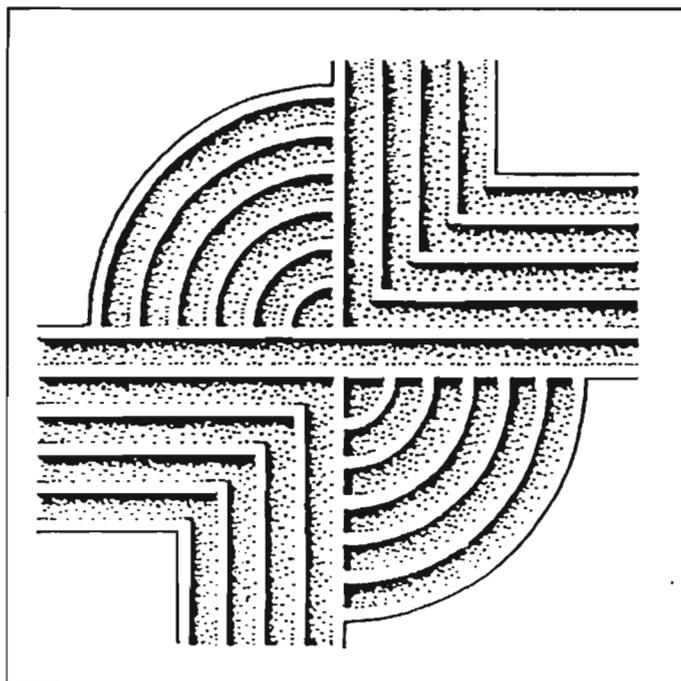


FACTORY CEMETERY, LEXINGTON COUNTY,
SOUTH CAROLINA



FACTORY CEMETERY, LEXINGTON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Prepared By:
Michael Trinkley, Ph.D., RPA

Prepared For:
Mr. Greg Lehman
The Mungo Company
441 Western Lane
Irmo, SC 29063

Chicora Research Contribution 340

Chicora Foundation, Inc.
P.O. Box 8664 ■ 861 Arbutus Drive
Columbia, South Carolina 29202-8664
Email: chicora@bellsouth.net
www.chicora.org

October 17, 2001

©2001 by Chicora Foundation, Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted, or transcribed in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise without prior permission of Chicora Foundation, Inc. except for brief quotations used in reviews. Full credit must be given to the authors, publisher, and project sponsor.

ABSTRACT

The Factory Cemetery, identified on US Geological Survey topographic maps first published in 1947, is situated in West Columbia, about 2,000 feet west of the Saluda River. The property is part of a large tract currently owned by South Carolina Electric & Gas (SCE&G) Company. The site, while known to a few individuals for a number of years, attracted public attention in late July 2001 when The Mungo Company sought to purchase the tract for development of single family homes.

Chicora Foundation was initially requested to conduct a penetrometer study of the cemetery area in order to determine the number and distribution of graves which were present. This study revealed at least 525 graves; 317 burials under the SCE&G powerline and an additional 208 graves north into the adjacent woods. This is recognized as representing a minimum number since there are almost certainly additional graves in the wooded area which were not identifiable at the time of the study. We speculate that the number of graves may be between 700 and 900.

The research identified 29 markers in the cemetery, 17 of which are granite fieldstones. The remaining 12 are commercial markers, although only the bases remain. These remaining commercial markers are suggestive of a pre-1930 date. Also present are plants, such as yucca and cedar, which suggest "living markers."

After the extent of the cemetery became better recognized The Mungo Company requested that Chicora Foundation conduct some additional historical research. This work included land use research, with a focus on available aerial photographs which might reveal the physical limits of the cemetery and perhaps other details; research of SCE&G records in the hope that some documentation of the cemetery might be available in their corporate archives; research of newspaper

accounts, focusing on those previously cited and identified for the Saluda Manufacturing Company, with which the cemetery is thought to be associated; and research on the 1947 edition of the USGS topographic map in an effort to determine how the name, "Factory Cemetery," came into use. This last aspect of research was expanded to include some directed oral history research.

The oral history currently completed suggests that while marked graves may have extended into the 1930s, most dated from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Clearly marked graves existed into the late 1980s. During the last two decades it appears that all markers in the cemetery have been destroyed or removed.

A final phase of the research, soliciting public information on the cemetery, has not yet been conducted; it would include dissemination of press releases and other efforts to attract public attention in the hope that someone with information concerning the cemetery would come forward.

This report briefly outlines the work conducted and the results thus far.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures		iv
List of Tables		iv
Introduction		1
Historical Synthesis		5
<i>The Early History of the Saluda Factory</i>	5	
<i>Gibbes and the Columbia Mills at Saluda</i>	6	
<i>The Civil War Years</i>	7	
<i>Late Nineteenth Century Reconstruction and Eventual Abandonment</i>	8	
<i>The Saluda Factory in the Twentieth Century</i>	9	
<i>Aerial Photographs</i>	12	
<i>Oral Histories</i>	15	
<i>Summary</i>	16	
Field Investigation		17
<i>Penetrometer Study</i>	17	
<i>Plantings</i>	19	
<i>Grave Markers</i>	20	
<i>Summary</i>	21	
Conclusions and Recommendations		23
<i>Conclusions</i>	23	
<i>Recommendations</i>	24	
Sources Cited		29

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	
1. Project vicinity	2
2. Area of Factory Cemetery	3
3. Plat of the Saluda Manufacturing Company property in 1840	10
4. 1872 plat showing the Saluda Manufacturing Company as an adjacent owner	10
5. SCE&G strip map of the powerline corridor	11
6. Portion of the 1938 aerial photograph showing the cemetery area	12
7. Portion of the 1951 aerial photograph showing the cemetery area	13
8. Portion of the 1959 aerial photograph showing the cemetery area	14
9. Portion of the 1966 aerial photograph showing the cemetery area	14
10. Portion of the 1947 Columbia North USGS topographic map	15
11. View of the SCE&G powerline showing grave locations	19
12. Grave marked with a border planting of yucca	20
13. Granite bases with tabs and coping	21
14. Displaced granite base	21
15. Basal section of a marble headstone	22
16. Composite map of identified graves and features	Back cover

LIST OF TABLES

Table	
1. Chain of title for the Saluda Manufacturing Company property	9

INTRODUCTION

This investigation was conducted by Dr. Michael Trinkley of Chicora Foundation, Inc. for Mr. Greg Lehman of Mungo Homes. The work was conducted to assist this firm better understand the history of the cemetery, its boundaries, and the potential for encountering human remains on adjacent property, as well as their responsibility should human remains be encountered.

The study tract consists of what is locally known as the Factory Cemetery, situated on property owned by South Carolina Electric & Gas Company (SCE&G). As will be more fully described in the following section, this property was acquired by SCE&G through the acquisition of an early twentieth century power company and the cemetery is shown on USGS topographic maps which date to 1947. These maps reveal that the cemetery is just north of (or under) the power lines and immediately east of a historic farm road. Later, Mohawk Drive would be constructed further to the east (Figures 1 and 2).

Access to the cemetery is by way of a dirt road off Mohawk Drive, or from Botanical Lane (recently constructed to provide a Lexington County entrance for Riverbanks Zoological Park), or by a maintenance road under the power lines. To the north is a mixed pine and hardwood forest. The power line easement is periodically bush hogged and portions have been used by the local community in the past for garden plots. To the south are a series of open fields, cultivated within the past 20 years, but currently in light scrub. Single family development is found surrounding the SCE&G parcel.

Historically the property can be traced back to the antebellum, being acquired by the Saluda Manufacturing Company in 1840. Their various investors held the property, identified as 105 acres, until the factory disastrously burned in 1888. After this the property was largely

abandoned, although it seems reasonable that the mill operatives continued to live on, and perhaps even garden on, portions of the tract. This study found no documentation concerning the use of the cemetery by the Saluda Manufacturing Company operatives — although local legend reports that it was associated with the mill.

There is evidence that the cemetery continued to be used in the last quarter of the nineteenth century — consistent with the late occupation and abandonment of the mill — although some stones appear to date as late as the first third of the twentieth century. One account reports use of the cemetery into the last quarter of the twentieth century. It therefore seems likely that even once the mill village was abandoned, individuals continued to use the cemetery. Whether this use was kin-based or was purely a matter of economics remains uncertain. By the time of this study the cemetery, if recognized by local individuals at all, was thought to be situated only under the SCE&G power lines.

Recently the Mungo Company has contemplated acquisition of the SCE&G property in order to develop a new single family complex. It was only after initial plans had been developed that the cemetery was identified, initially based on the USGS map showing the feature. Subsequent inspections revealed that the cemetery could clearly be identified under the power lines, although its location in the adjoining woods to the north was less certain, especially since these woods were heavily overgrown with scrub and vines.

