economic growth of the county, which actually needs additional development. To this we respond that development frequently costs the residents far more, in hard dollars and cents, than preservation.

Rarely do communities considering preservation of archaeological and historical sites as open land compare the cost of providing public services to the open land with the ongoing costs of providing services required for developed land. They should – although the traditional view holds that development benefits the community by broadening the tax base, there is a tremendous difference between the costs of preservation and the costs of development. Developed land costs a great deal to maintain. The actual fiscal impacts of development will depend on how much of the community's budget relies on property taxes compared to other revenue, how much tax revenue new development nets, the ratio of public/private sharing of infrastructure costs, and a host of other details. Into this must also be factored the tourism potential of heritage sites which does not exist if the sites are destroyed by development. Regardless, Kennedy and Porter (1994:12) review expenditure and revenue data for residential development and open land in seven different communities, ranging from upstate New York to Massachusetts to the rural setting of Virginia. The cost of services per dollar of tax revenue for residential areas ranges from $1.06 to as high as $1.23, meaning that in each case the government was spending more to support the development than it was taking in through property taxes to support the infrastructure. There is a net loss of revenue. In contrast, the cost of services per dollar of tax revenue for open land ranges from a low of 12¢ to a high of 74¢. In each case, the government was "making money" on open lands – collecting more taxes than the infrastructure support cost. Kennedy and Porter express this more eloquently, "**the cost/revenue comparisons between new homes and open lands shows that, in most jurisdictions, new houses are fiscal burdens (i.e., pay less in taxes than they cost in services) whereas open lands provide fiscal surpluses (i.e., pay more in taxes than they cost in services)**" (Kennedy and Porter 1994:13). A study by the Piedmont Environmental Council, for example, found that a new house in Culpepper County, Virginia (about 50 miles southwest of Washington, D.C.) would have to be valued at over $300,000 to generate enough tax revenue to offset development costs. In rural Spotsylvania County, that figure soars to over $400,000 for a family with two school-age kids.

Development brings a wide range of problems and the fiscal benefits of development as a revenue generator are a mirage. The initial stimulus of new house construction is closely followed by the need for fire and police protection, schools, new or better roads, sidewalks, sewer and water improvements, and the list goes on. Since the government is paying more for infrastructure support than it is getting back from the new development, taxes go up. As Kennedy and Porter (1994:16) illustrate, development costs can be substantial. A study of Tracy, California, a rural farming community which embarked on a massive residential development, found that the infrastructure improvements were costing an average of $16,700 per housing unit. Even in rural Virginia, which is more likely comparable to South Carolina, the estimated costs of improvements necessary for development cost $ 5,566 per housing unit.

Even industrial and commercial developments, which often generate more revenue than costs, often spawn additional residential development, so the surplus revenue is short lived. As governments increasingly compete for new industry by offering perks and bonuses such as reduced taxes, even these projects will produce fiscal deficits, resulting in higher property taxes for all residents of the community (most of whom never see any tangible benefit from the new "investor"). A study of Albemarle County, Virginia found significant costs would accompany industrial development, creating a deficit for the county. Offsetting this deficit would cost the owner of an average home an additional $480 in property taxes.

When the ideal solution of private open land ownership cannot be achieved, and the government is required to step in and purchase historic sites, the historic parks can still be an asset, even though they must be supported by local tax revenue. We have already discussed the economic impact of heritage tourism to the local community. The sites provide amenity value, such as green space for the surrounding communities.

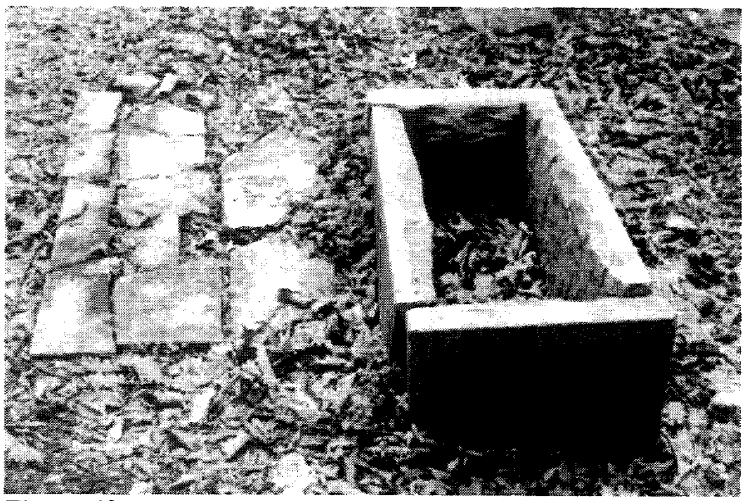

Figure 48. Example of a nearly forgotten family cemetery in Greenville.

This, in turn, adds value to the adjacent properties. Just as the land next to a golf course is more valuable than land a block away, in the middle of a housing development, so too is land adjacent to a government owned park more valuable. Community leaders must carefully compare the long-term cost (i.e., 20 years or so) of purchasing a historic site and preserving it as open space against the cost of permitting development.

Cemeteries — A Unique Situation

There can be no doubt that cemeteries represent a unique situation worthy of special concern. Human remains possess both spiritual and scientific values. The spiritual, moral, and ethical issues concerning human burials and cemeteries have long been recognized. The importance of these remains has only within the last several decades become better understood, as forensic anthropology became more sophisticated. Today we realize that skeletal remains can help us understand diet, disease, mortuary patterns, and the demographics of past populations — from the dead we can learn much about living groups. Burials are also able to provide information on burial practices through the study of coffin hardware. Cemeteries may provide genealogical information available from no other source. The study of stones, stone carving, and other forms of mortuary monuments may also help us to understand society's changing relationship with death and the dead. Yet many Native American, African American, and other groups are concerned about the excavation, analysis, and curation of their ancestors' bones. These concerns must be respected.

Unfortunately, development is far more damaging to cemeteries than any professional research. Some cemeteries are unmarked and little can be done to prevent their destruction unless there are living members of the community who can identify the location. Examples include slave cemeteries, which were almost never marked; Native American cemeteries, which were never marked; and even some Euro-American cemeteries. Other cemeteries are marked only with fieldstones, which can be easily overlooked. And, while hard to believe, some cemeteries are intentionally destroyed by developers seeking to maximize their return on the land being developed. Even state agencies have been documented destroying cemeteries rather than preserving the sites or moving the human remains. These actions are unconscionable. The South Carolina Code of Laws, Section 16-17-600, *et seq.* makes it a felony to damage or destroy human remains, subject to a fine of not more than $2,000 and imprisonment for not less than one year or more than 10 years. This same code provision makes it a misdemeanor to damage, vandalize, remove or otherwise desecrate a cemetery, tombstone, vault, fence, or other part of a cemetery, graveyard, or grave, subject to imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or a fine of not more than $2,000, or both.

In addition to the state law, there are steps which the county can, and should, take to help ensure the preservation of cemeteries and human remains. The first, which has already begun, involves the recordation of cemetery sites on planning maps. The next phase, however, should be to record these locations on the tax maps used by the county assessor. To encourage preservation of cemeteries, property owners should not be taxed for property which they set aside with registered plats as existing cemeteries.

The next step which the county should take is to ensure that law enforcement authorities take seriously the threat to cemeteries and are willing to aggressively pursue those who would damage or destroy graves and graveyards. Sheriffs and local police are often overwhelmed with what are considered more serious crimes, yet the destruction of cemeteries is a serious offense which should not be overlooked.

Finally, when a developer proposes to subdivide land containing a cemetery, and does not propose to move the cemeteries (graves, stone, and any fence or other monuments), the county's subdivision regulations should require stringent conditions to be met, including:

1. A complete inventory of existing cemetery elements to preservation standards (see Strangstad 1988, 1993 for examples),

2. Placement of lot lines in a way that ensures the maintenance and protection of the cemetery, and

3. The cemetery must be deeded either to the county, an existing cemetery association, a homeowner's association, or other responsible party, and

4. At least a 20 foot buffer be added to the obvious boundaries of the cemetery, such as any stone wall or the most outlying marked grave.

An example of such these provisions exist for Prince George County, Maryland (Subtitle 24. Subdivisions. Prince George County's County Code, 1987 edition, 1989, 1990 supplements) and Town of Ledyard, Connecticut.

Archaeological Looting — A Need for Government Regulation

While we have been reluctant to encourage the use of government's "big stick," we believe that the protection of archaeological sites from looters, like the protection of cemeteries, is a reasonable exception. There are, regrettably, individuals who believe that archaeological resources — the things which help us to understand the past, improve our ability to attract heritage tourism, and improve the quality of life — are nothing more than relics or things they have a "right" to own.

Looting, site vandalism, and pothunting are becoming an increasing problem around the world, with the international antiquities market rivaling that of the illicit drug trade. Here in the United States:

- between 1985 and 1987 *reported* incidents of looting on National Park Service lands increased by 53%, from about 425 to over 650 (King 1991:85);

- a Congressional subcommittee estimates that between 50 and 90% of the known sites in the American Southwest, probably around 660,000, have been looted (Subcommittee on General Oversight and Investigation 1988);

- the Bureau of Indian Affairs estimates that looting has increased by 100% between 1980 and 1987 (Subcommittee on General Oversight and Investigation 1988);

- The September 1991 issue of *Lost Treasure: The Treasure Hunter's Guide to Adventure and Fortune* provided a four page article entitled, "South Carolina Treasures" listing potential sources of relics across the state.

Simply put, the looting, buying, selling, and trading of our heritage is big business (see Trinkley and Vartorella 1993).

A number of communities have enacted laws making it illegal to dig, disturb, or destroy archaeological remains on public property. For

example, the City of Alexandria enacted an ordinance making it illegal "for any person, while located on city property, to possess or use a . . . metal detector or any other device . . . to search for objects in, on or below the surface of the soil; dig, excavate or in any other way disturb the surface of the soil; and remove any object found in, on or below the surface of the soil." The City of Durango, Texas selected simple, but effective language:

> All archaeological sites, whether designated or nondesignated, archaeological structures, and artifacts on city-owned property are the collective property of the citizens of the city and it is unlawful to remove, plunder or disturb any such site, structure, or artifact without prior written authorization having first been obtained from the office of the city manager.

Hilton Head Island, South Carolina has enacted an ordinance protecting all of the town's archaeological sites from looting, including those on private property. It also prohibits the use of metal detectors and requires that anyone conducting professional archaeological research within the boundaries of the town obtain a permit for the proposed work (Ordinance 90-10B, Title 17, Section 2-112 of the Municipal Code of the Town of Hilton Head Island). This might well be a model for Greenville County.

Added strength is given to state, county, and municipal laws by Section 6(c) of the federal Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (16 U.S.C. 470aa-mm), which states that:

> No person may sell, purchase, exchange, transport, receive or offer to sell, purchase, or exchange, in interstate or foreign commerce, any archaeological resources excavated, removed, sold, purchases, exchanged, transported or received in violation of any provision, rule, regulation, ordinance, or permit in effect under State or local law.

The Fairfax County Example

It is always easiest for planning commissions, county attorneys, and county council members if the program being recommended is found elsewhere. That not only simplifies the administrative burden of incorporating the plan into existing documents, but it also helps establish a feeling of need (someone else has faced this same problem) and assures success (this approach has been used and it works). Unfortunately, what we are proposing is somewhat radical and although components are found throughout the country, it frankly has not been tested at the level we are proposing.

On the other hand, Fairfax County, Virginia has developed a method of handling archaeological resources that is similar and certainly worthy of some additional attention. Susan Henry oversaw the production of the *Fairfax County Heritage Resource Management Plan* in 1988, based primarily on 1986 data. Developed using the National Park Service's "RP3" format[20] it explores a series of seven prehistoric and 10 historic "study units." Each includes a section on the "cultural context," followed by an "operating plan." The former includes a conceptual framework, information on the geographical and chronological distribution of the context, and specific resource types. The latter includes information on resource identification, presenting what is already known and outlining research questions, and information on resource evaluation, helping to identify how sites should be determined important. While the data are certainly dated, the documents provide a foundation for the County's continuing identification, evaluation, and management of heritage resources.

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[20] RP3 stands for "Resource Protection Planning Process" and was intended to link preservation planning, federal regulations, and the National Register into a coordinated process. It was designed to transform technical data into management information that could be widely used by preservationists, land planners, and the public. Like many government programs, it had a brief burst of popularity and then faded into obscurity. Regardless, the approach was sound, although its application suffered from "newspeak," a lack of clear understanding or vision concerning management needs, and a failure to adequately fund its development.

In addition, Fairfax County has developed a *Policy Plan: The Countywide Policy Element of the Comprehensive Plan for Fairfax County, Virginia* which is basically the elected Board of Supervisor's policy statement on land use. This document identifies five objectives for Fairfax County, which are expressed in 12 policy statements. Given the potential for this document to help guide Greenville County's efforts at effectively managing heritage resources, it is worth repeating these:

Objective 1. Identify heritage resources representing all time periods and in all areas of the County.

Policy a. Heritage Resources should be identified well in advance of potential damage or destruction.

Objective 2. Maintain a County Register of Heritage Sites to recognize the value of significant heritage resources for preservation.

Policy a. In order to determine eligibility for listing on the County Register of Heritage Sites, the significance of heritage resources will be evaluated according to the significance [with details on National Register and Public Significance].

Objective 3: Protect significant heritage resources from degradation, or damage and destruction by public or private action.

Policy a. Significant heritage resources should not be adversely affected or destroyed unless there is no prudent and feasible alternative, and appropriate activities have been planned and carried out to minimize the adverse affect.

Policy b. Public and private land uses and development should retain and enhance significant heritage resources and their settings.

Policy c. Additional Historic Overlay Districts should be established to protect and preserve significant heritage resources.

Policy d. Fairfax County's regulatory mechanisms should be compatible with the protection, retention, and enhancement of significant heritage resources.

Policy e. Activities affecting heritage resources should be coordinated among County agencies and with other public agencies and private organizations.

Policy f. Acquire significant heritage resources to incorporate them into the County's park system for purposes of resource protection and public education and enjoyment.

Objective 4. Promote and encourage the protection and preservation of significant heritage resources.

Policy a. Provide a variety of incentives and assistance to encourage heritage resource protection and preservation.

Policy b. Recognize quality preservation projects and activities through a County Preservation Awards program.

Objective 5. Increase the levels of community awareness of and involvement in heritage resource preservation.

Policy a. Provide information on

> heritage resources and heritage resource preservation for public education and enjoyment, through a County Heritage site marker program and other interpretative facilities and programs.
>
> Policy b. Promote active community participation in heritage resource preservation activities (Anonymous 1990:98-99).

Approved by the Board of Supervisors, this document provides guidance for a variety of County decision making processes. It doesn't specify exactly how the objectives will be achieved, nor does it mandate specific actions. But it carefully outlines the policies which govern the county's administrative actions. A review of these policies reveal that there is no mention of "requirements" or "legal mandates." Instead, to promote preservation, it is County's policy to "provide a variety of incentives." These might include all of those previously discussed, ranging from tax incentives to proffers to specialized zoning.

This document also includes several other issues that should be of particular importance to Greenville. It stipulates that all of the county's activities should be consistent with this desire to promote preservation. It is important that the government "show the way" in preservation. It is impossible to convince developers that preservation is worthwhile, if the county itself acts in a manner that is contrary to a preservation philosophy. The document specifies that preservation efforts should be coordinated among all of the various public and private agencies. It is important for the program to build bridges, not create turf wars. Preservation must be seen as a unified force, not as a variety of competing petty fiefdoms. The county also stipulates that the park system should incorporate as many historic sites as possible. This ensures wise use of scarce resources — if there is a natural area that is also an important heritage resource, it encourages combining goals and achieving multiple goals. Further, this is an effective and public demonstration of the county's commitment to preservation and to improving the quality of life for its citizens. The Comprehensive Plan also establishes an award program for those that help in preservation efforts. This reinforces the county's commitment and provides public recognition for an individual or company which has embraced preservation. Finally, the policy statements endorse public education, recognizing that it is important for the public to see and understand the importance of heritage sites since this encourages support for the program and for the preservation efforts.

A decision tree chart for the Fairfax County Heritage Resource Management Program is shown in Figure 49. At each level participation by developers is largely voluntary. The Heritage Resources Branch may recommend a survey to determine if there are significant cultural resources present, although increasingly their data base is sufficiently refined that they are already know what is present on many tracts. They may recommend a proffer to the developer in exchange for funds to conduct additional investigation on the property. Voluntary funding of studies is sufficiently common that the Branch has built up a revolving fund to allow studies on a number of properties. Developers participate for a variety of reasons. The proffers assist in producing a better return or may reduce the risk of the undertaking. After a number of years of operation, the development community is also aware of the exceptional public relations and media attention — advertising what money can't buy — generated by the archaeological studies. Some are perhaps spurred by a genuine interest in history — reinforced by the cost-effective manner in which the program is operated.

The county has also developed a leading example of a volunteer, avocational archaeological program. Over the past four years the Fairfax County Heritage Resources Branch has developed a certification program which has transformed their volunteer program into one of para-professionals (McCarron 1993). The reason, or perhaps more properly the need, for this program is two-fold. First, as McCarron notes:

> during these bleak financial times of budgetary shortfalls combined with the current private property rights or anti-preservation trend,

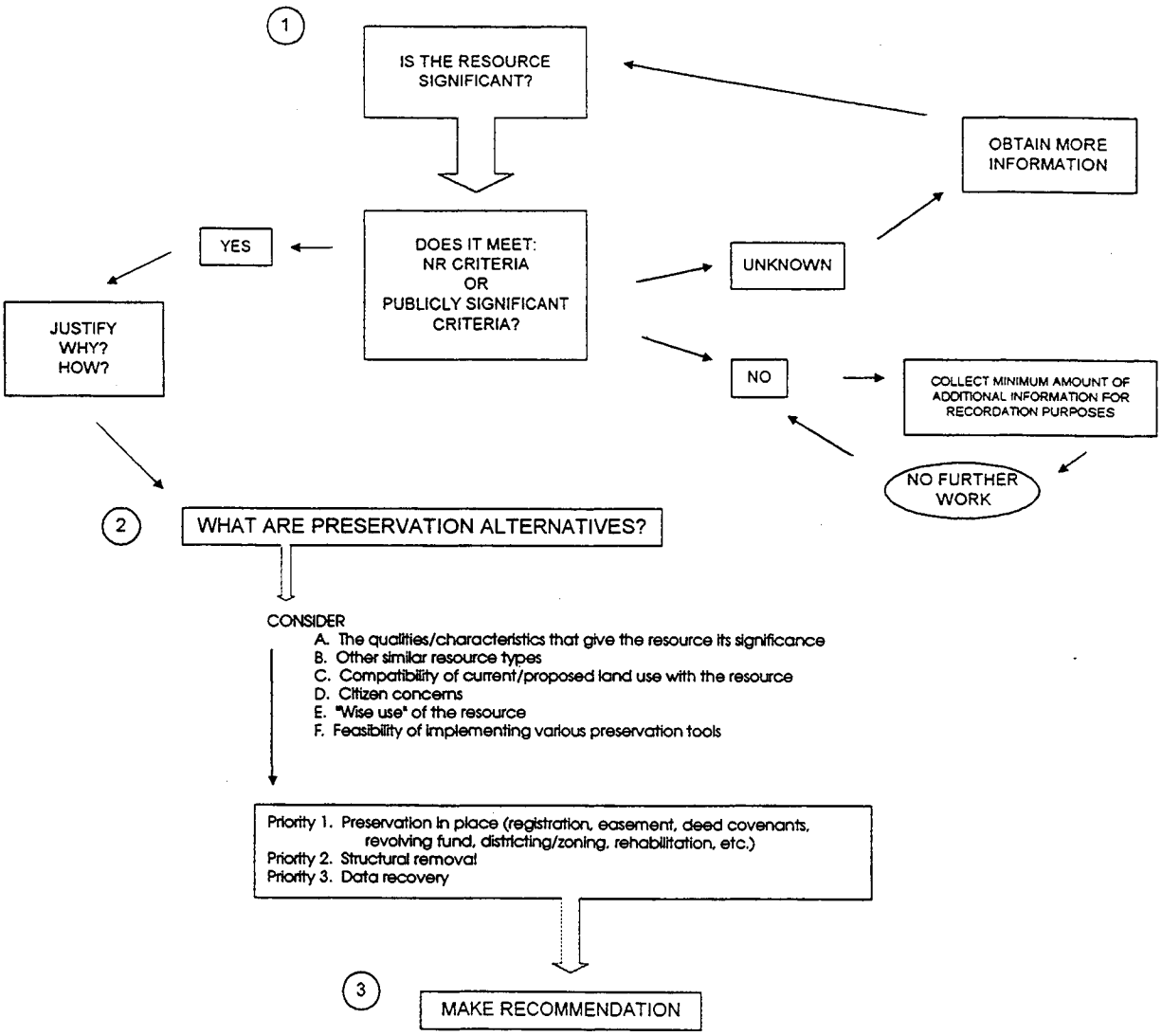

Figure 49. Fairfax County preservation decision tree (adapted from Chittenden et al. 1988:Figure V-1).

> archaeology must nurture a growing public constituency. If professional archaeologists take the time to develop cadres of trained volunteers through certification programs, greater public support will follow and a strong constituency will be established (McCarron 1993:7).

This "constituency" has been called on by the Heritage Resources Branch on several occasions to lend public support when the County Supervisors were considering budget cuts. It is also a constituency capable of rewarding developers who participate in preservation efforts, and who can on a daily basis speak to the importance of preservation.

Second, and of equal importance, in a preservation program which relies on voluntary participation it is essential to provide archaeological services in a cost-effective manner. It is simply not possible to staff field projects entirely with trained, professional staff. Volunteers are essential in providing the ability to record, explore, and help preserve Fairfax County's heritage. McCarron (1993:5) observes that the certification program was intended to ensure that the volunteers were well trained and also to establish a reciprocal arrangement — giving something back to those who volunteered their time.

The availability of volunteers — for both their political clout, knowledge of the area, and willingness to provide labor assistance — is likely essential for the success of any county-wide preservation program. Likewise, it is essential that these volunteers perceive that they are obtaining some benefit from their volunteer efforts. It is critical that they be lead by a professional archaeologist, in the same manner than EMTs and other para-professionals in the health services arena are lead by professional physicians. There must be an infrastructure capable of supporting volunteers. This even includes a building, which can serve as the focal point for the volunteer effort, allowing the heritage resources program to incorporate volunteers into laboratory processing as well as field investigations.

We should point out that while archaeological sites are treated as "heritage resources" under Fairfax County's program of "incentives" to preservation, architectural sites in the various historic overlay districts are covered under a relatively traditional, pre-existing preservation ordinance. Unfortunately, the Fairfax County Architectural Review Board, which contains nine members, does not include an archaeologist. This illustrates both the problem of attempting to integrate a "new approach" into an existing framework and also that the Fairfax program, while well worth study, is certainly not perfect.

This last issue is readily admitted by the Heritage Resources Branch staff. As with any volunteer program there will be some developers who are unwilling to participate, no matter how good the incentives appear to be. Sites will be lost, or even missed. The program, ultimately, depends on the personal charisma, leadership abilities, and professionalism of the lead individual. That person must not only supervise volunteers effectively; but must be able to negotiate with both developers and the planning staff; must be able to speak effectively to the planning commission other government agencies, and local politicians; must be able to develop a constituency and know how to use that local support; must be familiar with the local resources; must be professionally knowledgeable concerning a broad range of archaeological issues and resources; and must be able to translate archaeological research into educational and interpretative programs for the public. This, no doubt, helps explain why there are so many regulatory programs and why there are so few incentive based management programs. It is also the reasoning behind our commitment to a voluntary, incentive-based program for the management of Greenville's heritage resources.

PRESERVATION IN THE CITY OF GREENVILLE

Like Greenville County, preservation efforts in the City of Greenville have focused on standing architecture and the designation of historic districts. The City's "preservation ordinance" is concerned solely with standing buildings and uses a board of architectural review primarily to evaluate structural changes and approve demolitions. Archaeological resources are not incorporated in any meaningful way into the current preservation efforts. Much of what has been previously discussed (especially in the previous section, "An Overview of Preservation Efforts"), and what will be explored in the following sections, is appropriate to the City as well as the County. On the other hand, the urban setting does present some clearly different problems in the management of heritage resources.

The Nature of Urban Archaeology

While archaeology may be casually defined as "what archaeologists do," archaeology in the urban setting requires special methodologies and different approaches than those used by either prehistorians or even other historical archaeologists. Zierden and Calhoun (1984:10-14) offer a short, yet thorough, overview of the goals and theoretical orientation of urban archaeology. They adopt the definition of urban archaeology offered by Staski (1982:97), noting that it is the study of the relationships between material culture, human behavior, and cognition in an urban setting. Perhaps more simply we may define it as the study of the lifeways of people living in the urban condition.

It seems to be this "urbanness" which separates the study of Charleston or Greenville (or Boston or New York) from the study of a rural plantation, a small farmstead, or even a gold mine. Sylvia Doughty Fries suggests that the urban concept in Colonial America was developed by the newly forming gentry who saw urban living as "a cultural and social style" (Fries 1977:xvi) and notes that urban centers were designed to preserve and foster values and lifeways that were ultimately rural in nature. But even while the rural ideal held considerable power, there was yet another driving force — that of taming nature. Open spaces were formally modeled "into complementary geometric forms which characterized the architectural attitudes of their designers" (Fries 1977:30). It was during this early period that urban designers attempted, rather unsuccessfully, to deal with the "social and moral disparities posed by the urban world of commerce," while still somehow addressing their nostalgia "for the more simple and stable ways of the countryside" (Fries 1977:31). Fries notes that:

> as the city continued to pose disturbing moral ambiguities — the concentration of poverty amid concentrated wealth, the corruption of political authority — the city itself came to be viewed ambiguously. The availability of land and, more importantly, the opportunity for private ownership and self-enrichment in the land, enabled colonial Americans to persist in the "dichotomic life" (Fries 1977:31).

Urban settings, therefore, present a very different view of society than rural farms, industrial sites, or even large plantations. The congestion, the large numbers of buildings, the potential for large-scale disasters such as fires, the large quantities of waste generated, and the extraordinary amounts of "energy" (including everything from food to firewood) necessary to maintain the system all separate the city from the rural setting. Many of these differences are the focus of archaeological research. Some present unique problems.

Sites and Disturbance in Urban Archaeology

One of the "problems" encountered in

urban archaeology is that the definition of a "site" is more difficult than it usually is for practitioners in more rural settings. Traditionally, archaeologists have defined a site (in the broadest terms) as any place that humans have left some evidence of their activity.[1] Sites may then include anything from a temporary camp where an arrowhead was sharpened to a city. The difference, at least at one level, is scale, although sites become even more complex when they are viewed diachronically (i.e., through time) rather than synchronically (that is, frozen in time). Zierden, and many of her colleagues in urban archaeology, view the entire city as their site — a very convincing approach since it is impossible to provide persuasive and defensible boundaries for human activity within the city.[2] From an administrative approach, however, it is difficult to discuss National Register eligibility without having a site with specific geographical boundaries. Administratively, it does little good to say that the City of Greenville, or the City of Charleston, is an archaeological site and that it is eligible without also determining whether there are remains on the survey tract worthy of additional study.[3] While the archaeological site within the urban city may be defined on some arbitrary basis, such as the boundaries of a city block, research shows us that block shapes and sizes change. Further, artifacts do not stop conveniently at the edge of property lines or at the curb to the street, so boundaries based on this approach would twist and contort reality to fit an administrative device.

Another equally unique "problem" is the nature of archaeological deposits in the urban setting. Zierden and Calhoun observe that:

> Urban archaeology poses its own particular set of problems and advantages, in terms of methodology and research orientation. Unlike the surrounding countryside, the city is the scene of major and numerous land alterations. Because of this, the archaeological record is often deep and well preserved, but the earlier deposits are often disturbed by, and mixed with, subsequent activities and deposits (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:14).

A somewhat more detailed analysis of this issue is offered by Nicholas Honerkamp and his colleagues from the investigation of the Telfair Site in downtown Savannah, Georgia:

> After more than 50 years of searching for the elusive "layer cake" site, it might be expected that Southeastern prehistoric and historical archaeologists would have abandoned this hoary fixation and instead concentrated on developing methodologies appropriate to real sites. . . . What "disturbed" actually means is "not the time period I wanted" or "not in the condition I expect and desire." As Salwen (1979) has pointed out, what human activity does <u>not</u> "disturb" the locale in which it occurs?. . . .If disorganized evidence of former occupations, including non-target occupations, is present at a site, it can be of interest and value to archaeologists — provided the site is not first dismissed as "hopelessly disturbed" (Honerkamp et al. 1983:9-10).

The point is that the "reality of the city" is such

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[1] Sites may also be defined from a compliance, or administrative perspective. For example, Marion Smith, director of the Florida Site File, has recently proposed that a site must meet at least one of the following requirements: "at least one artifact is diagnostic [or] at least three nondiagnostic artifacts fit within a circle of 30 meters diameter, regardless of depth."

[2] The first researchers to argue for the city as a whole being the logical unit of study were those in Alexandria, Virginia.

[3] Archaeological remains are not homogeneous at archaeological sites, no matter how they are defined. Human activities tend to be clustered in certain areas. While some activities leave more evidence than others, within virtually all sites the distribution of artifacts and features is patterned.

that "disturbances" are part of the archaeological record. Buildings are built, fires occur, structures are razed, others simply decay, streets change location — and all the while archaeological evidence is accumulated, mixed, sometimes destroyed, sometimes partially preserved. If we use "integrity" in the same sense as it is applied to rural sites to judge the condition of urban sites, none will pass muster — they all will be found to be "disturbed." But in many cases it is this disturbance which can help us to understand the growth and evolution of the city.

Research Questions

Zierden and Calhoun (1984:99-113) have suggested a series of eight research questions for urban archaeology in Charleston. While not all of these are appropriate for Greenville, it is important to briefly outline the range of issues (especially considering the dearth of urban research in Greenville).

Site Function. Zierden notes that many of Charleston's structures served a dual function as residences and businesses. As a response to Charleston's commercial system and geographic restrictions, the commercial core of the city was subject to intensive occupation characterized by long, narrow lots, multi-storied buildings, and a dual residential-commercial function (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:99). While it has been possible to detect craft activities through the artifact record, the commercial retail trade results in lateral transfer of goods and it has been very difficult to distinguish this activity in the urban archaeological record. Zierden and Calhoun note, however, that commercially related materials may be present under very specific conditions, such as the destruction of a structure by fire or discard associated with property transfers. Otherwise, discard (deliberate or loss) at dual function sites will resemble a domestic pattern.

Zierden and Calhoun recommend research to delineate site function through (1) the recognition of site formation process and (2) artifact patterning. Artifact studies may more productively involve the frequency relationship of specific artifact types or examination of individual artifact types, rather than a preoccupation with artifact groups. They recommend that "continued excavations within Charleston's commercial area should provide the data necessary to continue this study" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:100).

Status Variability. Both historical archaeology in general, and Charleston's urban archaeology in specific, has focused on the delineation of socioeconomic status, using the documentary record as a control. Status may be reflected in the settlement pattern, housing type, material items, and the diet of the household. Zierden and Calhoun propose a three tiered socio-political ladder. At the top rung are the aristocracy — wealthy planters and merchants — who dominated Charleston society, politics, and the economic affairs of the colony. They note that in the nineteenth century the wholesale merchant class declined in importance and social standing, likely as the result of the lingering distrust brought on by the American Revolution toward the merchant class as well as an inward preoccupation. On the middle rung were Charleston's primarily white middle class of retail merchants and artisans. At the lowest rung were the manual laborers, both skilled and unskilled. Although the overwhelming majority of this class consisted of African American slaves, there was an underclass of poor whites.

Zierden and her colleagues note that these different groups lived in different parts of Charleston. It is noted that while it is almost impossible to equate specific site assemblages with specific site residents, status can be recognized in the archaeological record when documentary sources are used as controls (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:101). Status indicators have also been found in diet, clothing, and personal items. They recommend that Charleston "provides an excellent data base for examining [social stratification], using the documentary evidence as a control" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:102).

Urban Subsistence Strategy. Food remains in the urban archaeological site are useful in the study of cultural conservatism, adaptation to the local environment, ethnicity, and social variability. Faunal studies have found a potentially strong dichotomy between rural and urban food sources, with the urban setting precluding the use of many

wild species, and focusing attention on beef (with surprising little attention on pork and caprines).

Zierden and Calhoun (1984:103) recommend that the Charleston urban sites be examined for information on urban marketing and processing procedures (such as butchering practices and mean distribution systems). They also note that "an archaeological examination of historic subsistence strategies can make a significant contribution to an examination of the cultural processes affecting the development of Charleston," and urge studies explore rear lot areas — where trash such as food bones are most likely to be recovered — as well as exploration of specialized features, such as privies.

Site Formation Processes. Obviously if we are to successfully interpret the evidence of human activity at urban sites it is essential that we be able to understand the cultural and natural processes responsible for the formation of the archaeological record. This research question focuses on the previous discussion of "disturbances" in the urban archaeological record. But it is more than simply of methodological interest. Portions of Charleston were created on "made land," consisting of deposits of trash moved from elsewhere. The frequent fires resulted in large amounts of rubble and demolition materials which were incorporated into the archaeological record. Our understanding of Charleston and our interpretation of individual sites is dependent on our understanding of how the sites were formed (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:104).

