

Spring 2019

The Empty Mill: An Analysis of a Disappearing Linchpin of Southern Society and its Hope for a Preserved Future

Matthew South Bright
University of South Carolina - Columbia

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/senior_theses



Part of the [Historic Preservation and Conservation Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Bright, Matthew South, "The Empty Mill: An Analysis of a Disappearing Linchpin of Southern Society and its Hope for a Preserved Future" (2019). *Senior Theses*. 279.
https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/senior_theses/279

This Thesis is brought to you by the Honors College at Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Senior Theses by an authorized administrator of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact digres@mailbox.sc.edu.

THE EMPTY MILL: AN ANALYSIS OF A DISAPPEARING LINCHPIN OF SOUTHERN
SOCIETY AND ITS HOPE FOR A PRESERVED FUTURE

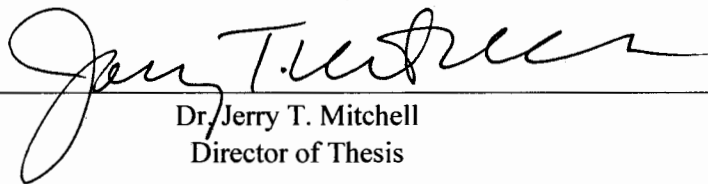
By

Matthew South Bright

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for
Graduation with Honors from the
South Carolina Honors College

May, 2019

Approved:



Dr. Jerry T. Mitchell
Director of Thesis



Dr. Conor M. Harrison
Second Reader

Steve Lynn, Dean
South Carolina Honors College

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	1
Introduction.....	2
Literature Review.....	3
Mill History of South Carolina.....	5
Mills as Landscape Features.....	11
Method.....	15
Results.....	16
Case Studies.....	25
Demolished Exemplar – Buffalo Union Mill (Union County).....	26
Developed Exemplar – Beaumont Mfg. Co. (Spartanburg County).....	32
Standing Exemplar – Seneca Cotton Mill “Utica Mill” (Oconee County).....	34
Under Development Exemplar – American Spinning Co. (Greenville County).....	35
Discussion and Conclusion.....	37
References.....	42
Appendix A – List of Demolished Mills by Address.....	46
Appendix B – List of Standing Mills by Address.....	49
Appendix C – List of Developed/Under Development Mills by Address.....	51

ABSTRACT

August Kohn's report, *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina*, published in *The News and Courier* in 1907, attempted to document the impact that cotton mills in South Carolina had on its places, people, and growth. Over 100 years since the lists publishing, a comprehensive evaluation of the mills had not been undertaken. This thesis endeavored to evaluate the current status of the South Carolina cotton mills from Kohn's 1907 list. Of the original 141 mills, 120 were successfully located and their status mapped in a Geographic Information System (GIS). Sixty-six were found demolished, twenty-five were standing, and twenty-nine were developed or under development. Great opportunities lie ahead, whether through private redevelopment or redevelopment through public-private partnerships, for the preservation of this disappearing linchpin of Southern society. Through wise urban husbandry and development, with an emphasis on historic preservation, communities can once again claim with pride to be a flourishing "mill town" in South Carolina.

INTRODUCTION

For over 100 years, the cotton mills originally characterized by August Kohn in his investigative 1907 report for the *Charleston News and Courier* have aged with no attempts to reevaluate their status. In his article, Kohn set out to characterize the life of the South Carolina cotton mill operative in the early 20th-century. The objective of this thesis is to evaluate the contemporary status of cotton mills in South Carolina by utilizing Kohn's comprehensive report to examine which mills have been demolished, which mills remain standing, and which mills have been redeveloped or are under development. Following analysis, suggested development strategies are made to aid former mill towns seeking to preserve their historic cotton mills.

Historic preservation is one of the four basic development activities described by Forrant (2007) along with land protection, urban planning, and brownfield cleanups. When utilized correctly, redeveloped mills can be an impetus for community betterment and empowerment. Cities that have experienced the successful historic preservation of cotton mills report an economic multiplier effect that brings job creation, local business growth, increased real estate values, and the accrual of benefits to existing residents that are often economically disadvantaged (Forrant, 2007). A successfully redeveloped cotton mill can completely change the atmosphere of a small Southern town, advancing it from a 20th-century mindset into the 21st-century urban reality.