Chicora Foundation was requested by the Mungo Company to initially conduct a penetrometer survey. The goal of this work was to confirm the number and location of graves both within the power line easement and also in the woods to the north. Independently of that work a fellow researcher, Ms. Alexia Jones Helsley with

FACTORY CEMETERY, LEXINGTON COUNTY, SC

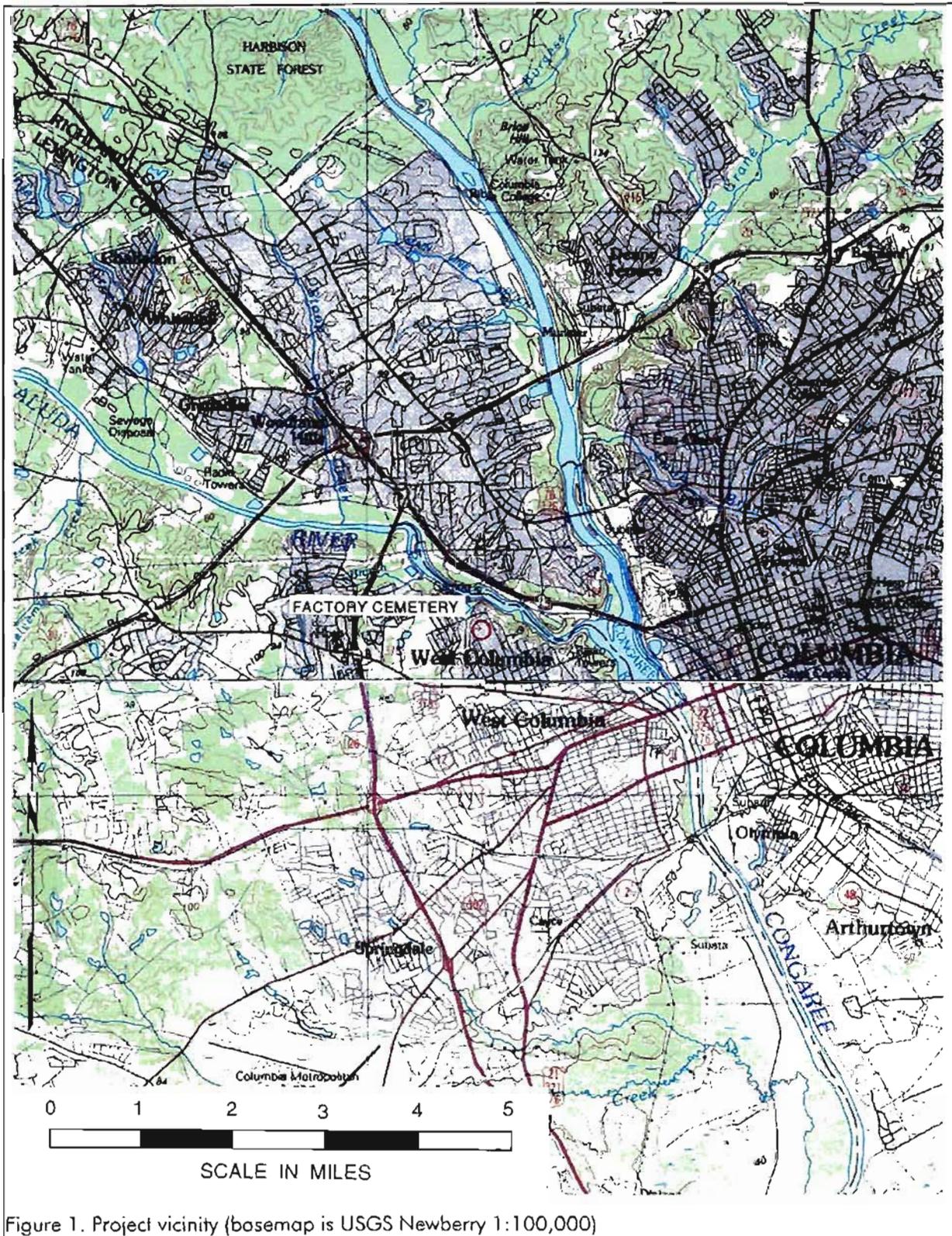


Figure 1. Project vicinity (base map is USGS Newberry 1:100,000)

INTRODUCTION

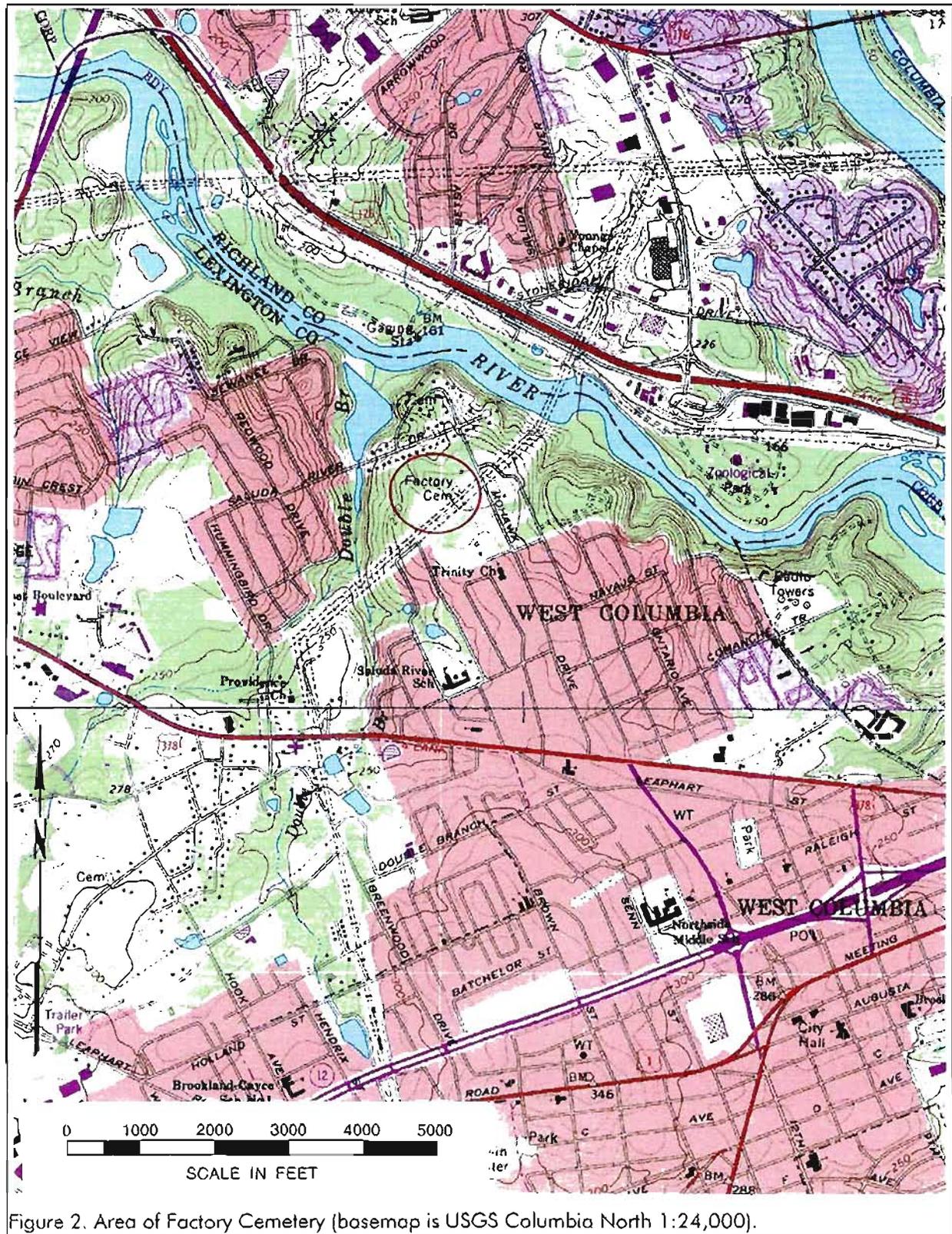


Figure 2. Area of Factory Cemetery (basemap is USGS Columbia North 1:24,000).

AJH Historical Enterprises, conducted historic background research (not reported in this study), which focused on the history of the Saluda Manufacturing Company and their operatives.

After that survey was completed, we were requested to conduct some additional historical research, focusing on the title, land use history, and oral history.

This investigation provides a brief historical synopsis, based on limited investigations undertaken at the Lexington County Register of Mesne Conveyance, at SCE&G, and at the Thomas Cooper Map Repository. An effort was also made to contact individuals who might have specific information concerning the cemetery and its use.

There are additional lines of historical research, beyond the scope of this current work, as well as more intensive efforts at collecting oral histories, which have not been explored. Moreover, Ms. Helsley has also compiled considerable information concerning the operatives at the Saluda Manufacturing Company and has researched existing oral histories.

The following sections briefly recount the history thus far collected for the cemetery, field observations resulting from the penetrometer study, and finally, recommendations concerning work in the cemetery area.

HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

The Early History of The Saluda Factory

We often hear that "cotton was king" during the antebellum history of South Carolina. But it is important to realize that prices fluctuated dramatically and much of the wealth and prosperity of the cotton planters was illusionary. Economic mismanagement, war-time inflation, and wild speculation resulted in cotton prices between 1817 and 1818 of around 30¢ to 32½¢ a pound. The financial collapse of 1819 plunged prices down to the pre-war levels of around 14¢ and brought ruin to a number of planters who had expanded on the heels of high prices (Trinkley 1996).

The 1820s saw prices in the range of 11¢ to 18¢ which caused great distress among the planters. 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¢. Recovery began about 1833 and the result was a frenzied period of speculation on land, cotton, and slaves.

It was during this period of low cotton prices that the first Saluda Factory was constructed on the Saluda River at Beard's Falls. Although the exact date has never been determined, it was apparently built sometime between 1828 and 1832. Perhaps the goal during this period of low cotton prices was to diversify by not only growing the raw material, but also producing the cloth. By 1834, a group of 30 Columbia planters, merchants, and bankers sought, and received a state charter reflecting capital stock of \$60,000 and the privilege to increase the stock to \$500,000. The president of the company was David Ewart, while better-known Carolinians like Judge John Belton O'Neall, Congressman James H. Hammond, and local politician Franklin Elmore were all stockholders.

Even at this early date the Saluda Factory must have been impressive. It is reported to have been a three-story granite structure with 7,500 spindles.¹ The mill employed about 250 hands, almost all of whom were African-American slaves. The Saluda Factory required about 2,500 bales of cotton a year and could turn out upwards of 58,000 pounds of yarn and 2,000,000 yards of cloth. Power for the factory was provided by a dam which harnessed the water power of the river. The factory produced primarily cotton yarn and osnaburgs, a coarse cloth used primarily for slave clothing.

By 1837 a article in the *Columbia Telescope* reported that the complex also included a grist mill, a tavern, a "Mercantile Store, filled with merchandise from all parts of the compass, a branch of the D. & J. Ewart and Company's of Columbia," several boarding houses for the supervisors, and houses for about 70 slaves. There was also talk of expansion, with perhaps the construction of a saw mill and iron foundry, as well as a blacksmith shop. In addition, it was estimated that the Saluda River could power five additional factories.