Urban Slavery. Zierden and Calhoun note that while much work has been recently accomplished to understand the lifeways of the black slave on the rural plantation, there is considerably less information regarding the large proportion of slaves which lived and worked in the city. They note that "the black majority of Charleston offers an excellent data base to study this aspect of Afro-American slavery" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:105). They note that there are likely differences between the slaves who lived with their masters in well defined slave quarters behind the town house and those who "lived out," on their own. They note that slaves who "lived out" might achieve a considerable degree of social and economic "freedom," at least when compared to other slaves.

Zierden and Calhoun suggest that urban slaves in general will reveal a different archaeological pattern than their rural brothers and sisters: "the material assemblage of urban slave sites is expected to show more variability in all areas of material culture" although the artifact categories most sensitive to social status will be "those containing more personal, highly curated objects, rather than those items used in the more mundane affairs of daily life" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:106). While not explicitly discussed by Zierden and Calhoun, a consistent problem with slave assemblages in urban settings is the degree of mixing with their masters, which precludes definitive statements on an assemblage basis.

The Free Black Population. Charleston was always noted for the relatively large number of "free persons of color" living on the fringe of society. Zierden and Calhoun note that "this anomalous group occupied a precarious position in Charleston and sought acceptance by white society by disassociating themselves from their enslaved brethren" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:106). They note that throughout much of Charleston's history the aristocracy was based on color, not wealth and racial unity allowed artisan, merchant, and planter to joint together in "one great interest." They also note that while wealth could not insulate the free blacks from repressive laws or discriminatory society, it did create clear class lines within the category of "free persons of color."

Zierden and Calhoun observe that, "archaeological research on free blacks in Charleston . . . approaches the questions of status and ethnicity simultaneously, by comparing free blacks with a group of similar status and different ethnic heritage (middle class whites) and with a group of differing social status and similar ethnic heritage (urban slaves)" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:108). They note the problems inherent in dealing with issues of social status and ethnicity and remark that:

> several descriptive, baseline studies will have to be conducted before the present research question can be addressed

> successfully. A careful, processual examination of the marginal urban free black group is expected to provide information on status and ethnicity in the urban environment (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:108).

Spatial Patterning as a Macro-Adaptive Strategy. Primarily through the examination of newspaper advertisements and other documentary sources, Zierden and Calhoun (1984:109) trace the development of Charleston's spatial patterning. They find that the concentration of merchants, and some craftsmen, resulted in the development of a commercial core focused on the waterfront, located between Queen and Water streets and on three major east-west thoroughfares — Broad, Tradd, and Elliott streets. The increasing value of land and buildings resulted in the increased multiple use of buildings and an interchangeable character. This lead to the previously discussed tendency for dual function sites, combining business and domestic activities. By the antebellum period they observe an increasing tendency for residential and business districts to become differentiated. Wealthy individuals clustered in the area south of Broad. Although the commercial core remained focused on the waterfront, King Street rapidly gained in importance and the growth of the town shifted from an east-west to north-south orientation.

Zierden and Calhoun propose a model for land use patterning during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries based on these observations:

> elements include the subdivision of lots and maximal use of real estate, a dual residential - commercial function of buildings, frontage of the structure directly on the street and extensive reuse of backlot elements as trash repositories (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:111).

They note that other factors affecting the archaeological record — and our interpretation of that record — include multiple land use by different families, rental and subletting of properties, and ownership of large blocks by wealthy merchants.

Rural-Urban Contrasts Among the Upper Class. This last major research area focuses on the ties planters maintained with the city, especially to display their wealth. Charleston was not only a political center, but it was also South Carolina's social center and planters with newly acquired wealth were anxious to establish themselves in the proper society. Zierden and Calhoun observe that the "planter's townhouse . . . is a study in 18th and 19th century conspicuous consumption" (Zierden and Calhoun 1984:112). But this research question focuses not only on the comparison of the townhouse with the plantation main house, but also on the contrasts in adaption between the city and plantation environments. These may include differences in marketing practices, the availability of municipal services, the use of space for refuse disposal, and (as previously discussed) the need for combining commercial and residential activities.

As previously mentioned, it is clear that some of these questions are not immediately applicable to Greenville. For example, there was a very small slave population in Greenville and an even smaller free black population. While both groups are worthy of study, the organization of the research must be different in Greenville than it has been in Charleston. Greenville, especially in the nineteenth century, seems to have had a much larger proportion of poor whites in the population (largely associated with the mills) than did Charleston. This difference suggests additional research topics, focusing on the lifeways of these underclass mill workers. It may also be appropriate to expand research questions, such as the examination of rural-urban contrasts among middling and poor whites, rather than solely among the upper class. Other research questions, such as urban foodways and site formation processes, are as applicable to Greenville as they are to Charleston and can be readily adapted.

One immediate goal of archaeological research in the City of Greenville should be to explore these, and other, research questions and develop an integrated research design suitable for the exploration of this piedmont urban center. An important aspect of this research, only briefly examined in the current study, is a detailed documentary study of the City. As Dickens (1982),

Staski (1982), and Zierden and Calhoun (1984) have illustrated, documentary or archival research is the most efficient manner to approach an archaeological survey of the urban setting and is the first crucial step in developing a clear understanding of archaeological resources in the urban setting.

A Brief Overview of Greenville

Although there has been relatively little historic research specific to the City which can be used to help frame archaeological research, one study deserves special mention. Anne McCuen and Penelop Forrester (1989) have compiled a detailed title search for all of the antebellum core of the City. This area, shown on the 1830 Plan of the Village by John N. Barrillon (Figure 50) covers the area bounded by the Reedy River to the south, Spring Street to just east of McBee Street to the east, College Street to the north, and Richardson and Jackson streets to the west. This research identified not only the owners of the property, but also the nature of the structures present on the lots.

Prior to the Civil War, Greenville was appropriately described as a village and McCuen and Forrester (1989) identify well over 60 houses or domestic structures. Some are even noted as including cellars (a distinctive archaeological feature) and most included a variety of outbuildings, such as kitchens, stables, and slave quarters. Interspersed, and occasionally occurring as dual function sites, are three hotels, three churches, four blacksmiths, six dry good stores, one tinsmith, two boot and shoes stores, one tannery site, one jewelry store, three offices, one barber shop, one confectionery store, one book and stationary store, one school, two cabinet maker shops, two millinery shops (one operated by a free person of color), one gunsmith, one saloon, one carriage factory, three non-specific stores, and three offices. In addition there were the public buildings, including the courthouse and jail, as well as three springs, several cisterns, and wells. The 1850 Industrial Census provides less information, listing only 15 industries within the city limits. These included a boot and shoe manufactory, a baker, a saddler, two tailors, two tinsmiths, three blacksmiths, a coppersmith, two saddleries, a grist mill, and a tannery.

David Carlton (1982) notes that "interior towns" were almost unheard of during the antebellum and while they made modest gains in population and prosperity during the late 1850s, largely as a result of the increased focus on cotton, it would take the Civil War to shatter the hold of cotton factors on the economy of South Carolina, creating a new commercial system, and opening the way for growth at interior towns such as Greenville. He observes that:

> the impact of war and defeat did not, however, result in long-term commercial prostration; rather, by sweeping away the old economic organization, it cleared the ground upon which a new structure could be erected, with materials sifted from the debris of the old order (Carlton 1982:15).

Aided by skyrocketing cotton prices in the first few years after the Civil War and the breakup of large tracts into smaller farms, a new class of local merchants rose up. This change was further strengthened by the development of a crop-lien system in 1866, which provided the merchants with the ability to secure planting costs with a lien on the anticipated crop. Cotton began to be produced in extraordinary quantities, with Greenville, along with neighboring counties of Oconee, Pickens, Anderson, and Spartanburg, quintupling cotton production in 1880 from the pre-war 1860 levels.

All of these economic changes are reflected most clearly not in the rural commercial landscape, but in the interior towns such as Greenville. Carlton (1982:21) notes that the number of towns with ten stores or more rose from 31 in 1850 to 76 in 1880, accounting for a 71.8% increase in the total number of establishments. He notes that Greenville had been a "small, sleepy courthouse and railroad terminal" on the eve of the Civil War with an economy largely based on dealing in farming supplies and providing an up country resort for the planters of the low county. Virtually no cotton was shipped from Greenville. With the completion of the Atlanta and Charlotte Air Line Railroad, Greenville was quickly transformed. Carlton observes that:

> By 1880 Greenville's 23 stores

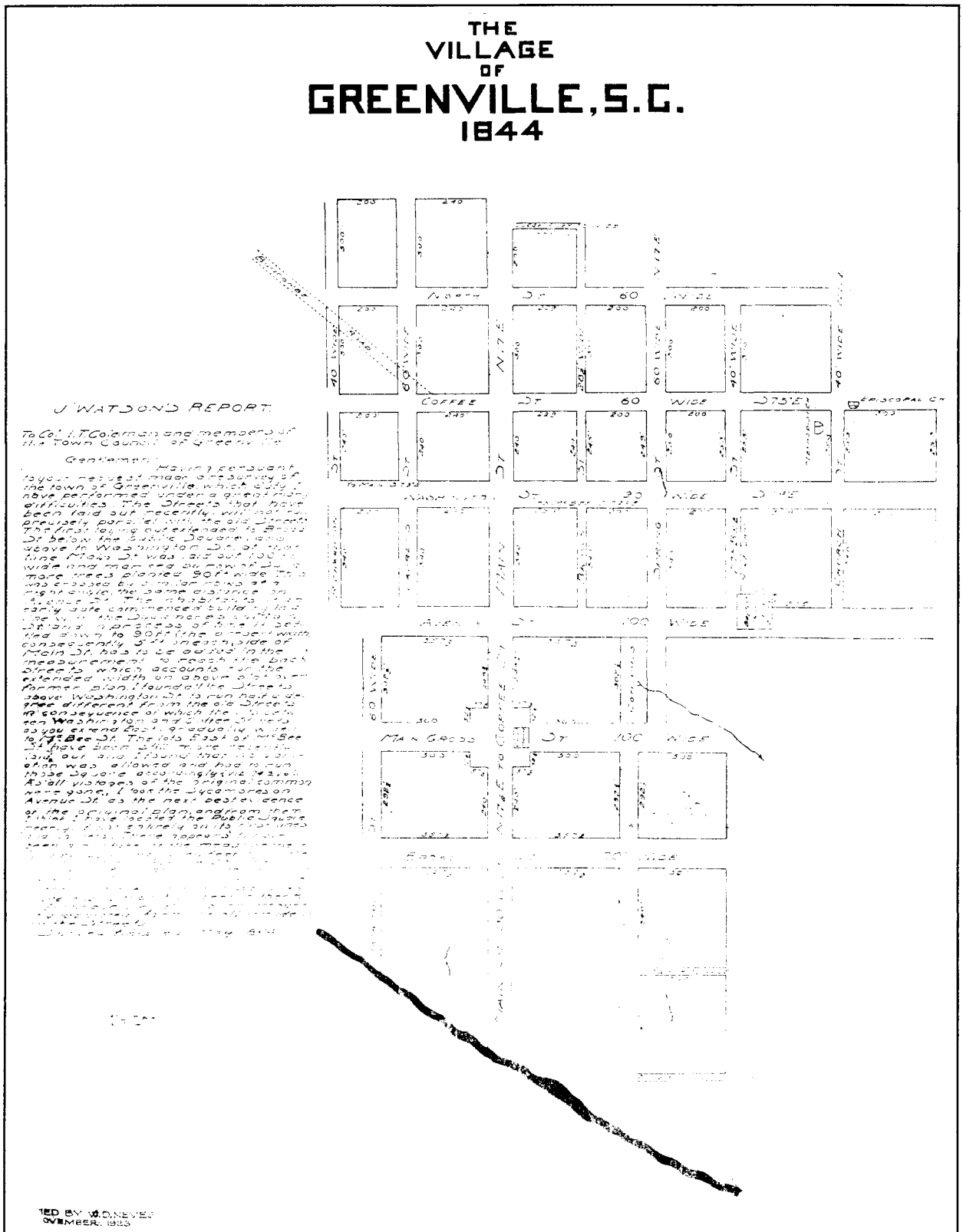

Figure 50. John Barrillon's "A Plan of the Village of Greenville" in 1830-1844.

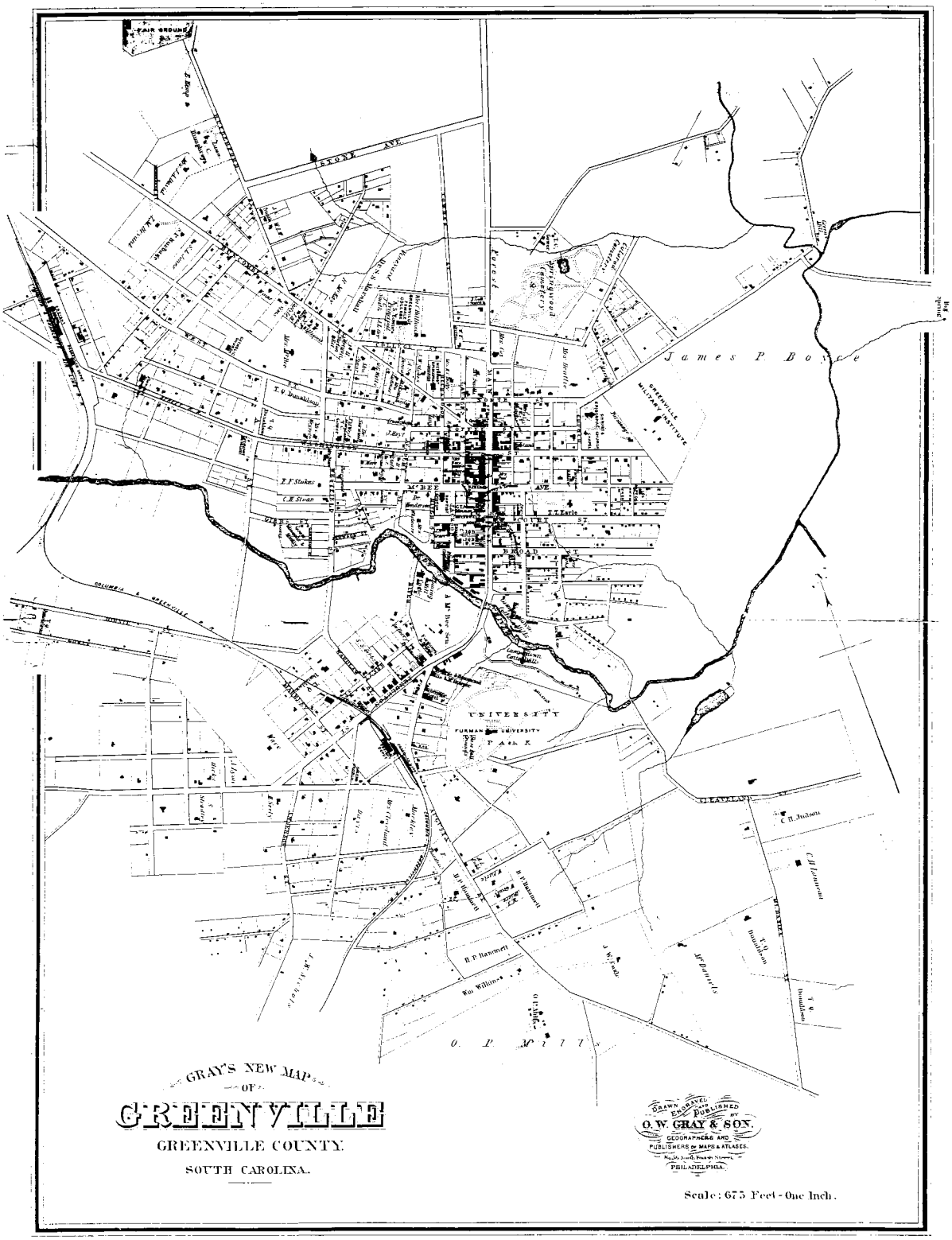

Figure 51. "Gray's New Map of Greenville" printed about 1882.

> had become 161, her population had quadrupled to over six thousand, and local boosters were boasting of having shipped as many as forty thousand bales of cotton in a year (Carlton 1982:23).

This rapid change, however, left Greenville appearing rather crude. While neighboring Spartanburg had a "respectable" business district largely built of brick, the commercial establishments in Greenville were primarily of frame construction and the streets were unpaved. Into this new interior town also came alcohol — Greenville boasted as many as 18 bars or saloons, prior to liquor sales becoming a state monopoly under Tilman in 1893 (Carlton 1982:27).

By the time the first Sanborn Insurance Map was published for the City in 1884 these dramatic changes in both the nature and the composition of Greenville were easy to see. For example, the block bordered by Coffee Street to the north, Main Street to the east, Washington to the south, and Laurens Street to the west encompassed four lots in the late antebellum. On the northern third of this block Peter Cauble established a blacksmith shop. In the middle portion of the lot were perhaps three stores, including those of Powers, Eldridge & Co., and Beattie and Greenway. At the south was the lot of Jabez Gilreath which included a number of buildings. By 1884 the block contained at least 29 different structures. Along Main Street there were eight different shops, including a barber and grocery, two jewelry stores, a dry goods store, two saloons, a confectionery store, and a millinery store. Along Coffey Street, at the corner of Laurens Street, was a dwelling. Further along Coffey Street were a series of eight different businesses. Along Laurens Street there was a small dwelling and a commercial establishment, as well as a cistern, while fronting Washington was another series of businesses, including a butcher. The other blocks in the downtown core illustrate a similar transition from "village" to "business district" and relatively few antebellum buildings appear to have survived the political and economic reconstruction of Greenville.

These same changes can be seen on the 1882 "Grays New Map of Greenville" (Figure 51), which illustrates the rapidly growing, and even congested, central business district along Main Street, north to at least Coffee Street. Surrounding this were primarily residential lots, with a few remnant large estates, such as those of McBee, Earle, and Beattie.

Greenville continued to change into the early twentieth century, although a number of buildings can be traced through time, apparently with relatively minor changes. By the middle of the twentieth century, however, major changes began to occur in the City of Greenville.

Managing Greenville's Urban Archaeological Resources

Over the course of Greenville's history not only did the buildings change, but so did the construction techniques. Frame buildings with piers were replaced by brick buildings with shallow foundations. One or two story buildings were replaced by multi-story structures with sophisticated foundations. Demolition no longer involved manually removing buildings, but often also involved the use of heavy equipment to grub out foundations. As more "modern" buildings were built in the central core of the city, greater damage was done to the archaeological resources of the City.

Therefore, not only is a detailed documentary survey of downtown Greenville necessary, but so too is a detailed land-use study. Such a study, using a combination of documentary sources and a physical inspection on a block-by-block basis, would develop a more thorough understanding of how the downtown area of Greenville has been used and how it has changed over the past 150 years. Combined, the documentary and land-use studies could easily project probable areas of intact archaeological remains in Greenville and assign different probability levels to areas of the city. This would assist in managing the especially fragile archaeological resources of urban Greenville.

This additional level of archaeological study should be the city's highest heritage resource priority and should be completed within the next

year in order to avoid the loss of additional resources to economic development.

CREATION OF THE CARTOGRAPHIC DATABASE

Chicora Foundation has used a variety of primarily nineteenth and early twentieth century cartographic sources for Greenville County to identify areas of historic occupation, including plantations, settlements, industrial sites, fortifications and military sites, bridges, fords, cemeteries, churches, school houses, and other cultural features. Some of the maps used approach modern map standards for accuracy, while others provide only approximate locations. In a few cases maps, or portions of maps, were *not* used because they were so flawed as to be misleading or grossly inaccurate (this is the case with virtually all of the eighteenth century maps available for Greenville County and was often the case when historic sites were situated in the interior, away from road networks). The project also incorporated sites identified by the S.C. Department of Archives and History during several reconnaissance architectural surveys of the county, sites currently listed on the National Register, architectural sites identified by the S.C. Appalachian Regional Planning and Development Commission, archaeological sites identified by the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, and archaeological and historical sites identified by members of the local community.

All of these resources were used to generate a series of 22 7.5' United States Geological Survey topographic base maps (Figure 52), showing well defined areas of special concern and keying these to a master list providing information on the type of site and the source document. In addition, a separate map, at a much larger scale, was created for the City of Greenville to permit more convenient site identification in that area.

These maps provide the data essential to aid in the development of a preservation plan such as has been outlined and recommended in the preceeding two sections, "An Overview of Preservation Efforts" and "Preservation in the City of Greenville." These data, without a strong preservation plan, are of

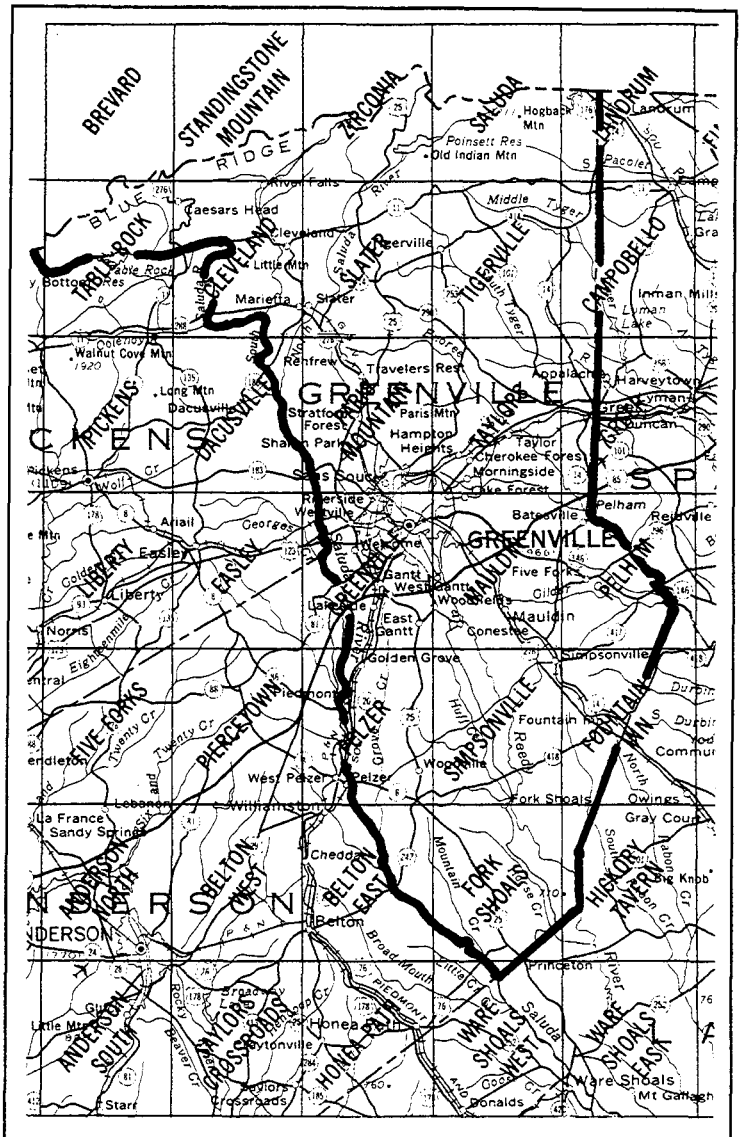

Figure 52. Topographic map coverage of Greenville County.

course meaningless and offer little long-term preservation assistance.

Cartographic Sources Used

It was the intention of this study to incorporate as many Greenville area maps as possible. While the nineteenth century was viewed as the period of greatest significance and formed the core of the research, the time period was extended into the late eighteenth century and into the first half the twentieth century.

The plat resources of most upcountry counties are limited, especially when compared to the many beautifully executed plats of lowcountry plantations. Most of the plats available for Greenville illustrate only boundary lines. Rarely are structures shown and when they are it is usually with very generalized locational information. Often no distinctive topographic or geographical features are shown on the maps, making it virtually impossible to locate possible sites with any reasonable degree of accuracy.

A large variety of other cartographic sources, primarily maps, were also used in the study. These range from almost schematic drawings of the eighteenth century to a series of excellent planimetric charts made by the Civilian Conservation Corps during the Depression and the early twentieth century War Department precursors of today's topographic maps.

All of the cartographic resources used in this study are listed in Table 11. Information includs the title (with an effort made to ensure that the map can be identified by the title), date, and scale.

All of the scales were converted to a representative fraction (RF) or ratio, for example, 1:40,000. This means that (along particular lines) 1 inch or 1 foot or 1 centimeter on the map represents 40,000 inches, feet, or centimeters on the earth's surface. As a point of reference 7.5' topographic maps (such as those used as the base maps for this study) have a RF of 1:24,000 (or 1 inch to 2000 feet). Consequently, the smaller the second number in the RF, the more accurate the placement of features is likely to be.

In addition to historic maps, we have incorporated a number of "modern" sources of information, including various historic structure surveys conducted by the S.C. Department of Archives and History and the S.C. Appalachian Regional Planning and Development Commission, the location of National Register properties, archaeological sites recorded for Greenville County by the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, and archaeological sites recorded by local avocational archaeologist Mr. Wes Breedlove. In addition, sites pointed out by local historians and the public were also incorporated, when locations could be clearly identified.

Consistency of Methods and Identifications

Accuracy and validity of the maps used is keyed to more than simply the scale. Each historic feature location was transferred to the topographic maps using as many triangulation features as possible. At times this was simple. At other times, such as when creeks and rivers had dramatically changed locations, it could be difficult, or even impossible. The Reedy River presented a particular challenge since parts of its channel have changed dramatically over the past 150 years.

Some maps also failed to provide any features for triangulation. In these cases it was sometimes possible to scale distances or use topographic features. Where there was an appreciable degree of doubt or uncertainty in the location of a historic site it was left off the topographic sheets. This seems preferable to promoting inaccurate locations. As an additional effort to maintain consistency, one individual located all of the sites, with a second individual running random checks of location. The degree of agreement was in excess of 98%.

Each site has been located as precisely as possible, allowing some minor buffer for errors in the calculations.[1] Sites have been shown primarily as circled areas, although linear arrangements of structures are often shown as ovals. These cover from as little as 2 acres to as much as 70 acres.

[1] Archaeological sites were provided with somewhat more substantial buffers in order to protect the sites from intentional or unintentional damage.

Table 11.
Cartographic Sources Used in this Study

Map	Title	Date	Scale
A	Mills' Atlas, Greenville District	1820	1:125,720
B	Stroeber's Map of Greenville County	1873	1:190,080
C	Kyzer's Greenville County	1882	1:63,360
D	Greenville County Rural Delivery Routes	1923	1:63,360
E	Eden's Greenville County in 1904	1903	1:82,368
F	Lieber's Greenville District	1859	1:354,816
G	Greenville County Soil Survey	1921	1:63,360
H	Parker School District, Greenville County	1923	1:33,600
I	East Mauldin Land Grant Map, Union Co. Hist. Fnd.	1976	no scale
J	15' Greenville topographic map	1938	1:62,500
K	15' Greer topographic map	1938	1:62,500
L	Greenville County Highway and Trans. Map	1940	1:126,720
M	Greenville County Highway and Trans. Map	1965	1:126,720
N	CCC Timber Maps for Greenville County	1938	1:31,680
P	Army Corps WWI Artillery Map	no date	1:2000
Q	Walker & Johnson Map of South Carolina	1854	1:348,480
R	Travelers Rest Land Grant Map, Union Co. Hist. Fnd.	1976	no scale
S	Paris Mountain Land Grant Map, Union Co. Hist. Fnd.	1976	no scale
T	Roper Mountain Land Grant Map, Union Co. Hist. Fnd.	1976	no scale
U	William Hudson's Map of Greenville County	1869	1:63,360
V	Camp Wetherill, NA RG 77, Dr. 146, Sheet 146	1899	1:15,840
W	Camp Wetherill documents, Greenville Co. Public Library	1899	no scale
X	Camp Sevier map	1919	1:40,000
Y	SC DOT bridge survey	1981	1:126,720
Z	Gray's New Map of Greenville	1882	1:8,100
AA	Sanborn Map, Piedmont	1902	1:960
BB	Sanborn Map, Piedmont	1908	1:960
CC	Sanborn Map, Piedmont	1925	1:960
DD	Sanborn Map, Simpsonville	1930	1:960
EE	Sanborn Map, Fountain Inn	1913	1:960
FF	Sanborn Map, Fountain Inn	1922	1:960
GG	Sanborn Map, Fountain Inn	1934	1:960
HH	Sanborn Map, Greer	1904	1:960
II	Sanborn Map, Greer	1911	1:960
JJ	Sanborn Map, Greer	1922	1:960
KK	Sanborn Map, Greenville	1884	1:960

Although these may sound incredibly large, it is important to understand the definition of a site. Often a site represents a cluster of buildings, such as you might find at a farmstead — a main house, barns, smokehouse, and, in the antebellum, slave houses. A site may also represent two or three loci of archaeological material when it wasn't certain if there were clear boundaries.

The rationale for this is not simply that it makes the task of site placement easier (which of course it does). Rather, the primary rational is the very nature of archaeological and historical sites. Experience has shown the folly of attempting to isolate distinct areas to the exclusion of others at this early planning stage. Plantation and farm settlements, just like homes today, changed. Structures were built, others decayed or were torn down. Some, in the process of rebuilding, did not move off their original location, while others shifted about the landscape. Often there will be nineteenth century structures overlying the earlier eighteenth century settlement. Consequently, the multi-acre sites shown on the topographic maps represent the area where it is likely that scatters of

the historic sites will be found. They may also represent large, complex prehistoric sites, perhaps containing multiple components or different activity areas. It is within these areas that survey, in the effort of identifying the posited sites, should take place.

At the same time, it should be understood that simply because a ground disturbing activity is taking place outside, but adjacent to, an encircled area there should be no assurance that historically significant materials will not be encountered. These maps are guides and have not been field verified. Any activity within the immediate area of an encircled site should be examined in more detail.

When a map or plat indicated the owner's name of a historic site that information is presented on the tables. These names are found in the index following the sources cited section. This index also includes the names of plantations and settlements, churches, cemeteries, schools, and other features, when they were identified.

The term "settlement" is used to indicate that the cartographer was showing some type of occupation, probably a plantation or farmstead, but that no details regarding the number of buildings, their arrangement, or other landscape features were provided on the source map.

Few of the maps revealed any detail concerning the settlements, so the information can be used only to assist in initial planning. The number of structures, where given, may be taken to indicate, in a very general way, the extent and complexity of the site (recognizing that sites identified simply as a "settlement" will exhibit considerable diversity). In all cases it is recommended that the original source map be consulted to verify the exact location and the nature of the site identified.

A review of the sites identified will reveal that over half (51%) are primarily archaeological sites and that nearly 88% of these have been identified by Mr. Wes Breedlove. The remaining archaeological sites were recorded at the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology as a result of archaeological research in the county. The remaining 49% of the sites were generated by historic map research and public input, and include standing architectural or engineering sites, cemeteries, locations of structural ruins, locations of where structures were located, and locations of historic events. The tremendous overlap between these different classes reveals another reason we have chosen to call these sites "heritage resources." It is, after all, usually impossible to separate an above ground building from its below ground archaeological resources.

Findings and Observations

The maps also, in some small way, help us understand the extent of heritage resource losses in the Greenville area. This loss was particularly pronounced when cemeteries were examined. On one topographic map (the Mauldin quad), 33 cemeteries were identified based on the cartographic sources. Of these, five, or 15%, appear to have been destroyed or to have suffered some loss to development activities. The McDaniel Family Cemetery is under a housing development, the Lowndes Hill Cemetery is under the Greenville-Spartanburg airport parking lot, the Smith Family Cemetery is under commercial buildings, the Fowler Family Cemetery is at the edge of a trailer park, and the Laurel Hill Creek Church Cemetery (and the church itself) is at the edge of a Greenville-Spartanburg airport runway. The losses do not include cemeteries which were never recorded on maps, including a large number of African American slave cemeteries which will likely never be found.

Of course, our study is not the first to note these loses. Mildred Whitmire observed, over two decades ago:

> Time, vandals, roads, and real estate developments have done their worst. We do have strict laws against disturbing even a bush in a cemetery, but no one seems to pay any attention to enforcing them. The Picket brothers, Revolutionary soldiers, lived up Highway 25 above Greenville. We stopped looking for their cemetery when we learned the highway cut through it. . . . Old Few's Chapel, where the original church was started in

> a log dwelling, has been reduced from a round cemetery to a half moon. A road was cut through one side. Someone, evidently with a sledge hammer, knocked the monuments off their bases at the Wilson Cemetery in Greer, supposed to be cared for by the town of Greer. We have pictures of what was done to the Westfield cemetery on the lawn of a textile plant on Old Pelzer Road. Only five stones there could be put together and read. . . . A real estate development has swallowed up the family burying ground of John Young, brother of Capt. Billy Young, both Revolutionary soldiers. John left a will setting aside, forever, land for a family burying ground, already established during his lifetime. His stone is between two houses and the rest of his family is under houses (Whitmire 1971:69-71).

