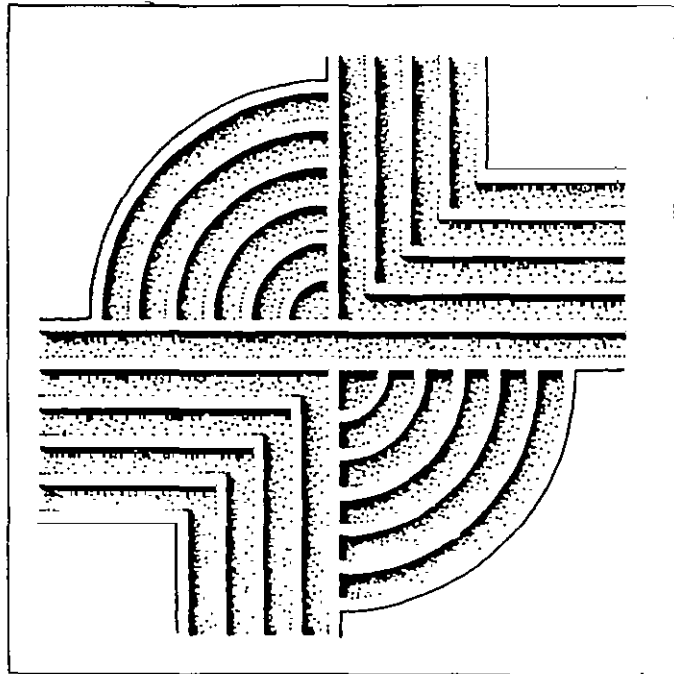


**ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE PROPOSED
GREER/RIVERSIDE HIGH SCHOOL SITE,
GREENVILLE COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA**



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GREER/RIVERSIDE HIGH SCHOOL SITE,
GREENVILLE COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA**

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ABSTRACT

The proposed project involves the construction of a new high school on approximately 103 acres between Gibbs Shoal Road and Hammett Bridge Road in eastern Greenville County. The work would directly impact approximately 35 acres of the tract through clearing, grubbing, grading, and fill operations, as well as other related construction activities.

An intensive archaeological survey of the project of the project, in conjunction with reconnaissance level historical investigations were undertaken by Chicora Foundation at the request of the Greenville County School District. The historical research included a generalized overview of the project area, which identified topics of specific historical interest. For example, the project area was found to be in the vicinity of Jacob Hite's colonial settlement and the area where he was eventually killed by Cherokee Indians. This resulted in additional research which identified Hite's settlement as being on an adjacent tract, not involved in the current project.

Chicora Foundation also coordinated our survey with a local avocational archaeologist, Mr. Wesley Breedlove, for information on archaeological resources in the project area. In addition, the site files at the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology were also examined for pertinent information. Information on previously recorded National Register sites or architectural/historical sites in the project area was requested from the S.C. Department of Archives and History.

Some portions of the tract were evaluated as having a low archaeological potential, either because of steep slopes or extensive erosion. Those areas evaluated as exhibiting a high archaeological potential were investigated through either a pedestrian survey or systematic shovel testing at either 25 or 100 foot intervals. Portions of the tract not anticipated to be directly impacted were excluded from the survey.

As a result of the archaeological survey three sites were identified. Site 38GR217 is an early twentieth century house site evidenced by landscape features and a light scatter of historic artifacts such as whiteware and clear glass. No architectural remains were identified. Site 38GR218 is likely associated with 38GR217 and may represent an outbuilding. Site 38GR219 is a very small Native American lithic scatter. No remains were identified during this survey, but the location is recorded on the basis of Mr. Breedlove's previous investigations. Unfortunately, he study failed to identify diagnostic materials. While all of these sites are helpful in reconstructing Greenville County's rich heritage, non are recommended as eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places and no further investigations appear warranted.

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INTRODUCTION

This investigation was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley and Ms. Missy Trusdale of Chicora Foundation, Inc. for Mr. David Smith of the Greenville County School District. Located between Hammett Bridge Road to the north and Gibb Shoal Road to the south, the project area is southwest of the City of Greer in eastern Greenville County (Figure 1).

The project involves the construction of a new high school, tentatively called the Greer/Riverside High School, on approximately 103 acres of property, between the existing Greer and Riverside schools. The new facility would serve as a consolidated school and would involve direct construction disturbance to about 35 acres of the tract. Included is the new building, parking areas, a football practice field, track, soccer field, and associated support facilities. Construction would involve clearing, grubbing, grading, and filling different areas on the site, as well as laying utilities and the construction of access drives.

This study is intended to provide a detailed explanation of the archaeological survey of the new school facility and the findings. Chicora received a request for a proposal on April 11, 1994 and authorization to conduct the study on May 30, 1994. After consultation between Chicora Foundation and representatives of the Greenville County School District, as well as after discussions between the District and the S.C. State Historic Preservation Office, it was determined that this work was not required by any federal or state historic preservation act. It was, however, funded based on the possibility that historic resources might be impacted and the desire of the District to preserve and protect those resources where ever possible.

The project included examination of the statewide archaeological site files held by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology for information pertinent to the project area. Mr. Wes Breedlove, a local avocational archaeologist with several decades of experience in the Greenville area who has identified over 2000 archaeological sites in the region, was also consulted concerning possible site locations. No sites were previously identified by the S.C. Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, although Mr. Breedlove had previously identified two sites on the school tract (a twentieth century house site and a small lithic scatter). In addition, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History was consulted on June 2, 1994 about National Register properties and previous architectural surveys in the area. The field investigations were conducted on June 1, 1994 by Dr. Michael Trinkley and Ms. Missy Trusdale. This field work, described in more detail below, involved 16 person hours. Laboratory and report production were conducted at Chicora's laboratories in Columbia, South Carolina on June 2 and 3, 1994. The historical research was conducted by Ms. Ann McCuen with the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission, primarily at the Greenville County RMC and Probate Court Offices, on June 1 and 2, 1994.