These grand plans, however, failed to materialize. Not only was the operation heavily undercapitalized, but the stockholders apparently sought to reduce additional investors, perhaps wanting to increase their own profits. Also plaguing the factory was the poor transportation network in this part of South Carolina. With no railroads and poor roads, the cost of getting raw materials to, and finished products shipped from, the factory was high.

¹ Thread is twisted on the spindles, which are wood or steel rods in a spinning frame, and then wound on a bobbin.

As debts mounted, the company appealed to the South Carolina Legislature, asking for a \$50,000 loan. No state money, however, was forthcoming and, in December 1839, the factory was auctioned off, for the first of many times, to pay the company's debts. An advertisement for the sale in *The Charleston Courier* reveals that the company owned 189 acres surrounding the mill, as well as 64 slaves. "Improvements" included the cotton mill, a saw mill, blacksmith and machine shop, a hotel, the store, warehouses, boarding houses for white supervisors, and "cabins" for the slaves. The company's holdings were sold for only \$60,000.

The new company, operating under the name "Saluda Company," included only one of the 30 previous stockholders— Judge O'Neill. Among the new investors were many Columbians, including Benjamin F. Taylor, William P. DeSaussure, and Dr. Robert W. Gibbes. Boosted by an investment of \$100,000 it at first appeared that the new ownership would be a success. But by January 1845 the Saluda Company was again offered for sale. The advertisement reveals that the operation consisted of a granite building measuring 200 by 45 feet which was four stories high, plus an attic. Two water wheels, each 18-feet in diameter, provided power using a waterhead with a 16-foot fall. Also present was a granite picker house measuring 25 by 30 feet. A nearby size and drying house was built of wood. Also present was a machine shop. The mill included 80 looms with 3,912 spindles, four filling frames, three spinning machines, and three dressing frames and warpers. This was situated on 203 acres (slightly larger than reported in 1839), along with housing for about 200 hands.

In spite of the progress made at the Saluda Factory, and all of the improvements, no buyer could be found. The production of the factory was fairly limited, with one account reporting the production of only a heavy brown shirting and what was called a "Southern stripe," a course colored cloth used primarily by African-American slaves. The company also added cotton bagging. Offered at the low price of only 20¢ a yard, they hoped to induce cotton planters to use

it instead of hemp for bailing cotton. Cotton bagging never caught on and the factory gradually turned to producing coarse yarn for the Northern market.

A new manager, J. Graves from New England, was retained. At first he intended to replace the African-American slaves with white operatives, but recanted and recommended that the number of slaves actually be increased. The existing stockholders pumped another \$100,000 into the purchase of over 150 slaves. Even with an entirely slave run factory, no profit could be made and in 1853 the company was forced into liquidation once again. The most readily disposed of assets, the black slaves, were sold off and the factory was essentially abandoned.

Gibbes and the Columbia Mills at Saluda

In 1855 the president of the essentially defunct company, Judge John Belton O'Neill, persuaded Col. James G. Gibbes and his brother, Robert W. Gibbes to purchase the factory for the incredibly low price of \$20,000. Apparently the stockholders were happy to receive even this small sum in return for their investment. The Gibbes, Columbia merchants, were crippled by the same lack of capital that the previous companies faced. In addition, they made the tragic mistake of investing yet more money in the failing enterprise.

The name was changed to Columbia Mills and Gilbert Reed was hired as the overseer of the operation. Large sums of money were invested in purchasing new equipment and within only a few years James Gibbes remarked sadly that he "could scarcely see where the money had gone."

William Gregg, the famous organizer of the Graniteville cotton mill, reported that he had advised the Saluda Factory operate "just as it was, and make the most of a mill that had cost \$250,000 and had been sold . . . for \$20,000. The warning was disregarded with the result that \$30,000 was spent fruitlessly." In fact, James and Robert Gibbes did not profit from the early operation of their new investment. Operatives were constantly sick and looms were idle. Cotton cost

them 12¢ to 13¢ a pound, with operating costs adding from 4¢ to 5¢ a pound. Yet, the products (primarily osnaburgs) sold at only 17¢. At times they even had to go to New York to buy back their own product in order to have something to sell in their Columbia stores.

While slaves had been used, with some success, by the earlier companies, the price of slaves rose steadily in the decade prior to the Civil War, making their use less profitable, especially for the already crippled company. Consequently, Gibbes chose to use only white operatives. Even this, however, proved a problem since the white mill workers frequently moved from one mill to another, hoping for higher wages and better working conditions. Eventually James Gibbes entered into agreements with the owners of the Graniteville and Vaucluse mills not to permit workers to move about, essentially locking the whites into a form of bondage.

It seems that only the coming of the Civil War saved James and Robert Gibbes from financial ruin. Suspecting that political conditions would continue to deteriorate, they sought to further diversify the mill, installing wool manufacturing equipment. Within months Columbia Mills was producing jerseys (knitted wool), jeans (these were not the "jeans" of today, but rather twilled cotton in both stripes and white), and plains (a kind of plain flannel cloth), selling for 20¢ to 40¢ a yard. For a while Columbia Mills was the only manufacturer of wool products in South Carolina. The expansion continued, allowing the output to soar to \$230,000 a year, using a labor force of about 250, many being women and children.

With the coming of the Civil War, the Columbia Mills and the Gibbes saw prosperous times. Advertisements encouraged people to patronize Southern industry and support the war effort. Gibbes established an enterprise to manufacture Confederate uniforms using the cloth he produced at Columbia Mills. His manufacturing plant took up the entire eastern side of the block of Main Street between Washington and Hampton streets. There about 35 tailors and upwards of

2,000 women cut and hand sewed nearly 50,000 uniforms which sold for \$25 to \$75 each. Cloth, when it could be obtained by Columbians, sold at upwards of \$40 for a single yard.

There are many accounts suggesting that James Gibbes' neighbors and friends were shocked at his profiteering. Since Gibbes was not only profiting from the mill and his factory, but also from selling luxury items which made it through the Union naval blockade, it is likely that resentment ran high. Robert Gibbes characterized the criticisms as "unjust, unkind, and un-Christian attacks," then justified his high prices by noting how much more he could obtain from the European market — hardly a comment likely to salve many feelings.

It was probably this wave of war-time resentment which encouraged them to sell the mill to Col. L.D. Childs of Lincolnton, North Carolina in 1862. Childs paid \$100,000 (probably in Confederate bills) for the mill. James Gibbes also sold Childs 800 bales of cotton at 17¢ a pound and agreed to serve as the agent for the mill's products, selling them in his Columbia stores. Within six months, the price of manufactured goods increased from 500 to 2200 per cent. Yarns which sold for \$1.25 brought \$10. But the prosperity of the mill's owner and its agent were not to last long.

The Civil War Years

In mid-February 1865 General William T. Sherman's troops were marching toward Columbia. Sherman sent his Right Wing, under the command of Major General Oliver Howard, into Columbia from the north, having them cross the Saluda and Broad rivers. They found the Saluda River bridge had been burned by retreating Confederate troops and crossed the river instead on pontoon boats in the immediate area of the factory. One account reveals that as Howard's troops arrived at the mill they found the female operatives still running through the building, grabbing up as much of the cloth as possible.

One of the officers, Brevet Major George

Ward Nichols, described the condition of the operatives and the village adjacent to the mill on February 17:

The residences of these people accorded with their personal appearance. Dirty wooden shanties, built on the river bank a few hundred feet above the factory, were the places called homes — homes where doors hung shabbily by a single hinge, or were destitute of panels; where rotten steps led to foul and close passage-ways, filled with broken crockery, dirty pots and pans, and other accumulations of rubbish; where stagnant pools of water bred disease; where half a dozen persons occupied the same bed-chamber; where old women and ragged children lulled lazily in the sunshine; where even the gaunt fowls that went disconsolately about the premises partook of the prevailing character of misery and dirt. These were the operatives, and these the homes produced by the boasted civilization of the South.

Apparently some portions of the mill were burned, although the nearby mill village slum was spared.

Late Nineteenth Century Reconstruction and Eventual Abandonment

After the Civil War, Childs had the mill rebuilt as a frame structure on the remnant granite foundations. John B. Palmer was brought in as the new manager and eventually Palmer and another investor, William Johnston, brought Childs' interest in the operation. A new charter was issued to the Saluda Manufacturing Company on March 3, 1874, revealing capitalization in the amount of \$300,000.

Between 1877 and 1880 an additional

\$40,000 was spent to improve the water power at the site. A 900-foot dam of solid stone was built, backing up water behind it for four miles. The resulting water head of 14 feet turned a single 66-inch turbine to provide the power to the mill.

Although the new dam did not raise the water any higher than the previous dams, it was found to still be three feet more than authorized by either the original charter or the one issued in 1874. A law suit was brought to block the work. While the court decision favored the mill, it still significantly delayed construction. Additional problems were caused by floods which damaged the on-going work.

An 1880 account provides us with some information about the mill and its operatives. A promotional piece published by *The News and Courier* reveals that about a hundred operatives were employed at that time, "ranging in age from 8 years up." They were still living in houses forming a loosely clustered mill village around the factory. The article reported that "these residences rent for from 20 cents to \$1 per week, and range in size from 1 to 10 rooms."

The final demise of the Saluda enterprise was brought by a late afternoon fire on August 2, 1884 which leveled the mill. The *Columbia Register* described the event:

Crowds of men, women, and children were congregated on the adjacent hills after exerting themselves to the utmost in rescuing goods from the fire, who with blackened faces, tear-dimmed eyes and crushed hearts, were watching the flames as they devoured the only means of subsistence which inhabitants of Saludaville had ever enjoyed or ever looked forward to.