These losses are certainly duplicated, or exceeded, among other site types.

This study identified 3164 heritage sites in what is today Greenville County (Appendix 2 provides a complete listing of these sites, by topographic quad sheet). These include primarily archaeological sites and settlements, although other types of sites, such as cemeteries, churches, industrial sites, forts, and bridges are also included. Sites from the eighteenth through early twentieth century are included in the study. Consequently, this study assumes considerable importance in heritage resource planning for the county. It should also make it even clearer why the preceeding discussions ("An Overview of Preservation Planning Efforts") is an essential component of the preservation planning process.

By examining the modern topographic maps it can be seen that some of the posited sites have probably already been destroyed by development activities. Other sites, however, will be found in agricultural and forested areas of the county. In general, the character of the soils and topography, the nature of the drainages, and the pattern of land use has not been excessively detrimental to archaeological preservation. While erosion has certainly affected sites, there remains the strong probability that sites with intact deposits will be identified. It is likely that vandalism and development have caused greater damage to Greenville's resources than natural events or agricultural activities.

Given the likelihood that many of the sites will exhibit relatively high site integrity, coupled with a broad range of research questions that the identified sites can address (discussed in a previous section), it is likely that a large number of the sites identified by this study are eligible for inclusion on the National Register for Historic Places. Some of the eligible sites (representing such sites as well preserved plantation complexes, industrial complexes, remains of Native American villages) will almost certainly be eligible at a National level of significance. Many additional sites will be incorporated in our concept of "public significance" and will be of tremendous importance to the people of the county.

An examination of Appendix 2 will reveal that only a small number of the heritage resources in Greenville County have actually been recorded by archaeological surveys documented at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. The vast majority of potentially significant historic sites have yet to be found or recorded by professional investigations.

CONCLUSIONS

Overview of the Project

This project was designed to develop and recommend a management plan for Greenville County's heritage resources. Initially conceived in late 1991, it took several years to develop the resource base and secure both interest and funding. The project was designed to result in the development of a preliminary county-wide heritage resources planning tool.

We viewed the study as *preliminary* since we anticipated that there would be a great deal of additional research generated by the current plan. We also knew that an effective plan would require clear prioritization and evaluation of existing resources — something beyond the scope of the current study. We also chose to define this study as exploring *heritage resources* to emphasize the inclusiveness of our interests. "Cultural resources" are too easily misunderstood as including the arts — ranging from ballet and the orchestra to folklife. "Historic resources" are too easily taken to include only the big white houses with columns. *Heritage resources*, for the purposes of this study, included both archaeological sites (ranging throughout the 12,000 year history of the county) and standing structures (ranging from the ornate to the vernacular). We also decided that our emphasis should be on a *planning* or *management* tool, rather than on a "preservation" tool.

While some of these may seem be only semantic hair-splitting, the differences are significant to both the tone and the inclusiveness of the study. While there are a number of "historic resource studies" in South Carolina, none are similar to the study we have completed for Greenville County. For example, this is the only study which incorporates archaeological sites with standing structures. This is also the only study which explores the philosophy of different preservation approaches and attempts to outline an effective, incentive-based program.

Even the methodology used in this study has a different approach. We realized that a survey of the county could not be undertaken in a timely manner using the resources currently available. An on-the-ground survey, carried out over three, perhaps four, years might be feasible, but it would likely fail to hold the preservation momentum present in Greenville County. Absent that momentum, the results of such a study would be relatively meaningless. Consequently, we focused on two alternative sources: use of local experts and documentary resources. We were fortunate that Greenville County has several individuals who have spent considerable time carefully recording and exploring the area's resources. We also knew from both the efforts in Charleston (Zierden and Calhoun 1984) and the efforts in other locales (see, for example, Staski 1982) that documentary studies were much more cost-effective than field investigations. Consequently, we focused on accumulating, condensing, and synthesizing information from others, as well as exploring documentary sources which might be expected to pin-point probable heritage sites.

This project resulted in three specific products:

- A narrative report which explores heritage resource planning, the documentary history of Greenville County, the techniques developed for the study, and offers recommendations for incorporating heritage resources in county-wide planning.

- A series of USGS topographic

maps with known and probable site locations clearly defined and immediately useful for planning purposes.

- A key to the maps, identifying the nature of each site, what it may include, and where the information was obtained.

Planning Recommendations for the County

We have strongly, and consistently, recommended incentive-based preservation for Greenville County over the traditional preservation ordinance. We have flatly rejected the ordinance approach for two reasons:

- First, and most importantly, ordinances which require action by citizens are increasingly coming under attack. This reduces the public support which preservation might otherwise enjoy as an approach which improves the quality of life in the community and encourages economic benefits.

- Second, ordinances almost uniformly give weak lip-service to archaeological sites, often ignoring the intellectual, historical, and economic value of these resources.

The alternative approach we recommend involves a wide range of proffers and incentives to citizens which undertake ***voluntary preservation efforts***. This approach is not only more philosophically honest, since it relies on legitimate rewards to citizens who undertake the preservation of a community's unique heritage resources, but it can be largely implemented within the existing planning and zoning programs of Greenville County.

The broad arsenal of incentives we suggest includes, but is certainly are not limited to, proffers, incentive or bonus zoning, transfer of development rights, cluster subdivision, use of agricultural districts, property tax reductions, outright purchase, and use of preservation easements.

We realize that this approach will result in some sites being lost. There will be some developers who choose **not** to participate in voluntary preservation programs, regardless of the incentives offered. These losses are regrettable. But they are not an adequate reason to resort to an ordinance-based system with all of the accompanying bad press and philosophical "baggage." We also believe that the losses will be reduced as the County becomes more proficient in negotiating proffers and the community begins to understand the economic potential of preservation.

Cemeteries and Burial Grounds

The only exception to this incentive-based approach covers human remains. Although there is currently a state law protecting cemeteries and human remains, it is clear that this law is rarely enforced. Cemeteries continue to be built over and through. They continue to be vandalized. This is not a problem unique to the upstate, or to Greenville County.

Greenville County should take a leadership role by enacting strong and clear protection for human remains — whether found in traditional, and easily recognized cemeteries, or found in isolated areas with no clear indication of burials. Cemeteries must be protected and this protection should minimally include:

- Recordation of all cemeteries on tax maps. In this area the County can offer an incentive to property owners by waiving property taxes on the acreage recorded, and preserved, as a cemetery. There should be a penalty if the property is not preserved, or if the cemetery is taken off the listing within 25 years of its recordation.

- Renewed enforcement of existing state law by local law enforcement jurisdictions. The County Council should ensure

that the local law enforcement is aware of the problem and has the incentive to aggressively deal with vandalism and damage to cemeteries.

- Development of subdivision regulations which require developers to (1) undertake a complete inventory of existing cemetery elements (stones, fences, and other physical features), (2) draw lot lines in a way that ensures the preservation of cemeteries, (3) require that the cemetery be deeded to the county, an existing cemetery association, a homeowner's association, or other responsible party, and (4) establish at least a 20-foot buffer around the obvious cemetery elements, such as stone walls or marked graves.

It is clear that for an incentive-based system to be successful, a strong clear commitment from all of the parties involved — the County Council, the Planning Commission, the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission, and the various non-governmental preservation organizations — is essential.

Looting of Archaeological Sites

There is increasing evidence at the national level that the looting of archaeological sites is becoming a serious problem. Looting and vandalism can be managed only by an aggressive two-prong approach.

The first prong is increased education concerning the importance, and fragility, of Greenville's resources. This educational effort must start at the elementary school level and continue through the secondary grades. It must involve teachers, historians, and archaeologists helping kids understand the importance of their heritage. Educational initiatives include curricula materials for teachers, class room activities by archaeologists, media attention, public outreach, brochures and tour maps.

The second prong is legal. Existing laws concerning cemeteries and trespass must be enforced. In addition, Greenville County should enact an ordinance making it illegal to dig or damage archaeological sites without a permit. This recognizes that archaeological resources are non-renewable and easily capable of being destroyed. Such an ordinance has been passed by Hilton Head Island and has not been challenged. There is a precedent for this action.

Education and Promotion

The importance of education in helping to prevent the vandalism or looting of archaeological sites has been mentioned. Educational programs, however, have additional benefits. Educating kids about the history of their county, and the role it has played in South Carolina history helps them to better understand both their place in that history and how history has affected the world today.

History can be taught to make it exciting and fun. History can also be taught an part of an integrated curricula, incorporating science, math, and English — helping kids to understand that all learning is interconnected and essential.

Incorporating heritage resources into the existing curriculum also helps develop a core constituency interested in the heritage of Greenville County.

This is yet another area where Greenville has the opportunity to become a leader in South Carolina by developing innovative, cost-effective programs. Through cooperation of County Council and the County School Board (although the county is broken into four regions, there is only one school district) it would be possible to develop cost-effective social studies and history programs which might serve as models to other parts of the state.

Education, however, should also extend to adults. Here it may be focused on a variety of different topics. Two which have been strongly advocated are the development of a tour guide map and the development of a brochure focusing on the preservation of family lands.

A tour guide map, modeled after that developed by Fairfax County, Virginia (see Appendix 3), would not only acquaint residents with the historic features and places of the county, but could also be used as a heritage tourism tool. Potential funding sources include the S.C. Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism, local historic preservation organizations, and local chambers of commerce. The maps could be distributed at welcome centers on the Interstate highways which pass through Greenville, by the chambers of commerce, by the redevelopment authority, and even at local real estate agents.

A brochure focusing on the techniques suitable for preserving family lands would be a positive step in encouraging individual preservation efforts. Potential funding sources again include local historic preservation organizations, as well as legal groups and financial planner associations in Greenville. Once completed it could be mailed to targeted individuals who own significant historic properties. It might even be sent out by utility companies to all citizens as a public service.

Finally, education should also incorporate the development of a strong volunteer program in Greenville, capable of assisting with archaeological projects. The program should be organized in such a way that it can offer, a para-professional component. Only by developing a strong organization of dedicated, trained, and monitored volunteers can Greenville hope to manage its incredible wealth of heritage sites.

Planning Recommendations for the City

The only protection currently offered to heritage resources by the City is through a preservation ordinance which fails to recognize the nature or significance of archaeological sites. Consequently, the City of Greenville has lost many significant archaeological sites in the past three decades of growth.

While the City has recently made exceptional progress in preservation efforts and contains one of the nicest downtown main streets in the State, there is equally good evidence that the City has also lost significant architectural resources.

Consequently, the City would do well to carefully evaluate its future reliance on the preservation approach. We believe that shifting to incentive based preservation in the City makes as much sense as it does in the County. Not only would it likely generate significant public support, but it would begin to recognize the importance of more than just bricks and mortar preservation.

Should the city be unwilling to make this adjustment, it should immediately integrate archaeological resources into the existing preservation ordinance, following the lead of such cities as Alexandria or San Antonio. This can be accomplished by vote of the City Council and would at least help stem the loss of below ground heritage resources.

Regardless of the approach, the City should also develop an overview of archaeological potential in the City by combining the historic documentation revealed and explored in this study with a block by block land use survey.

This would enable the City to quickly identify and evaluate areas of high archaeological potential and organize management (through either an incentive based plan or by ordinance) options accordingly. Such an approach is feasible and highly cost-effective.

Use of Accompanying Maps and Site Information

Accompanying this narrative study are a series of 22 USGS topographic maps and a city map marked with 3164 known or suspected site locations. Although discussed in a previous section, it is appropriate to re-emphasize several points:

- While there is very strong documentary evidence that the sites shown on these maps exist, and exist in the approximate location shown on the maps, almost ***none of the sites identified by this project have been field verified.***

- The presence of an identified site indicates that there is a strong probability that

archaeological remains will be found in the area shown on the map, although the absence of a site on the maps in a project area does not mean that no significant archaeological or heritage resources exist. ***The maps can be used to provide positive evidence of likely archaeological remains, but cannot be used to document the absence of archaeological resources.***

- Related to the point above, it should be understood that when a ground disturbing activity is taking place adjacent to an encircled area there is no assurance that significant materials will not be encountered. ***These maps are intended to provide the best approximation of locations possible.***

- ***While the study has provided exceptional information for the funds allocated, it is clear that the next stage should be carefully developed, cost-effective field investigations designed to record and assess the sites identified in this study.*** This will allow even better management of Greenville's heritage resources.

- ***Since the information contained on the topographic maps could be used to damage or destroy Greenville's heritage resources, the maps should be handled as confidential.*** Specifically:

  - the maps should only be used by authorized individuals in the course of preservation planning, and

  - no photocopies of the maps should be provided to any individual, agency, or organization other than those listed in this study as participating members.

To assist in maintaining the confidentiality of these maps, they have been copyrighted by Chicora Foundation and are protected by law (Title 17 of the United States Code). Chicora Foundation will aggressively protect these data from copyright infringement.

Implementing Incentive-Based Preservation

The first step in implementing the program we have outlined is the education of County Council. The Council must understand why preservation is important, the reason that incentive-based preservation is preferred over ordinances, and the exact nature of the commitment.

County Council must understand that preservation means not only appreciation of heritage, but also tourism. There are clear, and compelling, economic reasons that preservation is good business. They must be emphasized. This means that some group — such as the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission — must take the initiative and begin the education process. This will likely include presentations to both individuals on the Council and presentations to individual members.

During this first phase it will be important for County Council to enact a broad range of preservation incentives. They must take the initiative to enact agricultural districts. They must take the initiative to establish provisions allowing cluster subdivision. They must enact the laws to waive property taxes on property participating in zoning activities. County Council must also enact strong regulations protecting human remains, whether in recognized cemeteries or elsewhere.

It is equally essential that County Council establish the framework for a revolving heritage resource fund into which developers could make payments as part of the proffer arrangement. The funds would then be used for archaeological and

architectural surveys, as well as data recovery projects discussed below. This fund should only be available for archaeological and architectural research. It should not be tapped for administrative funds, site acquisition, or site maintenance. It should be designed to provide gradually accumulating seed funds for research leading to the understanding and/or preservation of Greenville's heritage resources.

County Council must also understand that the initial phases of this program will have expenses. There will be a need for at least some additional staff. There will be a need for space and supplies. And this need will likely extend for a number of years. The preservation of Greenville's resources will have a cost — we are recommending that this cost be carried by *all* of Greenville's citizens, rather than just those who are developing their property.

Even the other preservation organizations in the Greenville area must be educated. It is important that a constituency be developed and this is the appropriate time to begin the education and enlistment of public supporters. With vocal public support, County Council will understand that preservation is a viable, and serious interest of the County's citizens.

Only when County Council is willing to offer its unconditional support will it be possible to begin the second step — that of gaining the support of the Planning Commission. The support of the Planning Commission is of course critical to the success of proffers and other voluntary incentives. It is the staff of the planning commission which will be negotiating proffers and "selling" the incentives on a daily basis. They must not only be sold themselves, but they must have the skills to accomplish the preservation efforts. No amount of County Council support, absent the support and enthusiasm of the Planning Commission and its staff, will make a difference in the preservation of Greenville's heritage.

The skills in selling preservation can be developed through attending preservation workshops and negotiating seminars, exploring the broad range of planning resources available from the American Planning Association, and incorporating the experience of other counties which have already dealt with similar preservation issues.

The Planning Commission, in cooperation with County Council, should not only establish the means of offering citizens incentives for preserving the County's heritage, but should also begin to ensure that all related county activities operate toward the same, unified, goal. This means that public works must be as committed to preservation as the planning commission. This is yet another aspect of the educational effort so critical to the success of this effort.

The third step in this process is to implement the review of heritage resources as a standard part of the planning process. While additional guidance is offered in a following section, it is clear that not all of the sites recorded by this study are equally important — at either the level of National Register significance or public significance. This, however, can only be determined by additional study.

This additional study must be the focus of Greenville County during this third phase. It can be most cost-effectively conducted by an organization such as Chicora Foundation, working with local people. Sites can be identified for more careful scrutiny — visiting the site, collecting information, and determining whether the site has the potential to meet either the criteria for National Register eligibility or for public significance. By dividing the county into three areas and examining sites within localized regions it would be possible to explore a number of sites in a relatively short period. Incorporating volunteers into the program would create a corps of avocational archaeologists essential to the later success of the program.

Additional study of selected sites can also be accomplished by developers who voluntarily agree to undertake some level of additional study, in exchange for consideration of zoning or planning issues. By using the revolving fund as a funding instrument, and combining it with the use of volunteers, it would be possible to ensure that a large number of archaeological sites receive at least some level of study prior to development.

The fourth step is the development of a cohesive, integrated heritage resources program over the next five years. Although five years is an arbitrary figure, it is a sufficient length of time to allow the goals to be achieved but is not so long that the program will bog down with the resulting loss of administrative momentum. This program will include three different aspects.

One facet is the formulation and development of a volunteer program with the built-in ability to shift from a volunteer approach to a para-professional plan over time. The use of volunteers in all aspects will be critical. The revolving fund will likely never allow archaeology to be conducted with a fully staffed professional crew — the costs are simply too high.[1] Instead it will be essential that trained and motivated volunteers can be used to conduct archaeological field studies under the supervision of a professional archaeologist. Likewise, laboratory analysis and cataloging will rely on volunteers, again under the supervision of a trained laboratory/conservation specialist. Only the final report production — an essential component of any archaeological undertaking — may not be able to immediately rely on the contribution of volunteers (although even this will change over time).

One example of an exceptionally successful volunteer program, already moving toward para-professional credentials, is that developed by Fairfax County (McCarron 1993). Such programs, however, provide more than simply "free labor." In fact, if this is all they are designed to provide it is likely that the effort will wither and eventually die.

Volunteer programs must be designed to ensure that those who are contributing the most valuable of all resources — their time — are rewarded. The work must be stimulating and interesting, and those undertaking the volunteer effort must feel rewarded. Too many volunteer programs forget these essential ingredients and eventually fail. A successful volunteer program will result in a corps of individuals who are not only able to conduct important studies, but who are also available to lobby for preservation. The constituency is an essential ingredient in the success of an incentive-based program.

To support this volunteer program Greenville County will need a professional archaeologist, and lab supervisor and conservator, on at least a consulting basis. A full-time administrative person, perhaps also responsible for educational programs (discussed below) is also necessary. Eventually it may be appropriate to re-evaluate these staffing requirements. While it is not desirable to overstaff, creating what some might criticize as an "empire," it is equally important not to understaff and doom the program to failure without providing the leadership for success. A building is essential to provide a focus for the program, as well as to provide a place for the storage and processing of collections.

A second facet of the program must be the development of intellectually stimulating public school curricula in heritage resources — combining history, archaeology, and architecture with math and science. Such an integrated curricula has the ability to challenge students, and encourage higher order thinking and problem solving. It should be clear today that students need to develop basic social studies and history skills — the ability to gather information, to make sense of that information, and then to apply the information or make sense of the implications. History is far more than rote names and dates, it is understanding why past events occurred and how these events shaped history (and may even be shaping our lives today).

Greenville County has the ability to take leadership in social studies and history education at a time when public education initiatives are faltering due to a lack of vision and clear understanding of historical methods. We have found that students are excited about the past when it is well presented. Rural and minority students can also be involved in ways never before

[1] For example, on a recent field project, Chicora Foundation (even as a public, non-profit organization) spent about 62% of the field budget on salaries, less than half of which went to supervisory personnel. Per diem and lodging costs alone accounted for nearly 30% of the field costs. Supplies and other expenditures were only about 8%. People costs, and particularly those costs associated with hiring and maintaining a field crew, account for nearly two-thirds of the field costs.

achieved when they are shown their place in history and challenged to explore their own heritage.

Developing educational programs using local projects, encouraging students to visit local heritage sites, helping teachers integrate history and archaeology in their classrooms, and providing opportunities for students to participate in projects pays exceptional returns. At-risk students can be reached, good students can be further challenged, and teachers are provided with new approaches. This also develops a constituency for preservation — teachers who are supportive of preservation efforts and students who are the leaders and tax payers of the future.

A third facet of an integrated heritage resources program is the development of heritage tourism opportunities. While there are a great many approaches which the County could take, we are especially supportive of efforts to develop a historical tour map and guide. Fairfax County, Virginia has developed such a map with excellent success. Measuring 18 by 24 inches and printed using a four color process on coated stock, the front includes a map of the county illustrating major roads and numbered historic sites. Surrounding the county are a series of photographs illustrating the sites. For archaeological sites line drawings or other features are used. On the reverse is a historical sketch of the county, coupled with brief paragraphs on the various historic sites incorporated into the map. These range from George Washington's Grist Mill to the Fairfax County Courthouse — illustrating the same range of diversity found in Greenville County.

These maps could be provided to visitors by the Chamber of Commerce, distributed at information centers on I-85 and I-26 at the nearby state lines, used by teachers in their classes, provided to the State Development Board for use in information packages to prospective industry, and even provided to local realtors for distribution to new home buyers.

A copy of the Fairfax County Map is included as Appendix 3 to this publication.[2] Its application to Greenville County should be immediately obvious. This is a project which Chicora Foundation could undertake in conjunction with the County and the Historical Commission.

The fifth step in the plan we are recommending is the gradual development of research oriented excavations, conducted as the need arises, using revolving funds and local volunteers. Developers would be encouraged to provide funds in exchange for development incentives. These funds, as they accumulate, can be used to explore sites both on, and off, development tracts.

Excavations force even greater attention on issues such as analysis and cataloging, conservation of collections, curation, and report production. Too many volunteer efforts are never completed because either the professional involved is not adequately committed to the project or there are no funds to allow essential activities to be conducted (such as conservation or specialized analysis). Archaeological studies cannot be entered into without adequate financial backing. Volunteers, regardless of the number, are not sufficient to ensure that a project can be completed.

Establishing Priorities in Resource Protection and Planning

We have previously discussed how significance can be determined using either the National Register of Historic Places criteria or the concept of public significance. Both approaches are equally valid and important. The question remains, however, how sites currently shown on the accompanying maps are ascribed some level of significance.

For *most* individual sites, this is currently not possible — not enough is known concerning the

[2] If missing, it may be requested by writing: The County of Fairfax, Heritage Resources, 2855 Annadale Road, Falls Church, Virginia 22042 or by calling 703-324-2000 and requesting the "Fairfax County, Virginia Historical Tour Map and Guide to Places of Interest."

sites to allow significance to be evaluated. The archaeological and historical overviews, however, help establish a context for the different site types that can be used in the evaluative process.

Paleoindian Period Sites

Many Paleoindian sites, primarily because of their rarity and extreme age, have been viewed as significant on a national level (and would consequently also be considered publicly significant). So little is known about these earliest inhabitants of South Carolina that almost any retrievable information concerning this period is generally regarded as highly significant and worthy of preservation or intensive study, regardless of the seeming integrity of the physical setting.

Sites with material dating from this period will be rarely encountered and of those found few can be expected to retain good integrity. Regardless, their recordation and careful evaluation is essential and should receive a very high priority. *Any Paleoindian sites identified in Greenville County should be given additional survey attention. It is likely that many will warrant data recovery.*

Archaic Period Sites

The Archaic period covers a long period of time (around 8,000 years) and is associated with a diverse range of archaeological resources (including stemmed and ovate bladed points, as well as a range of sites types and artifacts). Much of what is known concerning the Archaic period, its chronology, the associated site-types and functions, and settlement comes from stratified sites in adjoining states. Relatively few well-preserved Archaic sites have been investigated in South Carolina. The erosional and depositional cycles of the piedmont apparently are not conducive to the preservation of many sites, although it is possible that some lie preserved by the deep sediments of piedmont floodplains. Others may be fortuitously preserved by the absence of erosional practices in the uplands. Given the preservation problems, the significance of sites from this period must be based on the sites' potential to aid in understanding settlement and culture history questions.

These sites, while appearing abundant, are finite and must be carefully examined. Sites exhibiting Archaic period materials must be evaluated in terms of the potential contributions they can make, as well as in terms of their contextual integrity. *Sites which are found to be well-preserved, for example evidencing intact A horizon soils*[3]*, are especially important. Sites which exhibit stratified deposits, with the individual strata containing single components, would be especially sought after. Those with the appearance of good integrity should be further evaluated.*

Woodland Period Sites

Woodland period sites are significantly less well understood than Archaic sites in Greenville County. Although this is likely a result of bias in survey areas, there remain a number of questions about early ceramic production and the gradual transition by Native Americans to a more sedentary lifestyle. Although much is known about their adaptations to estuarine environments in the lower part of the state, adaptations to the uplands and especially to the numerous small floodplains are poorly understood. Nor is there much information concerning the transition from egalitarian hunters and planters to more complex socio-political systems found in the Late Woodland.

Like Archaic sites, the Woodland sites in the uplands have likely suffered from the extensive erosive land use characterizing logging and early twentieth century agriculture. Many of the upland sites will probably not be found intact and can answer only limited questions. *Consequently, these sites should be evaluated for their integrity. Those with a presumed moderate to high degree of integrity are particularly significant and are worthy of additional survey, and probably data recovery excavations.* Of special consequence to Woodland research are stratified or sealed sites — most likely to be found in the floodplains. These sites are also

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[3] Soil horizons are vertical layers of soil which have distinct characteristics produced by the soil-forming processes. The A horizon is also known as the mineral horizon, formed at or very near the surface of the soil. It typically contains an accumulation of humus materials mixed with various minerals.

more likely to represent small villages, exhibiting a wider range of socio-political activity than the small isolated camps typical of the uplands. *The floodplain sites, therefore, are of special interest to archaeological research and to Greenville County. All of these sites should be subjected to additional survey and many will likely require some additional testing or perhaps even data recovery.*

South Appalachian Mississippian and Proto-Cherokee Period

There are relatively few sites from this period reported for Greenville County, although accounts of early twentieth century mound excavations suggest that sites from the period were found. It seems likely that they remain preserved in Greenville, but have not attracted the professional attention they deserve. A number of research questions exist for this period, ranging from efforts to unravel the chronology and associated ceramic types to understanding the transition from prehistoric cultures to Cherokee. These sites will likely be concentrated in the bottomlands of the major drainages in Greenville County, although there is some evidence from both within and without the county that small hamlets or perhaps even temporary hunting camps may be found along the smaller tributaries.

So little is known about these sites that any are worthy of additional survey, testing, and quite likely further excavation. Given the ability of these sites to help us better understand the seasonal round of the Mississippian people and their transition into the Cherokee, these sites will likely be evaluated at the regional or perhaps even national level of significance for the National Register. Many will also be considered publicly significant, especially since they relate to still extant ethnic groups. Some of these sites may contain preserved human skeletal material. These remains are protected by the South Carolina Code of Laws, Section 16-17-600 et seq. which makes it a felony to destroy or desecrate graves. Human skeletal material may also be subject to the provisions of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (if the site is situated on federal land or if the collection will be housed by an institution receiving federal funding).

Protohistoric and Cherokee Period

Although there is a wealth of ethnohistoric data for the Cherokee (found primarily to the northwest and west of Greenville) and even the Piedmont Siouan tribes (found primarily to the northeast of Greenville), the study area currently appears to be a void. Small concentrations of late ceramics from both the Cherokee and the Siouan traditions are occasionally found in Greenville, but few well-documented sites have been identified or studied. Like the South Appalachian Mississippian sites these will most likely be found in floodplains, perhaps preserved under flood deposits of the last two hundred years. There is also evidence that some sites, found on smaller tributaries, may be little more than seasonal camps.

All of these sites are extremely important. Consequently, they all are worthy of survey and testing, with many also worthy of full data recovery. These sites should be especially considered for preservation in place if at all possible. The sites will likely be evaluated for National Register eligibility at a national level of significance. Like Mississippian sites, there is a high potential for the recovery of human skeletal material, which is minimally protected by state law.

Colonial Period Historic Sites

Eighteenth century archaeological and architectural sites are poorly represented in the current inventory of Greenville County. Because of intensive occupation, coupled with erosive land use, many early historic sites will likely be difficult to distinguish from later occupations. These sites may include trading posts, small farmsteads, plantations with attached slave settlements, and industrial sites such as grist mills. For the Greenville area, however, the most common site type is likely to be the small to middling planter — planters or farmers of the middle and lower classes whose settlements were probably less substantial than those of the more wealthy planters. These sites are particularly significant since they can help us understand how a very large segment of piedmont farmers lived during the eighteenth century.

Identifying the sites of these small to

middling planters should be a high priority in heritage resource planning. *Surveys should focus on the recovery of identifiable archaeological patterns associated with this site type. Those sites which appear well-preserved should be further tested for evaluative purposes. These sites should be especially considered for preservation in place if at all possible.* Even sites which have been plowed may contain preserved features and architectural information, so the evaluation of sites should proceed cautiously. Sites will most likely be evaluated as having regional significance, although it is possible that sites of special representativeness may be of national significance. Many of the sites will also be ascribed public significance since these sites evidence the roots of many Greenville families.

Antebellum Rural Sites

These sites, which technically may date from the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth century, include a range of farmsteads, plantations, slave settlements, grist mills, saw mills, tanneries, inns or taverns, and even gold mines. The diversity reflects the diversity present in antebellum society. Farms and plantations are certainly the most numerous of the various types, with the 1850 agricultural census revealing the presence of tenants, as well as owners, during even this early period. Farms and plantations, as a group, illustrate the broad patterns of piedmont history, such as the gradual movement from self-sufficiency to a monoculture based on cotton. African American sites are relatively rare, especially when the upper piedmont is compared to the low country. As a result, the African American contribution to the upcountry is not nearly as well documented, or understood.

Many of these site types are poorly understood and dramatically under-represented in the archaeological literature. The analysis of these sites offers the potential to explore unique data which is often overlooked in conventional historical analyses. In spite of the research potential, we realize that these sites are relatively common across the piedmont. *Examples of antebellum rural sites should be carefully evaluated and those which appear to contain intact surface remains should be further evaluated with testing. Those site types which are known to be less common, such as African American slave settlements, are highly significant and should receive particularly close planning attention.*

Urban Sites

There are relatively few antebellum urban sites in Greenville County. The best known site complex is associated with the City of Greenville and includes a broad range of commercial, dual-function, and residential sites. These sites have the potential to answer the same range of questions that has been posed for Charleston, South Carolina and other urban centers. There are, however, differences. Not only is the length of occupation different, but so too are the depositional factors which have created the archaeological record in the two cities. In Charleston sites of considerable depth are common. In Greenville, the piedmont topography combined with different formation processes, has resulted in relatively shallow sites easily damaged by subsequent development.

It is extremely important to evaluate the potential for urban archaeological remains in all portions of Greenville County, although clearly the focus will be on the City of Greenville. Any development in the city should be evaluated for its impact on archaeological sites. Urban archaeological sites should be explored at least at a testing level, with the most intact and complex sites examined in greater detail. These sites will most likely be evaluated at a local or regional level of significance, although there are likely some urban archaeological sites, especially industrial sites, which should be evaluated at a national level of significance.

Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Rural Sites

In the postbellum there was a shift from plantations and farms to the urban areas with the beginning of cotton mills. In the rural areas of the County, farming began to focus increasingly on cotton, although some areas continued the tradition of self-sufficiency. Greenville continued to be dominated by the white population and relatively little research has explored the place of blacks during the period of early freedom followed by tenancy. In the rural portions of Greenville a variety of industrial activities continued into the

twentieth century, including the operation of water powered grist mills, cotton mills, and saw mills. Country stores, begun in the antebellum, increased in number to meet the demands of an increasing tenant population.

The study of this aspect of South Carolina history, archaeology, and architecture has been neglected. Often scholars ignore these sites because of their relatively recent dates of occupation. The seemingly ubiquitous nature of these sites seems to offer further evidence that they are of no particular consequence. Recently we have seen increased destruction of these site types and this factor alone should warn us of the need to devote our attention to the recent past. *Consequently, test excavations should be conducted at all rural sites which appear to exhibit clear integrity of preservation. In addition, a special effort should be made to identify short-term, single family occupations with standing architectural remains or ruins since these sites will likely be the most appropriate for study.* These sites will largely be recognized as of local, perhaps regional significance, although many will be found publicly significance since they have close ties with existing families.

Other Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Sites

In this category we might include mill villages, industrial sites, and even military encampments. All of these site types are uncommon, being represented not by hundreds of potential sites, but by perhaps a dozen or fewer. These sites have the potential to help explain the "other side" of Greenville's history — completing and balancing the picture of rural agrarian development. They chart the course of Greenville's development in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Because these sites are so uncommon and are represented by very small numbers of sites, they should be given special attention. All such sites should be recorded and, if there is any indication of intact preservation, should be explored by testing programs. Many of these archaeological sites will be associated with standing architectural remains, it is likely that many have the potential to be affected by rehabilitation/restoration efforts. This is an insidious form of destruction since it is undertaken as a "preservation" project. Heritage resource management efforts should be particularly attentive to preservation projects and ensure that archaeological sites are not damaged by architectural rehabilitation projects.

Summary

This study offers Greenville an ambitious plan. It is also one that has never before been tried in South Carolina. But portions, or very similar programs, have been successfully implemented elsewhere. The most relevant example is most likely the program developed for Fairfax County, Virginia. It can be done.