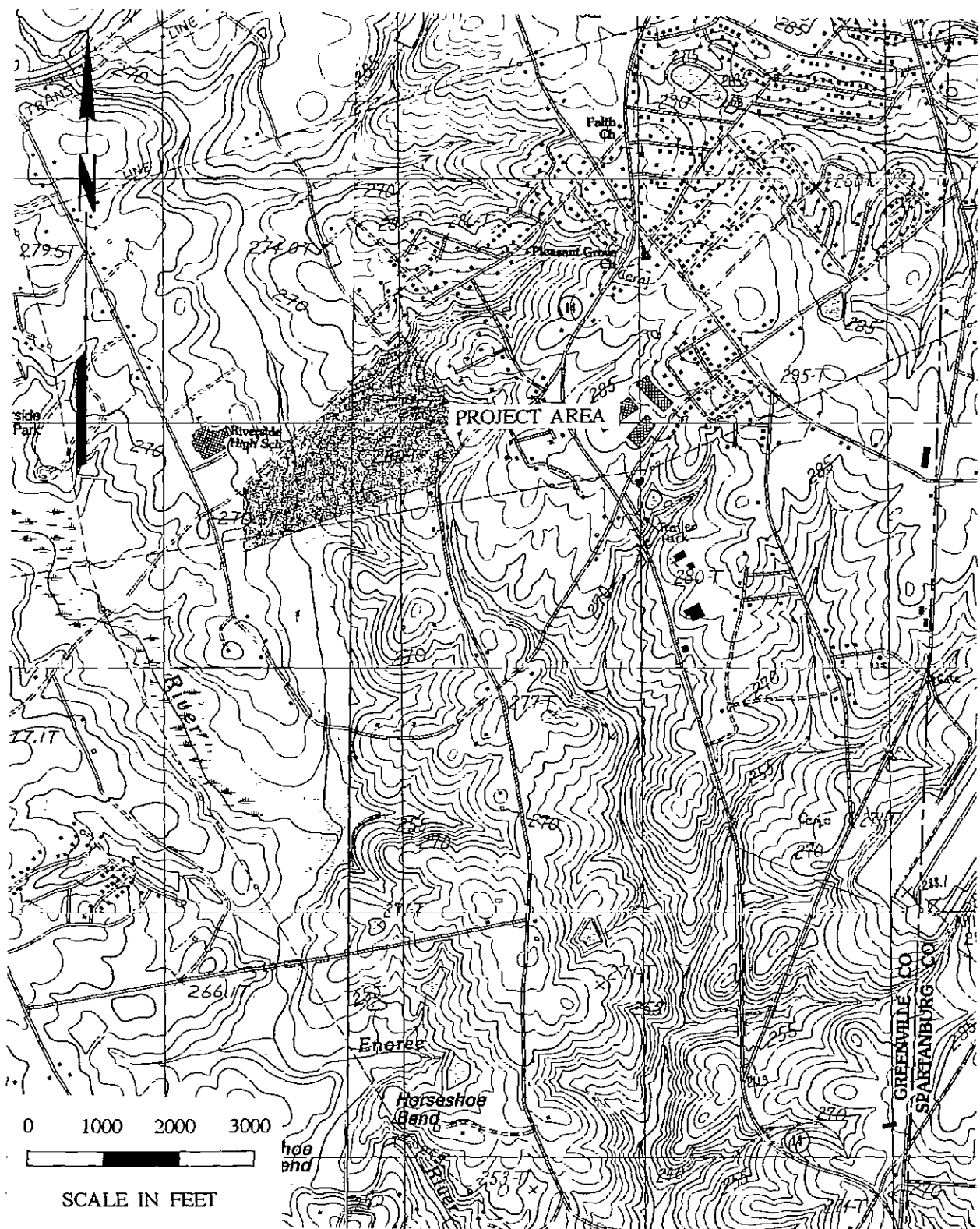


Figure 1. Vicinity of the proposed Greer/Riverside High School (Taylors and Greer provisional USGS topographic maps).

ENVIRONMENTAL BACKGROUND

The project area is located in the eastern portion of Greenville County, just southwest of the City of Greer (Figure 2). The bulk of Greenville County falls within the Piedmont Physiographic Province (although the northern one-quarter is found in the Blue Ridge Mountains). The general slope of the terrain is southeastward, which is the general direction of the major drainages within the County, such as the Reedy River or the nearby Enoree River. Encompassed by the project are several small drainages of what is often called Prince's Creek, which flows southwesterly into the Enoree. The land in the Piedmont ranges from nearly level to steep, but most areas are gently sloping to moderately steep. Like elsewhere in the Piedmont, the drainages form a dendritic pattern and throughout the Piedmont the terrain has been extensively dissected and degraded.

Elevations range from about 750 to 1,000 feet mean sea level (MSL) in the central portion of the county, although in the Blue Ridge Mountains elevations range up to nearly 3,300 feet MSL. Being in the upper portion of the Piedmont, although before the Blue Ridge, elevations in the project area range from about 820 feet in the floodplains of the creeks to a high of about 920 feet MSL on a hilltop at the southeastern edge of the parcel.

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

Today the project area, while near both Greenville and Greer, is situated in a fairly rural agricultural enclave (see Figures 1 and 2). Adjacent property is either rural single family, or rural agricultural. The project tract was obviously used for agriculture as recently as the past five to ten years, although appears to have recently been removed from agriculture and planted in pine.

Soils in the project area are classified as Cecil sandy loams with slopes ranging from 2 to 15%, Hiwassee sandy loams with up to 10% slopes, and Wahadkee soils in the drainages (Camp 1975). Cecil soils consist of gently sloping to moderately steep soils that are well drained and formed in material which weathered from granite, gneiss, and schist. The surface layer, usually a dark brown sandy loam, may be up to 0.5 foot in depth, although on the more steeply sloping soils the Ap horizon may be totally absent. Underlying this A horizon is a B horizon of yellowish-red sandy clay. Typically a firm red clay is reached by the depth of a foot. To the casual observer the Hiwassee soils are not dramatically different. Having developed from similar minerals the soils often have a dark reddish-brown sandy loam surface layer over a dark red clay subsoil. Obviously, the more steeply sloping soils are likely to have profiles with little or no intact A horizon soils. In the case of the current project these soils are typically found on the western edge of the property adjacent to one of the drainages. The Wahadkee series consists of nearly level soils which are poorly drained. Forming from loamy sediment these soils, as in the project area, are typically found on the elongated floodplains of small creeks and are wet.