Another newspaper account reported that Saludaville was the mill village which had grown up around the factory and that it was owned by William Johnson. The houses consisted "of

HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

comfortable double tenements of one-story each." About four hundred people, half of whom were children, lived in the village.

the bank below the dam is littered with wreckage and debris Further back on a hill top are "the quarters" where the operatives

Table 1. Chain of Title for the Saluda Manufacturing Co. Property

ca. 1789?	State Grant?	to	Jasper Faust		
?	Jasper Faust	to	?		
May 21, 1840	Daniel Ewart, Saluda Manufacturing Co.	to	Abram D. Jones, et al., constituting Saluda Manufacturing Co.	three tracts; S side of Saluda River, A & B, 105 acres	M/99
Feb. 18, 1859	Saluda Manufacturing Co.	to	Robert W. & James G. Gibbes, constituting Saluda Manufacturing Co.	three tracts; S side of Saluda River, A & B, 105 acres	U/41
Jan. 9, 1873	L.D. Childs	to	William Johnston	interest in Saluda Manufacturing Co., S side of Saluda River, A&B, 105 acres	Y/471
Aug. 20, 1875	John Fisher & William Johnston, Receivers	to	William Johnston	interest in Saluda Manufacturing Co., S side of Saluda River, A&B, 105 acres	AA/51
April 20, 1881	William Johnston	to	Saluda Manufacturing Co.	Saluda Cotton Mills property; S side of Saluda River, 105 acres	CC/378
July 7, 1911	Saluda Manufacturing Co.	to	Columbia Railway, Gas & Electric Co.	Saluda Cotton Mills property; S side of Saluda River, 105 acres	3D/458
June 15, 1925	Columbia Railway, Gas & Electric Co.	to	Broad River Power Co.	Saluda Cotton Mills property; S side of Saluda River, 105 acres	4C/82
Dec. 2, 1932	"Quit Claim" Saluda Manufacturing Co.	to	Broad River Power Co.	Saluda Cotton Mills property; S side of Saluda River, 105 acres	4P/292

Even in ashes the Saluda Factory proved to be a problem. Although there was \$118,750 insurance on the mill, the loss was valued at \$150,000. Most of the insurance money was distributed to out of state parties and there was some rumor that the insurance companies considered disputing the value of the building. The process was drawn out over several years and this certainly was a factor in the failure to rebuild.

Another problem was the City of Columbia's plan to develop the Columbia Canal by the engineering firm of Thompson and Nagle of Providence, Rhode Island. The rights granted to this firm, along with the City's guarantee, effectively prevented the Saluda Factory from rebuilding, even if funds had been identified.

The Saluda Factory in the Twentieth Century

In 1901, only seven years after the fire, a newspaper article in *The State* reported that:

lived. The settlement is wellnigh deserted and the houses are tumbling down.

By 1936, however, "all that is left of this old factory . . . is the granite foundation on which the factory once stood. . . . only one house of the village [is] left."

In 1972 the Saluda Factory Historic District was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. As justification, it was noted that the ruins were a significant part of the early history of textile manufacturing in South Carolina — the state's largest industry. The associated archaeological site associated with the mill village was recorded in 1969 and the mill site was recorded as an archaeological resource in 1972.

For over a decade the mill was largely ignored. It wasn't until Chicora Foundation's 1989 investigations at the mill that clear

recommendations concerning the site were developed (Trinkley 1989).

While no plats were prepared for any of these transactions (or at least none were recorded and have survived), the original plat, dating to 1840, reveals that the property remained intact and its basic outline failed to change over its 160 years.

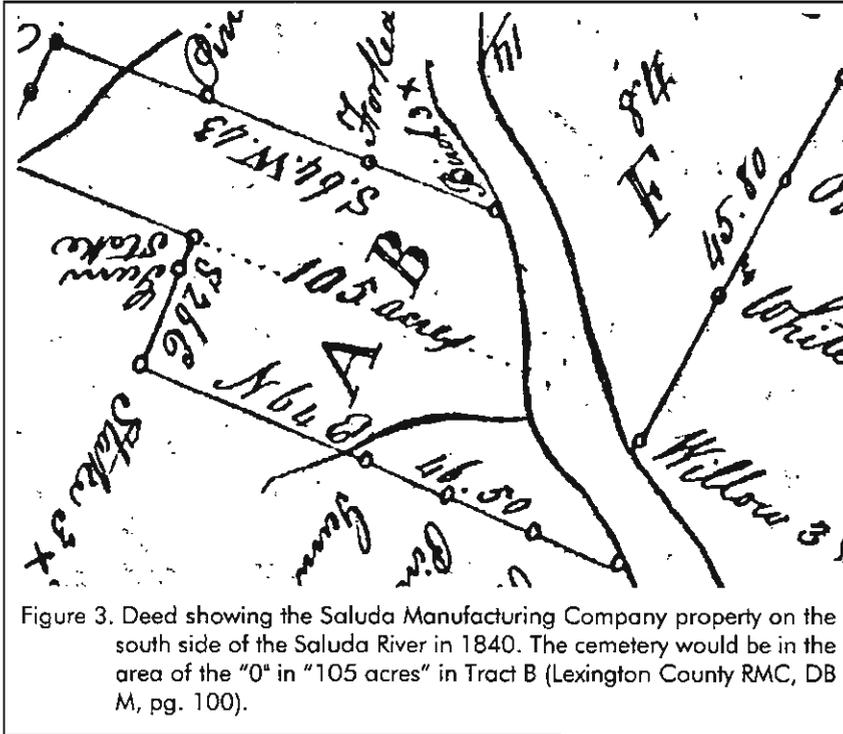


Figure 3. Deed showing the Saluda Manufacturing Company property on the south side of the Saluda River in 1840. The cemetery would be in the area of the "0" in "105 acres" in Tract B (Lexington County RMC, DB M, pg. 100).

In fact, this outline is clearly shown on an 1872 plat, which identifies the tract as "Saluda Factory." The property to the south and southwest is shown as in woods owned by William Kinsler. To the north and north west are the lands owned by the estate of J.H. Hook. A small, unidentifiable symbol is shown on the Saluda Factory property — perhaps representing the overseer's house, which is known to have stood into the mid-twentieth century (Figure 4).

Examination of SCE&G records by Ms. Jennifer Rash (R/W), coupled with interviews with Mr. Von

Throughout these various news accounts there is no mention at all of a cemetery. Table 1 reveals additional information concerning the land transfers, especially tracing its conveyances from the Saluda Manufacturing Company in 1911 to the Columbia Railway, Gas & Electric Company. In 1925 the property was passed to the Broad River Power Company, which was eventually acquired by SCE&G.

Throughout these conveyances the property maintained its description (typically being referred to as Saluda Cotton Mills, on the south side of the Saluda River, and incorporating 105 acres).

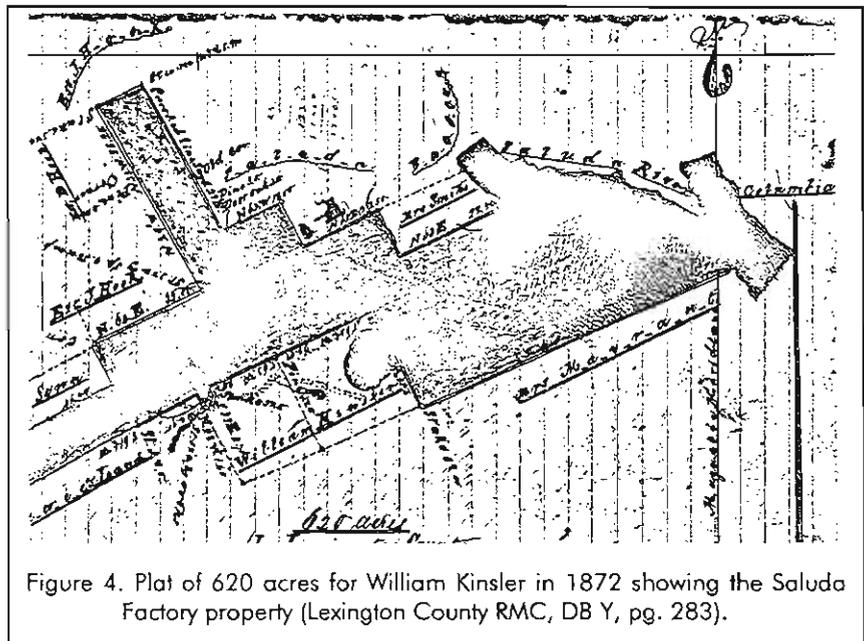


Figure 4. Plat of 620 acres for William Kinsler in 1872 showing the Saluda Factory property (Lexington County RMC, DB Y, pg. 283).

Hoffman (Land Section) and Mr. Eugene Clarkson (Maintenance) provides some additional information concerning activities of the Broad River Power Company and, later, SCE&G.

The earliest plan sheet showing the cemetery are apparently those for the Wateree-Denny Terrace 230 kV line. These early drawings (CP-13158 Sheets 34 and 35) were integrated into the McMeekin-Orangeburg-St. George 115kV project drawings prepared in 1977, when the corridor was being expanded northward. The completion of that project created the powerlines as they exist today.

A portion of the plan sheet for the McMeekin-Dunbar Road Section (CP-18280, Sheet 17) is shown here as Figure 5. It shows the cemetery extending from the northern edge of the original Wateree-Denny Terrace line northward through the planned McMeekin-Orangeburg-St. George line and continuing an undetermined distance onto SCE&G property. The plan sheet also reveals a "Farm Road" forming the eastern boundary of the cemetery. The plans reveal that SCE&G proposed to construct an H-frame (No. 120) virtually in the center of the cemetery. These plan sheets also reveal that the cemetery was adequately well known by Broad River Power to be included on plan sheets from the 1930s and that the cemetery was sufficiently documented to be represented by SCE&G in the late 1970s.