Ignoring these recommendations and proceeding with a conventional plan will provide little, if any, protection to Greenville's archaeological resources. A conventional plan, relying on an ordinance-based approach, will further alienate many citizens and further portray preservation as an elitist undertaking. Ignoring these recommendations and doing nothing will be an implicit statement that Greenville's heritage is not worthy of preservation. It would also ignore the huge economic benefits of preservation.

Acting on these recommendations will result in at least some controversy — it is a new and radical approach to preservation. It will also require some expenditure of funds — at a time when all of us are having to do more with less. But incentive-based preservation makes sound business and political sense. If offers a developer (either an individual looking to build on a small lot or a conglomerate seeking to build on thousands of acres) a sound business reason to consider preservation options.

The program we are recommending has the potential not only to preserve Greenville's unique heritage, but to also promote that history through heritage based tourism and public education. It is a cost-effective, multi-faceted approach which offers much to the people of Greenville County.

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APPENDIX 1.
INDUSTRIAL CENSUS RECORDS FOR GREENVILLE COUNTY, 1850-1880

1850

Products of Industry -- Greenville District

J.W. Hodges
Tannery
$1000 capital invested
1000 skins -- $1700 value

J.W. Hodges
Grist Mill
$2000 capital invested
2000 bu meal, 100 barrel flour -- $1700 value

Thomas Rowe
Tannery
$700 capital invested
700 skins -- $1000 value

T.M. Terpin
Grist Mill
$300 capital invested
5000 bu meal, 30 barrel flour -- $2610 value

James McKinney
Distillery
$100 capital invested
1500 gallons whisky -- $900 value

Stephen Powell
Saw Mill
$250 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $500 value

Martin Hunt
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
2500 bu meal -- $1250 value

W. Tramwill
Grist Mill
$125 capital invested
1000 bu meal -- $500 value

J. Heart
Grist Mill
$100 capital invested
800 bu meal -- $500 value

W. Walker
Grist Mill
$300 capital invested
3000 bu meal -- $1500 value

L.H. Dickey
Grist Mill
$200 capital invested
5000 bu meal -- $2500 value

H.J. Gilreath
Grist Mill
$300 capital invested
3000 bu meal, 400 barrel flour -- $5300

H.J. Gilreath
Saw Mill
$200 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000 value

John Russell
Distillery
$150 capital invested
2700 gallons whisky -- $950 value

Hannah Earle
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
4000 bu meal, 400 barrel flour, $4800 value

William Berry
Tannery
$250 capital invested
600 skins -- $1200 value

L. Gregory
Tannery
$300 capital invested

800 skins -- $1200 value

John Weaver
Cotton Factory
$3000 capital invested
5000 bundles yarn -- $4500 value

Simon Lister
Grist Mill
$100 capital invested
1500 bu meal -- $750 value

E.H. Earle
Grist Mill
$150 capital invested
1000 bu meal -- $500 value

John Heller
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
2000 bu meal, 60 barrel flour -- $1420 value

E. Suber
Grist Mill
$100 capital invested
3000 bu meal -- $1500 value

J. Edwards
Saw Mill
$500 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $1200 value

Thomas Taylor
Saw Mill
$500 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $1200 value

R. Loveland
Saw Mill
$300 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $1200 value

W. E. Wickliff
Saw Mill
$500 capital invested
50,000 feet lumber -- $500 value

M. Berry
Cotton Factory
$16,000 capital invested
1500 bundles yarn -- $14,000 value

M. Berry
Grist Mill
$6000 capital invested
2500 bu meal, 200 barrel flour -- $2600 value

Thomas Padin
Gun Smith
$500 capital invested
120 rifles -- $1200 value

Lester & Kilgore
Cotton Factory
$20,000 capital invested
18,000 pounds woven cotton -- $1200 value

Greenville Manufacturing Co.
Paper Mill
$20,000 capital invested
120,000 pounds paper -- $12,000 value

David Boge
Gun Smith
$2000 capital invested
150 rifles -- $1600 value

W.L. Austin
Tannery
$2000 capital invested
222 skins -- $630 value

S.R. Westmoreland
Grist Mill
$1000 capital invested
1800 bu meal, 200 barrels flour -- $6000 value

Vardry McBee
Cotton Factory
$20,000 capital invested
75,000 pounds spun cotton -- $14,000 value

Vardry McBee
Paper Mill
$10,000 capital invested
120,000 pounds paper -- $11,200 value

Vardry McBee
Grist Mill
$5000 capital invested
3000 bu meal, 650 barrels flour -- $5400 value

Vardry McBee
Saw Mill
$5000 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $1400 value

William Bates & Co.
Cotton Factory
$20,000 capital invested
94,500 pounds spun cotton -- $19,000 value

T.M. Cox
Grist Mill
$3000 capital invested
2000 bu meal, 500 barrels flour -- $4500 value

T.M. Cox
Wheel Factory
$5000 capital invested
not specified -- $3000 value

Products of Industry -- Town of Greenville

Thomas Murref
Shoe Maker
$500 capital invested
300 pair shoes -- $1200 value

James McPhearson
Baker
$600 capital
12,000 loaves and other articles -- $900 value

George Heldman
Saddler
$1000 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $1200 value

Dyer Mooney
Tailor
$700 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $1200 value

D.G. Westfield
Tinsmith
$500 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $2000 value

D.G. Westfield
Blacksmith
$500 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $2500 value

B. Dunhane
Tinsmith
$1200 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $4000 value

B. Dunhane
Coppersmith
$1200 capital invested
30 stills -- $2000 value

Vardry McBee
Saddlery
$1000 invested
400 items -- $1500

Peter Cauble
Blacksmith
$5000 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $3000 value

Luandal & Rush
Tailors
$1200 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $3000 value

J. Gilreath
Saddler
$1500 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $3000 value

Vardry McBee
Grist Mill
$12,000 capital invested
8000 bu meal, 400 barrel flour -- $3200 value

Montgomery & Crook
Blacksmith
$500 capital invested
unknown quantity -- $2000 value

Vardry McBee
Tannery
$3000 capital invested
1600 skins -- $4000 value

1860

George Hudgeons
Cabinetmaker
$300 capital invested
4 ?, 20 bedsteads -- $500 value

Louis H. Dickey
Grist Mill
$6000 capital invested
600 barrels flour, 3500 bu meal -- $7000 value

Louis H. Dickey
Saw Mill
$2000 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000 value

Oliver Barritt
Grist Mill
$2500 capital invested
963 barrels flour, 3521 bu meal -- $9142 value

Barritt & Suggs
Blacksmith
$300 capital invested
buggies and wagons -- $600 value

William D. Dickey
Grist Mill
$2200 capital invested
1000 barrels flour, 2900 bu meal -- $10,400 value

John Rochester
Blacksmith
$200 capital invested
wagons and farm work -- $600 value

James Few
Tannery
$275 capital invested
200 sides leather -- $600 value

J.M. Carmon
Blacksmith
$150 capital invested
Axes and farm work -- $700 value

William Berry
Tannery
$500 capital invested
300 sides leather -- $600 value

P. Mastella
Grist Mill
$5000 capital invested
320 barrels flour, 1800 bu meal -- $4120

P. Mastella
Saw Mill
$600 capital invested
180,000 feet lumber -- $1800 value

C.P. Berry
Machine Shop
$400 capital invested
4 trashing machines -- $800 value

W.W. Bruce
Blacksmith
$200 capital invested
Axes -- $500 value

J. Cartwell
Distillery
$600 capital invested
800 gallons whisky -- $800 value

D. & J. Chandler
Distillery
$550 capital invested
600 gallons whisky -- $600 value

John Heller
Grist Mill
$2000 capital invested
60 barrels flour, 1950 bu mean -- $2270 value

Gilreath & Beatien
Saw Mill
$1000 capital invested
125,000 feet lumber -- $1250 value

D.B. & W. Gibson
Saw Mill
$500 capital invested
790,000 feet lumber -- $700 value

Austin Balno
Grist Mill
$1000 capital invested
16 barrels flour, 4000 bu meal -- $4100 value

Austin Balno
Distillery
$600 capital invested
1200 gallons whisky -- $1200 value

Jackson Ward
Distillery
$1300 capital invested
2750 gallons whisky -- $2750 value

Thomas J. Earle
Grist Mill
$2000 capital invested
826 barrels flour, 4676 bu meal -- $10,458 value

Mooney & Alenders
Grist Mill
$1200 capital invested
4732 bu meal -- $4732 value

Tan & Hutchinson
Tannery
$2180 capital invested
1600 sides leather -- $3200 value

Reubin Bowdin
Saw Mill
$1650 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000 value

James Mop
Distillery
$100 capital invested
1000 gallons whisky -- $730 value

Simon Lister
Grist Mill
$400 capital invested
1400 bu meal -- $1400 value

J.D. McMakin
Distillery
$300 capital invested
3200 gallons whisky -- $2400 value

J.R. Bowden
Carriage Making
$4000 capital invested
45 buggies, 25 wagons -- $6900 value

J.H. Hart
Grist Mill
$400 capital invested
8000 bu meal -- $800 value

W.K. Hightower
Grist Mill
$300 capital invested
8 barrels flour, 1400 bu meal -- $1460 value

B.F. Posey
Saw Mill
$500 capital invested
80,000 feet lumber -- $800 value

Hodges & Davis
Saw Mill
$600 capital invested
120,000 feet lumber -- $1200 value

A. Cantrill
Distillery
$180 capital invested
600 gallons whisky -- $600 value

J. Hightower
Tannery
$700 capital invested
700 skins -- $1400 value

John Weaver
Grist Mill
$1000 capital invested
4700 bu meal -- $4700 value

John Weaver
Saw Mill
$600 capital invested
150,000 feet lumber -- $1350 value

John Weaver
Cotton Work
$6150 capital invested
28,600 bundles yarn -- $5720 value

James Darby
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
700 bu meal -- $700 value

James Darby
Saw Mill
$500 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000 value

Thomas Taylor
Saw Mill
$1000 capital invested
75,000 feet lumber -- $750 value

Peter Rains
Chair & Wagon Maker
$1300 capital invested
900 chairs, repairing wagons -- $500 value

Joseph Edwards
Grist Mill
$3500 capital invested
800 barrels flour, 2800 bu meal -- $8400 value

Joseph Edwards
Saw Mill
$800 capital invested
80,000 feet lumber -- $800 value

Joseph Edwards
Wool Carding
$2000 capital invested
1200 rolls -- $600 value

Curtis Bradley
Saw Mill
$1000 capital invested
120,000 feet lumber -- $1200 value

David Gunter
Grist Mill
$1000 capital invested
2300 bu meal -- $2300 value

McBee & Clary
Saw Mill
$2000 capital invested
125,000 feet lumber -- $1250 value

H.A. Cauble
Grist Mill
$2000 capital invested
1200 bu meal -- $1200 value

H.A. Cauble
Saw Mill
$2000 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000 value

Wilson Crowder
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
5800 bu meal -- $5800 value

J.A. Sulur
Distillery
$200 capital invested
815 gallons whisky -- $800 value

R.W. Goddard
Carriage Shop
$300 capital invested
300 carriages and buggies -- $600 value

John Howell
Grist Mill
$700 capital invested
1400 bu meal -- $1400 value

Joseph Edwards
Saw Mill
$800 capital invested
60,000 feet lumber -- $600 value

Joseph Edward
Distillery
$200 capital invested
400 gallons whisky -- $400 value

E.W. Hudson
Saw Mill
$1500 capital invested
50,000 feet lumber -- $500

G.W. Kings
Saw Mill
$1500 capital invested
200,000 feet lumber -- $2000 value

R.G. Morrow
Blacksmith
$250 capital invested
Axes, plows and buggies -- $500 value

Thomas M. Cox
Grist Mill
$2000 capital invested
400 barrels flour, 2400 bu meal -- $5200 value

Thomas M. Cox
Saw Mill
$500 capital invested
50,000 feet lumber -- $500 value

Lister & Sons
Cotton Works
$14,000 capital invested
81,000 bundles yarn -- $16,020 value

Lister & Sons
Grist Mill
$4000 capital invested
1200 barrels flour, 2900 bu meal -- $11,300 value

Lister & Sons
Saw Mill
$1000 capital invested
60,000 feet lumber -- $600

Lister & Sons
Blacksmith
$300 capital invested
farm work and repairing machinery -- $1200 value

Lister & Sons
Paper Mill
$8000 capital invested
75,000 pounds paper -- $7500 value

Lister & Sons
Wool Carding
$500 capital invested
1800 pounds -- $500 value

D. Green & Sons
Tannery
$1000 capital invested
800 sides leather -- $1600 value

Alfred Turner
Distillery
$150 capital invested
500 gallons whisky and brandy -- $500 value

Thomas Shockley
Distillery
$150 capital invested
300 gallons whisky -- $325 value

McMakin & Bartin
Grist Mill
$1400 capital invested
610 barrels flour, 7000 bu meal -- $11,270 value

William Bates & Co.
Cotton Works
$50,000 capital invested
105,000 yards yarn, 450,000 yards osnaburg and shirting -- $59,000 value

William Bates & Co.
Saw Mill
$2000 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000 value

G.W. & C. Parkins
Grist Mill
$6000 capital invested
1400 barrels flour, 1750 bu meal -- $10,850 value

G.W. & C. Parkins
Saw Mill
$300 capital invested
75,000 feet lumber -- $750 value

E.C. Cunningham
Distillery
$200 capital invested
2500 gallons whisky -- $2000 value

William West
Grist Mill
$800 capital invested
3500 bu meal -- $3500 value

William West
Distillery
$200 capital invested
1000 gallons whisky -- $1000 value

John Gosmony
Distillery
$264 capital invested
1869 gallons whisky -- $1557 value

William Corley
Cabinet Shop
$500 capital invested
100 bedsteads, 50 tables -- $750 value

John Gosnell
Distillery
$100 capital invested
725 gallons whisky -- $507 value

Champriss Osborn
Saw Mill
$250 capital invested
5000 feet lumber -- $50 value

E.H. Coleman
Saw Mill
$500 capital invested
55,000 feet lumber -- $550 value

E.H. Coleman
Grist Mill
$125 capital invested
980 bu meal -- $980 value

J.M.A. Turpin
Grist Mill
$3000 capital invested
400 barrels flour, 2366 bu meal -- $5166 value

J.M.A. Turpin
Saw Mill
$2000 capital invested
120,000 feet lumber -- $1200 value

Wilson Hamill
Distillery
$100 capital invested
250 gallons whisky -- $200 value

T. Edwin Ware
Grist Mill
$400 capital invested
1050 bu meal -- $1050 value

T. Edwin Ware
Distillery
$100 capital invested
450 gallons brandy -- $450 value

Haskill & David
Tannery
$10,000 capital invested
6000 sides leather -- $16,000 value

Vardry McBee
Grist Mill
$4000 capital invested
1200 barrels flour, 3700 bu meal -- $11,200 value

Vardry McBee
Saw Mill
$1500 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000 value

Vardry McBee
Cotton Works
$25,000 capital invested
120,000 bundles yarn -- $24,000 value

Vardry McBee
Wool Carding
$1000 capital invested
4375 lbs -- $2187 value

Vardry McBee
Grist Mill
$15,000 capital invested
32,000 barrels flour -- $19,200 value

Vardry McBee
Grist Mill
$15,000 capital invested
7000 bu meal -- $7000 value

Vardry McBee
Saw Mill
$4000 capital invested
120,000 feel lumber -- $1200 value

Vardry McBee
Saw Mill
$1500 capital invested
66,000 feet lumber -- $660 value

John Adams
Saw Mill
$2000 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000

S.T. Burgess
Tinsmith
$600 capital invested
51,625 pieces tin -- $8000 value

George Helmon
Harness
$3000 capital invested
200 sets harnesses -- $4000 value

William Goldsmith
Grist Mill
$100 capital invested
800 bu meal -- $800 value

J.M. Allen
Marble Worker
$2000 capital invested
125 tombs -- $3500 value

C.J. Hammond
Saw Mill
$1500 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000

Samuel Murphy
Cabinet Maker
$450 capital invested
200 items -- $2000 value

Crook & Montgomery
Blacksmith
$3000 capital invested
job work -- $700 value

Crook & Montgomery
Carpentry
$400 capital invested
job work -- $700 value

Christian Hahn
Cabinet Maker
$500 capital invested
furniture -- $700 value

E.K. Robinson
Coppersmith
$500 capital invested
50 stills -- $2000 value

Gower Cox Markley Co.
Carriage and Wagon Factory
$120,000 capital invested
125 carriages and buggies -- $60,000 value

Thomas E. Harrison
Boots and Shoes
$300 capital invested
100 pr shoes, 100 pr boots -- $1250 value

Gower Cox Markley Co.
Harness Making
$2000 capital invested
190 sets harnesses -- $3800 value

J.S. Pearson & Co.
Tinsmith
$1500 capital invested
56,940 pieces tin -- $5200 value

T.A. Arthur
Tannery
$500 capital invested
5200 pairs. shoes, 260 sets harnesses, leather -- $14,380 value

McBee & Ham
Tannery
$1500 capital invested
24,000 pounds leather -- $8400 value

J.B. Sherman
Tin and Coppersmith
$3000 capital invested
56,940 pieces -- $10,786 value

J.B. Sherman
Cabinet Maker
$600 capital invested
120 pieces furniture -- $3000 value

Peter Cauble
Blacksmith
$800 capital invested
3000 pounds mill irons, 3000 horse shoes, 500 edge tools -- $3600 value

Alimreleck Gibreath
Saddle and Harness Manufactory
$2000 capital invested
140 sets harnesses, 50 saddles -- $1600 value

L.B. Cline
Planing Mill
$5000 capital invested
sash blinds and for building -- $8000 value

D.G. Westfield
Tinsmith
$2500 capital invested
15,000 pieces tin, 15,000 pieces iron -- $5000 value

D.G. Westfield
Blacksmith
$2300 capital invested
12,000 horse shoes, plows -- $3000 value

Gower Cox Markley & Co.
Silver Plating
$490 capital invested
2125 pieces plated -- $3000 value

Brooks, Sruggs & Gibson
Shoe Factory
$3000 capital invested
3000 pairs shoes and boots -- $12,000 value

Towns, Poole & Towns
Wagon Shop
$250 capital invested
15 wood wagons and repairing --$800 value

Brook & Hawkins
Blacksmith
$1200 capital invested
wagons and farm work -- $1400 value

F.F. Burty
Shoe and Boot Manufactory
$1225 capital invested
150 pairs shoes, 150 pairs boots -- $1650 value

Harrison & Long
Shoe and Boot Manufactory
$1500 capital invested
200 pairs boots, 250 pairs shoes -- $2275 value

L.H. Turpafield
Cotton Factory
$1200 capital invested
11,400 bundles yarn, 5000 yards cloth -- $3430 value

D. Boyd
Gun Shop
$1500 capital invested
making and repairing guns -- $4220 value

J. Hightower
Tannery
$500 capital invested
600 sides leather -- $1500 value

William C. Goodwin
Distillery
$300 capital invested
1500 gallons whisky -- $1875 value

James H. Chamlaid
Grist Mill
$2000 capital invested
1750 bu meal -- $1750 value

J.H. Chamlaid
Saw Mill
$500 capital invested
50,000 feet lumber -- $500 value

Aaron Roper
Distillery
$300 capital invested
1200 gallons whisky -- $1200 value

Timothy Keiler
Saw Mill
$1000 capital invested
120,000 feet lumber --$120 value

Timothy Keiler
Grist Mill
$1000 capital invested
2500 bu meal -- $2500 value

Thomas W. Roe
Tannery
$500 capital invested
400 sides leather -- $800 value

Martin Hunt, Sr.
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
1750 bu meal -- $1750 value

Samuel G. McLanahan
Grist Mill
$600 capital invested
100 barrels flour, 3500 bu meal -- $4100 value

W.A. Towns
Saw Mill
$2500 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000 value

Margaret Paris
Distillery
$200 capital invested
250 gallons whisky -- $250 value

Sarah McGoverns
Grist Mill
$300 capital invested
500 bu meal -- $500

Aaron Thompson
Saw Mill
$900 capital invested
50,000 feet lumber -- $500 value

Lawnin Linhort
Grist Mill
$150 capital invested
500 bu meal -- $500 value

John Westfalt
Saw Mill
$2500 capital invested
60,000 feet lumber -- $600 value

Silas H. Turner
Grist Mill
$1000 capital invested
966 bu meal -- $966 value

Silas H. Turner
Saw Mill
$100 capital invested
10,000 lumber -- $100 value

Mary Richardson
Grist Mill
$100 capital invested
350 bu meal -- $350 value

Mary Richardson
Saw Mill
$100 capital invested
10,000 feet lumber -- $100 value

C.G. Garrison
Grist Mill
$250 capital invested
580 bu meal -- $580 value

John Lewis
Distillery
$300 capital invested
500 gallons whisky -- $500 value

J.D. Sullivan
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
1750 bu meal -- $1750 value

Hiram Cooley
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
3500 bu meal -- $3500 value

Hiram Cooley
Saw Mill
$400 capital invested
80,000 feet lumber -- $800 value

Robert Holiday
Saw Mill
$500 capital invested
30,000 feet lumber -- $200 value

Miles Chandler
Distillery
$100 capital invested
367 gallons whisky, 300 gallons brandy -- $667 value

James Harrison
Grist Mill
$2000 capital invested
1000 barrels flour, 5866 bu meal -- $13,866 value

M. Trowbridge
Cabinet Maker
$500 capital invested
200 bureaus -- $3000 value

M. Trowbridge
Turning Lathe
$10 capital invested
100 bedsteads -- $500 value

John Stancell
Tannery
$350 capital invested
400 sides leather -- $1000 value

William Johnson
Distillery
$200 capital invested
500 gallons whisky -- $500 value

James Linderman
Grist Mill
$800 capital invested
80 barrels flour, 1400 bu meal -- $4880 value

James Linderman
Saw Mill
$800 capital invested
240,000 feet lumber -- $2400 value

James Linderman
Turning Lathe
$100 capital invested
16 bedsteads, 160 hubs -- $90 value

James Harrison
Saw Mill
$500 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000 value

J.D. Sullivan
Saw Mill
$600 capital invested
50,000 feet lumber -- $500 value

J.T. West
Saw Mill
$800 capital invested
60,000 feet lumber -- $600 value

P.D. Cureton
Tannery
$1000 capital invested
1200 sides leather -- $2500 value

John Statton
Grist Mill
$300 capital invested
580 bu meal -- $580 value

J.R. Smyer
Grist Mill
$800 capital invested
10,500 by meal -- $10,500 value

J.R. Smyer
Saw Mill
$1800 capital invested
200,000 feet lumber -- $2000 value

J.S. Ashmore
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
1160 bu meal -- $1160 value

J.S. Ashmore
Saw Mill
$500 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000 value

William H. Ashmore
Grist Mill
$600 capital invested
1400 bu meal -- $1400 value

William H. Ashmore
Saw Mill
$600 capital invested
160,000 feet lumber -- $1600 value

Robert Greenfield
Paper Mill
$3000 capital invested
150,000 pounds paper -- $8000 value

Stephen Griffith
Grist Mill
$300 capital invested
500 bu meal -- $500 value

Stephen Griffith
Distillery
$200 capital invested
600 gallons whisky -- $600 value

J.R. Stone
Grist Mill
$1000 capital invested
2333 bu meal -- $2333 value

J.R. Stone
Saw Mill
$1500 capital invested
100,000 feet lumber -- $1000 value

J.R. Stone
Wool Carding
$1500 capital invested
5400 pounds -- $2700 value

T.S. McCugh
Turning Lathe
$25 capital invested
75 bedsteads -- $300 value

S.R. Westmoreland
Grist Mill
$2100 capital invested
2400 barrels flour, 3500 bu meal -- $21,500 value

S.R. Westmoreland
Saw Mill
$1000 capital invested
60,000 feet lumber -- $6000 value

S.R. Westmoreland
Wool Carding
$1500 capital invested
7200 pounds -- $3600 value

America Fowler
Grist Mill
$1000 capital invested
100 barrels flour -- $700 value

America Fowler
Saw Mill
$150 capital invested
12,000 feet lumber -- $1200 value

John Clark
Grist Mill
$200 capital invested
1800 bu meal -- $1800 value

John Clark
Saw Mill
$200 capital invested
20,000 feet lumber -- $200 value

W.A.B. Davenport
Grist Mill
$250 capital invested
3000 bu meal -- $3000 value

W.A. Davenport
Saw Mill
$100 capital invested
50,000 feet lumber -- $500 value

J.R. Smith
Blacksmith
$250 capital invested
Farm work -- $400 value

H. Donaldson
Grist Mill
$300 capital invested
6000 bu meal -- $600 value

V. Austin
Blacksmith
$75 capital invested
300 plows -- $300 value

J. Eastus
Carriage Shop
$100 capital invested
20 buggies -- $500 value

James McCullough
Grist Mill
$200 capital invested
680 bu meal -- $600 value

J.M. Shockley
Cabinet Shop
$60 capital invested
Furniture -- $275 value

J.C. Sullivan
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
900 bu meal -- $900 value

A.A. Hams
Blacksmith
$100 capital invested
10 wagons -- $700 value

Simon Style
Saw Mill
$750 capital invested
90,000 feet lumber -- $900 value

J.P. Allen
Distillery
$100 capital invested
250 gallons whisky -- $250 value

Richie Talley
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
8140 bu meal -- $8140 value

Ester Talley
Saw Mill
$400 capital invested
50,000 feet lumber -- $500 value

Isaac Kelly
Distillery
$100 capital invested
500 gallons whisky -- $500 value

Elijah Barnett
Distillery
$100 capital invested
300 gallons whisky -- $300 value

John Chiles
Distillery
$60 capital invested
450 gallons whisky -- $450 value

James Barnett
Distillery
$100 capital invested
1500 gallons whisky -- $1200 value

Makolah Huly
Distillery
$50 capital invested
200 gallons brandy -- $200 value

1870

Austin Township

James Stokes
Shoe Shop
$160 capital invested
boots and shoes -- $400 value

T.C. Austin
Grist Mill
$300 capital invested
1100 bu meal -- $1100 value

S.B. Westmoreland
Grist Mill
$8000 capital invested
600 barrels flour, 3300 bu meal, 14 ? -- $7900 value

W.B. Jones
Wagon Maker
$500 capital invested
25 buggies, 25 wagons -- $4000 value

T.S. McHugh
Wood Shop
$500 capital invested
2 wagons, 8 bedstead, 70 beds -- $1400 value

S. Yeargin
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
1000 bu meal -- $1000 value

J. Bannister & Son
Paper Mill
$9000 capital invested
35 tons printing paper, 10 tons colored paper, 20 tons wrapping paper -- $13,000 value

J. Bannister & Son
Saw Mill
$1000 capital invested
37,000 feet pine, 7000 feet oak, 3000 hickory, 3000 poplar -- $500 value

Bates Township

Lester & Bros.
Cotton Manufacturing
$40,000 capital invested
221,841 yarn -- $70,989 value

Lester & Bros.
Grist Mill
$10,300 capital invested
meal and flour -- $28,320 value

Lester & Bros.
Saw Mill
$700 capital invested
160,000 feet lumber -- $2000 value

Lester & Bros.
Cotton Gin
$3500 capital invested
30,000 pounds cotton, 60,000 pounds seed -- $7065 value

Lester & Bros.
Blacksmith
$500 capital invested
$1500 value

Batesville Manufacturing Co.
Cotton Cloth
$45,000 capital invested
105,000 yards sheeting, 210,000 yards shirting, 46,000 pounds cotton yarn -- $49,200 value

Chick Springs Township

James Britton -- Buckhorn Tanner
Tannery
$2500 capital invested
1200 sides leather, 290 sides sole -- $5567 value

W.B. Crowder
Grist Mill
$1000 capital invested
1050 bu meal -- $1440 value

Alfred Taylor
Sorghum Mill
$300 capital invested
1400 gallons molasses -- $700 value

Fairview Township

William Thomason
Blacksmith
$100 capital invested
farm work -- $500 value

Thomas Goldsmith
Cotton Gin & Thrasher
$150 capital invested
3000 pounds cotton, 6000 pounds cotton seed, 400 bu wheat -- $5650 value

Harrison & Turbyfill
Cotton Manufacturing
$2000 capital invested
20,000 cotton yarn, 300 pounds waste -- $6003 value

T.M. & W.C. Terry
Coach Factory
$500 capital invested
8 new vehicles, 10 old vehicles, plantation work -- $1900 value

Jesse K. Stone
Grist Mill
$1000 capital invested
$6000 value

Phil Huff
Grist Mill
$300 capital invested
$3500 value

Phil Huff
Saw Mill
$300 capital invested
35,000 feet lumber -- $1000 value

J.A. Nash
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
$2250 value

William McNeely
Grist Mill
$500 capital invested
$3000 value

Jones & McHugh
Saw Mill
$700 capital invested
40,000 feet lumber -- $1200 value

Dunklin Township

Zedekiah Estes
Coach Factory
$500 capital invested
6 new vehicles, 10 old vehicles, plantation work -- $1850 value

Gantt Township

G.W. & C.A. Perkins
Grist Mill
$2500 capital invested
flour and meal -- $12,750 value

Ashmore Grady & Co.
Cloth and Yarn
$40,000 capital invested
108,000 cotton yarn and 3120 yards shirting -- $38,225 value

Ashmore Grady & Co.
Grist Mill
$8000 capital invested
144,000 bu meal, 160,000 bu flour -- $13,750 value

Ashmore Grady & Co.
Saw Mill
$700 capital invested
160,000 feet lumber -- $2000 value

Ashmore Grady & Co.
Wool Carding
$1000 capital
5000 rolls -- $3000 value

Gowenville Township

J.C. Hicks
Boots and Shoes
$500 capital invested
100 boots and 300 shoes -- $3200 value

B. Babcock
Gas
$6000 capital invested
180,000 cubic feet gas -- $2000 value

William Cammer
Blacksmith and Gunsmith
$200 capital invested
buggies, wagons, guns -- $1200 value

George Heldman
Harness and Saddles
$1500 capital invested
$1500 value

J.L. Hawkins
Blacksmith
$125 capital invested
$1800 value

Cline & Gibbs
Builders
$400 capital invested
$4500 value

Greenville, Ward 1

N.H. Burgess

Tinsmith
$250 capital invested
teaware -- $2500 value

W.H. Harrison
Boots and Shoes
$400 capital invested
100 pairs boots, 400 pairs shoes, repairing -- $4000 value

Peter Cauble
Blacksmith
$250 capital invested
plows, horseshoes, mending -- $1650 value

J.P. McPherson
Bakery
$3500 capital invested
13,500 loaves bread -- $945 value

Greenville, Ward 2

M.A. Carson
Tannery
$6500 capital invested
200 sides harness leather, 300 sides upper leather, 100 sides sole leather, 42 calf skins, 45 kid skins, 25 goat skins, 200 sheep skins, 12 deer skins, 12 sheep skins with wool, 25 skins leather -- $3420 value

M.A. Carson
Tannery
$3500 capital invested
600 leather, 324 skins -- $4166 value

M.A. Carson
Currying
$3000 capital invested
leather and skins -- $5390 value

Greenville, Ward 3

Pickle & Poor
Tailors
$3852 capital invested
100 coats, 120 bottoms, 110 vests, cutting, repairing -- $5000 value

A.Ross, Jr.
Tinsmith
$200 capital invested
tinware, stovepipe -- $1000 value

Oaklawn Township

James Harrison

Grist Mill
$3000 capital invested
496 barrels flour, 574 barrels meal -- $9265 value

Jasper Wilson
Blacksmith and Wheelwright
$150 capital invested
farm work -- $750 value

Quarries -- Greenville Township

Cole & Olson
$50 capital invested in the business
began operation in 1871
quarry granite, primarily for Greenville market
quarried 20 cubic yards rock with value of $650

Grist Mills -- Saluda Township

J. H. Goodwin
$2000 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 100 bu per day
North Branch of Saluda River
Overshot
1000 bu wheat -- $1000 value
8360 bu other grain -- $5852 value
200 barrels wheat, 20 barrels rye, 401,280 pounds corn meal, 5000 pounds feed, 9984 pounds hominy

J.F. Hightower
$1000 capital invested
3 hands employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 50 bu per day
Saluda River
Turbine
3000 bu other grains -- $2000 value
162,000 pounds corn meal, 6000 feed

Gasmill
$1500 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 75 bu per day
Pond
Overshot
500 bu wheat -- $500 value
1000 bu other grain -- $500 value
100 barrels wheat, 56,000 pounds corn meal, 7000 pounds feed

J. Kelley
$1000 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 50 bu per day
Saluda River
Overshot
500 bu wheat -- $500 value
1000 bu other grain -- $500 value
100 barrels wheat, 56,000 pounds corn meal, 7000 pounds feed

Grist Mills -- Bates Township

Edward W. Buler
$500 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 4 months
max capacity is 75 bu per day
North Saluda
Turbine
1500 bu other grain -- $750 value
69,000 pounds corn meal, 12,600 pounds feed, 2400 pounds hominy

Absolom Johnson
$900 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 4 months
max capacity is 40 bu per day
Enoree River
Overshot
2500 bu other grain -- $1250 value
98,000 pounds corn meal, 27,500 pounds feed, 24,500 pounds hominy