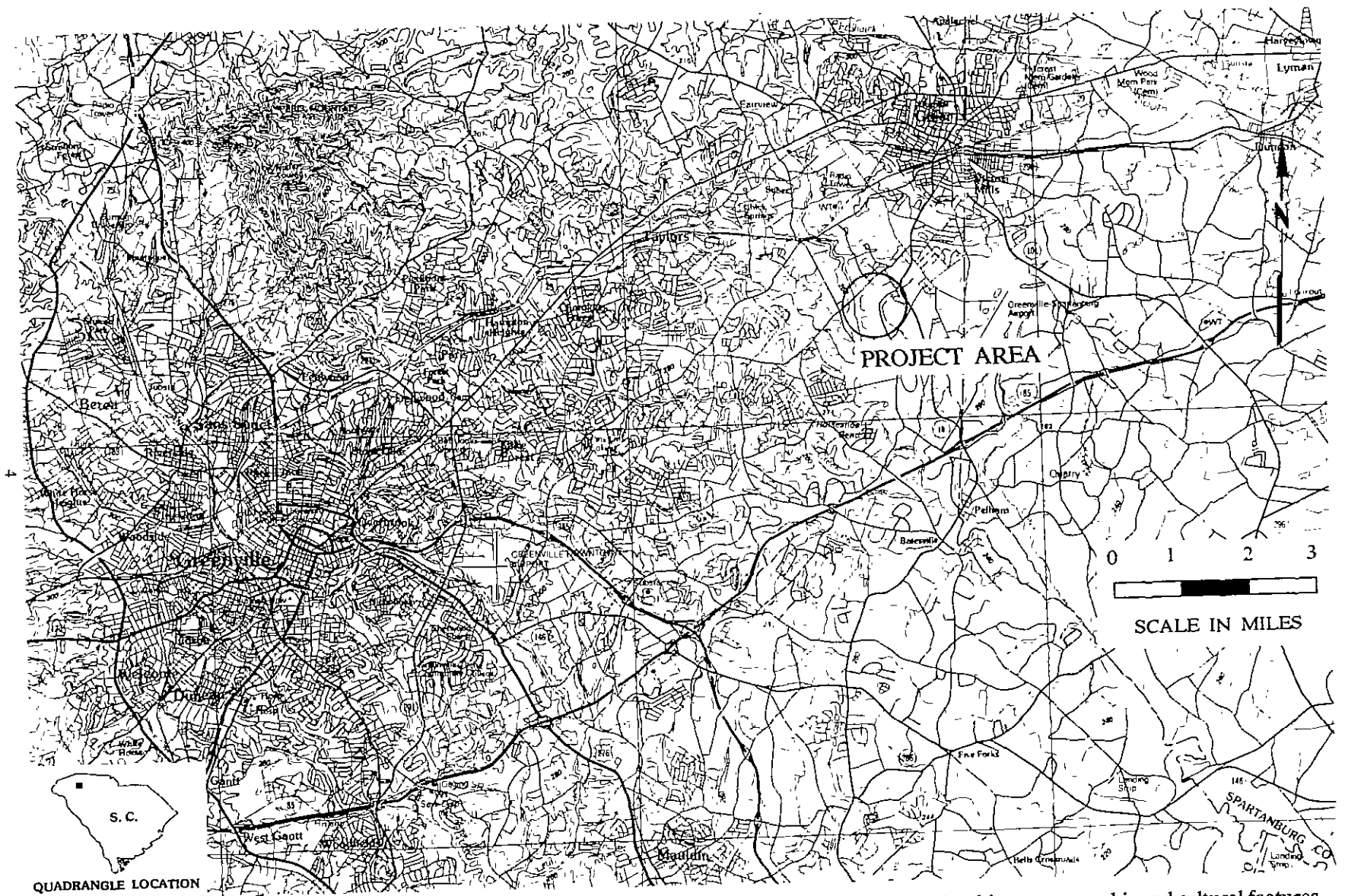


Figure 2. Area of the Greer/Riverside High School project at a scale of 1:250,000, showing the project's relationship to topographic and cultural features.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

as one of the most delightful in the world. The lands are well drained, and the major part sufficiently far removed from the mountains, not to be affected by the vapors; yet near enough to partake of their refreshing coolness in summer, and protection from the cold northern blasts in winter (Mills 1972:575 [1826]).

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

to mid-90s. With nearly 3000 heating degree days¹, Greenville can be considered cold, especially if you are in a poorly constructed, uninsulated wood frame house.

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

Vegetation within the project vicinity today ranges from thick, knee high grasses such as broomsage to second growth forests of oak and pine. On the survey tract the old field is growing up in grass, while the adjacent high ground wooded tracts are dominated by mixed hardwoods and pine. Most noticeable of the overstory species are the several large white oaks, while the understory is dominated by plants such as briars and poison ivy. Where human intervention is most noticeable (in the vicinity of the twentieth century domestic site) cherokee roses are abundant. Regardless of the location on the tract, however, there is evidence that the current vegetation has been completely altered from what was there both prehistorically and in the nineteenth century.

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

the present aspect of piedmont landscape has doubtless come about as a result of one or more erosion cycles. These cycles have left us with an area as complex as anyone would like to make it, yet an area which, for a layman's viewpoint, is relatively unimpressive (Berry 1980:61).

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

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

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

Archaeological Synopsis

The Paleoindian period, lasting from 12,000 to 8,000 B.C., is evidenced by basally thinned, side-notched projectile points; fluted, lanceolate projectile points; side scrapers; end scrapers; and drills (Coe 1964; Michie 1977). The Paleoindian occupation, while widespread, does not appear to have been intensive. Points usually associated with this period include the Clovis and several variants, Suwannee, Simpson, and Dalton (Goodyear et al. 1989:36-38).

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

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

The Archaic period, which dates from 8000 to 2000 B.C., does not form a sharp break with the Paleoindian period, but is a slow transition characterized by a modern climate and an increase in the diversity of material culture. Archaic period assemblages, characterized by corner-notched, side-notched, and broad stemmed projectile points, are common in the vicinity, although they rarely are found in good, well-preserved contexts (for a thorough discussion of the Early Archaic, see Anderson et al. 1992, while Anderson and Joseph 1988 offer a review of prehistoric archaeology along the upper Savannah River).

The Woodland period begins, by definition, with the introduction of fired clay pottery about 2000 B.C. along the South Carolina coast and much later in the Carolina Piedmont, about 500 B.C. It should be noted that many researchers call the period from about 2500 to 1000 B.C. the Late Archaic because of a perceived continuation of the Archaic lifestyle in spite of the manufacture of pottery. Regardless of terminology, the period from 2000 to 500 B.C. was a period of tremendous change.

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

The South Appalachian Mississippian period, from about A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1640 is the most elaborate level of culture attained by the native inhabitants and is followed by cultural disintegration brought about largely by European disease. The period is characterized by complicated stamped

pottery, complex social organization, agriculture, and the construction of temple mounds and ceremonial centers. The earliest coastal phases are named the Savannah and Irene (known as Pee Dee further inland) (A.D. 1200 to 1550).

Historical Synopsis and Context

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

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

The 1755 treaty between the Cherokee and Governor James Glen ceded nearly half of the territory of present South Carolina to the whites (Mills 1972:604 [1826]). An early and sparse influx of settlers from the north was composed mainly of cattlemen and Indian traders. These semi-permanent settlements were concentrated along the streams and rivers where land was both productive and easily cleared. Cattlemen constructed temporary "cowpens" and planted small sections of corn, grains, and produce for home consumption. Mills (1972:571-572 [1826]) reports that one of the earliest settlers of Greenville was Richard Pearis or Paris. Pearis operated a trading post and grist mill on the Reedy River overlooking a 15-foot fall, near the present Bowater Company building on Camperdown Way in downtown Greenville (see also *Building Conservation Technology* 1981).