Mr. Von Hoffman indicated that he

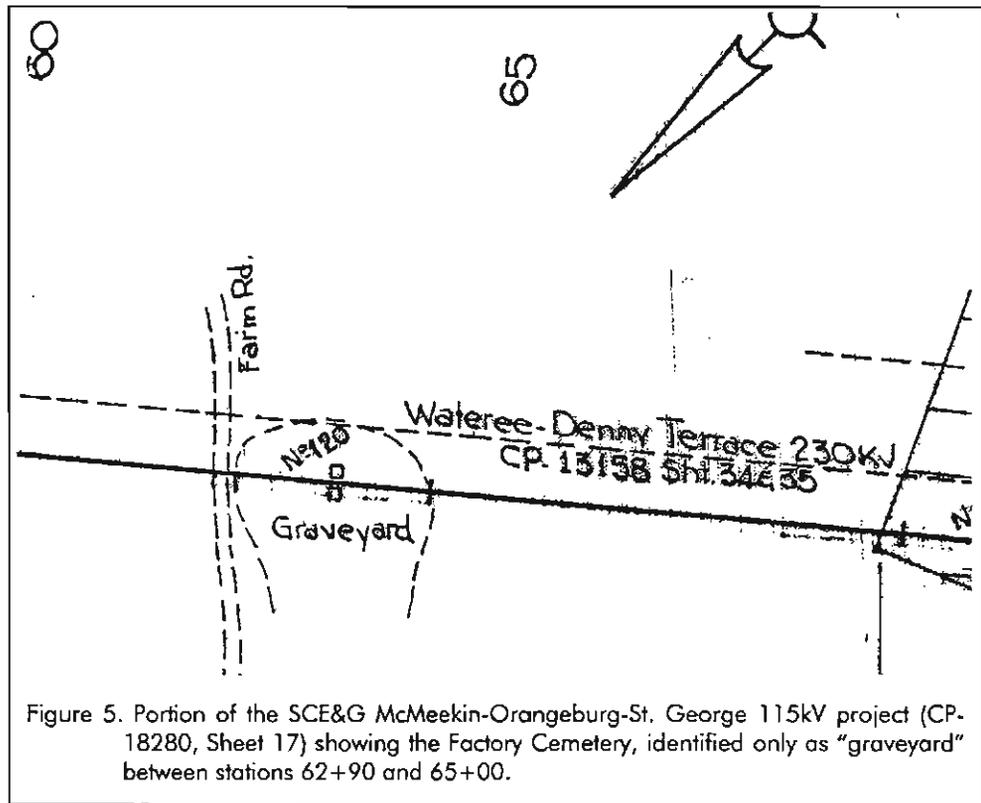


Figure 5. Portion of the SCE&G McMeekin-Orangeburg-St. George 115kV project (CP-18280, Sheet 17) showing the Factory Cemetery, identified only as "graveyard" between stations 62+90 and 65+00.

marked timber in the woods north of the cemetery in 1971 for a selective thinning to take out the large pine. At that time he recalls several headstone markers under the existing powerlines, although he did not recall any names or dates. Nor did he recall seeing any evidence of the cemetery in the woods — perhaps because of the dense growth. He did, however, recall that the ruins of the Saluda Factory overseer's house were still present, about 150 feet west of Mohawk Drive, on property which SCE&G eventually sold to a local church. He remarked that what was most memorable about the ruins were the large arched supports for the chimney stacks.

Regrettably, no additional information could be found in any of the files associated with the Broad River Power Co. In an effort to determine if anyone involved in maintenance of the corridor perhaps remembered the cemetery, we consulted with Mr. Eugene Coleman. He indicated that prior to about 1998 the contract for clearing the easement had been periodically bid



Figure 6. Portion of the 1938 aerial photograph showing Factory Cemetery.

for 1938, 1943, 1951, 1955, 1959, 1966, 1970, and 1981.

The earliest aerial image examined, from 1938, shows the area while still a rural farming community (Figure 6). Seminole Street has been constructed, but terminates at about the location of the overseer's house, which appears still maintained — probably representing an active farm unit. There are several outbuildings and a farm road continues to the north and

out on an irregular basis. More recently one firm had the work and was mowing the easement on a yearly basis. However, none recalled any stones in the easement or hearing of any contractor mentioning stones.

Aerial Photographs

A small number of aerial photographs showing the cemetery tract were examined at the Thomas Cooper Map Repository, including those

east to what may have been a barn. A somewhat smaller farm road continues north to a large wooded tract in the shape of an arc. This tract is the cemetery, although no details are visible in the admittedly grainy photograph. The original Broad River Power Co. easement and the associated Santee Cooper easement to the south are constructed by this time and a portion of the cemetery is within this easement.

The 1943 photograph (ASC 4C-150) reveals



Figure 7. Portion of the 1951 aerial photograph showing Factory Cemetery.

wooded area to the north is somewhat larger, perhaps suggesting that additional poorly drained soils were taken out of cultivation. The cemetery, further to the north, however, is unchanged. This photograph does show not only the farm road which continues north past the cemetery, but also a farm road which borders the cultivated fields north of the cemetery and another road which runs under the powerline easement. The area to the north has

few changes. At least one of the farm buildings appears to be gone, although the overseer's house is still extant and the road system has not changed. The cemetery remains the same shape and trees are still distinctly recognizable between the two images.

The 1951 image reveals only modest additional changes (Figure 7). There is still no development in the area and the overseer's house still appears to be an active farm unit. The first

been clear cut and a variety of logging roads are also shown on the image.

The change between 1951 and 1955 is dramatic. The first two "modern" development roads — Mohawk Drive, running north from US 378, and Saluda River Road, running perpendicular north of the cemetery — have been constructed and are bordered by "planned development" houses. In fact, other major West Columbia roads, such as Navaho, Ontario, and



Figure 8. Portion of the 1959 aerial photograph showing Factory Cemetery.

heavily overgrown and clearly no longer in use. The aerial also reveals the location of what we believe may be a Boy Scout lodge, to the northeast of the cemetery. We have been told by several individuals that this lodge, along with the ruins of the overseer's house were burned by vandals in the late 1960s or early 1970s.

The 1970 aerial continues to reveal development in the project area. A baseball field has been created to the east of Mohawk Road and another appears just southwest of the cemetery. The once cultivated fields are grown up and the cemetery itself is in very dense vegetation. This, of course,

Seminole are also present and lined by houses. The only remnant open area is a strip between Mohawk to the east and Rutland to the west. The overseer's house is still present and the road network is unchanged. Saluda River school had also been constructed by this time.

was just before SCE&G conducted thinning in the woods.

The 1959 aerial suggests no additional development in the immediate area, although the fields appear to no longer be cultivated and the cemetery reveals considerably denser vegetation (Figure 8).

The 1966 aerial reveals continuing development pressure on the area. Additional housing had been constructed south of the overseer's house (in the area of Gunter Circle). The overseer's house is likely in ruins by this time, with the lot



Figure 9. Portion of the 1966 aerial photograph showing Factory Cemetery.

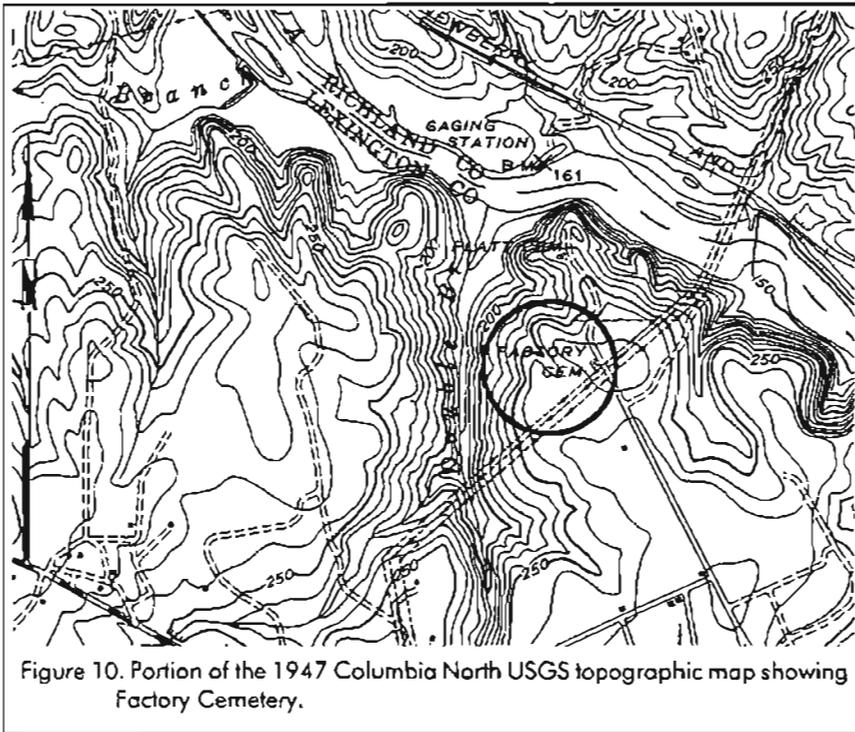


Figure 10. Portion of the 1947 Columbia North USGS topographic map showing Factory Cemetery.

Indirectly, we were able to identify that the USGS informant who provided the name, "Factory Cemetery," was Gus Hook, who provided his address as "RFD, Columbia." Mr. Hook, we learned, also provided the name for the Platt Cemetery to the north, as well as several local creeks. Given this familiarity with the area, we hoped that a family member could be found who would remember the cemetery and have some additional information. While we were able to track down both a son and daughter, neither recalled their father ever speaking of the cemetery and were not, themselves, aware of its existence.

Between 1970 and 1981 the woods not only seem to grow denser, but forest overtakes much of the fields surrounding the cemetery, so that its arc-shape, visible for at least the past 30-40 years, is no longer clear. This loss of distinct spatial boundaries may also mark the loss of local memory concerning the graveyard.

The Factory Cemetery was not the only graveyard to be lost to memory. To the north the 1947 USGS topographic map shows the location of the Platt Cemetery. The graveyard today comprises nearly a third of the property identified as TMS 0037-18-05-03, although no deeds through 1968 make any mention of the cemetery (although it is shown on the 1954 plat of the Saluda Terrace development [Lexington County RMC, PB 26G, pg. 19]).

Oral Histories

During this brief investigation we identified several individuals (beyond Mr. Von Hoffman with SCE&G) who have memories of the cemetery.