This thesis investigated South Carolina cotton mills through a literature review that included a historical analysis of mills in the American South and their role as a redeveloped feature of the Southern landscape. The comprehensive list compiled by Kohn in 1907 was then updated to evaluate the current status of South Carolina cotton mills. Data points collected

included the mill's geographic location, estimated street address, and current status (demolished, standing, developed, or under development).

From the list of 141 mills, 120 were successfully located and their status mapped in a Geographic Information System (GIS). Based on their current status, the mills were sorted into the following four categories:

- I. Demolished: Original mill building partially or completely destroyed/razed
- II. Standing: Original mill building extant and empty, without substantial damage
- III. Developed: Original mill building with completed renovation characterized by its attention to historic preservation
- IV. Under development: Original mill building with renovation characterized by attention to historic preservation in progress

Sixty-six were found demolished, twenty-five were found standing, and twenty-nine were found to be developed or under development. Exemplars from each category were then chosen and presented in greater depth. Examples of successful and unsuccessful mill redevelopment across the American South were presented as a road map for preservation and development to aid communities in which standing mills remain empty.

LITERATURE REVIEW

August Kohn's report, *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina*, attempted to document the impact that cotton mills in South Carolina had on its places, people, and growth. During his study, Kohn visited every well-known cotton mill across the State of South Carolina. At each location, he endeavored to collect data about the composition of the mill's employees, their wages, and their living and working conditions. He also chronicled the mill's inputs and outputs,

annual yields, and its estimated value. This report was designed to showcase the prosperity of the state's mills following the period of Reconstruction and as such is heavily biased toward notions of a "New South". This characterization is especially evident in his introduction:

"I firmly believe that whatever misunderstanding there may be either here or by the outside world as to labor conditions, the employment of children, or wages, is due entirely to a lack of information, and if the facts were really known there would be a much kindlier feeling and a far greater appreciation of what that cotton mills have done and are doing every day for the people...(Kohn, 1907, p. 1)"

Kohn's attempt to present a picture-perfect view of the industrializing South inherently created a bias that is primarily supported by the data presented. However, Kohn's attempt to highlight South Carolina's growing economy was not unwarranted. Northern prejudices following the Civil War painted the American South as the antithesis of industrialism and progress, a sentiment that historian C. Vann Woodward called "a continuous and conspicuous feature of [the] Southern experience" as late as the 1960s (Woodman, 1977, p. 525).

In addition to any potential error caused by modernly perceived bias, Kohn conceded that if he should fail to characterize the mill accurately, the fault does not lie with him. Instead, any effort to falsify data came straight from his primary sources, referred to collectively as "the offices" (Kohn, 1907, p.3-4). Through interviews with employees and a survey of their living conditions, Kohn sought to reduce this potential source of bias while preserving a snapshot of cotton mill life from which outsiders can "draw their own conclusions." He hoped that "after years..... [others may] have an appreciation of what part the cotton mills and their tens of thousands of workers play in the history and progress of the state" (Kohn, 1907, p.3-4).

MILL HISTORY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Within his 1907 report, Kohn wrote of the cotton mill's scant historical record. The earliest mention of cotton processing in South Carolina came from the *Charlestown Gazette* in 1768 in which a review of St. David's Parish-made white cotton was published (Kohn, 1907). At this time the majority of cotton processing was the product of slave labor in the Lowcountry of the state. An article published in the *American General Gazette* in 1777 describes one planter's purchase of thirty slaves whose sole purpose was the weaving and spinning of cotton products. It was not until 1816 when settler expansion exploded into the Upstate that the modern foundation of the cotton mill was laid. However, in contrast with the Lowcountry, here it was white tenant farmers seeking employment in the spindle houses of the "Piedmont Belt" (Kohn, 1907).

According to the 1927 U.S. Census of Manufacturers, over 50% of the value of processed cotton in the United States came from the Appalachian Piedmont, a region to which a majority of the South Carolina Upstate belongs. Unlike other geographical boundaries of the time, the "Piedmont Belt" had no definite boundaries yet contained all of the "factors which have acted as advantages" to the manufacture of cotton-based products (Lemert, 1933). It was hypothesized that the distance to markets, topography, climate, and soil limited the spread of the industry to a specific area designed for its success. The smooth rolling landscape nourished by flowing rivers north of the geographical fall line, coupled with the long growing season (180-230 days), and sandy soil was ideal for both the growing of cotton and the construction of needed infrastructure. The economic impacts of electricity and railways, as well as the socioeconomic implications of freed slave-labor and tenant farming, ensured that the manufacturing industry had a steady labor force that would not only supply but also process cotton for sale and export.