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

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

By the onset of the American Revolution, the population of the Carolina Up Country was quite diverse in its ethnic, religious, and political backgrounds. These differences seemed to localize the hostilities between Whigs and Tories living side by side. Pearis, an avid Tory, lost his mill and home to Whig sympathizers, although the county saw relatively few skirmishes. In fact, the only two events of note were at the "Great Cane Break" on December 22, 1775, and at the headwater of the Tyger River in November 1781 (Lipscomb 1991).

Though the end of the Revolutionary War brought few changes to the life of the Up Country farmers, a solid framework of social and political organization was beginning to emerge. In 1797 Lemuel J. Alston offered a 400 acre site for the Greenville County court house and the formal organization of the area began to be recognizable. The original village, called Pleasantburg, was largely an unsuccessful speculative venture on Alston's part. Perhaps embarrassed by the failed real estate venture and a political defeat, Alston in 1815 sold his 11,000 acre holdings to Vardry McBee and left the area (Building Conservation Technology 1981:11). Virtually all of the City of Greenville can be traced back to McBee's ownership during the early nineteenth century.

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

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

the village of Greenville . . . is beautifully situated on a plain, gently undulating. The Reedy river placidly leaves its southern borders previous to precipitating itself in a beautiful cascade, over an immense body of rocks [the site of Pearis' earlier mill]. The village is regularly laid out in squares, and is rapidly improving. It is the resort of much company in the summer, and several respectable and wealthy families have located themselves here on account of the salubrity of the climate. These have induced a degree of improvement, which promises to make Greenville one of the most considerable villages in the state . . . The number of houses is about 70 . . . (Mills 1972:572-573 [1826]; see also Figure 3).

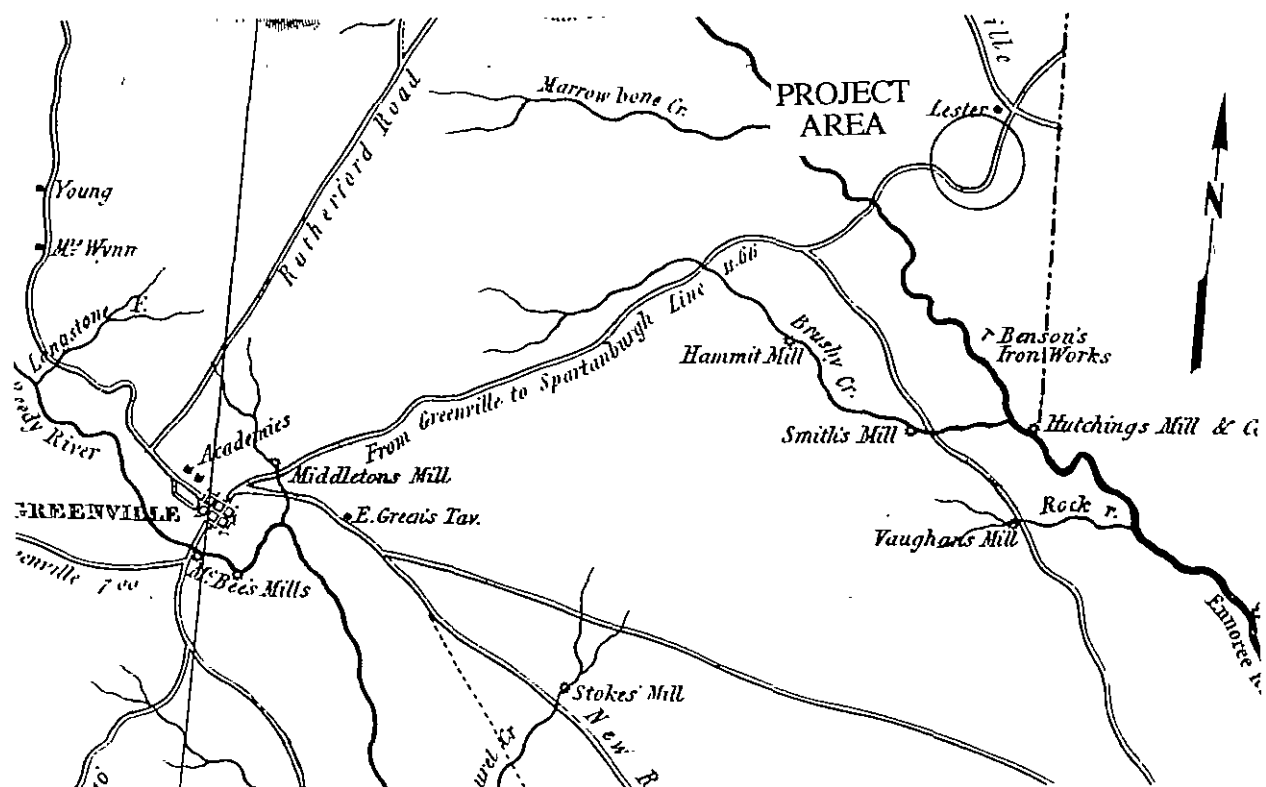


Figure 3. Mills Atlas of 1826 showing the project area.

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

Greenville County, by 1850, had 13,370 white inhabitants and 6,691 African American slaves, most operating the 1068 farms scattered across the county. There were 130,727 acres of improved farm land, or about 122 acres per farm. This compares favorably with adjacent Spartanburg County and is in excess of Pickens' 78 improved acres per farm (DeBow 1854:302-305).

James Henry Hammond's defense of the South before the United States Senate declared, "No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is King." This sentiment was the culmination of nearly fifty years of agricultural and economic practices that led the South to the brink of destruction. The Up Country's participation in this economic roller coaster has been described in some detail by Ford (1988) and only a brief synopsis will be presented here.

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

Examining the agricultural base of Greenville, it is clear that the bulk of the farms produced subsistence, rather than cash crops, until the Civil War -- making Greenville unique in the region. While the county ranked seventh in the production of 11,074 bushels of rye and oats, it also ranked 26th in the production of cotton. Only Georgetown, Horry, and Pickens counties produced fewer than the 2452 bales from Georgetown (DeBow 1854). The only significant cash crop produced by Greenville was tobacco. With 12,505 pounds reported, the county ranked third in tobacco production for 1850 (DeBow 1854). This continued a long tradition of tobacco cultivation, in spite of low yields, poor quality, and strong competition (see Hacker and Trinkley 1992 for additional details).