A Ms. Pearson, living on Rutledge Road, contacted us about the cemetery, but upon more detailed conversations we found that while familiar through neighborhood discussions, she had no first hand knowledge of the cemetery or those who might have used it.

We did identify Ms. Joan Freeman who lived nearby and, as a child (ca. 1964), played in the cemetery with her sister. She recalled that there were many marked graves, most from the late nineteenth century. Many of these marked graves were for children or young adults — although she did not remember any specific family names. Her only other memory was that many of the markers were a thin marble, with faint carving. This last comment suggests relatively inexpensive markers — consistent with relatively poor individuals.

During our research we also identified a Gary Morris who lived in Columbia about the same time and also remembered the cemetery as a child and young adult. He independently confirmed that during the mid-1960s there were a relatively large number of marked graves. He also

commented that "quite a few of the headstones were of children" and even that there were unmarked graves which "led back to the northwest." He also mentioned that bones were present and recognizable in at least one of the sunken graves. But again, he was unable to remember any of the family names.

Finally, we spoke to representatives of both the Caughman-Harman Funeral Home and Dunbar Funeral Home. Neither were aware of the cemetery or recalled ever having a burial take place there. In speaking with Mr. John David Thompson, of Thompson Funeral Home (which was founded in the "New Brookland" area in 1928), he recalled a burial at the graveyard "about 20-30 years ago." He was very certain of the location since at the time he thought that he knew all of the West Columbia cemeteries and this was one that he had never been to before. Unfortunately, he does not remember the family name, nor did he remember the actual location in the cemetery. He was certain, however, that the cemetery was called something other than "Factory Cemetery."

Summary

While much effort has been spent on reconstructing the history of the cemetery, we have found relatively little information. There is no published map showing the cemetery prior to the 1947 USGS topographic map. There is no association of the cemetery with the Saluda Factory other than the one informant, also dating to the creation of this USGS map in 1947.

None of the deeds, newspaper articles, or corporate history of Saluda Manufacturing Company mentions a cemetery. We should note, however, that Ms. Helsley did identify on oral history (of Ms. Blanche Hare, conducted in 1978) in which a cemetery is briefly mentioned in association with the factory, although no additional questions were asked and Ms. Hare has since died.

The only information forthcoming from SCE&G is that apparently the cemetery, although

unnamed, was recognized during the construction of the original powerlines.

Throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and perhaps into the 1980s, various individuals report that markers were present in the cemetery. There is a vague indication — largely speculative — that the numbers were gradually decreasing over this period. There is no indication, however, concerning what was happening to the markers; they may have been removed to make maintenance of the powerline easement easier, they may have been removed by the last relatives, or they may have been removed or vandalized by nearby neighbors. Regardless, through time they disappeared.

Even brief inspections of death certificates for Lexington County (which originated in 1915) by both Ms. Helsley and us failed to identify any cemetery which was obviously this site (i.e., we have been unable to find any "Saluda," "Saluda Factory," or "Factory" cemetery. Oral informants and even a local funeral director, while remembering the cemetery, cannot remember family names — essential for identifying a death certificate, seeking an obituary from the local paper, or attempting to contact living relatives.

FIELD INVESTIGATION

Penetrometer Study

Background

A penetrometer is a device for measuring the compaction of soil. Soil compaction is well understood in construction, where its primary objective is to achieve a soil density that will carry specified loads without undue settlement, and in agronomy, where it is recognized as an unfavorable by-product of tillage. Compaction is less well understood in archaeology, although some work has been conducted in exploring the effects of compaction on archaeological materials (see, for example, Ebeid 1992).

In the most general sense, the compaction of soil requires movement and rearrangement of individual soil particles. This fits them together and fills the voids which may be present, especially in fill materials. For the necessary movement to occur, friction must be reduced, typically by ensuring that the soil has the proper amount of moisture. If too much moisture is present, some will be expelled and in the extreme the soils become soupy or like quicksand and compaction is not possible. If too little moisture is present, there will not be adequate lubrication of the soil particles and, again, compaction is impossible. For each soil type and condition there is an optimum moisture level to allow compaction.

When natural soil strata are disturbed — whether by large scale construction or by the excavation of a small hole in the ground — the resulting spoil contains a large volume of voids and the compaction of the soil is very low. When this spoil is used as fill, either in the original hole or at another location, it likewise has a large volume of voids and a very low compaction.

In consequence, such fill is artificially compacted, settling under a load as air and water

are expelled. For example, compaction by heavy rubber-tired vehicles will produce a change in density or compaction as deep as 4 feet. In agriculture, tillage is normally confined to dry weather or the end of the growing season — when the lubricating effects of water are minimized.

In the case of a pit, or a burial, the excavated fill is typically thrown back in the hole not as thin layers that are then compacted before the next layer is added, but in one, relatively quick, episode. This prevents the fill from being compacted, or at least as compacted as the surrounding soil.

Penetrometers come in a variety of styles, but all measure compaction as a numerical reading, typically as pounds per square inch (psi). The dickey-John penetrometer consists of a stainless steel rod about 3-feet in length, connected to a T-handle. As the rod is inserted in the soil, the compaction needle rotates within an oil filled (for dampening) stainless steel housing, indicating the compaction levels. The rod is also engraved at 3-inch intervals, allowing more precise collection of compaction measurements through various soil horizons. Two tips (1/2-inch and 3/4-inch) are provided for different soil types.

Of course a penetrometer is simply a measuring device. It cannot distinguish soil compacted by natural events from soil artificially compacted. Nor can it distinguish an artificially excavated pit from a tree throw which has been filled in. Nor can it, per se, distinguish between a hole dug as a trash pit and a hole dug as a burial pit. What it does is convert each of these events to psi readings. It is then up to the operator to determine through various techniques the cause of the increased or lowered soil compaction.

Curiously, penetrometers are rarely used by archaeologists in routine studies, although they

are used by forensic anthropologists and by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in searches for clandestine graves. While a penetrometer may be only marginally better than a probe in the hands of an exceedingly skilled individual with years of experience, such ideal circumstances are rare. In addition, a penetrometer provides quantitative readings which are replicable and which allow much more accurate documentation of cemeteries.

Like probing, the penetrometer is used at set intervals along grid lines established perpendicular to the suspected grave orientations. The readings may be recorded and used to develop a map of probable grave locations, or the locations may be immediately marked in the field.

In addition, it is important to "calibrate" the penetrometer to the specific site where it is being used. Since readings are affected by soil moisture and even to some degree by soil texture, it is important to compare readings taken during a single investigation and ensure that soils are generally similar in composition.

It is also important to compare suspect readings to those from known areas. For example, when searching for graves in a cemetery where both marked and unmarked graves are present, it is usually appropriate to begin by examining known graves to identify the range of compaction present. From work at several graveyards, including Kings Cemetery (Charleston County, SC) where 28 additional graves were identified, Maple Grove Cemetery (Heyward County, NC) where 319 unmarked graves were identified, the Walker Family Cemetery (Greenville County, SC) where 78 unmarked graves were identified, Colonial Park Cemetery (Chatham County, GA) where 8,678 probable graves were identified, and Peoples Cemetery (Petersburg, VA) where 36 additional graves were found in several small sample areas, and Settlers' Cemetery (Mecklenburg County, NC) where 608 unmarked burials were identified, we have found that the compaction of graves is typically under 150 psi, usually in the range of 50 to 100 psi, while non-grave areas exhibit compaction that is almost always over 150 psi,

typically 160 to 200 psi (Trinkley and Hacker 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 1999; Trinkley et al. 1999; Trinkley 1999).

After the examination of over 25 cemeteries using a penetrometer, we are relatively confident that the same range will be found throughout the Carolinas, Georgia, and Virginia. It is likely that these ranges are far more dependent on general soil characteristics (such as texture and moisture) than on cultural aspects of the burial process.

A penetrometer survey is most successful when there are clear and distinct non-burial areas, i.e., when the graves are not overlapping. In such cases taking penetrometer readings at 2-foot intervals perpendicular to the supposed orientation (assuming east-west orientations, the survey lines would be established north-south) will typically allow the quick identification of something approaching the mid-point of the grave. Working along the survey line forward and backward (i.e., north and south) will allow the north and south edges of the grave to be identified. From there the grave is tested perpendicular to the survey line, along the grave's center-line, in order to identify the head and foot.

Typically the head and foot are both marked using surveyor's pin flags. We have also found that it is helpful to run a ribbon of flagging from the head flag to the foot flag, since the heads and feet in tightly packed cemeteries begin to blur together.

Methods and Findings

These methods were utilized at the Factory Cemetery with relatively little modification. Our initial walkover revealed that while there were no clearly marked graves under the powerlines, there were a number of well-defined grave depressions. When these were marked using pin flags it became obvious that they formed distinct rows. Individual graves and their rows were oriented approximately northeast-southwest. Consequently, our transect lines were placed northwest-southeast to follow the known burials.