Within this region, the cotton mill towns “cluster[ed] along the Southern Railway System like beads on a string” (Lemert, 1907). Further development came when mills began to need paved roads to connect their shipping department to the train line leading to many interconnected highways over which a trucking industry would flourish. In addition to transportation, electrical infrastructure soon developed. Each nodal development of a mill and its surrounding service sector represented decentralization of the industry, allowing for accelerated growth throughout the Piedmont. The region provided abundant hydroelectric power sustained by southward flowing rivers and an annual rainfall of an estimated 80 inches (Lemert, 1933).

A surplus of competition between both white tenant farmers and freed slaves drove many white men and women into employment in the mills. Once settled, young girls and boys would often opt for jobs in the mill to help support their families. Work in the mills was usually limited to whites only, with a few exceptions made for positions requiring arduous labor such as furnace room attendants or floor scrubbers (Lemert, 1933; Roscigno & Danaher, 2004). Due to the lack of opportunity in the mill, African Americans would become an integral part of the additional labor and service industries of these new communities. Settling on the outskirts of the mill village, African American men would be employed in sectors such as forestry and mining while many African American women would turn to work as housekeepers in the homes of the mill’s upper management (Lemert, 1933). The separation of white and black in the mill village lead to further racial discrimination that was reinforced with racial segregation laws well into the 1960s and is, in part, responsible for the prejudice that is still evident in the American South today. Researchers Roscigno and Danaher (2004) argue that this “racial homogeneity” between white and black areas of the mill town promoted cohesion among the individual groups of like-minded

people with similar upbringings and, unfortunately, contributed a view that made separate and unequal segregation a reality.

Operatives of the cotton mill all had similar upbringings in the hills of the Carolinas as mill owners actively recruited poor white laborers from small farms, tenant farms, and mountain villages (Roscigno & Danaher, 2004). Kohn acknowledges that by 1907, these practices were responsible for over 54,000 operatives on the mill's payroll in South Carolina. The mills most significant incentive came in the form of a steady supply of cash, regardless of the weather or growing season. He states, "they do not go to the mills because they are partial to day labor, they go there simply because they know that at the end of every two weeks, whether the crops are good or bad..... that their pay envelope is going to be handed out to them by the paymaster" (Kohn, 1907). Kohn also observed that if an operative worked at a mill for two years, they were likely to spend the rest of their working life in the mill rather than returning to farming. Part of the mill's strategy to retain this workforce was to lock them in by providing housing, infrastructure, schools, churches, and stores. By encouraging the mill operatives to adopt a unified identity, the mill became more than just a job; it became their community.

In many operatives' minds, their village was completely set apart from others. This separation was especially evident through the creation of mill baseball teams. Roscigno and Danaher interviewed a resident of Duncan, South Carolina who states:

"So, if you could get a mill village where it developed its own personality, it developed its own loyalties - the people at Duncan used to hate the people at Judson, 'cause the people at Duncan thought the people at Judson didn't play fair baseball" (2004, p. 6).

These loyalties were tested when mill owners pressed their operatives and increased demands. Before the strikes of 1929 and 1934, the average adult mill worker would have twelve-hour shifts during the week, with a five-hour shift on Saturday (Roscigno & Danaher, 2004). Wages for this labor averaged \$1.13 per day for all mill positions, a value of approximately \$30 per day adjusted for inflation. Wages in the lower half of the state were significantly higher than those of the Piedmont region (Kohn, 1907). As time passed, conditions in the mill often became worse. Young children aged 12-16 were a standard fixture of the cotton mill, working in positions much more dangerous than that of adult operatives due to the small spaces in looms that required smaller fingers for repairs, leading to many gruesome industrial injuries (Roscigno & Danaher, 2004). The “stretch out” in which mill workers were asked to take on more looms with no additional pay was the last straw for many operatives, prompting several strikes.