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

by and large, Upcountry yeomen were not forced to make an all-or-nothing choice between commercial agriculture and subsistence farming, or between traditional mores and market values. Instead Upcountry yeomen made a set of crop-mix decisions each year, balancing their need for a sure and steady food supply with their desire for cotton profits, a cash income, and a higher standard of living (Ford 1988:72).

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

Ford argues that the Up Country actively participated in Secession because of the "'country-republican' ideal of personal independence, given particular fortification by the use of black slaves

as a mud-sill class" (Ford 1988:372). Yeomen and planters both rose to defend this common ideal.

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

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

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

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

In share-renting, the landlord supplied the land, housing, and either one-quarter or one-third of the fertilizer costs. The tenant supplied the labor, animals, animal feed, tools, seed, and the remainder of the fertilizer. At harvest the crop was divided in proportion to the amount of fertilizer that each party supplied. A number of variations on this occurred, one of the most common being "third and fourth," where the landlord received one-fourth of the cotton crop and one-third of all other crops. In cash-renting the landlord provided the land and housing, with the renter providing everything else and paying a fixed per-acre rent in cash.

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

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

Where money is paid the terms, strictly speaking, are monthly payments, but the custom that prevails most generally is a running account, with settlement at the end

of the year (The News and Courier 1884:n.p.).

The account continued by noting that the cost of cotton production was about \$40 per 500 pound bale. There were about 200 gins operating in Greenville County and the distance cotton would be hauled to a gin never exceeded $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The report indicated that freedmen engaged in agriculture "rarely make more than a bare support and in the end they get into debt and never pay out" -- the legacy of poor agricultural training, the inability to obtain assistance, and the effect of Jim Crow laws (The News and Courier 1884:n.p.)

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

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

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

A historian clearly expresses the fervor which accompanied cotton mills:

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

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

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

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

The Project Area

Historical research on the project area was performed by Ms. Anne McCuen, a member of the Greenville County Historic Preservation Commission and while she obtained a tremendous amount of information in the limited amount of time allowed for the research, only a small portion of that background will be provided here.

A major concern of the research was whether the project area included the lands of Jacob Hite, one of Greenville County's earliest settlers. Jacob immigrated from Virginia to South Carolina in the eighteenth century. Whitmire remarks that Hite left Virginia with a broad range of both utilitarian articles (such as wagons and farming implements) and luxury items (such as silver and books). It appears that Hite brought with him the trappings of "civilized society," fitting his social position in Virginia. His Greenville house was two stories, built of stone, with brick chimneys (Whitmire 1978). On July 1, 1776 Hite was killed by Cherokees who were stirred into action by the British. His wife and two daughters were carried off. Hite's wife was later found dead in Georgia, while his daughters were never again seen. Hite himself was apparently buried on his plantation and Whitmire observed that a cemetery on the property, at the time of her research owned by the Elmore, has a stone with "J.H." seemingly scratched into the rock.

The location of Hite's plantation has never been firmly documented, either historically or archaeologically and its location is obviously of considerable interest since it dates from the early period of Greenville's settlement and also reveals the struggles between the Colonists and Loyalists during the early days of the American Revolution.

A title search on the school tract reveals that it can be traced back to grants made to George Ross and Joseph McGlothlin. The McGlothlin property (two grants dating 1785 and 1789) can be traced through a number of owners eventually to S.R. Hawkins in 1840 (Greenville County RMC, Deed Book T, page 334). In 1851 it was acquired by Wiley Ross. The George Ross grant can be traced through Lydia Ross also arriving at Wiley Ross. Wiley Ross' estate transferred Tract #2 to John E. Smith (Greenville County RMC, Deed Book UU, page 281). Smith sold the tract to A.E. Payne in 1901 (Greenville County RMC, Deed Book III, page 33). While there is no deed on file, a plat reveals that Payne sold the tract to G.E. Runion, probably about 1918 (see Greenville County RMC, Plat Book H, page 233). The Runion estate eventually sold two tracts, numbered 1 and 3, to Thomas L. Smith (Greenville County RMC, Deed Book 193, page 251 and Deed Book 173, page 212). Smith left the property in his will as a life estate to his wife, Mamie Lee Smith, and it was eventually transferred

to her daughters, T.L. Burgess and E.L. Coggin (Greenville County RMC, Deed Book 1133, page 892) in 1980. The Greenville County School District purchased the property from the sisters about three years ago.

In contrast, in 1784 a total of 640 acres on both sides of the Enoree River were laid off to Isaac Morgan (Greenville County RMC, Com Loc Book A, page 29). This square mile of land was noted to contain the improvements of one Jacob Hite, indicating that the tract included the remains of his plantation -- the main house, slave settlement, and likely even Hite's burial place. At Morgan's death in 1794 he willed a half interest in his lands on the north side of the Enoree (those closest to the Greenville County School site) to his son, Jesse, with his wife, Nancy, having the other half interest. His will specified that her half interest would pass to Jesse at her death, thus eventually giving Jesse all of Isaac's original grant on the north side of the Enoree River. After Jesse's death in 1826 the land became a life estate for his wife, Elizabeth. At her death around 1834 the lands were divided, with portions sold to various family members. Although no deed has been located, that portion which went to Nathaniel Morgan, and eventually his wife, Linney Morgan, was likely the original Hite settlement. After Linney Morgan's death 122 acres were sold to W.M. Elmore in 1895 (Greenville County RMC, Deed Book BBB, page 664). This was the property discussed by Whitmire in her article on Jacob Hite and the property continues to be passed down in the Elmore family today.

Consequently, the property shown on the Greenville County Block Map as parcels 535.3-1-14 and 17 are part of the grant to Isaac Morgan which included Jacob Hite's improvements. It is here that the archaeological remains of Hite's plantation are likely to be identified. Parcel 535.3-1-11, where the proposed Greer/Riverside High School will be constructed, is part of a grant to George Ross and grants to Joseph McGlothlin. While situated adjacent to the area of Hite's improvements, they are clearly different tracts.

FIELD AND LABORATORY METHODS

The initially proposed field techniques, developed prior to obtaining topographic mapping of the project area, involved the placement of shovel tests in high probability areas at 100 foot intervals in transects 100 feet apart. Lower probability areas would be examined using shovel tests at 200 foot intervals in transects 200 feet apart. Areas of high archaeological probability would include broad well drained floodplains, ridge crests, ridge saddles, and ridge noses -- all areas where Native American, and often historic, sites tend to be found in the Piedmont. Lower probability areas would include narrow drainage areas and areas with 5 to 10% slopes. When topographic mapping for the project area became available it became obvious that most of the area was of very low probability for archaeological sites. The floodplains were narrow and very poorly drained, offering little or no area for occupation. The side slopes were all steep and heavily eroded. At least 90% of the area to be impacted by the school construction was old field which, while offering only limited visibility, documented extensive cultivation with typical Piedmont erosion. We also found that the contractor for the project had used a grader to remove the surface vegetation on a 10 to 15 foot wide strip surrounding the field, which offered excellent surface visibility of a wide variety of topographic settings. There were only a few limited areas where there was a reasonable potential for the recovery of archaeological remains -- and several of these had already been investigated by Breedlove.