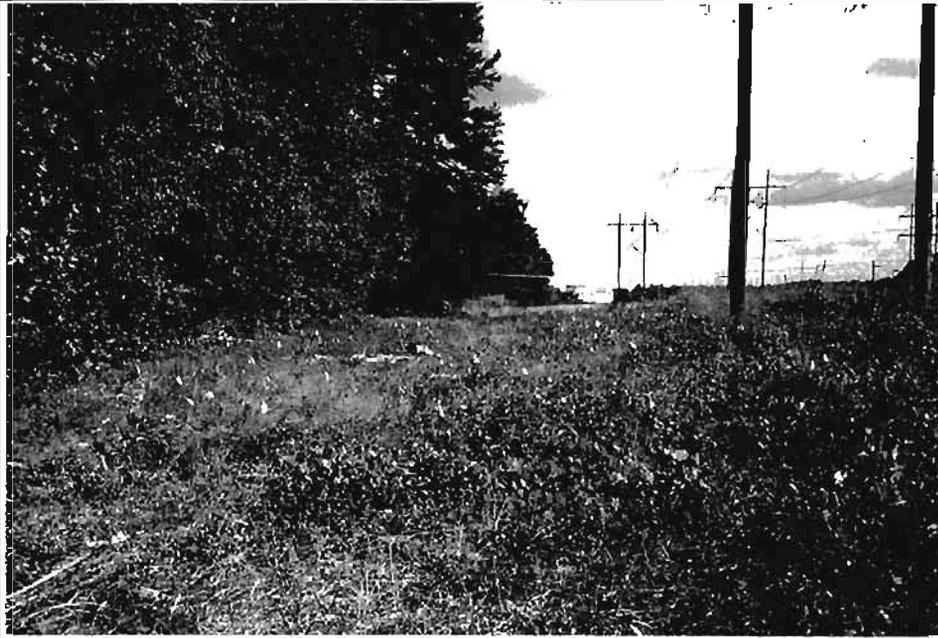


Figure 11. View of the SCE&G powerline easement looking northeast from Botanical Lane. Marked graves are identified by flags.

discovered that soil compaction actually increased in the woods, to the point that identification of graves was difficult. Consequently, the 317 graves found in the powerline easement are likely very close to the total number in that area. In contrast, the 208 graves found in the woods to the north almost certainly under-represent those actually present. While 525 graves were identified, we suspect that the total number is between 700 and 900 burials.

This initial assessment found that the sunken graves were typically 0.5 to as much as 1.0 foot lower than the surrounding ground level. A few, however, exhibited far more significant slumpage, at times about 1.5 feet lower. Several were 2.0 to 2.5 feet lower than the surrounding ground — these may represent graves which have been either removed or perhaps vandalized. One informant did recall that some graves in the 1960s appeared to have been robbed.

In addition, we found that some burials exhibited high psi readings — often ranging from 125 to 150. Non-grave areas remained higher — often 250 to 300 psi. Whether this deviation from our previous findings is related to the severe drought in the area or perhaps from logging and powerline maintenance is uncertain. Regardless, the finding does reveal that compaction levels outside the norm are possible.

Two person days were required to identify graves in the powerline easement and an additional 3.5 person days were required to cover the area within the woods to the north. We

During the course of this study we also identified a number of large tree stumps within the powerline right-of-way. These were flagged for recordation since they might assist in correlating the on-the-ground features with the aerial photographs taken prior to the addition of the third powerline.

After the identified burials were marked they were mapped by a survey crew provided by The Mungo Company using a total station system. It may be of some interest that this crew found that the mapping progressed more quickly using a total station than it would have had they used a survey grade GPS system, especially in the dense forest cover where multipathing is a significant concern. The 1050 grave points (plus additional points marking trees and vegetation) required approximately 7.5 person days (2.5 field days).

Plantings

This work found relatively little evidence of intentional plantings associated with the various graves. The sparsity of observed plantings may be



Figure 12. Grave marked by a border planting of yucca. View to the north.

cemetery is English ivy. The ivy is common in the northeastern wooded section and probably represents material which has “escaped” from its original plantings and spread.

The cemetery should be re-examined at different times of the year in order to identify additional plantings which may be seasonal. Other recommendations concerning the care of the plantings present will be provided in the final section of this

a result of the season of the work — spring flowering bulbs, for example, would no longer have been visible. The rarity of plantings may also be at least partially explained by the cemetery’s use as a powerline easement and the selective thinning which took place in 1981.

In spite of these factors, we did identify at least two graves or plots with remnant plantings. One was within the woods, where a single grave was outlined with yucca plants. Another appears to be a plot in the powerline easement which was outlined with crepe myrtles. They managed to survive (at least as small stubs) because of their proximity to an H-frame structure. It appears that bush hogging was difficult and the plants were not entirely cut down on a yearly basis. Unfortunately the H-frame structure was placed within the plot and probably damaged the associated graves.

There are a number of cedar trees in the wooded section. These may be native, perhaps spread by birds, although they may also have been intentionally planted to mark graves or plots.

A last planting recognized from the

study.

Grave Markers

During this research we identified 29 markers in the wooded area and two possible markers in the powerline easement, for a total of 31. These identify either currently or previously marked graves (i.e., some are displaced and the location of the grave they originally marked is unknown).

Of the 31 markers found, 19 are granite, quartz, or schist fieldstones and the remaining 12 are commercial markers. The fieldstones range in size and shape; those of granite at times exhibit drill holes, indicating that they were quarry material. Both the granite and schist appear to often have been either selected for their “tombstone” shape or else were crudely shaped prior to placement. The quartz fieldstones exhibit no evidence of working, but are thought to be markers either because of their size or their placement. There are very occasional examples of fieldstones being used at both the head and foot of the grave, although more commonly it appears



Figure 13. Granite bases with tabs and coping, view to the northwest. Dies are missing and the graves are collapsed, causing the bases and coping to be displaced.

Granite is more common, perhaps because it is less susceptible to damage. Nevertheless, granite tends to suggest a date from the last quarter of the nineteenth century on. When associated with curbing, such markers may indicate a relatively significant expenditure.

Several of the granite bases found during this work exhibit iron pins for attachment of the dies. This is generally suggestive of a pre-1930 date. The bevel

that only the head was marked.

All of the commercial stones are either fragmented or the die has been removed from the base. It is unlikely that all of the dies would have disappeared simply from "abandonment." Under normal circumstances dies tip over and may even get buried by debris — but at least some remain. In the case of this cemetery, all appear to have been removed. This, in conjunction with the number which have been displaced and broken, suggests an effort to eliminate identifiable or recognizable features, including names and dates of burials.

The bases which remain suggest that at least some of the families being buried in the cemetery were sufficiently wealthy to afford commercial stones. Marble, while not common, is present, apparently as simple (and thin) headstones. These tend to represent low cost markers, perhaps being erected by families of limited means. This type of marker is also commonly seen in the late nineteenth century through the first third of the twentieth century.

on one granite base is also more typical of the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Summary

The field investigations identified at least 525 probable graves, although the total number



Figure 14. Displaced granite base at edge of powerline easement.



Figure 15. Basal section of a marble headstone found in the wooded area of the cemetery.

transmission line access road, which dates at least from the 1930s).

The markers which remain are suggestive of a cemetery post-dating ca. 1870 and pre-dating ca. 1930. The degree of sumpage in some graves suggests that burials may have taken place later than this, perhaps into the 1950s or even possibly the 1960s.

is likely to be between 700 and 900. These are found both under the SCE&G transmission lines and also into the woods to the north. When the distribution of these graves is compared to the early aerial photographs it is easy to see that the grave locations precisely coincide with the arc-shaped wooded area. Consequently, it appears that the cemetery measured about 550 feet northwest-southeast by about 250-300 feet southwest by northeast.

Graves appear to be confined to the relatively level area of ridge topography and do not extend into the steeply sloping area on the west side. There is a remnant road running along the north edge of the cemetery and this appears to be a firm boundary, with no graves extending past this road (the aerials reveal that to the north of this road the area was cultivated). There is another road along the east side of the cemetery. This road, too, appears on aerial photographs as a historic feature. No graves are found past this road and, again, the area to its east was heavily cultivated. Consequently, there are either topographic or cultural boundaries to the north, east, and west. Only to the south does the cemetery not appear to have a historic boundary (although no graves were found south of a

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

What we know about this cemetery is impressive. It likely contains between 700 and 900 burials, with the location of 525 clearly identified. It covers an area of nearly 3 acres, being situated on a ridge top overlooking the Saluda River to the east. Grave markers suggest a date range of at least 1870 through 1930, although a longer duration is entirely possible.

What we don't know, however, is equally impressive. In spite of several oral history accounts of the cemetery, we know the name of no one buried there. We have no first-hand accounts of burials, and we can't be certain that it was associated with the Saluda Manufacturing Company (although that seems reasonable). And we have no explanation for the removal or destruction of stones which were placed in the cemetery.

The lack of information concerning the cemetery has certainly contributed to various episodes of damage. There was almost certainly damage when the two powerline easements were placed directly through the cemetery, resulting in clearing, heavy equipment operation, and the erection of H-frame structures. Subsequent maintenance of the powerline may have contributed to additional damage. The selective thinning of the forest to the north — like all silvacultural activity — is also likely to have damaged the cemetery through logging operations, use of skidders, and other related activities. The presence of the cemetery in the midst of a rapidly developing neighborhood may have also contributed to its damage. And the failure of families using the cemetery to maintain contact with the property is also a significant cause of its decline.

It is worth remarking that most of our

knowledge concerning the cemetery has derived from field — not historical — investigations. Nevertheless, it remains possible that additional historical research may provide more information about the cemetery.

The work completed to this point suggests that the cemetery is likely eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D (information potential). For a determination it would be helpful to better understand the association of the cemetery and the socio-economic status of those buried in the cemetery. It would also be helpful to better understand the events surrounding the abandonment or disuse of the cemetery. Nevertheless, it seems almost certain that significant research questions could focus on issues of diet, disease, and health. For example, if the cemetery is associated with the Saluda Manufacturing Co. and was being used by its white operatives, the investigation of the cemetery provides a unique opportunity to explore the health of mill workers.

While works such as Wilt Browning's (1990) *Linthead* provide first person accounts of mill life and studies such as David Carlton's (1982) *Mill and Town in South Carolina 1880-1920* provide a more scholarly approach to the politics and social issues surround mill life, there are relatively few detailed studies of mill life and its effects on the health and welfare of the operatives (one exception is Edward Beardsley's [1987] *A History of Neglect*).

As Beardsley observes, there is little secondary literature on the health and well-being of white mill operatives — even during the twentieth century. There is enough, however, to make it clear that perhaps nowhere else in America was life so hard. One government study cited by Beardsley reported:

Southerners displayed a virtual catalog of the ills to which humans were prey. There were cases of “female trouble,” poor digestion, typhoid fever, malaria, tuberculosis, and bronchitis. Congenital defects appeared with distressing frequency. Crossed eyes, crippled limbs, and lumps on faces were common. Women seemed to bear the heaviest burdens. Besides those who died young or lost infants to miscarriages, others struck government interviewers as “old and worn out” before their time (Beardsley 1987:45).