The real loyalties to the community that the mill sought to create became one of their weaknesses, but not without a fight. Unionization was attempted in the American South in many distinct waves. The economic boom of the cotton mills in 1919-1921 brought many labor organizers to the area. It is estimated that the United Textile Workers produced the “largest number of local unions ever formed in the South’s cotton mills,” with approximately 50,000 registered members in North and South Carolina (Schwenning, 1931). An economic recession in 1921 was a spark for many strikes that wiped out union sentiment in the South. Paul Blanshard, the assistant editor of *The Nation* magazine, wrote of the downfall, “The struggle for the right to organize has been long and bitter, ending last year in the complete abolition of every vestige of trade unionism” (Schwenning, 1931, p. 783). Although faced with an impasse, union organizers never left. In 1928, a more radical organization, the National Textile Workers Union, attempted to unionize the South. The union supported the goals of decreased hours, increased wages,

recognition of a worker's right to unionize, elimination of the stretch out, and the abolition of child labor (Polenberg, 2015). On April 1st, 1929, one of the largest periods of striking began in neighboring North Carolina. These strikes were fraught with violence and retaliation from both the mill owners and the state government. The strike began in North Carolina, but according to the *New York Times*, it traveled "moving with the speed and force of a mechanized army, thousands of pickets in trucks and automobiles scurried about the countryside in the Carolina's, visiting mill towns and villages and compelling the closing of the plants" (Brecher, 1972, p. 185). Many striking operatives were killed by overzealous National Guardsmen and armed mercenaries under the mills employ (Brecher, 1972). Following tragedies in Marion and Gastonia, North Carolina, the NTWU strike of 1929 seemed a failure to many.

President Roosevelt gave the movement life when he signed the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) in June of 1933. This act gave operatives the right to collective bargaining, a minimum wage, a maximum forty-hour work week, and the prohibition of child labor (Roscigno & Danaher, 2004). The NIRA established the basis of almost all of the modern labor laws in the United States. Roosevelt's connection to the people through his "fireside chats," encouraged mill operatives to personally report violations of NIRA to him through thousands of letters (Roscigno & Danaher, 2004). Membership in the United Textile Workers union jumped to over 270,000 nationwide the following year.

The General Textile Strike of 1934 began on Labor Day in North Carolina. The following day, the South Carolina National Guard, under the orders of Governor Blackwood, deployed what would become known as "flying squadrons" to compel operatives to return to work. A state of emergency was declared in South Carolina on September 9th, 1934. National guardsmen recall that they were given orders to "shoot to kill," yet many strikers were undeterred (Brecher,

1972). Tragedy struck South Carolina in the small mill village of Honea Path where sheriff deputies fired upon armed picketers. The *New York Times* described the scene as:

“Without warning came the first shots, followed by many others, and for a few minutes, there was bedlam. Striker after striker fell to the ground, with the cries of wounded men sounding over the field and men and women shrieking from the scene” (Brecher, 1972, p. 187).

The strike was declared an “overwhelming victory,” and ended on September 22, 1934.

However, not all of the demands were met, causing many operatives to remain bitter to labor unions.

Following what has been called “unquestionably the greatest single industrial conflict in the history of American organized labor,” the General Textile Strike of 1934, came the overhaul of American labor laws (Brecher, 1972). Despite the violent tactics of the mill, the inequities between African American and White mill operatives, and the overbearing control the mill retained over its employees throughout the early 20th century, many historians agree that the South benefited from this “work situation” and the accompanying communities and infrastructure that it provided (Roscigno & Danaher, 2004). These small mill villages gave rise to many cities and towns that continue to exist today. Of all the mill villages that dot the South Carolina countryside, none grew to greater heights than Greenville. Situated in the perfect spot along the Reedy River, the city with its five converging rail lines is steeped in textile history. The city’s Chamber of Commerce dubbed the area the “Textile Capital of the World” (Behre, 2014). Cotton manufacturing in South Carolina dropped significantly between the years 1982-1991, with the industry losing 20.6% of textile jobs during that time (Hughes, 1992). The death blow to the industry came in 1994 with the implementation of the North American Free Trade