Consequently, the proposed methodology was modified to incorporate re-visiting of previously identified sites, pedestrian survey of those field areas where such a survey was possible, a pedestrian survey of the scraped field edge to permit sampling of a wide range of topographic settings, shovel testing of suspected or known site locations, and occasional shovel testing to verify soil profiles. A total of 40 shovel tests were excavated throughout the tract. Coverage concentrated on those areas previously defined as high probability which occurred in the project area, including the wooded northeastern edge of the tract, the northern ridge nose, and the broad terrace at the southern edge of the site. At each of these areas, as discussed below, an archaeological site was encountered. A side slope area which offered relatively level ground on the southwestern edge of the area was also examined using shovel tests, without results.

At all shovel tests the soil was screened through $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch mesh, with each test numbered sequentially. Each shovel test measure about one foot square and were excavated to subsoil. All cultural remains were collected, except for items such as mortar or brick, which were qualitatively noted in the field and discarded. Notes, including Munsell soil colors, were maintained for profiles at encountered sites. Additional profile notations were made on a random basis for the purpose of verifying soil conditions.

The cleaning and analysis of artifacts was conducted in Columbia at the Chicora Foundation laboratories on June 3, 1994. These materials are being catalogued and accessioned for curation at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. Analysis of the collections followed professionally accepted standards with a level of intensity suitable to the quantity and quality of the remains.

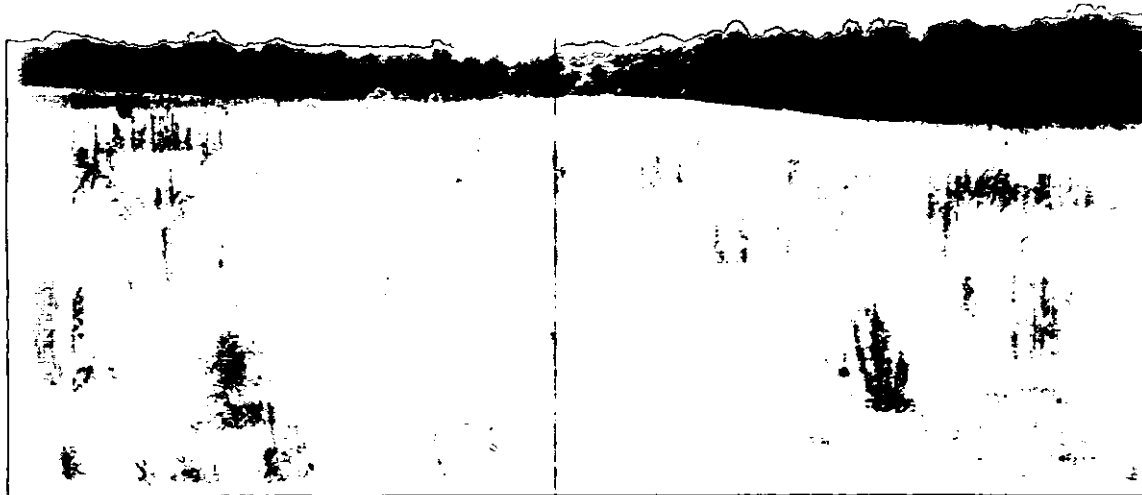


Figure 4. View of the field area, showing vegetation. View to the west.

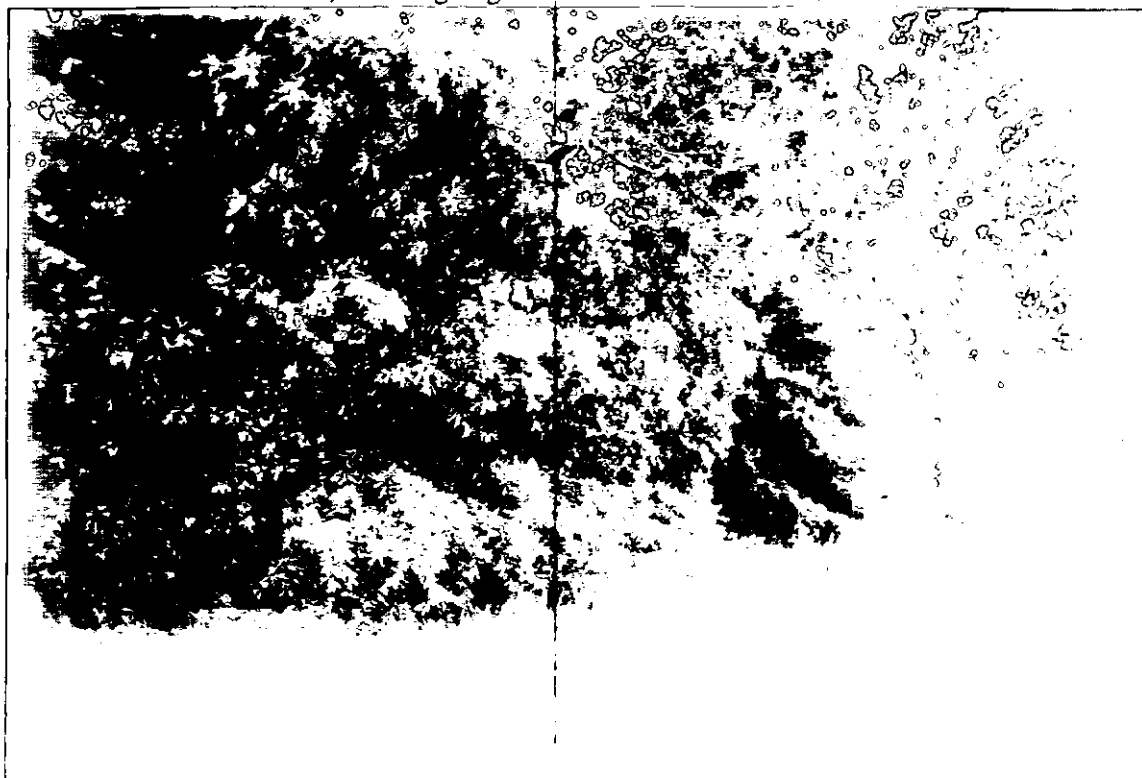


Figure 5. View of the wooded area where 38GR218 is situated from the hill crest.