Isod E. Kelly
$2200 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 9 months
max capacity is 75 bu per day
Enoree River
Overshot
3499 bu wheat -- $3499 value
4217 bu other grain -- $2108 value
690 barrels wheat, 202,416 pounds corn meal, 68300 pounds feed, 24,000 pounds hominy

J.H. Cleveland
$400 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 9 months
max capacity is 40 bu per day
North Saluda River
Overshot
2500 bu other grain -- $1250 value
98,000 pounds corn meal, 17,500 pounds feed, 24,500 pounds hominy

Grist Mills -- Glassy Mountain Township

Green & Hawkins
$500 capital invested
1 hand employed

operates 10 months
max capacity is 25 bu per day
fork of Tyger
Overshot
1500 bu wheat -- $1500 value
3000 bu other grains -- $2100 value
300 barrels wheat, 168,000 pounds corn meal

John Campbell
$2000 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 10 months
max capacity is 25 bu per day
Middle Tyger River
Overshot
2634 bu wheat -- $2634 value
3231 bu other grains -- $2260 value
526 barrels wheat, 180,900 pounds corn meal

T.J. Earle
$2000 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 100 bu per day
branch
Turbine
3000 bu wheat -- $2960 value
3000 bu other grains -- $2740 value
600 barrels wheat, 144,000 pounds corn meal, 2000 pounds feed, 4000 pounds hominy

Grist Mills -- City of Greenville

William C. Cleveland
$2500 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 10 months
max capacity is 60 bu per day
Branch of Reedy River
Overshot
8000 bu other grains -- $4800 value
424,000 pounds corn meal

Samuel M. Green
$5000 capital invested
4 hands employed
operates 10 months
max capacity is 150 bu per day
Richland Creek Reedy River
Overshot
2500 bu wheat -- $2500 value
3000 bu other grains -- $1800 value
400 barrels wheat, 160,000 pounds corn meal

Grist Mills -- Greenville Township

Upton W. Winn
$2000 capital invested
5 hands employed
operates 11 months
max capacity is 35 bu per day
Richland Creek into Reedy River
Overshot
4000 bu other grains -- $2800 value
171,312 pounds corn meal, 12,000 pounds feed, 6000 pounds hominy

Goldsmith & West
$2000 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 11 months
max capacity is 40 bu per day
Reedy River
Overshot
3740 bu other grains -- $2800 value
200,000 pounds corn meal, 9400 pounds hominy

William Goldsmith
$500 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 8 months
max capacity is 140 bu per day
Reedy River
Overshot
2000 bu other grains -- $1500 value
112,000 pounds corn meal

Alexander McBee
$1000 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 11 months
max capacity is 100 bu per day
Bushy Creek into Reedy River
Turbine
3000 bu other grains -- $2000 value
168,000 pounds corn meal

Grist Mills -- Gantt Township

C.A. & G.W. Parkins
$4000 capital invested
3 hands employed
operates 1 month
max capacity is 150 bu per day
Reedy River
Breast
5000 bu wheat -- $5000 value
3000 bu other grains -- $2250 value
1000 barrels wheat flour, 168,000 pounds corn meal, 70,000 pounds feed

Grist Mills -- Oaklawn Township

Harrison & Mauldin
$4500 capital invested
3 hands employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 140 bu per day
Reedy River
Turbine
3000 bu wheat -- $3000 value
4000 bu other grains -- $4000 value
600 barrels wheat flour, 224,000 pounds corn meal, 4200 pounds feed

M.V. Barelay
$2015 capital invested
number hands employed not specified
operates 10 months
max capacity is 100 bu per day
Grove Creek
Turbine
1000 bu wheat -- $1230 value
2000 bu other grains -- $1750 value
200 barrels wheat flour, 112,000 pounds corn meal, 14,000 pounds feed

Rice & Wham
$1200 capital invested
number hand employed not specified
operates 12 months
max capacity is 30 bu per day
Reedy Fork
Overshot
1200 bu other grains -- $1200 value
67,200 pounds corn meal

Sullivan Manufacturing Company
$3000 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 85 bu per day
Reedy River
Overshot
1500 bu other grains -- $1200 value
84,000 pounds corn meal

W.T. Eskew
$1000 capital invested
number hands employed not specified
operates 10 months
max capacity is 75 bu per day
Little Grove Creek
Overshot
1350 bu other grains -- $1080 value
75,600 pounds corn meal

Grist Mills -- Dunklin Township

James Scott
$1500 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 50 bu per day
Mountain Creek waters of the Saluda River
Turbine
1300 bu wheat -- $1950 value
2750 bu other grains -- $2485 value
260 barrels wheat flour, 154,000 pounds corn meal, 18,200 pounds feed

Grist Mills -- Grove Township

William West, Jr.
$2500 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 11 months
max capacity is 50 bu per day
waters of Reedy fork
Overshot
2500 bu wheat -- $3750 value
2000 bu other grains -- $2000 value
500 barrels wheat flour, 96,000 pounds corn meal, 35,000 pounds feed, 16,000 pounds hominy

Many Harris, Jr.
$1500 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 9 months
max capacity is 30 bu per day
waters of Reedy River
Turbine
700 bu other grains -- $700 value
336,000 pounds corn meal, 56,000 pounds feed

John Adams
$1500 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 9 months
max capacity is 40 bu per day
Reedy River
Willis Wheel
2000 bu other grains -- $2000 value
96,000 pounds corn meal, 16,000 pounds feed

Thomas M. Cox
$1000 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 9 months
max capacity is 50 bu per day
Reed Creek
Overshot
1000 bu wheat -- $1500 value

2100 bu other grains -- $1680 value
200 barrels wheat flour, 100,800 pounds corn meal, 30,800 pounds feed

Piedmont Co.
$500 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 9 months
max capacity is 60 bu per day
Saluda River
Turbine
4500 bu other grains -- $3570 value
216,000 pounds corn meal, 36,000 pounds feed

Grist Mills -- Fairview Township

Paschal Huff
$1500 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 120 bu per day
Reedy River
Breast
1000 bu wheat -- $1500 value
1500 bu other grains -- $1025 value
200 barrels wheat flour, 72,000 pounds corn meal

M.P. Dash & Bros.
$500 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 40 bu per day
South Rabon
Turbine
4000 bu other grains -- $3200 value
192,000 pounds corn meal, 32,000 pounds feed

Grist Mills -- Austin Township

W.H. Adams
$1500 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 100 bu per day
Gilder Creek
Overshot
1000 bu wheat -- $1500 value
2500 bu other grains -- $2000 value
200 barrels wheat flour, 140,000 pounds corn meal

Stewart and White
$1000 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 6 months
max capacity is 30 bu per day
Gilder Creek
Overshot
3200 bu other grains -- $3050 value
153,600 pounds corn meal, 36,600 pounds feed

D.M. Adams
$800 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 10 months
max capacity is 60 bu per day
Gilder Creek
Overshot
6000 bu other grains -- $4500 value
216,400 pounds corn meal, 119,600 pounds feed

E. Westmoreland
$1800 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 80 bu per day
Gilder Creek
Breast
1200 bu wheat -- $1800 value
3000 bu other grains -- $2200 value
240 barrels wheat flour, 168,000 pounds corn meal, 16,800 pounds feed

Grist Mills -- Chick Springs

Miles G. Batson
$1500 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 50 bu per day
Branch of Enoree River
Willis
1500 bu other grains -- $1200 value
81,000 pounds corn meal

James Banister
$500 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 6 months
max capacity is 60 bu per day
Enoree River
Turbine
1000 bu other grains -- $800 value
54,000 pounds corn meal

Alfred Taylor
$1200 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 30 bu per day
Enoree River
Center Discharge
1500 bu wheat -- $1870 value

1500 bu other grains -- $1250 value
300 barrels wheat flour, 72,000 pounds corn meal, 30,000 pounds feed

Joseph Edwards
$1500 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 10 months
max capacity is 80 bu per day
Branch of Enoree River
Breast
2500 bu wheat -- $2100 value
2000 bu other grains -- $1000 value
630 barrels wheat flour, 96,000 pounds corn meal, 25,000 pounds feed

James Suber
$800 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 40 bu per day
Branch of Enoree River
Overshot
2000 bu other grains -- $1500 value
96,000 pounds corn meal

Grist Mills - O'Neal Township

James Ballinger
$400 capital invested
3 hands employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 20 bu per day
Clear Creek
Undershot
1000 bu other grains -- $800 value
48,000 pounds corn meal, 8000 pounds corn feed

Washington Taylor
$150 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 10 bu per day
Shoul Creek
Willis Wheel
1000 bu other grains -- $800 value
56,000 pounds corn meal

Dolphus Collins
$1200 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 25 bu per day
Bea Long Branch
Overshot
500 bu wheat -- $600 value
4000 bu other grains -- $2000 value
100 barrels wheat flour, 160,000 pounds corn meal, 71,000 pounds corn feed

Few & Kindrick
$3000 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 60 bu per day
Enoree River
Overshot
4000 bu wheat -- $5000 value
4000 bu other grains -- $2000 value
800 barrels wheat flour, 160,000 pounds corn meal, 120,000 pounds corn feed, 1000 pounds hominy

Stephen F. Smith
$1000 capital invested
5 hands employed
operates 6 months
max capacity is 100 bu per day
steam power
steam power
2000 bu other grains -- $1000 value
80,000 pounds corn meal, 32,000 pounds corn feed

R. Furman Whilden
$300 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 20 bu per day
Beaver Dam Creek
Overshot
2000 bu other grains -- $1000 value
80,000 pounds corn meal, 32,000 pounds corn feed

Grist Mills -- Highland Township

John Bailey
$450 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 75 bu per day
Mush Creek
Overshot
3000 bu other grains -- $2100 value
144,000 pounds corn meal, 6000 pounds corn feed, 2000 pounds hominy

Amy Ward
$1000 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 100 bu per day
Packs Creek
Breast

2500 bu wheat -- $2500 value
5500 bu other grains -- $3850 value
500 barrels wheat flour, 25 barrels rye flour, 240,000 pounds corn meal, 1200 pounds corn feed, 3000 pounds hominy

Grist Mills -- Paris Mountain Township

Marchbank Steaver
$200 capital invested
number hands employed not specified
operates 12 months
max capacity is 80 bu per day
Branch of Reedy River
Overshot
2500 bu other grains -- $1750 value
120,092 pounds corn meal, 20,000 pounds corn feed

W.H. Perry & Co.
$1000 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 60 bu per day
steam power
steam power
1800 bu other grains -- $1260 value
86,400 pounds corn meal, 14,460 pounds corn feed

A. J. Green
$300 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 80 bu per day
Armstrong Creek
Overshot
2500 bu other grains -- $1750 value
120,092 pounds corn meal, 20,000 pounds corn feed

W.B. Hunt
$600 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 12 months
max capacity is 60 bu per day
Armstrong Creek
Overshot
1800 bu other grains -- $1260 value
86,400 pounds corn meal, 14,400 pounds corn feed

Gilla Roberts
$300 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 9 months
max capacity is 60 bu per day
Roberts Creek, empties in Reedy River
Willis wheel
1800 bu other grains -- $1260 value
86,400 pounds corn meal, 14,400 pounds corn feed

Leather Tanning -- Glassy Mountain

Bowden Earle & Co.
$1000 capital invested
2 hands
operates 12 months
21 tons oak bark
tanning -- 600 hides, 120 skins, total value $1040
currying -- 340 hides, 10 skins, total value $900
Mathews Creek
Overshot

Leather Tanning -- City of Greenville

Harry A. Caulble
$4500 capital invested
8 hands
operates 12 months
250 tons oak bark
tanning -- 5000 hides, 500 skins, total value $10,000
steam powered

William Spring Tannery
$3000 capital invested
4 hands
operates 12 months
110 tons oak bark
tanning -- 3600 hides, 500 skins, total value $7500
currying -- 3000 hides, 500 skins, total value $7800
horse powered

Boots and Shoes -- City of Greenville

Mills & McBray Co.
$2500 capital invested
6 hands
operates 11 months
2 sewing machines, 2 pegging machines
480 sides sole leather, 1200 sides upper leather, 200 pounds other leather
6150 pr shoes -- value $6150

Saw Mills -- Grove Township

Knight & Arnold
$1000 capital invested
3 hands employed
operates 9 months
1 circular saw
50,000 feet lumber -- $5000 value
steam powered

Thomas M. Cox
$1000 capital invested

3 hands employed
operates 9 months
1 circular saw
180,000 feet lumber -- $5000 value
Reedy Creek -- overshot

Brickyard -- Grove Township

C.F. Hammond
$1000 capital invested
30 hands employed
operates 6 months
500,000 common brick -- value $2750

Saw Mills -- Greenville Township

William Hunt
$1800 capital invested
10 hands employed
operates 11 months
1 gang saw, 1 circular saw
600,000 feet lumber -- $6000 value
steam powered

Alexander McBee
$800 capital invested
3 hands employed
operates 4 months
1 circular saw
200,000 feet lumber -- $1500 value
Bushy Creek -- turbine

Brickyard -- Greenville Township

Theron Earle
$500 capital invested
12 hands employed
operates 3 months
250,000 common brick -- value $1200

James Johnson
$500 capital invested
15 hands employed
operates 9 months
300,000 common brick -- value $1500

James W. Murry
$2500 capital invested
30 hands employed
operates 7 months
800,000 common brick -- value $4500

Brickyard -- City of Greenville

J. P. Cline
$500 capital invested
12 hands employed
operates 6 months
523,000 common brick -- value $3138

Saw Mills -- Gantt Township

C.A. & G.W. Parkins
$1500 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 12 months
1 circular saw
200,000 feet lumber -- $2000 value
Reedy River -- Breast

Saw Mills -- Dunklin Township

Chapman & Son
$1800 capital invested
13 hands employed
operates 7 months
1 circular saw
300,000 feet lumber -- $2700 value
steam power

Saw Mills -- no Township

John Bradley
$200 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 8 months
1 circular saw, 1 millery saw
65,000 feet lumber -- $585 value
Derben Creek -- overshot

M.P. & L.M. Nash
$500 capital invested
3 hands employed
operates 12 months
1 circular saw
50,000 feet lumber -- $500 value
South Rabon Creek -- turbine

Saw Mills -- no Township

Stewart & White
$600 capital invested
1 hand employed
operates 4 months
1 circular saw
312,000 feet lumber, 4000 laths -- $1520 value
Gilder Creek -- turbine

Jonathan Adams
$200 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 12 months

1 circular saw
175,000 feet lumber -- $1750 value
Gilder Creek -- overshot

H. Abercrombie
$1200 capital invested
5 hands employed
operates 6 months
1 circular saw
60,000 feet lumber -- $600 value
Gilder Creek -- steam powered

Saw Mills -- no Township

N. P. Hudson
$1140 capital invested
5 hands employed
operates 12 months
1 circular saw
160,000 feet lumber -- value $14,000
Rocky Creek -- turbine

Saw Mills -- Chick Springs Township

Charles Carter
$1000 capital invested
5 hands employed
operates 8 months
1 circular saw
225,000 feet lumber -- $2250 value
steam powered

William Green
$1000 capital invested
5 hands employed
operates 9 months
1 circular saw
200,000 feet lumber -- $2000 value
steam powered

Saw Mills -- O'Neal Township

Washington Taylor
$400 capital invested
3 hands employed
operates 8 months
1 circular saw
80,000 feet lumber -- $1200 value
Shoal Creek -- overshot

John L. Westmoreland
$300 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 6 months
1 circular saw
50,000 feet lumber -- $1100 value
Beaverdam Creek -- overshot

John L. Carman
$350 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 8 months
1 circular saw
30,000 feet lumber -- $1150 value
Beaverdam Creek -- quarter breast

Saw Mills -- no Township

Angy Ward
$500 capital invested
2 hands employed
operates 6 months
1 circular saw
200,000 feet lumber -- $2400 value
Packs Creek -- overshot

Saw Mills -- Bates Township

Isod E. Kelly
$1500 capital invested
4 hands employed
operates 12 months
2 circular saws
150,000 feet lumber, 200,000 laths, 200,000 shingles -- $2500 value
Enoree -- overshot

Manufacturers -- no township

James Brown -- Lumber Planed
J.S. Harrison -- Boots and Shoes
Alex Traylor -- Mattresses
W.A. Richardson -- Blacksmith
Fredrick Robertshaw -- Wheelwrighting
W.J. Smith -- Blacksmith
G.G. Painter -- Boots and Shoes
Sam Williams -- Boots and Shoes
Allen Thomson -- Carpentry and Building
George W. Lobdell -- Confectionary
Field & Sons -- Blacksmithing
J.L. Hawkins -- Blacksmithing
McBee & Williams -- Public Cotton Gin
Q. B. Cline -- Lumber Mill
John Barber -- Millwright
J.M. Nesbitt -- Machinery Repair
W.S. Gould -- Machinery Repair
R.M. MacDonald -- Machinery Repair
Thomas Lynch -- Shoes and Bootmaker
J.C. Hicks -- Carpenter
P.M. Dzer -- Shoes and Boots
Cox & Markley -- Carriages and Wagons
J.W. Cagle -- Lumber Planed

Manufacturers -- City of Greenville

Thomas B. Payne -- Baker & Confectionary
George Holdman -- Saddle and Harness
George D. Barr & Son -- Tinshmith
Dobby & Golightly -- Tinsmith
Washington Howell -- Marble Cutter
Andrew Rop, Jr. -- Tinsmith
Mills & McDaniel -- Ginning Cotton
George Heist -- Bakery
Mills & McBrayer -- Boots and Shoes

Manufacturers -- Greenville Township

Anderson Taylor -- Cotton Ginning
Melville McHugh -- Wagon Making
Benjamin Bruton -- Blacksmith
James West -- Cotton Ginning
London Hill -- Wagon Making
Julius Littlejohn -- Blacksmith
William Goldsmith -- Cotton Ginning
Noah Johnson -- Blacksmith

Manufacturers -- Gantt Township

R. H. Jacobs -- Cotton Ginning

Manufacturers -- Oaklawn Township

Sullivan Manufacturing Co. -- Cotton Manufacturing

Manufacturers -- Dunklin Township

Joseph W. Sullivan -- Cotton Ginning
James Scott -- Cotton Ginning
Ester & Co. -- Blacksmith

Manufacturers -- Fairview Township

John M. Terry -- Wheetwright
Thomason & Leopard -- Blacksmith

Manufacturers -- Greenville Township

Josiah Bramlett -- Cotton Ginning
W.A. Bramlett -- Cotton Ginning
D.M. Adams -- Cottin Ginning
W.B. Griffith -- Blacksmith
A. Abercrombie -- Cotton Ginning
G.H. Jones -- Blacksmith
Juber Austin -- Blacksmith
C.A. Parkins -- Cotton Ginning
W.B. Jones -- Wheelwright
S. Griffith -- Cotton Ginning
B.H. Bramlett -- Cotton Ginning

Manufacturers -- O'Neal Township

John L. Westmoreland -- Cotton Ginning
William T. Bates -- Cotton Ginning
John P. Shockley -- Cotton Ginning
Washington Taylor -- Cotton Ginning
John Groce -- Cotton Ginning
Andrew Gilreath -- Cotton Ginning
Dolphus Collins -- Cotton Ginning
Few & Kindrick -- Cotton Gin
Henry Nix -- Cotton Ginning
James Langley -- Cotton Ginning

Manufacturers -- Glassy Mountain Township

M.L. Davis -- Blacksmith

Manufacturers -- Paris Mountain Township

G.W. Marchbank -- Cotton Ginning
W.H. Perry -- Cotton Ginning
A. Green -- Cotton Ginning
W.B. Hunt -- Cotton Ginning
Gilla Roberts -- Cotton Ginning

Manufacturers -- Chick Springs Township

Samuel Turpin -- Cotton Ginning
James Bainster -- Carding Wool
James Bainster -- Threshing Grain
James Bainster -- Cotton Ginning
Alfred Taylor -- Cotton Ginning
Robert Gibson -- Cotton Ginning
Hampton Green -- Cotton Ginning
Thomas Smith -- Cotton Ginning
James Suber -- Cotton Ginning
John L. Carman -- Blacksmith
William E. Carver -- Cotton Ginning
William Green -- Cotton Ginning

APPENDIX 2.
LIST OF IDENTIFIED SITES

Key to Abbreviations:

AMc = Anne McCuen, Greenville, South Carolina
Brockington US25 = SCDAH Historic Site Survey Cards
Cem 1 = Whitmire 1976
Cem 2 = Greenville Chapter of the South Carolina Genealogical Society 1980
Chicora = Historical research notes on file, Chicora Foundation, Inc.
letters = see key, Table 11, page 225
Negro = designation of racial segregation which appeared on original map
NR = National Register files, SCDAH
SCDAH = South Carolina Department of Archives and History
SCDAH Recon = Reconnaissance architectural survey conducted by SCDAH
SCIAA = South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology
PF = Penny Forrester

BELTON EAST

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR63	SCIAA
2	38GR64	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
3	38GR65	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
4	1 structure	SCDAH Recon
	farm unit	L
5	1 structure	SCDAH Recon
	farm unit, 1 tenant	L
6	1 structure	SCDAH Recon
7	1 structure	SCDAH Recon
	farm unit	L
	bldg.	N-12
8	1 structure	SCDAH Recon
	West Dunklin School	G
	West Dunklin School	L
	West Dunklin School	M
	West Dunklin School	N-12
9	Holly Springs Church Cemetery	SCDAH Recon
	church	D
	cemetery	L
	Holly Springs Cemetery	N-12
10	Holly Springs Church	SCDAH Recon
	church	D
	church	L
	Holly Springs Church and Cemetery	M
	Holly Springs Church and School	N-12
11	Cooley's Bridge	E
	Pierre's Ford	F
	Pierce's Ford	A
	Pierres Ford	B
	Cooleys Bridge	G
	bridge	L
	Cooley's Bridge	N-12
	ford	Q
	Cooley's Bridge	U
12	gin	C
	industrial plant	L
13	church	D
	Beach Spring Church	G
	Holiness Church and cemetery	L
	Peach Springs Church and Cemetery	M
	Beech Springs Church	N-12
	Beach Springs Pentecostal Church Cemetery	Cem 2
14	Cedar Creek Church	E
	church and cemetery	G
	Cheater Shoals Church and 2 cemeteries	L
	Cedar Shoals Church and Cemetery	M
	Cedar Springs Church and Cemetery	N-12
	Cedar Shoals Baptist Church and Cemetery	Cem 2
15	Dry Oak Post Office	E
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
16	Power House	E

	Hydro Electric Plant	G
	Pelzer Power House and Dam	N-12
17	Cooley's Bridge	C
	mill	C
	Cooley's Bridge	B
	Coolrys Bridge	F
	Clarks Ferry	A
	Cooley's Bridge	Q
18	Holidays Bridge	G
	bridge	L
	Holliday Bridge	N-12
19	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-12
20	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-12
21	farm unit, 1 tenant	L
22	farm unit, 2 tenants	L
23	farm unit, 2 tenants	L
24	seasonal cotton gin	L
25	farm unit, 1 tenant	L
	bldg.	N-12
26	farm unit, 2 tenants	L
	bldg.	N-12
27	farm unit	L
28	farm unit	L
29	farm unit, 1 tenant	L
30	farm unit, 3 tenants	L
31	wood truss bridge	L
32	bridge	L
33	wood truss bridge	L
34	farm unit, 2 tenants	L
35	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-12
36	farm unit, 3 tenants	L
37	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-12
38	farm unit, 1 tenant	L
39	farm unit, 2 tenants	L
40	farm unit, 2 tenants	L
41	farm unit	L
	bldg.	N-12
42	farm unit, 1 tenant	L
43	steel truss bridge	L
	Wilson's Bridge	N-12
	Wilson's Bridge	U
44	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-12
45	Church of God	M
46	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
47	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
48	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
49	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
50	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
51	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
52	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
53	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

54	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
55	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
56	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
57	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
58	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
59	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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115	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
116	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
117	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
118	bridge	N-12
119	bridge	N-12
120	Holland's Ford	U

CAMPOBELLO

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR120	SCIAA
2	38GR194	SCIAA
3	38GR195	SCIAA
4	38GR196	SCIAA
5	38GR197	SCIAA
6	38GR198	SCIAA
	W.O.W. Camp	M
7	38GR199	SCIAA
8	38GR200	SCIAA
9	Gowansville Baptist Church	SCDAH
	church and cemetery	M
	church	F
	church or school	G
	Gowansville Church	U
	Gowansville Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Gowansville Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
10	Carsons Gold Mine	B
	Carson's Gold Mine	C
	Carson's Gold Mine	Q
	McBee's Gold Mill	U
11	Lebanon Church and cemetery	M
	Mt. Lebanon Church and cemetery	L
	Mt. Lebanon Church and school	E
	Mt. Lebanon Church	N-5
	Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church and cemetery	Cem 2
12	Liberty Church and cemetery	M
	Liberty Church	E
	Liberty Church	N-5
	Liberty Church	C
	Liberty United Methodist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
13	Church of Prophesy	M
14	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
15	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-5
16	Liberty Church and cemetery	L
17	gin, seasonal	L
18	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-5
19	gin, seasonal	L
20	Mt. Lebanon School	L
	school	F
	Lebanon School	G
	Mt. Lebanon School	N-5
21	wood truss bridge	L
22	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-5
23	church	F
	church or school	G
24	church	F
	church or school	G
	Old Few Cemetery	Cem 1
25	bridge	N-5
26	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

27	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
28	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
29	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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52	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
53	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
54	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	mill	U
55	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
56	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
56	tanyard	C
57	Lister family cemetery	AMc

CLEVELAND

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR1	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
2	38GR129	SCIAA
3	38GR97	SCIAA
4	38GR168	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
5	38GR176	SCIAA
6	38GR169	SCIAA
7	38GR171	SCIAA
8	38GR156	SCIAA
9	38GR128	SCIAA
10	38GR81	SCIAA
11	38GR161	SCIAA
12	38GR154	SCIAA
13	38GR162	SCIAA
14	38GR126	SCIAA
15	38GR159	SCIAA
	L.I. Jennings' Mill	AMc
16	38GR157	SCIAA
17	38GR158	SCIAA
18	38GR125	SCIAA
19	38GR172	SCIAA
20	38GR119	SCIAA
21	38GR174	SCIAA
22	38GR173	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
23	38GR96	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
24	38GR155	SCIAA
25	38GR160	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
26	Hargood's or Earle's Upper Bridge	A
	Earls Bridge	B
	Hagoods Bridge	E
	Hagoods Bridge	C
	Earles Bridge	U
27	Talley's Mill	A
	Blythe's Mill	U
28	Freemans Bridge	B
	Freeman Bridge - steel truss bridge	L
	Freeman Bridge	G
	Freemans Bridge	E
	Freemans Bridge	N-4
	Freeman's Bridge	C
29	Mayfield Bridge	M
	Mayfield Bridge - steel truss bridge	L
	Mayfield Bridge	N-3
30	Friendship Church	M
	Friendship Church	L
	church	D
	church	G
	Friendship Church	E
	Friendship Church	N-4

	Friendship Church	C
	Friendship Baptist Church	Cem 2
	Friendship Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
31	Talley Bridge	M
	Talley Bridge - steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	E
	Blythe Shoals Bridge	N-4
32	Hardin Bridge	M
	Hardin Bridge - wood truss bridge	L
	Mulican Ford	C
33	Middle River Church	M
	Middle River Church and Cemetery	L
	church and school	D
	Cleveland School - 2 bldg.	G
	Middle Saluda Church	N-4
	Middle River Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Middle River Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
34	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
35	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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57	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
58	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Goodlet Family Cemetery	Cem 2
59	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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93	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
94	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	church	D
	church or school	G
	Bates Family Cemetery	Cem 2
95	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
96	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
97	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Bates Family Cemetery	Cem 1
	Bates Family Cemetery	Cem 2
98	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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131	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Cleveland store (site of)	Chicora
132	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	mill	Chicora
133	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
134	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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154	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
155	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Middle River School	L
	Cleveland School	N-4
156	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
157	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	church	D
158	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
159	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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181	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
182	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
183	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	saw mill	L
184	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
185	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
186	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
187	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
188	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
189	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Old [Samuel] McJunkin Place/Hart Valley Ranch	AMc
190	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
191	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
192	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
193	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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198	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
199	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
200	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	factory site	E
201	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
202	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Davenport Family Cemetery	Cem 1
	Davenport Cemetery	AMc
	Davenport Family Cemetery	Cem 2
203	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
204	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
205	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
206	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
207	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
208	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	school house	C
209	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Davenport Hotel	AMc
210	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
211	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
212	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
213	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
214	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
215	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	River Falls Lodge	AMc
216	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
217	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
218	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	church	E

	cemetery	N-4
	Hart Family Cemetery	Cem 2
	Hart Family Cemetery	Cem 1
219	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
220	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
221	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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238	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
239	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
240	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
241	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	wood truss bridge	L
242	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
243	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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250	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
251	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
252	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	South River Church and School	E
	South River Church and School House	C
253	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
254	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
255	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Moody-Turner-Anders-Rowland Cemetery	Cem 1
256	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
257	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
258	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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276	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
277	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
278	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	school	D
279	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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297	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
298	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
299	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
300	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	grist mill	L
301	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
302	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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306	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
307	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
308	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
309	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	cemetery associated with church #30	L
310	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
311	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
312	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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318	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
319	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
320	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

	Hardin Family Cemetery	Cem 1
321	Baptist Camp	M
322	Boy Scout Camp	M
323	Camp Parker	M
324	Allison School (Negro)	L
	Allison School	G
	Allison School	N-4
	school house	C
325	steel truss bridge	L
	Carsons Mills	E
	Carsons Bridge	N-3
	Carson's Mills	C
326	C.C.C. camp	L
	roller and grist mill	E
327	industrial plant	L
328	Wilkins Bridge	N-4
	Middle Saluda Bridge	C
329	Black Bridge	N-4
330	Drake Family Cemetery	Cem 2
331	Capps Family Cemetery	Cem 2
332	Hall Cemetery	topo map
333	cemetery	topo map

DACUSVILLE

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	Earle's Bridge	A
	Earls Bridge	B
	Earls Bridge	M
	Earls Bridge, wood truss bridge	L
	Earle Bridge	G
	Earl's Bridge	N-7
	Earle's Bridge	C
	Earles Bridge	Q
	Earles Bridge	U
	Old Earls Bridge	Y
2	Hunts Bridge	M
	Hunts Bridge, steel truss bridge	L
	Hunts Bridge	G
	Hunt's Bridge	N-7
	Hunt's Bridge	C
3	Shiloh church	M
	Shiloh church	L
	church	D
	Shiloh church	N-4
	church	G
4	steel truss bridge	L
5	Hunt's mill	A
	Huffs mill	G
	mill	C
6	church	D
	church	G
7	Keelers mill	N-4
	mill	C
8	bridge	N-4
9	Hunts cemetery	N-7
10	Cox's family cemetery	Cem 2
11	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
12	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
13	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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57	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
58	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
59	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

FORK SHOALS

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR10	SCIAA
2	38GR33	SCIAA
3	38GR34	SCIAA
4	38GR35	SCIAA
5	38GR36	SCIAA
6	38GR37	SCIAA
7	38GR38	SCIAA
8	38GR39	SCIAA
	1 farm unit	L
9	38GR40	SCIAA
10	38GR41	SCIAA
11	38GR42	SCIAA
12	38GR43	SCIAA
13	38GR44	SCIAA
	Maxter's Cemetery	N-11
14	38GR45	SCIAA
15	38GR46	SCIAA
16	38GR47	SCIAA
17	38GR48	SCIAA
18	38GR49	SCIAA
19	38GR50	SCIAA
20	38GR51	SCIAA
21	38GR52	SCIAA
22	38GR53	SCIAA
23	38GR54	SCIAA
24	38GR55	SCIAA
25	38GR56	SCIAA
26	38GR57	SCIAA
27	38GR58	SCIAA
	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
28	38GR59	SCIAA
29	38GR60	SCIAA
30	38GR61	SCIAA
	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
31	38GR62	SCIAA
32	38GR82	SCIAA
	1 farm unit	L
33	38GR166	SCIAA
34	38GR167	SCIAA
35	Clovis Point	Richard Sawyer
36	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit	L
37	Cooley Cemetery	SCDAH Recon
	church and cemetery	L
	cemetery	M
	Cooley's Cemetery	N-11
	Jno. Cooley Residence	C
	Cooley-Whitt Family Cemetery	Cem 2
38	structure	SCDAH Recon
39	structure	SCDAH Recon
40	structure	SCDAH Recon
41	structure	SCDAH Recon
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