Agreement. Many Carolinians were concerned about the impact it would create for cotton manufacturing. Estimates at the time predicted job losses in the textile industry to range from 250,000-500,000 over the next decade. Senator Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina stated that NAFTA would be "a real loss for the working men and women of America who will bear the brunt of lower wages and lost jobs" (Hughes, 1992). Roger Milliken, President and Chairman of the textile giant Milliken and Co. headquartered in Spartanburg, S.C., who at the time was looking to outsource labor to Mexico, stated "[the accord] will result in a lower standard of living for American workers as we compete head-to-head at a disadvantage for jobs with lower-paid Mexican workers" (Hughes, 1992). Every union that testified to the U. S. House of Representatives was against the NAFTA agreement, joining the resistance of labor-intensive employers that entirely denounced the agreement (Chase, 2005). In 1997, a decade-long study, based on the minimum efficient scale of industries calculated in 1987, found that less than 6% of textile jobs returned to scale following the onset of the agreement, meaning that the increased markets that NAFTA provided resulted in little to no gain to the American textile industry (Chase, 2005). In neighboring North Carolina, 417 textile mills closed in the first seven years following the implementation of NAFTA, closely mirroring the impact felt in South Carolina (Giermanski & Lodge, 2002).

MILLS AS LANDSCAPE FEATURES

Following the closing of the majority of cotton mills in the state, Greenville historian Don Koonce argues that their historical significance is slowly slipping away. He believes that the "mills are the foundation of the real leadership that caused Greenville to be what it is today," a sentiment felt by many former mill towns (Behre, 2014). The nonprofit Greenville Textile

Heritage Society attempts to preserve some of the mill's history through the collection of artifacts, documents, and photographs. This preservation of the mills' legacy helps in many ways, but so does the preservation of the mills' physical structure.

Mill towns were all designed so that these massive structures were the central focus. Large brick smokestacks rose up from the ground, much like a church steeple, to dominate the skyline. Many of these industrial cathedrals in South Carolina were the vision of architect W. B. Smith Whaley. Before 1880, cotton mills in the American South rarely contained more than 6,000 spindles in a confined warehouse (Power, 1992). W. B. Whaley had the vision to enlarge the scale of operations to turn small mills into large factories that produced finished cloths in competition with Northern markets. Whaley's company lived by the mantra that "building shall be well proportioned and pleasing to the eye," and that "every cotton mill they have designed has been an improvement on the one previous to it" (Powers, 1992, p. 127). Over his lifetime, Whaley served as the chief architect for twenty mill constructions or major additions, of which 15 were located in South Carolina (Powers, 1992). In addition to their construction, Whaley owned and operated four mills in Columbia, South Carolina. Prominent mills that the Whaley Company designed from Kohn's list include the Richland Mill, Granby Mill, Capital City Mill, the Warren Mfg. Co., Buffalo Union Mill, Olympia Mill, and the Seneca "Utica Mohawk" Mill.

Whaley attempted his most ambitious project from 1899 to 1900 with the construction of the Olympia Mill in Columbia, South Carolina. *The State* newspaper deemed the project "the greatest single mill in the South," and when completed, it was the largest mill under a single roof in the world (Powers, 1992, p. 130). In addition to its sheer size, it represented the most technologically advanced industrial plant of the time. Since hydroelectric power supplied from the Columbia canal was inconsistent due to fluctuations in water level, the mill was designed

with multiple engines, not in a centralized engine room, but instead suspended from the ceiling. These engines were designed to work on electric energy generated from a steam engine (Powers, 1992). This idea was novel and so successful that these engines eventually powered the neighboring Richland, Granby, and Capital City Mill.

Remaining true to his mantra that the mill would be “pleasing to the eye,” the Olympia mill gave rise to architectural features that would later become a hallmark of later built Whaley mills. Twin towers dominated the structures face, one a clock tower and the other a bell tower. The ornate building had “buff terra-cotta detailing,” as well as “elaborate pilaster capitals and cornices” (Powers, 1992, p. 132). The interior of the mill was just as well appointed with “porcelain sinks and toilets, marble fittings, and nickel fixtures,” and the power plant contained “marble wainscoting and Terrazzo mosaic floors (Powers, 1992, p. 132). Translating this feel to its surrounding community, Whaley designed approximately 300 operative houses with a variety of paint colors “alternated in an attempt to combat the sameness” seen in the average mill towns of South Carolina (Powers, 1992, p. 134). Many of these features continued to be included in later mills such as in the twin towers of the Buffalo Union Mill or the central tower of the Seneca “Utica Mohawk” mill.