In spite of such accounts, we have not been fortunate enough to be able to explore, using both metric and non-metric methods, a white, late nineteenth century to early twentieth century mill population. Should removal of this cemetery be necessary, such a study would be possible — and should be conducted in a manner appropriate to a National Register eligible site.

Recommendations

Recommendations may be offered in terms of additional research activities, as well as for the long-term care and preservation of the cemetery.

Historical Research

There are certainly routes of potential additional research. Ms. Alexia Jones Helsley with AJH Historical Enterprises has recommended additional efforts to identify burials through comparison of census data of mill operatives to death certificates. This is certainly worth pursuing. In fact, simply scanning death certificates for any burial location resembling this cemetery may be a worthwhile undertaking. The point is that with the names of individuals buried in the cemetery we may be able to verify an actual cemetery name, as well as gather demographic data. We may be able to identify other family members buried there. And

we begin to have a better idea of who was using the cemetery, the time period of its use, and even why its use declined through time.

Unfortunately, none of the Columbia area newspapers operating between ca. 1870 and 1930 are indexed. It is therefore not possible to easily search for references to the cemetery, either in feature or news articles or through obituaries. Such a search would require scanning a very large number of papers, almost all of which are on film. Even sampling is a daunting task. Consider that with even 900 burials, spread over a 70 year period, there was only one burial in the cemetery every 28 days. So about once a month there might be an opportunity for an obituary. Yet, with the number of children thought to be interred in the cemetery it seems likely that many burials when unreported.

Another approach, which may be even more useful, is to appeal to the public for information. We have been surprised that it was not difficult to identify several individuals who remember the cemetery — even if their memories are imperfect. It seems likely that there are families present in the Lexington area who may remember parents or grandparents speaking of the cemetery. There may even be family members who attended services there in the past. These individuals need to be identified.

Preservation Planning

The cemetery has been poorly maintained in the past, so it is critical that steps be taken to preserve and protect the site. We urge that these minimal steps be taken, regardless of the eventual ownership of the site.

As a general guiding principle, what remains of the cemetery’s original historic fabric should be respected and every effort should be made to cause no additional alterations. The site is not a park. It is not a suitable place for walking dogs or playing frisbee. It is a burial site — a sacred location to which loved ones have been entrusted. Consequently, all actions should be consistent with the concept of doing no harm to

the site and respecting its original purpose.

Maintenance of the powerline easement should be modified to minimize future damage. This will include filling sunken depressions with clean sand to level the ground. Sand, rather than topsoil or some other material, should be used to help distinguish the grave shafts in the future, should archaeological investigations become necessary. It will also include preparing the open area and seeding for an appropriate low maintenance grass (ideally, one which is drought resistant and slow growing). Future maintenance should consist only of hand mowing the cemetery area — the use of a bush hog should be avoided.

Special attention will need to be given to the crepe myrtles which form the boundary of one plot in the powerline easement. These have been repeatedly cut down by mowing. They should be clearly marked and encouraged to grow back into a hedge.

In the wooded area a first step should be additional clearing of vegetation by hand. Herbicides may be used sparingly, preferably by painting stumps of weedy species, not by spraying. The goal should be to eliminate those species which were not original to the cemetery, while ensuring that plantings such as the yucca, English ivy, and crepe myrtles are not affected. Downed vegetation should be removed from the cemetery area, creating a clean, even landscape. As part of these efforts, the power poles laying at the edge of the easement should be removed.

Consultation with a forester may suggest that some trees be removed. We would encourage the caregivers to allow any tree at least 50 years old to remain in place. Only young, scrub or weedy vegetation should be removed. The forester should be requested to provide recommendations for the long-term care of the trees present, as well as guidance on replacing trees as they become old or diseased.

After this area has had obstacles and downed vegetation removed, sunken grave shafts may be filled — again with clean sand. During this

process it is especially important that grave markers not be buried or lost. Where they are displaced by sinking, they should be reset after the ground is leveled.

While the English ivy, as an original plant, should be allowed to remain, we discourage the use of ground covers. Many mound up, allowing erosion to take place under them. Others are difficult to remove, if removal is ever necessary. Many will force out native plants, creating an unnatural environment. And perhaps of greatest concern, most ground covers create a tripping hazard. The floor of the wooded area should be allowed to stabilize, then be reassessed for long-term needs.

When the immediate land modifications have been completed, we recommend that the cemetery be fenced using a low maintenance material which will blend in with the surrounding development.

Signage identifying the cemetery and briefly recounting its history would be appropriate. Like active cemeteries, the signage should also explicitly explain activities which are appropriate — and inappropriate. At a minimum we encourage caregivers to establish these rules:

- opening and closing times (typically normal hours, such as 8:00 am to 6:00 pm), with individuals present beyond those hours subject to arrest;
- children should be permitted only in the company of a responsible adult (this helps prevent the site from becoming a play ground and also helps control liability);
- no stones may be moved, altered, or defaced; no plantings may be cut, altered, or damaged; and no new plantings may be placed in the cemetery; and

- any animal in the cemetery must be on a leash and owners must be responsible for picking up and removing all animal waste (ideally, no animals should be allowed in the cemetery).

Finally, although cemeteries are protected by state law (Section 16-17-600, South Carolina Code of Laws, as amended), the law is weak and poorly enforced. In reality, it offers almost no protection to either the cemetery as a place or to the human remains the cemetery contains. Consequently, we encourage the future caregivers to plat the cemetery, record it with Lexington County, and incorporate the cemetery into a preservation easement.

If Removal Becomes Necessary

The ideal solution is the preservation of the cemetery — green spacing the land and removing it from any future development pressure. If this is not possible then removal is often allowed. We are not attorneys and cannot offer legal advice in this matter. We can, however, point out that often cemeteries are removed in a manner which destroys not only their historic integrity, but also any possible bioanthropological data which they may contain.

While funeral homes may be very knowledgeable in embalming and comforting those who are grieving, they have no experience in archaeological methods, forensic studies, osteology, or bioanthropology. They are entirely unsuited for the delicate task of excavating, recognizing, and collecting human remains. Moreover, they have no ability to analyze those remains and provide the information they contain to the public. Cemetery removal by funeral homes is little more than “dig and dump.”

Should the cemetery — or any portion of it — ultimately need to be moved, the work should be conducted by individuals with training and expertise. Under South Carolina law, a funeral home director must be present, and that individual can serve a valuable function in helping any family

members which may be present and arranging all of the reburial activities after appropriate recovery.

At the most minimal level, any burial removals should ensure appropriate recovery and analysis techniques. Human skeletal analysis should begin with the in situ metric analysis even prior to removal. Once transferred to the lab the remains should be lightly brushed and/or washed depending on the desires of any family members, to remove adhering soil and allow for the collection of additional metric and non-metric data. Consolidates or other chemicals should not be applied to the bones unless approved by family members.

The initial level of analysis should allow the compilation of thorough descriptions of each individual (including appraisals of sex, age at death, stature, body build, distinguishing characteristics, and skeletal pathologies). Information on taphonomic changes should be collected. Detailed observations and measurements will be entered on standardized forms, similar to those used by SOD.

Specimens exhibiting unusual or difficult to characterize data should be subjected to X-ray or CAT scans. Both are non-intrusive and will leave no residues in the remains. The teeth are especially important for studies of peoples because they reflect age-at-death, diet, disease, health, and genetic affiliation. Dental inventories should be created, but these are not always adequate. Because of the translucent nature of the tooth crown, adequate photography requires coating or dusting the teeth with ammonium chloride fumes. Since this is an invasive procedure, an alternative to make high quality silicone casts of selected dentition. This is a far more benign technique, but it allows vitally important data to be collected, and stored, for detailed analysis.

With this minimal level of analysis the materials may be submitted for reburial. Additional studies may be undertaken if there are time and funds available — and with the permission of family members.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is likely that at least some coffin remains will also be recovered. These should be completely documented since they can provide additional clues regarding mortuary behavior, the status of the individuals in the community, and temporal data on the burial.

SOURCES CITED

- Beardsley, Edward H.
 1987 *A History of Neglect: Health Care for Blacks and Mill Workers in the Twentieth-Century South*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Browning, Wilt
 1990 *Linthead: Growing Up in a Carolina Cotton Mill Village*. Down Home Press, Asheboro, North Carolina.
- Carlton, David L.
 1982 *Mill and Town in South Carolina, 1880-1920*. Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
- Trinkley, Michael
 1989 *Archaeological Evaluation of the Proposed Riverbanks Botanical Gardens, Lexington County, South Carolina*. Research Contribution 36. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
 1996 *The Saluda Factory: Forgotten History of the Riverbanks Botanical Park*. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
 1999 *Penetrometer Survey of Settler's Cemetery, Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina*. Research Contribution 273. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- Trinkley, Michael and Debi Hacker
 1997a *Additional Boundary Research of the Kings Cemetery (38CH1590), Charleston County, South Carolina*. Research Contribution 214. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- 1997b *Grave Inventory and Preservation Recommendations for the Maple Grove United Methodist Church Cemetery, Haywood County, North Carolina*. Research Series 230. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- 1998 *Grave Inventory and Preservation Recommendations for the Walker Family Cemetery, Greenville County, South Carolina*. Research Series 248. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- 1998 *Identification and Mapping of Historic Graves at Colonial Cemetery, Savannah, Georgia*. Research Series 54. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.
- Trinkley, Michael, Debi Hacker, and Sarah Fick
 1999 *The African American Cemeteries of Petersburg, Virginia: Continuity and Change*. Research Series 55. Chicora Foundation, Inc., Columbia.

Cemetery Preservation Plans

Historical Research

**Identification of Grave Locations
and Mapping**

Condition Assessments

Treatment of Stone and Ironwork



Chicora Foundation, Inc.
PO Box 8664 • 861 Arbutus Drive
Columbia, SC 29202-8664
Tel: 803-787-6910
Fax: 803-787-6910
www.chicora.org