42	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
43	cemetery	SCDAH Recon
	Columbia Church	D
	Columbia Church and cemetery	G
	Columbia Church and cemetery	L
	Columbia Church and cemetery	M
	Columbia Church and cemetery	N-11
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
44	cemetery	SCDAH Recon
	Columbia Cemetery	E
	church and cemetery	L
	McCuen Family Cemetery	Cem 1
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
45	Gaines Cemetery	SCDAH Recon
	Gains Cemetery	N-11
	Pisgah Methodist Church Cemetery (formerly Terry's Chapel)	Cem 1
46	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
47	structure	SCDAH Recon
48	structure	SCDAH Recon
49	structure	SCDAH Recon
50	structure	SCDAH Recon
51	structure	SCDAH Recon
52	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
53	structure	SCDAH Recon
54	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit	L
55	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
56	Lebanon Church	SCDAH Recon
	Lebanon Methodist Church	SCDAH
	Lebanon Church	D
	Lebanon Church	E
	Santiago Church and School	L
	Lebanon Church and cemetery	M
	Santiago School and Lebanon Church	N-11
	Lebanon Methodist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
57	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit	L
58	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit	L
59	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit	L
60	structure	SCDAH Recon
61	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
62	structure	SCDAH Recon
63	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 5 tenant houses	L
64	structure	SCDAH Recon
	Knights Store	G
	1 farm unit, 6 tenant houses	L
65	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L

66	Forkville Church and cemetery	SCDAH Recon
	church	D
	Forkville Church and cemetery	G
	Forkville Church (Negro)	L
	Forkville Church and cemetery	M
	Forkville Church, School and cemetery	N-11
67	structure	SCDAH Recon
68	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
69	structure	SCDAH Recon
70	structure	SCDAH Recon
	Chandler Post Office	E
	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
71	structure	SCDAH Recon
72	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit	L
73	structure	SCDAH Recon
	cemetery, associated with church #118	G
	cemetery, associated with church #118	L
	cemetery, associated with church #118	M
	cemetery, associated with church #118	N-11
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
74	structure	SCDAH Recon
75	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
76	structure	SCDAH Recon
77	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
78	structure	SCDAH Recon
	bridge	E
	2 wood truss bridges	L
	bridge	N-11
79	Oak Hill Church and Cemetery	SCDAH Recon
	Oak Hill Church and Cemetery	G
	Oak Hill Church and Cemetery	L
	Oak Hill Church and Cemetery	M
	Oak Hill Church and Cemetery	N-11
	Oak Hill Methodist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Oak Hill Presbyterian Church Cemetery	Cem 1
80	structure	SCDAH Recon
81	structure	SCDAH Recon
82	structure	SCDAH Recon
83	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
84	structure	SCDAH Recon
85	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
86	structure	SCDAH Recon
87	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit	L
88	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit	L
	structure	N-11
89	structure	SCDAH Recon
90	structure	SCDAH Recon
91	structure	SCDAH Recon

	1 farm unit	L
92	structure	SCDAH Recon
	Lickville School	L
93	structure	SCDAH Recon
94	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 vacant business, 1 vacant school	L
	Lickville School	N-11
95	structure	SCDAH Recon
96	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit	L
97	structure	SCDAH Recon
98	structure	SCDAH Recon
99	structure	SCDAH Recon
100	Lickville Church and cemetery	SCDAH Recon
	Lickville Presbyterian Church	SCDAH
	Lickville Church	C
	2 churches	D
	Lickville Church	E
	Lickville Church	G
	Lickville Church and cemetery	L
	Lickville Church and cemetery	M
	Lickville Church, School and cemetery	N-11
	Lickville Presbyterian Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Lickville Presbyterian Church Cemetery	Cem 1
101	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
102	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
103	Mose Chapel and cemetery	SCDAH Recon
	Moore's Chapel	C
	church	D
	Moors Chapel	E
	Morris Chapel and cemetery	L
	Morris Chapel and cemetery	M
	Moses Chapel and cemetery	N-12
104	structure	SCDAH Recon
	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
105	Joseph McCollogh House	SCDAH
	McCullock (1 structure)	A
	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
106	Hudson Berry's Mill	SCDAH
	Berry's Mill	A
	Cedar Falls Factory	B
	Cedar Falls Factory	C
	Cedar Falls Cotton Factory	E
	seasonal industry	L
107	Arnold's Mill	A
	mill	C
	Latimer Mill	E
	M. Sullivan's Mill	U
108	Bolling's Mill	A
109	Clarks Ferry	A
	Loutsie's Ford	C
	Holliday Bridge	N-12
110	mill	C
	wood truss bridge	L

	bridge	N-11
111	"F. Shoals" Church	C
	Fork Shoals Church	E
	1 farm unit	L
	Fork Shoals Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
112	bridge	C
	bridge	E
	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-11
113	bridge	C
	bridge	E
	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-11
114	Shiloh Church	C
115	school	D
	Columbia School	G
	Columbia School	L
	Columbia School	N-11
116	school	D
	Flat Rock School	G
117	school	D
	Horse Creek School	L
118	church	D
	Devington Church	G
	Darlington Church	L
	Deventon Church	M
	Daventon Church	N-11
	Daventon Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Davetown Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
119	church	D
120	Chandler School	D
	Chandler School	G
	Chaucer School	L
	Chandler School	N-11
121	church	D
	church	G
122	Dry Oak School	D
	Dry Oak School	G
	Dry Oak School	L
	Dry Oak School	N-11
123	church	D
	Pleasant Grove Church	C
	Pleasant Grove Church	E
	church	G
	Lickville Church and cemetery	L
	New Pleasant Grove Church and cemetery	M
	Pleasant Grove Church and cemetery	N-11
124	church	D
	church	G
	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
125	church	D
	church	G
126	church	D
	church	G
	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
127	school	D

	Holly Grove School	G
	Holly Grove School	L
	Holly Grove School	N-11
128	church	D
	cemetery	M
	Shady Oak Church	N-11
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
129	cotton gin	E
130	bridge	E
131	saw mill	E
	1 farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
132	roller and grist mill	E
	seasonal cotton gin and business establishment	L
133	McKilvicks Bridge	E
	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-11
134	Hillside Chapel	E
	Hillside Church	G
	Holly Grove Church and Cemetery	L
	Hillside Church and Cemetery	M
	Hillside Church	N-11
135	bridge	E
136	Fork Shoals Cotton Factory	E
	Alexanders Mill	A
	Fork Shoals Mill	KK
137	covered bridge	E
	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-11
138	Amethyst Lodge	E
139	sawmill	E
	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
140	cotton gin	E
141	saw mill	E
142	Bethesda Church	E
	Bethesda Church	C
143	Pisgah Church Parsonage	C
144	school or church	G
145	Horse Creek School	G
	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
146	wood truss bridge	L
147	business establishment	L
148	1 farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
149	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
150	2 business establishments	L
151	1 farm unit	L
152	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
153	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-11
154	business establishment	L
155	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-11
156	McCullduck Program	L
	McCullough's School	N-11
157	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
158	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
	structure	N-11

159	wood truss bridge	L
160	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
161	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
162	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
163	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
164	1 business establishment, 1 seasonal cotton gin	L
165	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
166	business establishment	L
167	business establishment	L
168	2 farm units, 2 tenant houses	L
	structure	N-11
169	1 farm unit	L
170	1 farm unit	L
171	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
172	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
173	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
174	Chain Gang Camp	L
175	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
176	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
	school house	C
177	1 farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
178	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
179	Fork Shoals School	L
	Fork Shoals School	N-11
180	Fork Shoals Church and cemetery	L
	Fork Shoals Church and cemetery	N-11
	Fork Shoals Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
181	1 farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
	W.A. McKelvey residence	C
182	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
183	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
184	2 farm units, 2 tenant houses	L
185	1 farm unit, 1 tenant houses	L
186	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
187	Flat Rock School	L
	Flat Rock School	N-11
188	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
	structure	N-11
189	cemetery	L
	Traynhams Cemetery	N-11
	Traynham Family Cemetery	Cem 2
190	Pine Hill School (Negro)	L
	Pine Hill School	N-11
191	quarry	L
192	1 farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
193	wood truss bridge	L
194	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
195	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
196	2 farm unit, 5 tenant houses	L
197	quarry	L
198	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
199	radio tower	M
200	Columbia Church	M
	Columbia Church	U
	Columbia Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Columbia Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1

201	Riverside Church	M
202	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
203	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	structure	N-11
204	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
205	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
206	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
207	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
208	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
209	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
210	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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212	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
213	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
214	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
215	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
216	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
217	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
218	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
219	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
220	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
221	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
222	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
223	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
224	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
225	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
226	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
227	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
228	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
229	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
230	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
231	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
232	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
233	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
234	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
235	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
236	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
237	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
238	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
239	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
240	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
241	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
242	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
243	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
244	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
245	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
246	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
247	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
248	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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253	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
254	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
255	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

256	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
257	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
258	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
259	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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261	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
262	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
263	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
264	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
265	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
266	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
267	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
268	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
269	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
270	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
271	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
272	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
273	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
274	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
275	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
276	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
277	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	McCullough's Cemetery	N-11
278	archaeological site	N-11
279	bridge	N-11
280	bridge	N-11
281	bridge	N-11
282	cemetery	N-11
283	Hillside Church Road Bridge	Y
284	John McDavid Home Site and Cemetery	Cem 1
	Cooley-Whitt Family Cemetery	Cem 2
285	bridge	N-11
286	cemetery associated with church #134	N-11
	Hillside Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
287	bridge	N-11
288	bridge	N-11
289	bridge	N-11
290	bridge	N-11
291	bridge	N-11
292	bridge	N-11
293	bridge	N-11
294	Chapmans Grove School	N-11
295	bridge	N-11
296	bridge	N-11
297	bridge	N-11
298	bridge	N-11
299	Horse Creek School	N-11
300	bridge	N-11
301	bridge	N-11
302	cemetery	topo map
303	1 farm unit	L
304	bridge	N-11
305	cotton gin	E
306	McCullough Cemetery and slave cemetery	Cem 1
		AMc

FOUNTAIN INN

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR67	SCIAA
2	38GR75	SCIAA
3	38GR76	SCIAA
4	38GR78	SCIAA
5	38GR80	SCIAA
6	38GR121	SCIAA
7	38GR131	SCIAA
8	38GR132	SCIAA
9	38GR133	SCIAA
10	38GR134	SCIAA
11	38GR135	SCIAA
12	38GR136	SCIAA
13	38GR137	SCIAA
14	38GR139	SCIAA
15	38GR140	SCIAA
16	38GR141	SCIAA
17	38GR142	SCIAA
	J.K. Stone's Mill	C
	R.B. Holland Mill, roller and grist mill	E
	bridge	N-9
	steel truss bridge	L
18	38GR143	SCIAA
19	38GR144	SCIAA
20	38GR145	SCIAA
21	38GR187	SCIAA
22	38GR188	SCIAA
23	Fountain Inn Cotton Mill	SCDAH
24	Robert Quillen Office	SCDAH
25	Fountain Inn Baptist Church	SCDAH
	church	G
26	Plain Post Office	B
27	Bethlehem Church	C
	Bethlehem Church and cemetery	G
	Bethlehem Church	D
	Bethlehem Church	E
	Bethlehem Church and School and cemetery (Negro)	L
	church and cemetery	M
	Bethlehem Church and cemetery	N-9
28	bridge	C
	bridge	N-9
	wood truss bridge	L
29	mill	C
30	bridge	C
	bridge	G
	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
31	H. Sullivan's Mill	C
32	oil mill	D
	Fountain Inn Oil Mill Co.	EE
	Fountain Inn Oil Mill Co.	FF
	J.A. Barr Cotton Ginnery	GG
33	church	D
	Allen Chapel Colored Presbyterian Church	FF

	Allen Chapel Colored Presbyterian Church	GG
34	church	D
	Pleasant View Church and Cemetery	G
	cemetery	M
	Pleasant View Church and School	N-9
	Pleasant View Church and School and cemetery (Negro)	L
35	church	D
36	Waycross School	D
	Waycross School	G
	Bruce Family Cemetery	Cem 2
37	church	D
	church	G
38	Pleasant View Church	C
	Pleasant View Church	E
	farm unit	L
39	bridge	E
	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
40	roller and grist mill	E
41	bridge	E
42	cotton factory	E
43	Fountain Inn Mfg Co	EE
	Fountain Inn Mfg Co	FF
	Woodside Cotton Mills, Fountain Inn Plant	GG
44	church	G
45	church	G
	church	N-9
46	church	G
	Trinity M.E. Church	GG
	M.E. Church South	EE
	M.E. Church South	FF
47	church or school	G
	cemetery	FF
48	church	G
49	cemetery associated with church #48	G
	cemetery	GG
50	seasonal cotton gin	L
51	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
52	Cannon Memorial Park (cemetery)	topo map
53	farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
54	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
55	bridge	N-9
	wood truss bridge	L
56	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
57	seasonal cotton gin	L
58	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
59	2 farm units, 10 tenant houses	L
60	farm unit, 6 tenant houses	L
61	farm unit, 5 tenant houses	L
62	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
63	wood truss bridge	L
64	farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
65	farm unit, 5 tenant houses	L
66	farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
67	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
68	CCC Camp	L

69	bridge	N-9
	steel truss bridge	L
70	bridge	N-9
	wood truss bridge	L
71	ford	L
72	cemetery	L
73	seasonal cotton gin	L
74	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
75	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
76	2 farm units, 3 tenant houses	L
77	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
78	radio tower	M
79	James B. Bryson High School	M
80	hospital	M
81	Hillcrest School	M
82	drive-in theater	M
83	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
84	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
85	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
86	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
87	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
88	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
89	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
90	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
91	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
92	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
93	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
94	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
95	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
96	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
97	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
98	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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104	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
105	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
106	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
107	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
108	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
109	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
110	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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112	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
113	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
114	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
115	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
116	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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118	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
119	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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121	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
122	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

123	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
124	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
125	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
126	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
127	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
128	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
129	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
130	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
131	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
132	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
133	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
134	Jones Cemetery	Cem 1
	cemetery	N-9
135	cemetery	N-9
136	bridge	N-9
137	bridge	N-9
138	Austin Cemetery	N-9
139	bridge	N-9
140	Howard Cemetery	Cem 1
	cemetery	N-9
141	bridge	N-9
142	bridge	N-9
143	bridge	N-9
144	bridge	N-9
145	Davis Family Cemetery	Cem 2
146	Choice Graveyard	Cem 1
147	bridge	G
	wood truss bridge	L
148	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L

GREENVILLE

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR72	SCIAA
2	38GR73	SCIAA
3	38GR179	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Old Salem Church and cemetery (original location)	AMc
4	38GR180	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
5	38GR181	SCIAA
6	38GR182	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
7	38GR183	SCIAA
	West Gantt School	N-8
8	38GR206	SCIAA
9	38GR207	SCIAA
10	38GR208	SCIAA
11	38GR209	SCIAA
12	207-1	Brockington US25
13	207-2	Brockington US25
14	207-3	Brockington US25
15	207-4	Brockington US25
16	207-5	Brockington US25
17	cemetery	Richard Sawyer
18	Blassingame Cemetery	Richard Sawyer
	Gen. John Blassingame Cemetery	AMc
	Blassingame Family Cemetery	Cem 2
19	Tanglewood Community	SCDAH
20	Bethewel Church	C
	Bethewel Church	E
	church	G
	Holly Springs Church	J
	cemetery	L
	Bethel Church and school house	C
21	2 churches	D
	2 church	G
22	church	D
	Welcome Church	E
	church	G
	Welcome Church and cemetery	J
	Welcome Church and cemetery	L
	Welcome Church	N-7
	Welcome Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
23	church	D
	Bethlehem Church	C
	Bethlehem Church	E
	Bethlehem Church	J
	Bethlehem Church and Cemetery	L
24	school	D
	Bakers Chapel	C
	Bakers Church	E
	Baker Chapel	G
	church and Baker School	J
	Bakers Church	L
	Baker Chapel School	N-8

25	2 church	D
	2 church	G
26	church	D
	Mt. Pleasant Church	E
	2 churches	G
	church	J
	Mt. Pleasant School	L
	Mt. Pleasant Church	N-8
27	church	D
	Holly Springs Church and cemetery	L
	Blassingame Family Cemetery	Cem 2
28	Salem Church	E
	Salem Church and school house	C
	church	G
	church and cemetery	J
	Salem Church and cemetery	N-8
29	Gantt Station	E
30	Welcome Church	C
	Salem United Methodist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
31	saw mill, J. McCue	E
32	Hydro Electric Plant	G
	power plant	J
33	Cox Bridge	G
	Cox's Bridge	C
	Cox Bridge	V
	Saluda Dam Bridge	L
	Saluda Dam Bridge	M
	Cox Bridge	N-7
	Cox's Bridge	U
	Maulden's Bridge	A
34	cemetery	G
	cemetery	N-7
	cemetery	J
	Graceland Cemetery	Cem 2
35	Easley Bridge	G
	Easley Bridge	C
	Easley Bridge	J
	Easley Bridge, wood truss bridge	L
	Easley Bridge	M
	bridge	N-7
	Easley's Bridge	B
	Easley Bridge	E
	Easley's Bridge	U
	Easley Bridge	V
36	West Gantt School	G
	West Gantt School	J
37	Cyclone Plant	H
38	City View School	H
	school	J
39	cemetery	J
40	Gantt School	J
	Gantt School	L
	East Gantt School	N-8
41	Mt Pleasant School	J
	Mt. Pleasant Church and cemetery	L
	Mt. Pleasant School and cemetery	N-8

42	Welford High School	J
	Welcome School	N-7
43	Welford School	J
	vacant school	L
44	Dunham School	J
	Dunhams Bridge	B
	Dunham's Bridge	C
	Dunnams Bridge	E
	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-8
	Dunhams Bridge	U
	Dunham's Bridge	Y
45	church	J
	church	N-7
46	school	J
47	school	J
	school	N-7
48	Judson Cemetery	J
	cemetery	L
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
49	church and school	J
50	Rockhill Church	J
	Rock Creek church	N-8
51	cemetery	L
	McWhite Cemetery	Cem 1
	Willis Benson Cemetery	PF
	Benson Cemetery	N-8
52	1 farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
53	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
54	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
55	tourist camp	L
56	1 farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
57	1 farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
58	1 farm unit, 6 tenant house	L
59	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
60	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
61	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
62	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
63	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	1 farm unit, 6 tenant houses	L
64	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
65	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Gantt Cemetery	PF
66	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	cemetery	topo map
	Bakers Chapel Cemetery	AMc
67	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
68	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
69	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
70	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
71	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
72	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
73	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Bethel Church and Cemetery	N-8
74	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
75	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

76	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
77	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
78	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
79	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
80	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
81	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
82	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
83	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
84	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
85	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
86	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
87	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
88	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
89	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
90	cotton gin	E
	Benson-McWhite Cemetery	Cem 2
91	Welcome Baptist Church Cemetery (old church location)	Cem 2
92	McClanahan Family Cemetery	Cem 2
93	cemetery	topo map
94	Pinevale Memorial Park	topo map
95	Mills Mill Cemetery	Cem 2
96	Benson-Southern Cemetery	AMc
	J.W. Southern Cemetery	AMc
97	Resthaven Memorial Gardens	topo map
98	Lenhardt Family Cemetery	Cem 2
99	cemetery	Cem 2
100	Gen. John Blassingame House	AMc
101	gin	C
102	Benson-Vaughn Cemetery	Cem 2
103	Payne Cemetery	N-8
104	bridge	N-7
	Ligan's Bridge	B
	Ligons Bridge	U
105	Gambrell's Ford	C
106	gin	C
107	Lunsford Cemetery	N-8
108	bridge	N-8
109	bridge	N-8
110	Parkins Family Cemetery	Cem 1
111	Paris and Townes Cemetery	Cem 1
112	Watson Cemetery	Cem 1
	cemetery	PF

GREENVILLE, CITY OF

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	Lewis House	NR
	Colored Cemetery	Z
2	Earle Town House	NR
3	Whitehall	NR
	38GR25	SCIAA
	Stone House	W
4	Greenville Gas and Electric Company	NR
5	Working Benevolent Temple and Professional Building	NR
6	Davenport Apartments	NR
7	Christ Church and Graveyard	NR
	38GR20	SCIAA
	church and cemetery	J
	Christ Churchyard	Cem 1
	Christ's Episcopal Church, chapel, parsonage	Z
8	Greenville Women's Club	NR
9	John Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church	NR
10	Greenville Chamber of Commerce	NR
11	Greenville County Courthouse and Poinsette Hotel	NR
	Mansion Hotel	KK
12	First National Bank	NR
	Baptist Church	Z
13	Imperial Hotel	NR
14	Old Textile Hall	NR
15	Downtown Baptist Church	NR
	church	J
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
16	American Cigar Factory	NR
17	T.Q. Donaldson House	NR
18	Leanneau-Norwood House	NR
	C.H. Lanneau House	Z
19	C. Granville Wyche House	NR
20	Williams-Earle House	NR
21	Broad Margin	NR
22	Mills Mill	NR
	Mills Manufacturing Company	H
23	Hampton-Pinckney Historic District	NR
24	Pettigru Street Historic District	NR
	Greenville Military Institute	Z
25	Reedy River Falls Historic District	NR
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Camperdown Cotton Mill No. 1	KK
	Camperdown Mills	Z
26	Reedy River Industrial Complex	NR
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Camperdown No. 2 Mill	AMc
	Vardry McBee Grist Mill	AMc
	Huguenot Mills, C.H. Markley Carriage Factory, Camperdown Cotton Mills 2	KK
	planing mill	Z
	Huguenot Cotton Mill	Z
27	Col. Elias Earle Historic District	NR
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
28	Woodside Cotton Mill Village Historic District	NR

	Parker High School (within district)	J
	large bldg. (within district)	J
	Woodside Mills bldgs. (within district)	H
	cotton factory (within district)	E
	Woodside Mills School (within district)	H
	Woodside Cemetery (within district)	Cem 2
29	38GR21	SCIAA
30	38GR104	SCIAA
31	38GR105	SCIAA
32	38GR190	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
33	38GR201	SCIAA
34	38GR225	SCIAA
35	Monoghan School	H
	school	J
36	Monoghan Mills	H
	large bldg.	J
	Monaghan Mill	N-7
37	Monaghan Warehouse	H
	large bldg.	J
38	Monaghan Compress	H
	large bldg.	J
39	F.W. Poe Manufacturing Company	H
	large bldg.	J
40	F.W. Poe Mill School	H
41	American Spinning Mill	H
	American Spinning School	H
	American Spinning	E
	cluster of large buildings	J
42	Dunean Mills	H
	cluster of large bldgs.	J
	cotton factory	E
	Camp Wetherill, 5th Massachusetts and 201st New York	V
43	school	H
44	P&N Shoes	H
45	Dunean Mills school	H
	school	J
46	Richmond Guano Company	H
47	Judson Mills	H
	cluster of large bldgs.	J
	saw mill	E
48	Judson School	H
49	Brandon Mill	H
	bldg.	J
	Brandon Cotton Factory	E
50	Brandon School	H
51	Exchange Hotel	KK
52	Opera House	KK
	Opera House	Z
53	County Court House and Old Court House	KK
	county court house	Z
54	jail	KK
	county jail	Z
55	church	J
56	church	J
57	school	J

	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Greenville Female College	Z
58	church	J
59	church	J
	catholic church	Z
60	church	J
61	school	J
62	cemetery	J
63	cemetery	J
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Springwood Cemetery	Cem 1
	Springwood Cemetery	Cem 2
	Black Commercial Lincoln Cemetery Association	AMc
64	church	J
65	church	J
66	cemetery	J
67	church	J
68	school	J
69	school	J
70	church	J
	Camp Wetherill, 4th Missouri	V
71	church	J
72	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
73	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
74	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
75	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
76	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
77	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
78	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
79	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
80	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
81	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Prospect Hill	AMc
82	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
83	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
84	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
85	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
86	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
87	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Verner Springs Bottling Plant	AMc
88	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
89	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
90	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
91	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
92	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
93	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
94	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
95	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
96	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
97	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
98	cemetery	topo map
	Springwood Cemetery	Z
99	Hugh Stokes Family Burying Ground	Cem 1
100	church	J
101	church	J
102	A. McBee's Mill	C

103	cemetery	C
	Monaghan Cemetery, formerly Rocky Methodist Church	Cem 2
104	Lanneau Textile Mill site	AMc
105	Samuel Green Mill	AMc
	Green's Mill	C
106	Gaillard School	AMc
107	Greenville and Columbia Railroad Passenger Station	AMc
108	Greenville Hotel	AMc
	Greenville Hotel	Z
	Greenville Hotel	KK
109	Camp Wetherill, 2nd Division Headquarters	V
110	Hampton Street Bridge	Y
111	cemetery	topo map
	American Spinning Company cemetery	Cem 2
	Earle-Stone Cemetery	Cem 1
112	church	J
113	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
114	cemetery	topo map
115	San Souci School	H
	San Souci School	E
116	Union Bleachery	H
	large bldgs.	J
	Union Bleachery	E
	Union Bleachery	N-7
117	Union Bleachery School	H
	school	J
118	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
119	Raines Family Cemetery	Cem 2
120	cemetery	topo map
121	County Home	H
122	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
123	Isaqueena/Gassaway House	NR
124	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
125	seasonal cotton gin	L
126	church	D
	church	G
	church	J
	McCarter's Church and Cemetery	N-6
	church and cemetery	L
127	school	G
	school	J
	McCarter's School	N-6
	church	S
128	Lowndes Hill Cemetery	N-6
	Lowndes Hill Church	E
129	2 churches	G
	Lowndes Hill Church (Negro) and Cemetery	L
	2 churches	D
130	Lowndes Hill Plantation	SCDAH
	Lowndes Hill church, school, and cemetery	N-6
131	Lawn Hill School	J
132	cemetery	topo map
133	38GR124	SCIAA
134	cemetery	L
	White Oak Church	J
	church	D

	White Oak Church	C
	White Oak Church	E
	White Oak Church and Cemetery	N-6
	church (on property of John Thomas)	S
135	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
136	Woodland Memorial Cemetery	topo map
	Woodlawn Cemetery	N-6
	Woodlawn Cemetery	L
137	Shriners Hospital	N-7
	Shriners Hospital	J
138	Jeremiah Stokes Family Cemetery	Cem 1
139	West End Commercial Historic District	NR
140	church	D
	church	G
141	church	J
142	school	J
143	church	J
144	Green's Mill	Z
145	Greenville Country Club (San Souci)	J
146	Furman University	Z
	Furman University	G
147	C.H. Judson House	Z
148	fairgrounds	Z
149	T.T. Earle House	Z
150	T.C. Stone property/Camp Wetherill	W
151	Society Ground Cemetery	AMc
152	Watson Family Cemetery	Cem 1

GREER

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR92	SCIAA
2	38GR93	SCIAA
3	38GR192	SCIAA
4	38GR193	SCIAA
5	38GR217	SCIAA
6	38GR218	SCIAA
7	38GR219	SCIAA
8	Greer depot	NR
	Greer depot	SCDAH
	Greer depot	HH
	Southern Railway station/depot	JJ
9	Mosteller's mill	SCDAH
	Mostellers mill and bridge	G
	Mosteller mill	AMc
	Mostillers mill	U
10	Indian boundary line	SCDAH
11	Davenport House	SCDAH
12	Westmoreland-Walker House	SCDAH
13	Edgewood Cemetery	SCDAH
	cemetery	G
	cemetery	JJ
	Edgewood Cemetery	Cem 1
14	Smith House	SCDAH
15	Grace-Howell House	SCDAH
16	church and Pleasant Grove School	K
	church and Pleasant Grove School	N-6
	Pleasant Grove church and school	L
	Pleasant Grove church	D
	Pleasant Grove church	G
	Pleasant Grove church and school house	C
	Pleasant Grove church and school	T
	Pleasant Grove church	U
17	cemetery associated w/ church # 16	K
	Pleasant Grove Baptist church cemetery	Cem 1
18	cemetery	K
19	school	K
20	cemetery	K
	cemetery	G
	Mt. View cemetery	Cem 1
21	cemetery	K
	Wilson Cemetery	Cem 1
22	Ansell School	K
	Ansell school	D
	Ansell school	G
	Ansell School (negro)	L
	Ansell school	N-6
23	_____ose Camp	K
24	Washington school	K
	Washington church	G
	Washington school	N-5
25	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-5
26	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L

	building	N-5
27	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
28	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	E
	bridge	G
	bridge	C
29	CCC camp	L
30	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
31	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
32	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-6
33	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-6
34	farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
35	industrial plant	L
36	farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
	cotton gin	E
37	cemetery	L
	Cunningham Cemetery	N-6
	Baily-Cunningham Family Cemetery	Cem 2
	Bailey and Cunningham Private Cemetery	Cem 1
38	farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
39	wood truss bridge	L
40	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
41	Cotton gin, roller and grist mill	E
	mill	C
42	bridge	N-5
43	bridge	N-6
44	bridge	N-6
45	Smith cemetery	N-6
46	archaeological sites	Wes Breedlove
47	archaeological sites	Wes Breedlove
	Heydt and Morgan cemetery	Cem 1
	Hite cemetery and vicinity of Hite's Massacre	AMc
48	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
49	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
50	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
51	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
52	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
53	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
54	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
55	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
56	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
57	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
58	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
59	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
60	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
61	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
62	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	vicinity of Woods Fort	AMc
63	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
64	Wilson family cemetery	Cem 2
65	Mosteller family cemetery	Cem 1
66	Greer Cotton Seed Oil and Fertilizer Company	HH
	Greer Cotton Seed Oil and Fertilizer Company	II
	Greer Oil and Fertilizer Company	JJ

67	First Baptist Church of Greers	II
68	R. Davenport High school	JJ
69	Franklin Mills	JJ
70	Rector Cemetery	topo map

HICKORY TAVERN

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR17	SCIAA
2	38GR26	SCIAA
3	38GR30	SCIAA
4	38GR31	SCIAA
5	38GR32	SCIAA
6	38GR66	SCIAA
7	Tullyton	NR
	Tullyton Bolling House	SCDAH
	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
8	Corner Tree Indian Boundary	SCDAH
9	Choices Mill	A
10	Dunklin's Bridge	C
	Dunklin Bridge	E
	Dunklin's Bridge	U
11	wood truss bridge	L
12	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-11
	McKittrick Bridge	Chicora
13	farm unit	L
	building	N-11
14	bridge	L
15	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
16	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
17	farm unit	L
18	bridge	N-11
19	bridge	N-11
20	bridge	N-11
21	Choice Family Cemetery	Cem 2

LANDRUM

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR114	SCIAA
2	T.J. Earle House	SCDAH
3	Block House	SCDAH
	Block House	C
4	Oak Grove Church and Cemetery	M
	Oak Grove Church and Cemetery	L
	church	D
	Oak Grove Church	N-1
	Oak Grove Church and Cemetery	AMc
	Oak Grove Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Oak Grove Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
5	Oak Grove School	L
	church	D
	church	G
	Oak Grove School	N-1
6	bridge	N-1
7	grist mill	L
	roller and grist mill	E
8	Earle Mills saw mill, roller and grist mills	E
	Earle Mill	U
9	mill	AMc
10	bridge	N-1
11	sawmill	L
12	Piedmont Boy Scout Camp	N-1
13	Camp Sidney	N-1
14	bridge	N-5
15	cemetery	N-5
16	bridge	N-5
17	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
18	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
19	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
20	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
21	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
22	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
23	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
24	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
25	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
26	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
27	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
28	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
29	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
30	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
31	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
32	WWI No. 1 Artillery Camp	AMc
33	WWI No. 2 Observation Pit	AMc
34	J.T. Green Lumber Company	E

MAULDIN

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR23	SCIAA
2	38GR29	SCIAA
3	38GR68	SCIAA
4	38GR83	SCIAA
5	38GR86	SCIAA
6	38GR122	SCIAA
7	38GR123	SCIAA
8	Old Forrester Cemetery	Cem 1
9	38GR146	SCIAA
10	38GR150	SCIAA
11	38GR163	SCIAA
12	38GR164	SCIAA
13	38GR178	SCIAA
14	Walker Family Cemetery	Mrs. D. Ware
	Walker's Cemetery	N-6
	Walker Family Cemetery	Cem 2
15	Stoneledge House	Mrs. D. Ware
16	log building and farm complex	visual inspection
17	McBee Methodist Church	NR
	McBee Chapel	SCDAH
18	Parkins Mill	C
	Parkins Mill	D
19	Parkins Mill	AMc
20	Parkins Mill	SCDAH
	Parkins Mill, roller and grist mill	E
	Paper Mill	U
21	Log House	SCDAH
22	Oak Grove School	SCDAH
23	Chestnut Oaks	SCDAH
24	Reedy River Mill	SCDAH
	gin	C
25	Carruth's Gun Factory	SCDAH
	Carruth's Armory	A
	Carruth and Alston's Iron Works	Chicora
26	Bethany Church Camp Grounds	C
	Bethel Church and Camp	E
27	Poplar Springs church	C
28	Mt. Zion Church	C
	church	D
	Mt. Zion Church	E
	Mt. Zion Church	J
	Mt. Zion Church and cemetery	L
	Mt. Zion Church and cemetery	N-6
29	Rocky Creek Church	C
	Rocky Creek Church	E
	Rock Creek Church	G
	Rock Creek Church	I
	Rock Creek Church	J
	Rock Creek Church	L
	Rock Creek Church and cemetery	M
	Rock Creek Church	N-6
30	bridge	C
	bridge	N-9

	steel truss bridge	L
31	Reedy River Church	C
	Reedy River Church	E
	church	G
	church	D
	church	J
	Reedy River Church and Cemetery	L
	Reedy River Church and Cemetery	N-9
32	bridge	C
	bridge	E
33	Reedy River Factory	C
	Reedy River Cotton Factory	E
	large structure	J
	Reedy River Mfg. Co.	KK
34	paper mills	C
	paper mill	B
35	Mt. Bees Factory	B
	McBee's Cotton and Paper Factory	F
	McBee's Cotton and Paper Mill	Q
	McBee Factory	U
36	church	D
	church	G
	church	J
37	church	D
	church	G
	Judson Grove Church	N-9
38	church	D
	church	G
	Flint Hill Church	I
	Flint Hill Church and Cemetery	M
39	Harbin-Howell Cemetery	Cem 1
40	Bethel Church (2 bldgs)	D
	Bethel Church and Cemetery	G
	Bethel Church and School	I
	Bethel School and Church	J
	Bethel Church and Cemetery	L
	Bethel Church and Cemetery	M
	Bethel Church, School and Cemetery	N-9
	Bethel Church	U
	Bethel Methodist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Bethel United Methodist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
41	church	D
	Fair Forest School	G
	Fair Forest Church and Cemetery	N-6
42	church	D
43	2 churches	D
	2 churches	G
	1 church, 1 school	J
	Laurel Creek Church	E
	Laurel Creek Church and School	N-6
	Old Laurel Creek Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Laurel Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
44	saw mill and cotton gin	E
	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
45	cotton gin, saw mill	E
46	Rosebud Post Office	E