Through the preservation of South Carolina’s empty mills, the “apathetic indifference” that modern society has for the mills will begin to fade (Behre, 2014). Mills can be redeveloped as apartments, condominiums, or offices, and can also become active recreational and artistic hubs within a community. The impact of a mill’s redevelopment can be integral to its surrounding area. For the community members that remained following the flight of the mills in the 1990s, the empty mill often represents the many modern-day challenges of unemployment, underemployment, and reduced opportunities for success. Due to the textile industry’s

unlikeliness to recover, communities have sought options to replace what once was the central hub of their community.

One unique alternative proposes the conversion of former industrial sites into sites aimed at community empowerment and industrial tourism. A project in Valley, Alabama, a town with just over 9,000 residents, intended to convert their empty Langdale mill into a multifaceted city center that “tightly connects business, government, educational institutions, and the community” (Alonso, O’Neil, & Kim, 2010). The project began with the city’s purchase of the property for \$300,000 in 2004. The physical redevelopment of the mill did not begin until 2009 when a local farmers market was established on the property. One main reason for the project’s delay and its subsequent failure was financial. City managers sought stimulus packages from the federal government as well as the state tourism office. City planners worked to establish the “Southern Textile Heritage Corridor,” a non-profit organization aimed at attracting people to an area that stretched from Richmond, Virginia to Montgomery, Alabama (also known as the Piedmont Belt) (Alonso, O’Neil, & Kim, 2010). Unfortunately, many of the remaining buildings on the property were salvaged for timber and subsequently demolished. Hope for redevelopment is not entirely lost as the mill’s main three-story building remains. According to its salvager, Thomas Bush, the construction of a city park is still on the agenda (Clark, 2018).

Another example in which a city has taken steps to preserve and develop a mill property with the intent of community empowerment is Forest City, North Carolina. Firmly planted in the Piedmont Belt, Florence-Cone Mill opened in 1897 and ceased operations in 2001 (Conley, 2010). The Town of Forest City purchased the mill in 2005 for \$300,000. Partnerships with local foundations allowed for the creation of a weekly farmers market in the shadow of the smokestack. After multiple failed redevelopment attempts through the late 2000s, the town

invested \$3.5 million into the construction of an outdoor amphitheater known as the Pavilion on Park Square. The goal of this amphitheater and its accompanying splash pads, according to Mayor Steve Holland, was to “attract developers to the surrounding buildings, including the mill” (Bradley, 2017). According to Forest City’s Economic Development office, tax credits totaling 60% of the total rehabilitation project cost were available to potential developers from both federal and state entities (Fearnback History Services, 2014). As of 2019, the Town of Forest City plans to sell the Florence Mill building for \$150,000 to the developer Florence Development Partners, LLC. The redeveloped building will include mixed-use apartments and a retail shopping center with hopes to attract numerous restaurants and a microbrewery. This gradual process took place over fourteen years and provides a potential blueprint for towns seeking to develop their mills in a manner consistent with community empowerment.

METHOD

Utilizing the list of cotton mills from Kohn’s *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina* as a guiding document, each mill was recorded in an online Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Each mill entry included the mill name, the geographic region of South Carolina (Upstate, Midlands, or Lowcountry), the current county, latitude and longitude, the mill’s current status (demolished, standing, underdevelopment, developed), the mill’s current tenant/owner, tenant industry or current use, and the mill’s estimated street address (street name, city, state, zip code).

Numerous sources were used in the compilation phase including historical and contemporary news articles, tax data, historical and contemporary photographs, and Sanborn Fire Insurance maps. The specifics of the source utilized to locate each mill was cataloged in the database along with notes accounting for the process and difficulty with which each mill was

located. Upon the completion of data collection, each mill was mapped utilizing Esri ArcGIS software.

In his article August Kohn acknowledged the difficulties that he experienced in collecting data on each mill stating:

“[It was] practically impossible to visit all of the cotton mills in South Carolina, and, even if I had visited them all, it would be impractical to go into the details as to each one of those mills, and my fear now is that this series of articles is going to be too extended owing to the quantity of data” (Kohn, 1907, p. 4).

Even with modern technology, his description of the process remains accurate. Many challenges were faced in the collection of this data including the lack of a centralized repository of information regarding historical cotton mills, limited access to county tax records, and an abundance of non-digitized newspaper articles, photographs, and newspaper accounts. Many historical photographs were sourced and reprinted under public domain rights, if applicable, and with permission from the South Caroliniana Library.