IDENTIFIED SITES

As a result of the archaeological survey of the Greer/Riverside High School project site, three previously unrecorded archaeological sites were identified. No standing structures or architectural sites were identified (Figure 6). The archaeological sites are recorded as 38GR217, 38GR218, and 38GR219. For the purpose of this study, a site was arbitrarily defined as an area containing two or more artifacts in a 25 by 25 foot area. One isolated artifact, not designated as a "site" was also recorded.

Archaeological Sites

38GR217 is located at the eastern edge of the property, about 150 feet northwest of Gibb Shoal Road. The site is situated on a side slope just east of the ridge crest, at an elevation of about 918 feet MSL. The central UTM coordinates are E386200 N3863880. Soils in the site area are Cecil sandy loams, and the shovel tests revealed a profile of about 0.4 foot of dark brown (10YR4/3) sand overlying a firm yellowish red (5YR5/6) to red (2.5YR3/6) clay at the upper elevations of the site, while at the lower elevations the A horizon ranged up to about 0.5 foot (likely the result of down slope erosion).

The site is heavily vegetated with few areas of open ground. The upperstory is dominated by white oak and pine, while the understory vegetation includes abundant poison ivy. A series of nine shovel tests, bisecting the site northwest-southeast and southwest-northeast were excavated (Figure 7). In addition to these subsurface investigations, a pedestrian survey of the site revealed several cultural features. A large rock pile at the northwestern edge of the site likely represents debris from clearing the field. The stones are relatively small and the feature does not appear to be chimney fall. At the southeastern edge of the site a number of cherokee roses suggest a probable yard boundary and offer good landscape evidence of a previous house site. A scatter of trash was found on the north edge of the site, suggesting a nearby trash disposal area for the structure. An old road bed is still visible along the southeastern and eastern sides of the site, providing access from Gibb Shoal Road. The pedestrian survey of the wooded area also revealed occasional surface remains, such as a few bricks, an enamelled pot, and shoe parts.

In spite of these features, more notable was the absence of any architectural remains. The survey failed to identify foundation or chimney remains, roofing material such as tin, or cast off timbers, often found at abandoned tenant house sites. It appears that the site had been thoroughly scavenged.

Recovered materials such as the whiteware ceramics, outlined in Table 1, indicate a very late nineteenth century through modern period, although occupation most likely was during the second quarter of the twentieth century based on the presence of clear (not amethyst) glass. The presence of observed, but not collected materials such as a rubber "flip-flop" and a plastic bucket, also tend to support a rather late date.

The site boundaries, based on the shovel tests, the identified cultural features, and the dispersion of surface materials is estimated to be about 250 feet north-south by 250 feet east-west (see Figure 7).

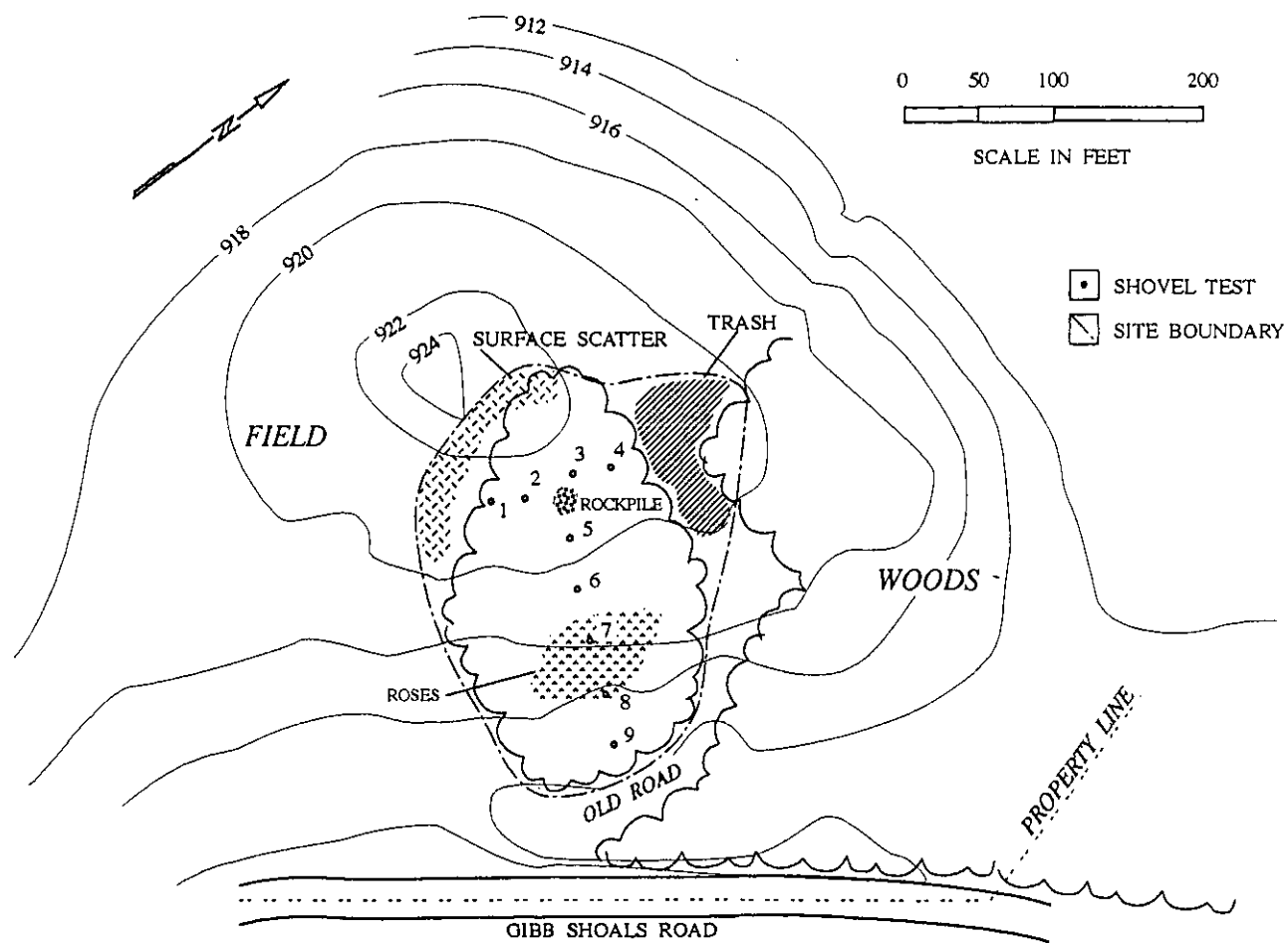


Figure 7. Archaeological site 38GR217, showing shovel test locations and associated cultural features.