47	Laurel Creek Church	C
	Laurel Creek Church	E
	Laurel Hill Church	I
	church	J
	Laurel Creek Church and Cemetery (Negro)	L
	Laurel Creek Church and Cemetery	N-9
48	Roper Mountain Church	E
	Roper Mountain Church	C
	Roper Church	G
	Roper Mountain Church	J
	Mission Church and Cemetery	L
	Roper Mountain Church and Cemetery	M
	Roper Mountain Church and Cemetery	N-6
	Roper Mountain Church	T
	Roper Mountain Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
49	bridge	G
50	cemetery	G
	cemetery	N-9
	Mauldin Methodist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
51	Poplar Springs School	G
	Flat Rock Church and Cemetery	L
	church	J
	Poplar Springs Church	L
	Poplar Springs Church	N-9
52	church or school	G
	church and cemetery	N-9
	Mauldin First Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Mauldin First Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
53	cemetery	topo map
54	cemetery	G
	cemetery	L
	Verdin Cemetery	N-9
	Yergin Family Cemetery	Cem 2
55	church or school	G
56	bridge	N-9
57	Adams Family Cemetery	Cem 1
58	Spillars Family Cemetery	Cem 2
	McCarter Presbyterian Church Cemetery	Cem 2
59	Miller Family Cemetery	Cem 2
60	church or school	G
	Mission School	J
	Lowndes Hill School (Negro)	L
	church	D
	Mission School	N-6
61	Boiling Spring School	G
62	Oak Grove School	G
	Oak Grove School	J
	Oak Grove School	L
	Oak Grove School	N-6
63	school	I
	Laurel Creek School	J
	Laurel Creek School (Negro)	L
	Laurel Creek School	N-9
64	Laurel Hill School	I
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
65	cemetery, associated with church #29	I

	cemetery, associated with church #29	J
	cemetery, associated with church #29	L
	cemetery, associated with church #29	N-6
	Rocky Creek Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Rocky Creek Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
66	cemetery, associated with church #29	I
	cemetery, associated with church #29	L
	cemetery, associated with church #29	N-6
67	Oak Grove School	I
68	Mt. Zion School	I
	school	J
	Mt. Zion School	L
	Mt. Zion School	N-6
69	Flint Hill School	I
	Flint Hill School	L
	Flint Hill School	N-6
70	Rosenwall School	J
	Pelham School (Negro)	L
	Pelham School	N-6
	Pelham School	T
71	Morning Springs School	J
	Boiling Springs School	N-6
	Boiling Springs School	T
72	Rock Hill School	J
	Rock Hill School	L
	Rock Hill School	N-6
	Rock Hill School	T
73	church	J
	Rock Hill Church and Cemetery	L
	Rock Hill Church	M
	Rock Hill Church and Cemetery	N-6
	Rock Hill Church	T
74	school	J
75	school	J
	Yeargin Family Cemetery	Cem 2
76	cemetery	J
	Laurel Creek Cemetery	N-6
	Laurel Creek Church	C
77	Stokes-Hamby Cemetery	Cem 2
78	cemetery	J
	cemetery	L
	Conestee Cemetery	N-9
79	school	J
80	Hudson Family Cemetery	Cem 2
81	cemetery	L
	Fowler cemetery	N-9
	Fowler Cemetery	Cem 1
82	bathing beach	L
83	seasonal industry	L
84	cemetery	L
	Adams Cemetery	N-9
	Adams Family Cemetery	Cem 2
85	Mt. Zion Church (Negro)	L
86	wood truss bridge	L
87	wood truss bridge	L
88	wood truss bridge	L

89	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
90	cemetery	L
91	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
92	2 wood truss bridges	L
93	business establishment	L
94	seasonal cotton gin	L
95	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
96	cemetery	L
	Green Cemetery	N-6
97	wood truss bridge	L
98	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
99	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
100	cemetery	L
	Hudson Cemetery	N-6
	Rector Family Cemetery	Cem 2
	Rector Family Cemetery	Cem 1
101	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
102	Robinson Mill	U
103	seasonal cotton gin	L
104	cemetery	L
	Shirefield Cemetery	N-9
	Sheffield Family Cemetery	Cem 1
	Sheffield Family Cemetery	Cem 2
105	Parkins Cemetery	AMc
	Perkins Family Cemetery	Cem 2
106	Assembly of God Church	M
107	Faith Church	M
108	Pine Forest Church	M
109	Boiling Springs Church	M
110	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
111	gin	C
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
112	school house	C
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
113	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
114	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
115	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
116	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
117	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
118	mill	C
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
119	school house	C
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
120	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
121	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
122	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
123	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
124	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Smith Cemetery	N-9
	Jenkinson-Smith Cemetery	Cem 1
125	bridge	N-9
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
126	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
127	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
128	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
129	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

130	bridge	N-9
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
131	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Mission School	T
132	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
133	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	school house	C
134	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
135	Mt. Zion Church, School and Cemetery	N-9
136	bridge	N-9
137	bridge	N-9
138	bridge	N-9
139	Poplar Springs Church	N-9
140	McDaniel Cemetery	N-9
	Ashmore-McDaniel Family Cemetery	Cem 2
141	Hurching Cemetery	N-8
142	bridge	N-9
143	Hicks Cemetery	N-8
144	school	D
145	Rock Creek Church	E
146	bridge	N-9
147	bridge	N-6
148	Flat Rock School	N-6
	Flat Rock School	T
149	Stroud Cemetery	N-6
	Smith Cemetery	Cem 2
150	bridge	N-6
151	Smith Cemetery	N-6
152	bridge	N-6
153	bridge	N-6
154	Miller Family Cemetery	Cem1
	Miller Family Cemetery	PF
155	Austin Private Cemetery	Cem 1
	Austin Family Cemetery	PF
156	Yeargin Burying Ground	Cem 1
	Yeargin Cemetery	PF
	Yeargin Cemetery	AMc

PARIS MOUNTAIN

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR69	SCIAA
2	38GR78	SCIAA
3	38GR79	SCIAA
4	Dicey Langston Home	Chicora
5	Reedy River Church	C
	church	D
	Reedy River Church	E
	Reedy River School and Cemetery	G
	church and cemetery	J
	Reedy River Church and 2 cemeteries	N-7
	Reedy River Church	U
	Reedy River Baptist Church and Cemetery	AMc
	Reedy River Baptist Church and Cemetery	Cem 2
	Reedy River Baptist Church cemetery	Cem 1
6	Cherrydale	NR
7	Post Office, Nix, S.C. (site)	SCDAH
8	Dicey Langson House (site)	SCDAH
9	Anderson House	SCDAH
10	Furman University	SCDAH
	Furman University	M
11	Rock House	SCDAH
12	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
	Cox Family Cemetery	Cem 2
13	Travelers Rest First Baptist Church cemetery	Cem 2
14	Country Club	H
15	Young-Thackston-Perry Cemetery	Cem 2
16	cemetery	J
17	"Rodgers"	H
18	courthouse	J
19	church	H
	church and cemetery	G
	Paris Mountain Holiness Church	N-7
	Paris Mountain Holiness Baptist Church cemetery	Cem 2
20	Armstrong School	M
21	Farrs Bridge	C
	Farrs Bridge	E
	Farrs Bridge	G
	Farrs Bridge, steel truss bridge	L
	Farrs Bridge	M
	Farrs Bridge	N-7
	Fairs Mill and Bridge	U
22	Forest Ranger Station	M
23	church	D
	St. Lukes Church	E
	St. Lukes Church and Cemetery (Negro)	L
	St. Lukes Church and Cemetery	M
	church and St. Lukes School	J
	St. Lukes Church	N-4
	St. Lukes Church	R
24	Enoree Church	C
	school	D
	Enoree Church	E
	Enoree Church and Cemetery	J

	Enoree Church and Cemetery	L
	Enoree Church and Cemetery	M
	Enoree Church	N-4
	Enoree Church	R
	church	U
	Enoree Baptist Church cemetery	Cem 1
	Enoree Baptist Church cemetery	Cem 2
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
25	church	D
	church	M
	Clearview Baptist Church cemetery	Cem 2
26	Forestville Church	D
	Forestville Church and school	E
	Forestville Church	G
	Forestville Church	J
	Forestville Church and Cemetery	L
	Forestville Church and Cemetery	M
	Farrsville Church and Cemetery	N-7
	Forestville Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
27	church	D
	Ebenezer Church	E
	Ebenezer Church and Cemetery	G
	church and cemetery	L
	Ebenezer Church, School and Cemetery	M
	Ebenezer Church	N-4
	Ebenezer Church	U
	Ebenezer Baptist Church cemetery	Cem 2
28	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
29	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
30	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
31	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
32	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
33	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
34	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
35	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
36	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
37	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
38	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
39	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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41	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
42	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
43	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
44	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	cemetery	L
	Ubanks cemetery	N-7
45	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
46	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
47	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
48	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
49	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
50	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
51	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
52	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
53	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
54	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

55	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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58	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
59	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
60	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
61	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
62	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
63	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Young cemetery	AMc
	Duncan Chapel Methodist Church cemetery	Cem 2
64	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
65	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
66	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
67	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
68	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
69	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
70	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
71	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
72	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
73	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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75	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
76	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
77	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
78	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
79	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
80	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
81	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
82	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
83	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
84	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
85	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Dicey Langston Cemetery	Cem 2
86	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
87	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
88	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
89	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
90	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
91	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
92	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
93	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
94	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
95	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
96	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
97	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
98	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
99	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
100	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
101	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	church	D
102	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	church or school	G
103	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	church	D

	Wilson Private Cemetery	Cem 2
104	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
105	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
106	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	school house	C
107	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
108	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
109	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
110	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
111	Duncan Church	C
	church	D
	Duncan Church	E
	church	G
	Duncan School	J
	Duncan Chapel school	L
	Duncan School	N-7
112	church	D
	cemetery	J
	Rocky Mountain Church and Cemetery	L
113	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
114	sawmill	L
115	Thompson Boyhood Home	L
	Hillandale Golf Course	N-7
116	Armstrong school	G
	Armstrong school	J
	Armstrong school	L
	Armstrong school	N-7
117	school	D
	Little Texas School	E
	Little Texas School	G
	Little Texas School	J
	Little Texas School	L
	Little Texas School	N-7
	Little Texas School	R
118	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
119	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
120	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
121	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
122	church	D
	church	G
	Mt. Sinai Church, School and Cemetery (Negro)	L
	Mt. Sinai Church and Cemetery	N-7
123	cemetery associated with church #154	J
	St. Johns Church and Cemetery	L
	cemetery associated with church #154	N-7
124	2 churches	D
	church	G
	St. Johns Church	J
	St. Johns Church	L
	St. Johns Church	N-7
125	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
126	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
127	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
128	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
129	wood truss bridge	L

130	grist mill	L
131	Pleasant View School (Negro)	L
	Pleasant View School	J
	church	D
132	Ebenezer Church	C
	church	D
	Ebenezer School	G
	Ebenezer School	J
	Ebenezer School	L
	Ebenezer School	N-4
	Ebenezer Baptist Church cemetery	Cem 1
133	cemetery	L
134	tourist camp	L
	Docs Place	N-4
135	school	D
	school	J
	Reedy River School	N-7
136	Reedy River School	R
137	church	D
	Union School	J
	Union School	N-4
	Union School	R
138	Paris Mountain School	J
139	church	D
140	church	D
141	church	D
142	church or school	G
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
143	school	E
	Enoree School	G
144	Cunningham Brothers cotton factory and cotton gin	E
145	Paris Mountain Hotel	E
	Altamount Hotel site	AMc
146	bridge	N-4
147	Berea School	N-7
148	Dreamland Golf Course	N-7
149	Brethren Church	N-7
150	group cabins	N-7
151	Yacht Club	N-7
152	Mt. Sinai School	N-7
153	Wing's Landing	N-7
154	San Souci	AMc
155	Dr. Hunter's Mill	C
156	White Horse Inn, 1813, Cocaine Hill	AMc
157	Thompson-Wynne Family Cemetery	Cem 2
158	Berea Church and Cemetery	G
	church	D
	Berea Church	J
	Berea Church and Cemetery	L
	Berea Church	N-7
	Berea Baptist Church cemetery	Cem 1
159	Rocky Mountain Church	C
	Rocky Mountain School and Church	J
	Rocky Mount School, Church and Cemetery (Negro)	L
	Rocky Mountain School and Church	N-7
160	Grandview Cemetery	topo map

161	Young-Tackston-Perry Cemetery	Cem 1
162	Old Duncan Chapel site and cemetery	Cem 1
163	Powell Cemetery	Cem 1

PELHAM

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR77	SCIAA
	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
2	38GR165	SCIAA
	Pelham Mill	NR
	Pelham Cotton Mills	KK
3	38GR177	SCIAA
	steel truss bridge	L
	Wister Coker Bridge	Y
4	38GR221	SCIAA
5	38GR222	SCIAA
	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
6	38GR223	SCIAA
	farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
7	38GR224	SCIAA
	farm unit	L
8	Arthur Barnwell House	NR
9	William Bates House	NR
10	Batesville Mill	SCDAH
	Batesville Cotton Factory	E
	Batesville Factory	C
11	Ebenezer Methodist Church	SCDAH
	church	D
	Ebenezer Church	E
	church	G
	Batesville Church and Cemetery	L
	Ebenezer Church	M
	Ebenezer Church	C
	Ebenezer Church	U
	Ebenezer Methodist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
12	Hutchings Mill and Cotton Factory	A
	Lesters Bridge	B
	steel truss bridge	L
	Lester's Bridge	C
	Lister's Bridge	U
	Lester's Factory	Chicora
	Hutchings Mill	Chicora
	Pelham Manufacturing Company	Chicora
	Enoree Factory	Chicora
13	Anderson's Bridge	A
	Brockmans Bridge	B
	Anderson's Bridge	C
	Anderson's Bridge	U
	Andersons Bridge	E
	Anderson Bridge	G
	Anderson Bridge	K
	steel truss bridge	L
14	Gilder Post Office	B
15	Clear Springs Church	C
	church	D
	Clear Springs Church	E
	church and cemetery	G
	Clear Springs Church and Cemetery	K
	Clear Spring Church and Cemetery	L

	Clear Springs Church and Cemetery	M
	church and cemetery	N-9
	Clear Springs Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
16	Brockman's Bridge	C
	Brockman's Bridge	U
	Brockmans Bridge	E
	bridge	G
	Bennetts Bridge	K
	steel truss bridge	L
	Bennett's Bridge	N-6
17	Bennett's Mill	C
18	Ford's Bridge	C
	Ford's Bridge	U
	Fords Bridge	B
	Widow Ford's Bridge	A
	Fords Bridge	E
	Ford Bridge	G
19	bridge	C
	steel truss bridge	L
20	L.W. Davis Mill	C
	Ford's Mill	A
	Ed Hughes roller and grist mill and saw mill	E
21	mill	C
22	Pilgrim Church	C
	2 churches	D
	Pilgrim Church	E
	2 church bldg.	G
	church and Old Pilgrim School	K
	Old Pilgrim Church	L
	Old Pilgrim Church	M
	Pilgrim Church and School	N-9
23	W.A. Adams Mill	C
	W.A. Adams roller and grist mill	E
	Adams Mill	G
	wood truss bridge	L
	bldg.	N-9
24	church	D
	church and cemetery	G
	New Pilgrim Church	K
	New Pilgrim Church, School, and Cemetery	L
	New Pilgrim Church and Cemetery	M
	New Pilgrim Church, School, and Cemetery	N-9
25	school	D
	Stewart School	G
	Stewart School	K
	Stewart School	L
	school	N-9
26	school	D
	Jonesville School	G
	Jonesville School	I
	Jamesville School	K
	Jonesville School	L
	Jonesville School	N-9
27	Pling School	D
	Pling School	G
	Pliney School	K

	school	L
	Pliney School	N-9
28	church	D
	Crossroads Church	G
	Crossroads Church	K
	Crossroads Church and Cemetery	L
	Cross Roads Church and Cemetery	M
	Crossroads Church and Cemetery	N-6
29	Pelham Manufacturing Company	E
30	bridge	G
	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-6
31	cemetery associated with church 11	G
	cemetery	L
	Batesville School	T
32	cemetery, possibly associated with church 22	G
	cemetery associated with church 22	K
	Old Pilgrim Church Cemetery	L
	cemetery associated with church 22	N-9
	Kilgore-Brockman Family Cemetery	Cem 1
33	cemetery	G
	cemetery	N-9
34	Sloan Bridge	K
	bridge	N-9
35	cemetery	K
36	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
37	2 wood truss bridges	L
	bridge	N-9
38	farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
39	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
40	seasonal cotton gin	L
41	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
42	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
43	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
44	wood truss bridge	L
45	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
46	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
47	Wesley Chapel and Cemetery (Negro)	L
	Wesley Chapel	M
	Wesley Chapel and Cemetery	N-6
48	wood truss bridge	L
49	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
50	Gibbs Shoals Bridge	N-6
51	Vaughn Cemetery	N-6
52	bridge	N-6
53	bridge	N-6
54	Vaughn Cemetery	N-6
55	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
56	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
57	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
58	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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78	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
79	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
80	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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82	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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107	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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114	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
115	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
116	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
117	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
117	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
118	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

119	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Dr. Lea____'s Mill	C
120	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
121	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
122	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
123	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
124	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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126	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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145	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
146	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
147	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
148	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
149	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
150	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
151	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
152	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
153	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
154	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
155	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
156	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
157	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
158	bridge	N-9
159	Gresham Cemetery	N-9
160	bridge	N-9
161	bridge	N-9
162	Jones Cemetery	N-9
163	bridge	N-9
164	bridge	N-9
165	bridge	N-9
166	bridge	N-9
167	bridge	N-9
168	Scruggs Cemetery	N-10
169	Fowler's Mill	C
170	Davis Family Cemetery	Cem 2
171	Crymes Family Cemetery	Cem 2
172	Lester Family Cemetery	Cem 2
173	Jones Family Cemetery	Cem 2

174	Hunter-Gilbert Family Cemetery	Cem 2
175	Kilgore Family Cemetery	Cem 2
176	William Smith Family Cemetery	Cem 1
177	cemetery	topo

PELZER

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR147	SCIAA
	Ware Family Cemetery	Cem 1
2	38GR148	SCIAA
3	38GR149	SCIAA
4	archaeological site	Richard Sawyer
5	family cemetery	Richard Sawyer
6	Garrison Cemetery	Richard Sawyer
	cemetery	G
	cemetery	M
	Garrison Cemetery	N-8
	Garrison Cemetery	AMc
	Garrison Cemetery	Cem 1
7	Tarrant Cemetery	Richard Sawyer
8	Pelzer Mill	Richard Sawyer
	Pelzer Mill, No. 1	E
	Pelzer Manufacturing Company	KK
9	Piedmont Lumber Company and Piedmont Gin Company	CC
10	Woodside House	SCDAH
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
11	James McDavid House	SCDAH
12	Ware Place	SCDAH
	Mrs. Ware's	C
	farm unit	L
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	T.F. Ware Residence	Q
13	Israel Charles House	SCDAH
14	John Charles House	SCDAH
15	Piedmont Manufacturing Company	SCDAH
	Piedmont Mills	C
	Piedmont Cotton Factory	E
	Garrison's Mill	A
	Piedmont Manufacturing Company	KK
	Piedmont Manufacturing Company	AA
16	Dr William Ioor House	SCDAH
17	New Shady Grove Church	C
	2 churches	D
	Shady Grove Church	E
	Shady Grove Church	G
	Shady Grove Church, School, and Cemetery	L
	Shady Grove Church	M
	Sandy Grove Church and Cemetery	N-8
18	Washington Church	C
	church	D
	Washington Church	E
	Washington Church and Cemetery	G
	Washington Church and Cemetery	L
	Washington Church	M
	Washington Church and Cemetery	N-12
	Washington Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Washington Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
19	Sandy Springs Church	C
	Sandy Springs Church	D
	Sandy Springs Church	E

	Sandy Springs Church and Cemetery	G
	Sandy Springs Church and two cemeteries	L
	Sandy Springs Church	N-8
	Sandy Springs Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
20	West's Mill	C
	R. West - saw mill	E
	bridge	N-8
21	Flat Rock Church	C
	church at Charles Station	D
	Flat Rock Church	G
	Besse Crossroads	G
	Flat Rock Church and Cemetery	L
	Flat Rock Church and Cemetery	M
	Flat Rock Church	N-8
22	church	D
	East View School	L
	East View School	N-8
23	Rehobeth Church	D
24	cemetery	D
	cemetery	G
	Rose Hill Cemetery	Cem 2
25	church	D
	church	G
26	church	D
	Golden Grove Church	E
	church	G
	Grove Station Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Golden Station Church and Cemetery	N-8
27	church	D
	church	G
28	school	D
	Samona School	G
	Sanoma School	L
	Samona School	N-8
29	church	D
	church	G
	church	L
30	church at Charles Station	D
31	school at Charles Station	D
	Pepper School	G
	Pepper School	L
	Pepper School	M
32	Flat Rock School at Charles Station	D
	Flat Rock Church	E
33	Scotts Roller and Grist Mill	E
34	bridge	E
	bridge	L
35	cotton gin and saw mill	E
36	Pelzer Bridge	E
	Wilson's Ferry	A
	Pelzer Bridge	N-8
37	depots	CC
38	Rehobeth Church	E
	Rehobeth Church and Cemetery	L
	Rehobeth Church and Cemetery	M
	Rehobeth Church and Cemetery	N-8

	Rehobeth Church	C
	Rehobeth Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Huff-Payne cemetery	Cem 1
39	bridge	E
	bridge	L
	bridge	N-8
40	bridge	E
41	bridge	E
	3 bridges	L
	bridge	N-8
42	saw mill	E
43	roller and grist mill	E
44	cotton gin	E
	Sterling Grove Post Office	E
45	Wacross Church	E
	Waycross Church	G
	Waycross Church	L
	Waycross Church and Cemetery	M
	Waycross Church	N-8
	Waycross Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
46	bridge	E
47	oil mill	E
48	cemetery	G
49	church or school	G
50	church or school	G
51	church or school	G
	Piedmont Public School	CC
52	church or school	G
	Piedmont Methodist Episcopal Church	CC
53	church or school	G
	church or school (vacant)	L
	St. Matthews Church and Cemetery	M
	St. Mathews Church	N-8
54	church or school	G
	church or school	L
55	grist mill	L
56	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
57	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
58	Oak Lawn School	L
	Oak Lawn School	N-12
59	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
	bldg.	N-12
60	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
61	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-8
62	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
63	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
64	Ellen Woodside School	L
	Ellen Wood School	M
	Woodside School	N-8
65	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
66	lodge or community hall	L
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
67	vacant business	L
68	seasonal cotton gin	L
69	wood truss bridge	L

70	farm unit	L
71	cemetery	L
	McDavid Cemetery	N-8
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Lickville Presbyterian Church Cemetery	Cem 2
72	business establishment	L
73	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
74	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
75	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
76	business establishment	L
77	Rehobeth School	L
	Rehobeth School	N-8
78	cemetery	L
	Huff Cemetery	N-8
79	Williams Church, School, and Cemetery	L
	New Golden Grove Church and Cemetery	N-8
80	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-8
81	wood truss bridge	L
82	cemetery	L
	cemetery (associated with site 53)	N-8
83	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-8
84	farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
85	farm unit, 6 tenant houses	L
86	seasonal cotton gin	L
87	business establishment	L
88	Flat Rock School (Negro)	L
	Rock Hill School	N-8
89	cotton gin	L
	school house	C
90	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
91	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
92	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
93	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-8
94	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
95	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
96	Burgess School	M
97	East View School	M
98	Mount Bethel Church and Cemetery	M
	Oakland Church and School	N-8
99	Greenville Memorial Gardens	M
100	cemetery	M
	Campbell Cemetery	N-8
	Campbell Family Cemetery	Cem 2
	Campbell Cemetery	Cem 1
101	Moonville Church	M
102	motel or tourist court	M
103	motel or tourist court	M
104	Garrison's Tavern	A
105	Seaborn's Tavern	A
106	McKenzie Cemetery	N-8
	Machen Cemetery	Cem 1
107	cemetery	N-8
108	Sullivan Cemetery	N-8

109	Maxwell Cemetery	N-8
110	Woodville School	N-8
111	bridge	N-8
112	bridge	N-8
113	bridge	N-8
114	church	N-8
115	Rosemond Cemetery	N-8
116	Grove School	N-8
117	Golden Grove School	N-8
118	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
119	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
120	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
121	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
122	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
123	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
124	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
125	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
126	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
127	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
128	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
129	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
130	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
131	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
132	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
133	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
134	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
135	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
136	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
137	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
138	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
139	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
140	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
141	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
142	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
143	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
144	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
145	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
146	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
147	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
148	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
149	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
150	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
151	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
152	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
153	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
154	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
155	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
116	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
157	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
158	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
159	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
160	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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162	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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164	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

165	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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168	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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170	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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174	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
175	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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178	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
179	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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183	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
184	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
185	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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188	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
189	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
190	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
191	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
192	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
193	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
194	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
195	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
196	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
197	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
198	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
199	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
200	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
201	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
202	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
203	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
204	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
205	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
206	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
207	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
208	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
209	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
210	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
211	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
212	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
213	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
214	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
215	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
216	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
217	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
218	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
219	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
220	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

221	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
222	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
223	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
224	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
225	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
226	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
227	mill	C
228	Junius Smith Tea Farm	AMc
	Smith's Tea Plantation	F
	Smith's Tea Plantation	Q
229	Location of "Dare Stones"	AMc
230	Old Tarrent Cemetery	Cem 2
231	Wilson Family Cemetery	Cem 2
232	Richardson Family Cemetery	Cem 1
233	Methodist Episcopal Church	AA
	Methodist Episcopal Church	BB

SALUDA

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR106	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
2	38GR115	SCIAA
3	Glassy Mountain	SCDAH
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
4	Mountain Hill Church	M
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Mountain Hill School, Church and Cemetery	L
	church	D
	Glassy Church	G
	Mountain Hill School	E
	Mountain Hill Church	N-5
	Mountain Hill Church	C
	Mountain Hill Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
5	Rock Springs Church	M
	church	D
	Rock Springs Baptist Church	Cem 2
6	cemetery	M
	cemetery	L
	church	D
	cemetery	N-5
	Pierce Family Cemetery	Cem 1
	Ballew Family Cemetery	AMc
7	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
8	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
9	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
10	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
11	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
12	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
13	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
14	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
15	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
16	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
17	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
18	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
19	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
20	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Glassy Mountain Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
21	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
22	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
23	Piney Hill Church	E
24	Piney Grove Church	N-1
25	school house	AMc
26	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-5
27	farm unit, 2 tenant house	L
28	wood truss bridge	L
29	Piney Grove Church	L
30	wood truss bridge	L
31	Brushy Fork School	L
	school	E
32	Coxes Snug Harbor	L
33	Oak Grove Church	G

	Oak Grove Church	E
	Oak Grove Church	C
34	WWI Battery No. 2	P
35	WWI Battery No. 3	P
36	WWI Battery No. 4	P
37	WWI Battery No. 5	P
38	WWI No. 1 Observation Point	P
39	WWI No. 5 Observation Point	P
40	WWI No. 6 Observation Point	P
41	WWI No. 7 Observation Point	P
42	WWI Gun Pits, Infantry Waves, Line of Defense	P
43	WWI Engineers' Camp	AMc

SIMPSONVILLE

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR70	SCIAA
2	38GR71	SCIAA
3	38GR88	SCIAA
	Wm. Harris' Mill	C
4	38GR89	SCIAA
5	38GR90	SCIAA
	Cox's Mill	C
	saw mill	E
	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
6	38GR91	SCIAA
7	38GR203	SCIAA
8	38GR204	SCIAA
9	38GR211	SCIAA
10	38GR212	SCIAA
11	38GR213	SCIAA
12	38GR214	SCIAA
13	Fairview Presbyterian Church	NR
	Fairview Church	C
	2 churches	D
	2 church, 1 cemetery	G
	Fairview Church	E
	Fairview Church and Cemetery	L
	Fairview Church and Cemetery	M
	Fairview Church	U
	Fairview Presbyterian Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Fairview Presbyterian Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Fairview Church, School and Cemetery	N-9
14	Cureton-Huff House	NR
	Cureton-Huff House	SCDAH
	Huffs Cemetery	N-9
15	Simpsonville Baptist Church	NR
	Simpsonville Baptist Church	DD
16	John Hampton Harrison House	SCDAH
	Great Cane break Battle site	Chicora
17	Battle of Great Cane Break (site)	SCDAH
18	Richardson Home	SCDAH
19	Toneys Store	A
	Toney's Old Field Muster Ground	AMc
20	Curetons Mill	A
	Huff's Mill	C
21	bridge	C
	bridge	E
	bridge	N-9
22	Jenkin's Bridge	C
	Jenkins Bridge	B
	Harrison's Bridge	A
	Jenkins Bridge	E
	Jenkins Bridge	F
	Jenkins Bridge	G
	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
	Jenkins Bridge	Q
23	Reedy Fork Church	C

	Reedy Fork Church	E
	Reedy Fork Church and Cemetery (Negro)	G
	Reedy Fork Church and Cemetery	L
	Reedy Fork Church and Cemetery	N-9
	Reedy Fork Church and Cemetery	M
24	Mt. Moriah Church	C
25	Fellowship Church and Cemetery	N-9
	Fellowship	C
	Fellowship Church	D
	Fellowship Church	G
	Fellowship Church and Cemetery	L
	Fellowship Community Church cemetery	Cem 2
26	P.D. Huff Post Office	C
27	Huff's Mill	C
28	Reedy Fork Church	C
	Reedy Fork Church	D
	Reedy Fork Church	E
	Reedy Fork Church and Cemetery	G
	Reedy Fork Church and Cemetery	L
	Reedy Fork Church and Cemetery	N-9
	Reedy Fork Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
29	Standing Springs Church	C
	Standing Spring Church	E
	church and cemetery	G
	Standing Springs Church and Cemetery	L
	Standing Spring Church	U
	Standing Springs Baptist Church cemetery	Cem 2
	Standing Springs Church and Cemetery	M
	Standing Springs Church	N-9
30	Smyre's Bridge	C
	Smyres Bridge	B
	Huffs Bridge	E
	Huff Bridge	G
	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
	Meyer's Bridge	U
31	gin	C
32	mill	C
33	St. Paul's Church	C
34	Log Shoals Bridge	C
	Log Shoals Bridge	E
	Log Shoals Bridge	G
	steel truss bridge	L
35	mill	C
36	Antioch Church	C
	church	D
	Antioch Church	E
	Antioch Church and Cemetery	G
	Antioch Church and Cemetery	L
	Antioch Christian Church cemetery	Cem 2
	Antioch Church and Cemetery	N-9
37	cotton gin	E
38	gin	C
	1 structure	G
39	bridge	C
	Ashmores Bridge	E

	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
40	gin	C
41	Hopewell Church	C
	church	D
	Hopewell Church	E
	Hopewell Church and Cemetery	G
	Hopewell Church and Cemetery	L
	Hopewell Church	M
	Hopewell Methodist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Hopewell Church, School and Cemetery	N-9
42	mill	C
43	business establishment	L
44	cemetery associated with church #47	G
	cemetery associated with church #47	L
	cemetery associated with church #47	M
	Unity Baptist Church cemetery	Cem 2
45	Pisgah Church	C
	church	D
	Pisgah Church	E
	Pisgah Church and Cemetery	G
	Pisgah Church and Cemetery (Negro)	L
	Pisgah Church and cemetery	M
	Pisgah United Methodist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Pisgah Church and Cemetery	N-11
46	church	D
	church	G
47	church	D
	"Aniye" church	E
	church	G
	Unity Church	L
	Unity Church	M
	church	N-9
48	2 churches	D
	Rock Creek Church	E
	Rock Creek Church	G
	Rocky Creek Church and School and Cemetery (Negro)	L
	Rocky Creek Church	M
	Rock Creek Church, School and Cemetery	N-9
49	school	D
	Standing Springs School	G
50	church	D
	church or school	G
	St. Albans School (Negro)	L
	St. Albans School (2 bldgs)	N-9
51	Old Hundred School	D
	Old Hundred School	E
	Old Hundred School	G
	Old Hundred School	N-9
52	bridge	D
	wood truss bridge	L
53	Old Mill	E
	truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
54	Big Creek Post Office	E
55	Fellowship Church	E

56	Simpsonville Cotton Mill	DD
57	Simpsonville Oil Mill	DD
58	"Colored School" (at end of "Negro Street")	DD
59	Union Church	E
	Union Church and cemetery (Negro)	L
	Union Church and Cemetery	M
	Union Church	N-9
60	Cedar Grove Baptist Church	DD
	church and cemetery	topo map
61	Parsonage (to Fairview Church)	E
62	W. H. Harrison dwelling	E
	1 structure	G
	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
63	J. E. Harrison dwelling	E
64	Cedar Grove Church	E
65	J. Ashmore dwelling	F
	farm unit	L
66	cemetery	G
	cemetery	DD
	Simpsonville City Cemetery	Cem 1
67	church	G
	Simpsonville M.E. Church	DD
68	church	G
69	Ashmore Store	G
70	Hopewell Church	G
	Hopewell School	L
71	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
72	Albans School	G
	farm unit	L
	St. Albans Church	N-9
73	structure	G
	Ashemore cemetery	N-9
74	cotton gin and saw mill	E
75	cemetery	G
	cemetery	L
76	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-12
77	business establishment	L
78	vacant business establishment	L
	Old Hundred (bldg)	C
79	bridge	L
80	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
81	wood truss bridge	L
82	farm unit	L
83	wood truss bridge	L
84	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
85	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
86	farm unit	L
87	2 farm units, 2 tenant houses	L
88	Forest Ranger Station	L
89	steel truss bridge	L
90	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
	1 building	N-9
	shop	C
91	wood truss bridge	L

	bridge	N-9
92	Chain Gang Camp	L
93	business establishment	L
94	farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
95	Rock Hill School	L
96	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
97	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
98	farm unit, 4 tenant houses.	L
99	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
100	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
101	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
102	cemetery	L
	Harrison Cemetery	N-9
	Harrison Family Cemetery	Cem 2
	Harrison Cemetery	Cem 1
103	business establishment	L
104	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
105	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
106	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
107	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
108	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
109	Hopewell School (Negro)	L
110	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
111	farm unit	L
112	2 farm unit, 3 tenant house	L
113	gravel, sand or clay pit	L
114	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
115	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
116	farm unit	L
117	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
118	farm unit, tenant house	L
119	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
120	farm unit	L
121	St. Albans School	L
	St. Albans School	M
122	business establishment	L
123	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
	1 building	N-9
124	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
125	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
126	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
127	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
128	vacant business	L
129	seasonal cotton gin	L
130	vacant farm unit	L
131	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
132	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
133	farm unit, 1 tenant house	L
134	farm unit, 7 tenant house	L
135	business establishment	L
136	cemetery	L
	cemetery	M

137	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
	1 structure	N-9
138	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
	Smyrna Church	M
139	correctional institution	M
140	Church of God	M
141	Forest Ranger Station	M
	Fork Shoals fire tower	N-9
142	garbage and rubbish disposal	M
143	bridge	N-9
144	bridge	N-9
145	bridge	N-9
146	bridge	N-9
147	bridge	N-9
148	bridge	N-9
149	bridge	N-9
150	church	N-9
151	bridge	N-9
152	bridge	N-9
153	bridge	N-9
154	bridge	N-9
155	bridge	N-9
156	bridge	N-9
157	Ashemore Cemetery	N-9
158	bridge	N-9
159	bridge	N-9
160	bridge	N-9
161	bridge	N-9
162	bridge	N-9
163	bridge	N-9
164	Pollards Cemetery	N-9
165	cemetery	N-9
166	school house	C
167	Pearson's Mill	C
168	Great Cane Break and "Old Fort"	AMc
169	mill	U
170	Joyce Cemetery	Cem 1
171	bridge	E
	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
172	Harrisons Bridge	E
	Harrison Bridge	G
	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-9
173	Abner Cureton Graveyard	Cem 1

SLATER

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR13	SCIAA
2	38GR99	SCIAA
3	38GR103	SCIAA
4	38GR113	SCIAA
5	38GR152	SCIAA
6	38GR153	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
7	38GR225	SCIAA
8	George Salmon House	NR
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	George Salmon Cemetery	Cem 1
	George Salmon Cemetery	Cem 2
9	John H. Goodwin House	NR
	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
	church	D
	church or school	G
10	Blythe-Hagood House	SCDAH
11	Golden Grove Baptist Church	SCDAH
	Golden Grove Church and Cemetery	M
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Golden Grove Church and Cemetery (Negro)	L
	two churches	D
	Golden Grove Church and School	N-4
12	Locust Hill Church and Cemetery	M
	Locust Hill Church, School, and Cemetery	L
	church	D
	church or school	G
	Locust Church	E
	Locust Hill Church	N-4
	Locust Hill Church	R
	Locust Hill Baptist Church	Cem 2
13	Belvue Church	M
	Bellview School	L
	school	D
	church	G
	Bellevue School	N-4
14	Cleveland Family Cemetery	Cem 2
15	church	M
	Bethany Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
16	Walnut Grove Church	M
17	Cox Chapel and Cemetery	M
	Cox Chapel and Cemetery	L
	church	G
	Cox Chapel	N-4
	J. Cox's	C
	Cox Chapel Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Cox Chapel Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
18	Lima Church and Cemetery	M
	Lima Church and Cemetery	L
	school	D
	church or school	G
	Lima Church	E
	Lima Church	N-4

	Lima Church	C
	Lima Church	U
	Lima Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Lima Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
19	Church of God	M
20	church	M
21	cemetery	M
	cemetery	N-4
	Hightower Hawkins Cemetery	Cem 1
22	church	M
23	Cross Plains Church and Cemetery	M
	Cross Plains Church, School, and Cemetery	L
	church	D
	church or school	G
	Cross Plains Church and School	E
	Cross Plains Church and School	N-4
	Cross Plains Church	C
	Cross Plains Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
24	Cool Springs Church and Cemetery	M
	church and cemetery	L
	church	D
	Cool Springs Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	church	N-4
25	New Liberty Church and Cemetery	M
	New Liberty Church and Cemetery	L
	church	D
	area of Panther Fork Post Office	F
	church and cemetery	G
	New Liberty Church	E
	Liberty Church	N-4
	New Liberty Church	C
	New Liberty Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	New Liberty Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
26	Meadow Fork Church and Cemetery	M
	Meadow Fork Church and School (Negro)	L
	Mush Creek Church	E
	Meadow Fork School and Church	N-4
	cemetery and school house	C
27	Mush Creek Church and Cemetery	M
	Mush Creek Cemetery	L
	church	D
	Mush Creek Church	G
	Mush Creek School	E
	Mush Creek School	N-4
	Mush Creek Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Mush Creek Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
28	Mountain Grove Church and Cemetery	M
	Mountain Grove School (Negro)	L
	2 churches	D
	Mountain Grove Church, 2 bldg.	G
	Mountain Grove Church	E
	Mountain Grove Church	N-4
	Mountain Grove Church and Cemetery	R
29	correctional facility	M
30	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
31	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

32	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
33	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
34	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
35	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Mountain Grove School	R
36	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
37	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
38	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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63	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
64	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
65	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
66	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	cemetery	L
67	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
68	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
69	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
70	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
71	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
72	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	church	G
	cemetery	N-4
	Marietta Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
73	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
74	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
75	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
76	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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102	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
103	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
104	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
105	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	church	D
	church or school	G
106	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
107	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
108	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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133	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
134	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
135	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
136	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

	Hagood Cemetery	AMc
137	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
138	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
139	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
140	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
141	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
142	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
143	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	4 farm units	L
144	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
145	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
146	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
147	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
148	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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151	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
152	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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155	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
156	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
157	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
158	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	school house	C
159	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
160	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
161	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
162	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	saw mill	E
163	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
164	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
165	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
166	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
167	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
168	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	church	D
	Mount Carmel Church	E
	church	N-4
	Mt. Carmel Methodist Church (Negro)	Cem 1
169	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
170	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
171	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
172	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
173	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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185	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
186	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
187	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
188	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Cox Brothers	E
189	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
190	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
191	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
192	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	saw mill	L
193	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
194	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
195	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
196	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
197	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
198	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
199	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	cemetery	Cem 2
200	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Cox Brothers	E
201	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
202	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
203	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
204	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
205	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
206	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Lima School	L
	Lima School	N-4
207	Paradise Camp	M
208	cemetery	L
	cemetery	N-4
	Petty-Pool Family Cemetery	Cem 2
209	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-4
210	grist mill	L
	Baileys roller and grist mill	E
211	Mountain Grove Church and Cemetery (Negro)	L
212	seasonal cotton gin	L
	cotton gin	E
213	wood truss bridge	L
214	Pleasant Retreat School	L
	church	D
	church or school	G
	Pleasant Retreat Church	E
	Pleasant Retreat School	N-4
	school	C
	Pleasant Retreat School	R
215	Lincoln School (Negro)	L
	Lincoln School	N-4
216	Mount Ararat Church (Negro)	L
	church	G
	Mount Ararat Church	N-4
	Mount Ararat School	C
217	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	G
218	wood truss bridge	L

	bridge	G
219	wood truss bridge	L
220	farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
221	wood truss bridge	
	bridge	E
222	Spring Lake Lodge	L
223	grist mill	L
	grist mill	E
224	Maridell School	L
	Marrydell School	N-4
224	Mount Zion School (Negro)	L
226	Callahan School	L
	Flat Rock School	N-4
227	Trammel School	D
228	2 churches	D
	church or school, 2 bldgs.	G
229	church	D
	church or school	G
230	church or school	G
	Mary-Well School	E
231	cotton gin	E
232	cotton gin	E
233	Locust Hill School	N-4
234	cemetery	N-4
235	cotton gin	N-4
236	church	N-4
237	cemetery	N-4
238	Rustic Lodge	N-4
239	Terry Creek School	N-4
240	cemetery	C
241	Bruton's Old Field Muster Ground	AMc
242	site of Head of Enoree Church	AMc
243	Slater Church of God Cemetery	Cem 2
244	Pleasant View Church and Cemetery	M
245	Hilltop-Garland Cemetery	Cem 2
246	Blyth Family Cemetery	Cem 1
247	Taylor-McKinney Cemetery	Cem 1
248	Boswell Graveyard	Cem 1
249	Sheldon Cemetery	Cem 1
250	Old Lima Chapel Cemetery	Cem 1
	Trammell Cemetery	Cem 1
251	Cherry Hill Church Cemetery	topo map
252	Picket Cemetery	Cem 1

STANDING STONE MOUNTAIN

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR151	SCIAA
2	Symmes Chapel	M
3	Gap Creek Church	M
	Gap Creek Church and Cemetery	L
	church	D
	church	G
	Gap Creek Church	E
	Gap Creek Church	N-4
	Gap Creek Church	C
	Gap Creek Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Gap Creek Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
4	Gap Creek School	L
	school	D
	Gap Creek School	G
5	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
6	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
7	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
8	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	cave	AMc
9	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
10	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
11	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
12	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
13	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
14	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
15	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
16	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
17	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
18	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
19	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Drakes Inn	AMc
20	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
21	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
22	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	canning factory	E
23	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
24	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Johnson Church and School	E
25	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
26	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
27	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
28	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
29	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
30	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
31	Girl Scout Camp	M
32	saw mill	L
33	Cleveland Cabins	N-2
34	Camp Hide Away	M
35	Camp Greenville	M
	Camp Greenville YMCA	N-3

TAYLORS

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR16	SCIAA
2	38GR74	SCIAA
3	38GR110	SCIAA
4	38GR116	SCIAA
5	38GR170	SCIAA
6	38GR191	SCIAA
7	38GR205	SCIAA
8	Camp Sevier	Richard Sawyer
	HQ 60th Inf Bldg	X
	HQ 59th Inf Bldg	X
	120th Inf/118th Inf Drill Grounds	X
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
9	Camp Sevier Trenches	Richard Sawyer
10	Gilreath's Mill	NR
	Gilreath's Mill	SCDAH
	Gilreath's Mill	G
	Gilreath Mill	E
11	Thomas-Belton O'Neal House	SCDAH
12	Edward's Mill	SCDAH
	Edward's Mill	C
	Edwards Mill	U
	business establishment	L
13	Jesse Taylor House	SCDAH
14	Chick Springs	SCDAH
	Chicke Springs	B
15	Hardy-Gilbreath House	SCDAH
16	Fork Church and Cemetery	M
	Fork Church, School and Cemetery	L
	Enoree Fork School, Church and Cemetery	J
	church	D
	Fork Church	G
	Fork Church	C
	Fork Church and school	N-6
	Enoree Fork Church	E
17	cemetery	M
18	Brushy Creek Church	M
	Brushy Creek Church	L
	Brushy Fork Church	N-6
	Brushy Creek Church	C
	church	J
	church	D
	church	G
	Brushy Creek Church	U
	Brushy Creek Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
19	Junkyard-scrap metal	M
20	Reid School	M
	Reid School	L
	Reid School	J
	church	G
	Reid School	S
	Reid School	N-6
21	Jackson Grove Church and Cemetery	M
	Jackson Grove Church and Cemetery	L

	cemetery	J
	Jackson Grove Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	cemetery, associated with church #183	G
22	Faith Temple and Cemetery	M
	Sandy Flat Church	E
	Faith Temple Church Cemetery	Cem 2
23	Double Springs Church and Cemetery	M
	Double Spring Church and Cemetery	L
	Double Springs School and Cemetery	J
	Double Spring Church	U
	Double Springs Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Double Springs Church (2 bldgs)	D
	Double Springs Church and Cemetery	G
	Double Spring Church	E
	Double Springs Church	Q
	Double Springs Church	C
	Double Springs Church	N-5
	Double Spring Church	R
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
24	Jubilee Church and Cemetery	M
	Jubilee Church, School and Cemetery (Negro)	L
	Jubilee Church	R
	church	J
	2 churches	D
	Jubilee Church	N-6
	Jubilee Church	T
25	St. Marks Church and Cemetery	M
	St. Marks Church	L
	St. Marks Church	J
	St. Marks Church	E
	St. Marks Church	C
	church	D
	church	N-6
	St. Marks Church and Cemetery	T
26	Lincoln School	M
27	Pleasant View Church	M
	church	J
	Pleasant View Church	N-6
	Pleasant View Church	R
	Pleasant View Church	T
28	Milford Church and Cemetery	M
	Milford Church and Cemetery	L
	Milford Church	C
	Milford Church	E
	Milford Church	J
	church	D
	Milford Church	G
	Milford Church and Cemetery	N-6
	Milford Church	U
	Milford Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Milford Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
29	O'Neal Church and Cemetery	M
	O'Neal School	L
	O'Neal Church	E
	2 churches	D
30	Washington Church and Cemetery	M

	Washington Church and Cemetery	L
	church	D
	Washington Church	N-5
	Washington Church	E
	Washington Church	C
	Washington Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
31	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
32	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
33	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
34	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
35	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
36	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	cotton gin	L
37	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
38	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
39	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
	original Brushy Creek site	AMc
40	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
41	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
42	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
43	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
44	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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47	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
48	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
49	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
50	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
51	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	factory	C
52	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
53	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
54	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
55	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
56	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
57	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
58	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
59	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
60	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	church	D
61	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
62	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
63	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
64	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
65	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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75	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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78	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
79	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
80	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
81	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Jackson Grove Church	R
82	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Roberts Mill, roller and grist mill	E
83	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
84	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
85	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
86	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
87	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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90	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
91	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
92	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
93	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
94	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
95	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Paris Mountain Church	C
96	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
97	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
98	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
99	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
100	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
101	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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103	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
104	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
105	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
106	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
107	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
108	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
109	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
110	Green's Mill	C
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
111	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
112	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
113	Greens Mill, roller and grist mill	E
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
114	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
115	U.S.P.H.S. Hospital	G
	Camp Sevier Base Hospital	X
116	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
117	Paris Mountain Cemetery (near the old charcoal kiln)	Cem 1
118	Rock Hill Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
119	Green Family Cemetery	Cem 2
120	John Landrum Bomar's Home	L. Neal
121	Edwards Road Church and Edwards Family Cemetery	Cem 1
	Edwards Road Church and Edwards Family Cemetery	Cem 2
122	Camp Sevier, HQ 55th F.A. Bde.	X
123	Camp Sevier, 3 structures: vacant," MT", "Sanitary Train."	X

124	cemetery	topo map
	Hawkins Family Cemetery	AMc
125	Camp Sevier, 105th Engineers	X
126	cemetery	T
127	Fork Church	T
128	Camp Sevier, Divisional Stockade	X
129	Camp Sevier, 4 bldgs: 119th Inf., 120th Inf., 115th M.C. Btn. and 116th M.G. Btn, Vacant	X
130	Brushy Creek Church	T
131	Double Spring School	R
	Double Spring School	N-5
	church or school	G
132	Mountain View Church	R
133	wood truss bridge	L
	Hammett Bridge	N-6
	Hammetts Bridge	U
134	1 farm unit, 3 tenant house	L
135	Brushy Creek School	L
	Brushy Creek School	D
	Brushy Creek Church	J
	Brushy Creek Church	G
	Brushy Creek Church	E
	Brush Fork School	N-6
	Brushy Creek School	T
136	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
137	cemetery	L
	Morris Cemetery	N-6
	Morris Family Cemetery	Cem 2
138	cemetery	L
139	wood truss bridge	L
140	wood truss bridge	L
141	Shockley Family Cemetery	Cem 2
142	White Oak Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	White Oak Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	cemetery	topo map
143	wood truss bridge	L
144	Mountain Creek Church and Cemetery	L
	Mountain Creek Church	J
	church	D
	Mountain Creek Church and Cemetery	G
	Mountain Creek Church	C
	Mountain Creek Church	E
	Mountain Creek Church and 2 cemeteries	N-6
	Mountain Creek Church and Cemetery	S
	Mountain Creek Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Mountain Creek Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
145	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	E
	bridge	N-6
146	wood truss bridge	L
147	1 farm unit, 5 tenant houses	L
148	steel truss bridge	L
149	wood truss bridge	L
150	1 farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
151	correctional institution	L
152	wood truss bridge	L

153	wood truss bridge	L
154	gin	L
155	cemetery	L
	cemetery	J
	cemetery	G
	Fairview Church	E
	cemetery, associated with church #185	N-6
	Fairview Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
156	seasonal gin	L
157	seasonal gin	L
158	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-5
	bridge	G
159	steel truss bridge	L
	Mays Bridge	E
	bridge	N-5
	Mays Bridge	C
	Mays Bridge	Q
160	St. Paul School	L
161	wood truss bridge	L
162	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
163	industrial plant	L
	Gilreath Canning Factory	E
164	industrial plant, vacant	L
165	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	E
166	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
167	1 farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
168	Brown School (Negro)	L
	Browns School	J
	Browns School	N-6
169	steel truss bridge	L
170	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-6
171	industrial plant, vacant	L
	J. Darby's Mill	C
	Darbys Mill	U
172	steel truss bridge	L
	Kings Bridge	E
	bridge	N-6
173	wood truss bridge	L
	Walker Road Bridge	Y
174	wood truss bridge	L
	Pine Log Ford Road Bridge	Y
175	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
176	1 farm unit, 3 tenant houses	L
177	cemetery	J
	cemetery, associated with church #135	G
	cemetery, associated with church #18	N-6
	Brushy Creek Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	Hawkins Family Cemetery	Cem 2
178	Rock Hill School	J
	school	D
	Rock Hill Church	E
	Rock Hill Church and school	T
	East North Baptist Church	Cem 2

179	YMCA bldg.	X
180	County Hospital	J
181	school	J
	church	D
	Paris School	N-6
	Paris School	X
182	Cross Roads School	J
	school	D
	Crossroads School	G
	Crossroads Church	N-6
	Browns School	R
183	Jackson Grove School and Church	J
	church	D
	Jackson Grove Church	G
	Jackson Grove Church	E
	Jackson Grove Church	N-6
	Jackson Grove Church	C
	Jackson Grove Church	Q
	Jackson Grove Methodist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
184	O'Neal School	J
	2 churches	G
	O'Neal School	N-5
	O'Neal School	L. Neal
185	church	J
	Fairview Church	N-6
186	Fairview School	J
	school	D
	Fairview School	G
187	Jubilee School	J
	school	N-6
	Jubilee School	R
	Jubilee School	T
188	Fairview Church	G
189	church	J
	church	E
190	2 churches	J
	church	D
191	church	D
	church	G
	Taylors First Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
192	Taylors Mill, roller and grist mill	E
	Taylor's Mill	C
	mill	U
193	cotton gin	E
194	Mathews Church	E
195	Gilreath Bridge	E
	Gilreath's Bridge	C
196	D.W. Rease cotton gin	E
197	St. Mathew Church	E
198	Paris Mountain Church	E
199	bridge	N-6
200	prison camp	N-6
201	cemetery	N-6
202	Fairview School	N-6
203	bridge	N-6
204	church	N-6

205	bridge	N-6
206	bridge	N-6
207	St. Mathews Church	N-6
	St. Mathews Church	C
208	Suber Cemetery	N-6
	Jas. Suber residence	C
	Suber Family Cemetery	Cem 2
209	Shockley Cemetery	N-6
	Jno. Shockley residence	C
210	bridge	N-6
211	Green Cemetery	N-6
212	Hammett Cemetery	N-6
213	Howels Cemetery	N-6
	Howell Cemetery	AMc
	cemetery	T
214	dairy	N-6
215	mill (possibly Few and Kendricks)	N-6
	mill	U
	vicinity of Americus Fowler's rice mill	AMc
216	gin	C
217	mill	C
218	mill	C
219	store	C
220	Camp Sevier, 2 bldgs: vacant and Bakery Co	X
221	Camp Sevier, 119th Inf. Drill Grounds and YMCA bldg.	X
222	105th Ammunition Train and 105th Field Stg. Bn.	X
223	Rush Cemetery	Cem 1
224	Bruce Burying Ground	Cem 1
225	original Brushy Creek Cemetery	AMc
226	Hawkins-Green Cemetery	Cem 1

TIGERVILLE

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR108	SCIAA
2	38GR109	SCIAA
3	38GR100	SCIAA
4	38GR101	SCIAA
5	38GR102	SCIAA
6	38GR14	SCIAA
	Cannon Family Cemetery	Cem 2
7	38GR18	SCIAA
8	38GR19	SCIAA
9	38GR28	SCIAA
10	38GR111	SCIAA
11	38GR107	SCIAA
12	38GR27	SCIAA
13	38GR15	SCIAA
14	O'Hara Barton House	SCDAH
15	John Dill House	SCDAH
	J. Dill House	E
16	Dickey House	SCDAH
	church	D
	New Salem Church	E
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
17	Ballenger's Mill	SCDAH
	T. Ballenger, roller and grist mill	E
18	Campbell's Covered Bridge	SCDAH
	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-5
	Campbell Bridge	Y
19	S.C. Berry's Mill	SCDAH
	Berry's Mill	N-5
	Factory Site, roller and grist mill	E
	Berry's Mill	AMc
20	St. Paul Church and Cemetery	M
	St. Paul Church	N-5
	St. Paul Church and Cemetery (Negro)	L
	St. Paul Church	E
21	Beaver Dam Church	M
	Church of God	N-5
22	Skyland School	M
23	Ebenezer Welcome Church and Cemetery	M
	Ebenezeer Church and school	E
	Ebenezer Welcome Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
24	Church of God	M
25	Glassy Mountain Church and Cemetery	M
	Glassy Church and Cemetery	L
	Glassy Mountain Church and school	E
	church	D
	school house	P
	Glassy Mountain Church	C
	Glassy Mountain Church	N-5
	Glassy Mountain Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
26	Mt. Pleasant Church and Cemetery	M
	church	D
	cemetery	L

	Pleasant Mountain School	N-5
	church or school	G
27	Church of God	M
	Church of God	N-5
	Church of God	L
	Glass Mountain Church of God Cemetery	Cem 2
28	Highland Church and Cemetery	M
	Highland Church, School and Cemetery	L
	Highlands Church and school	N-5
	Dickie's Chapel	C
	church	D
	2 churches	G
	Highland Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	Highland Baptist Church Cemetery (formerly Dickie's Chapel)	Cem 1
29	Salem Church and Cemetery	M
	N. Salem Church	C
	Salem Church and school	N-5
	Salem Church and school (Negro)	L
	church	G
	church	D
30	Tiger Church and Cemetery	M
	Tiger Church and school	E
	H. of Tyger	C
	Tyger Church	U
31	Pleasant Hill Church and Cemetery	M
	2 churches	D
	Pleasant Hill Church, School and Cemetery	L
	Pleasant Hill Church	C
	Pleasant Hill Church	E
	Pleasant Hill Meeting House	F
	2 churches	G
	Pleasant Hill Church	Q
	Pleasant Hill Church	U
	Pleasant Hill Church and school	N-5
	Pleasant Hill Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
32	Few Chapel and Cemetery	M
	Few Chapel and Cemetery	L
	church	D
	Fews Chapel	E
	Fews	F
	Fews Chapel	C
	Fews Meeting House	Q
	Fews Church	U
	Few Chapel	G
	Fews Chapel	N-5
	Fews Chapel Cemetery	Cem 2
33	correctional institution	M
34	Barton Chapel and Cemetery	M
	Barton Chapel and Cemetery	L
	Bartons Chapel	N-5
35	Blue Ridge School	M
36	Camp Creek Church	M
	Camp Creek Church and Cemetery	L
	church or school	G
	Camp Creek Church	N-5
	Camp Creek Church	E

	church	D
37	Gum Springs Church	M
	Gum Spring Church and Cemetery	L
	Gum Springs Church	N-5
	Gum Springs Pentecostal Holiness Church Cemetery	Cem 2
38	Mountain View Church and Cemetery	M
	church	D
	Mountain View Church and school	L
	Mountain View Church	E
	church or school	G
	Mountain View Church	N-5
	Mountain View Methodist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
39	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
40	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
41	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
42	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	church	D
43	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
44	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
45	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
46	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
47	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
48	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
49	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
50	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
51	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
52	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
53	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	cotton gin, T.J. McStohall	E
54	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
55	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
56	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
57	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
58	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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79	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
80	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

81	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
82	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
83	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	J.F. Reese cotton gin	E
84	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
85	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
86	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
87	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
88	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
89	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
90	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
91	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
92	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
93	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
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126	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
127	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
128	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
129	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
130	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	school house	C
131	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
132	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
133	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

134	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
135	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
136	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
137	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
138	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
139	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
140	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
141	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
142	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	1 farm unit, 6 tenant houses	L
143	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
144	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
145	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
146	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	North Greenville High School	E
147	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
148	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
149	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
150	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
151	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	cemetery, associated with church 153	G
152	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	cemetery, associated with church 153	L
	Tyger Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
153	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	Tiger Church	N-5
	Tiger Church	L
	church	D
	Tiger Church	G
	Tiger Church	C
	Tyger Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
154	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
155	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
156	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
157	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
158	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
159	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
160	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
161	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
162	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
163	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
164	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
165	Suddeth Family Cemetery	Cem 2
166	Pennington Family Cemetery	Cem 2
167	William Few log cabin (site)	L. Neal
168	Howard Cemetery	AMc
169	school house	C
170	cemetery	topo map
171	school house	C
172	Old Fews Chapel site and Cemetery	Cem 1
173	Church of God of Prophecy - Highland	Cem 2
174	correctional institution	M
175	Glassy School	L
	church	D
	church or school	G
	Glassy Mountain Church and Cemetery	P

	Glassy Mountain School	N-5
176	Mt. Pleasant Church and Cemetery	L
	Mount Pleasant Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
177	Robertson School	L
	Robertson School	E
178	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-5
179	grist mill	L
180	cemetery	L
	Few's Cemetery	L. Neal
	Fews Cemetery	N-5
181	wood truss bridge	L
	Fews Bridge	E
	Fews Bridge	C
	Fews Bridge	U
182	seasonal gin	L
183	Lendan School	L
	store	C
	Lenoah School	N-5
184	cemetery	L
	cemetery	N-5
185	grist mill	L
186	Ebenezer Church and Cemetery	L
	church	D
	Ebenezer Church	G
	Ebenezer Church	N-5
187	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-5
188	Ebenezer School	L
	Liberty School	N-5
189	grist mill	L
190	wood truss bridge	L
191	Tiger Eye School (Negro)	L
	Tyger School	G
	school	D
	Tiger I School	N-5
192	Jordan School	L
	Jordan School	N-5
193	seasonal gin	L
194	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-5
195	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-5
196	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
197	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
198	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
199	grist mill	L
200	wood truss bridge	L
	bridge	N-5
201	seasonal gin and grist mill	L
202	steel truss bridge	L
203	farm unit, 2 tenant houses	L
204	church	D
	Mountain View School	G
	Mountain View School	N-5
205	church	D

	church or school	G
206	school	D
	Few School	G
207	school	D
	Pleasant Hill School	G
208	church	D
209	church	D
210	church	D
	church or school	G
	Camp Creek Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
211	church	D
	Pleasant Mountain Church	G
	Pleasant Mountain Church	N-5
212	church or school	G
213	H. Collins, roller and grist mill	E
	Collin's Mill	C
214	J.C. Cox & W. McKinney, roller and grist mill, cotton gin	E
215	E.B. Campbell, roller and grist mill	E
	J. Gambrell's Mill	C
216	Concord School	E
217	bridge	N-5
218	St. Paul School	N-5
219	fish hatchery	N-5
220	CCC Camp	N-5
221	cemetery	N-5
222	L. Green, mill	C
223	mill	C
224	school house	C
225	Dunahoo's Mill	C
226	cemetery	C
227	gin	C
228	Jno. B. Clidders and Co.	C
229	WW I battery #6	P
230	WW I muster ground	P
231	WW I No. 2 Artillery Camp	P
232	WW I battery #2	P
233	WW I battery # 4	P
234	WW I battery # 5	P
235	school house	C
236	cemetery	topo map
237	house of William Bomar	L. Neal
238	house of Spartan Goodlett Bomar	L. Neal

WARE SHOALS WEST

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	Gumbrell's Bridge	C
	Gambrel's Bridge	U
2	Kay Bridge	G
	steel truss bridge	L
	bridge	M
	Kay Bridge	N-11
3	New Bridge	N-11

ZIRCONIA

Site Number	Site Description	Source Map
1	38GR2	SCIAA
	Mertville School	L
2	38GR3	SCIAA
	Camp Old Indian	M
	Camp Old Indian	L
	Old Indian Scout Camp	N-4
3	38GR24	SCIAA
4	38GR94	SCIAA
5	38GR95	SCIAA
	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
6	Poinsette Bridge	NR
	Poinsette Bridge	SCDAH
	Old Poinsette Bridge	N-4
7	Terry Creek Church and Cemetery	M
	Holiness Church and Cemetery	L
	Terry Creek School	E
	Terry Creek Church	N-4
	Terry's Creek Pentecostal Holiness Church Cemetery	Cem 2
8	Fork Church and Cemetery	M
	North Fork Church and Cemetery	L
	church or school	G
	North Fork Church	E
	North Fork Church	N-4
	North Fork Church and School House	C
	North Fork Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 1
	North Fork Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
9	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
10	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
	church	G
11	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
12	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
13	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
14	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
15	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
16	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
17	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
18	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
19	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
20	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
21	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
22	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
23	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
24	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
25	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
26	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
27	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
28	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
29	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
30	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
31	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
32	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
33	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
34	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove

35	Hightower-Hagood Cemetery	AMc
36	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
37	archaeological site	Wes Breedlove
38	cemetery	M
	Hood/Morgan Cemetery	AMc
39	Camp White Pine	M
40	Cherry Hill Baptist Church Cemetery	Cem 2
	family cemetery	Cem 1
41	North Fork School	L
	church or school	G
	North Fork School	N-1
	school	N-4
42	grist mill	L
	Camp Old Indian	L
	Camp Old Indian	M
	Old Indian Scout Camp	N-4
43	farm unit, 4 tenant houses	L
44	wood truss bridge	L
45	bridge	N-2
46	Fall Creek High School	N-2
47	cemetery	N-2
48	bridge	N-2
49	Old Indian Mountain Cemetery	N-4
	Gosnell-Pruitt Cemetery	Cem 2
50	school house	C
51	Chestnut Springs	AMc
52	site of Poinsett Spring and basin	AMc
53	Hightower-Hagood Cemetery	Cem 1

INDEX

In order to prevent the accumulation of hundreds of page numbers, the index does not contain references to generic site types, such as "cemeteries," "churches," "archaeological sites," or "mills." It does reference unusual site typles, such as "canning factories," and "chain gain camps." In addition, cemeteries are listed only when they were identified under a specific name. Cemeteries shown with a church, and given the same name as the church, are typically not listed separately.