Table 1.
Artifacts Recovered from 38GR217

Artifact	ST2	ST3	ST4	ST5	ST6	ST7	ST8	Surface
Whiteware, undecorated				1				
tinted	1							
blue trans print				1				
Clear bottle glass			1	2	5	1	1	4
Light green bottle glass		1						
Brown bottle glass								1
Blue bottle glass				1	1			
Milk glass								1
Window glass				1	1	3		1
Wire nails					1			
Machine cut nails					1			
UID nail fragments					2			
Wire fragments					1			
Tin can fragments							1	
Rubber wire insulation					1			
Coal fragments				1	7			1

This site has been collected on three separate occasions by Mr. Wes Breedlove, who shared catalogs of his collection with us for this project. The materials he has collected are outlined in Table 2 and while they provide considerable more diversity than the current collections, the types of materials are very similar. Perhaps most significantly, he has collected a small quantity of prehistoric material from the site, likely associated with the nearby ridge top.

Table 2.
Materials Collected from 38GR218 by Breedlove

Material	Quantity
Prehistoric	
Quartz preform	1
Quartz flakes	4
Historic	
Earthenware, UID	1
Whiteware, undecorated	9
Whiteware, tinted glaze	1
Porcelain, white	1
Stoneware, alkaline glazed	2
Plasticware plate fragment	1
Bottle glass, clear	48
Bottle glass, manganese	1
Bottle glass, aqua	6
Bottle glass, green	3
Bottle glass, brown	10
Table glass, clear	1
Milk glass	2
Milk glass canning jar lid liner fragments	2
Wire nail fragments	3
Pulley belt fragment	1
Plastic pipe connector	1
Plastic/metal pipe fragment	1
Misc. hardware items	6
Horse shoe fragment	1
Plow share	1
Animal bone	1

Materials collected include two undecorated whiteware ceramics, one black transfer printed whiteware, and one whiteware with tinted glaze. These materials suggest a date similar to 38GR217. The tinted glaze ceramic is the most temporally sensitive, not being manufactured prior to 1911 and having a mean date of 1940.5 (Bartovics 1981). While vaguely domestic, it is more likely that this site represents a barn or other utility building situated a short distance from the main settlement (38GR217).

This site lacks the data sets to offer any substantive research potential and it is therefore recommended as not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. No further research is recommended.

38GR219 is situated on a ridge nose at the western edge of the survey area overlooking a small creek about 600 feet to the west. The site is within the previously cultivated field, although today the area is grown up and has been planted in pines. The elevation is 882 feet MSL and the soils are classified as the Cecil series, although erosion has left only 0.3 foot of intact Ap soil. The central UTM coordinates are E386880 N3863290.

Wes Breedlove reported collecting a small assemblage of lithics from this site in the past. These include a quartz Morrow Mountain projectile point (Coe 1964), a quartz core, and two quartz flakes. Although his collection was made after the site went out of cultivation, surface visibility was better than during the current survey. Even considering his, however, the site has produced relatively few remains. This study include a pedestrian survey, examining open or bald areas, as well as the adjacent scraped zone. In addition, a series of six shovel tests were excavated bisecting the site east-west. Neither the pedestrian survey nor the shovel tests produced any cultural remains.

It is likely that the site represented a very sparse "lithic scatter," common in the Piedmont uplands. Although no diagnostic materials were recovered, many such sites date from the Middle Archaic. Breedlove's previous survey, as is often the case, simply collected all of the materials readily available on the surface. The poor surface visibility during this study prevented the recovery of any additional material. Regardless, it is unlikely that this site -- with a very limited artifact inventory and heavily eroded soils -- can contribute significant research information. Consequently, the site is recommended as not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Isolated Find 1, a fragment of light green bottle glass, was recovered from the northern edge of the field, about 700 feet northwest of 38GR217. In spite of a thorough search of the surrounding area no additional materials could be identified.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As a result of the archaeological survey of the proposed Greer/Riverside High School tract, encompassing about 35 acres, three new archaeological sites (38GR217, 38GR218, and 38GR219) were recorded (two which had been previously identified by Mr. Wes Breedlove). All three sites are situated within the proposed construction limits and will be destroyed by construction activities. Two of the sites, 38GR217 and 38GR218 representing the main settlement and a possible outbuilding respectively, likely represent a farmstead site dating from the first half of the twentieth century. A 1940 map reveals the existence of a farm settlement and one tenant house. It is possible that 38GR218 represents the remains of the tenant structure.

The period from 1917 through 1940 is one of considerable interest to historians. A significant agricultural depression hit South Carolina in 1917 and grew worse in 1922 with the boll weevil overrunning much of the state. This agricultural depression, however, was only the precursor of the Great Depression. As a rural state, perhaps the best gauge of the depression's impact on South Carolina is the value of agricultural crop production. In 1918, the value of South Carolina's crop was \$446 million. By 1929 it had declined to \$156 million and in 1932 it was \$63 million. As many as 25,000 blacks left South Carolina's agricultural fields every year and in 1923 -- for the first time in over a century -- there were more whites than blacks in South Carolina. The number of tenants increased dramatically. The Second World War is credited with improving economic conditions, although South Carolina remained a poor, and rural state. Even with the increased mechanization of farming, much rural life changed little into the second half of the twentieth century.

Consequently, sites 38GR217 and 38GR218 represent a period of South Carolina's history which is very important. We are beginning to realize that these farmers and tenants, just like the slaves in earlier periods, are invisible people. Relatively little information can be obtained through traditional historical sources, outside of oral history, about the lifeways of these people. Archaeological research can contribute information about these people, providing another dimension to our understanding.

Sites 38GR217 and 38GR218, however, must be evaluated in terms of their potential contribution to this research. At 38GR218 there is clearly no doubt -- the sparse remains, the heavy cultivation, and the associated erosion have all combined to destroy the context of the archaeological remains. At 38GR217 the quantity of remains and associated cultural features offer tantalizing clues about the past. Yet, the absence of clear architectural remains weakens the ability of even this site to contribute significant research information. Consequently, both sites are recommended as not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Site 38GR219 is a small Native American site commonly called a "lithic scatter." This is a descriptive term indicating that at such sites usually all that is found are a few flakes. These sites are often interpreted as representing areas where prehistoric hunters stopped to sharpen their tools, perhaps butchered an animal, or camped for a brief period. Again, we know very little about how the early inhabitants of Greenville County lived. Yet site 38GR219 offers few data sets to help us explore this period or better interpret their lives. Artifacts are extraordinarily sparse, with none being recovered during this current investigation. And even if the field were freshly plowed and rained on to allow better recovery, the extensive erosion combined with continuous cultivation has resulted in the loss of features or even specific activity areas. The information this site can contribute -- such as settlement and locational data -- have been collected through recordation. Consequently, no further

research is recommended and the site is recommended as not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

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

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