RESULTS

Data collection resulted in a completed profile of 120 historic cotton mills in South Carolina. This number is short of Kohn's list of 141 existing in 1907, as 21 mills lacked sufficient locational or categorical data to be included. Roughly 85% of the mills listed in this historical report were located and their status accurately assessed as of 2019. Of the cataloged mills, sixty-six were found demolished, twenty-five were found to stand, twenty-nine were found developed or under development (Table 1).

Table 1

Summary of Mill Status as of 2019

Status	Number	Percentage
Demolished	66	55%
Developed	24	20%
Standing	25	21%
Under Development	5	4%
Total	120	100%

In the general interest of categorizing cotton mills based upon their location within the currently defined counties of South Carolina, the following results are listed geographically rather than lexicographically (Table 2). For the complete database, including estimated street addresses, see the appendices.

Table 2

List of Mills by County

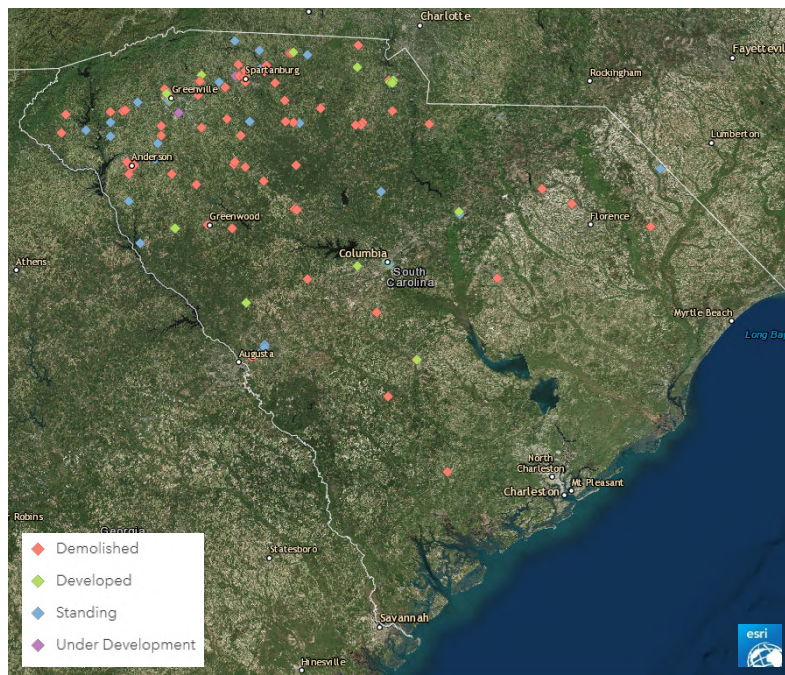
County	Name	Location		Status
		Lat.	Long	
Abbeville	Abbeville Cotton Mills	34.170135	-82.375143	Developed
Aiken	Langley Mfg. Co.	33.519551	-81.845064	Standing
	Graniteville Mfg. Co.	33.566689	-81.808598	Under Development
	Graniteville Mfg. Co. (Vaucluse)	33.564917	-81.809018	Standing
	Seminole Mills	33.499603	-81.892434	Demolished
	Warren Mfg. Co.	33.551953	-81.808702	Standing
	Aiken Mfg. Co. (Bath Mill)	33.506337	-81.871259	Demolished
Anderson	Anderson Cotton Mills (Abney Mill)	34.504705	-82.657603	Demolished
	Belton Mills	34.530265	-82.499599	Standing
	Brogan Mills	34.508178	-82.667657	Demolished
	Chiquola Mfg. Co.	34.452370	-82.391414	Demolished
	Orr Cotton Mills	34.484193	-82.649075	Demolished
	Conneross Yarn Mill	34.504829	-82.653481	Standing
	Cox Mfg. Co. (Equinox Mill)	34.515983	-82.671135	Demolished
	Gluck Mills	34.454140	-82.660852	Demolished
	Jackson Mills	34.310738	-82.661687	Standing
	Pelzer Mfg. Co.	34.650452	-82.459899	Demolished
	Pendleton Cotton Mill	34.646392	-82.778108	Standing
	Toxaway Mills	34.501311	-82.62959	Demolished

	Riverside Mfg. Co.	34.499362	-82.628268	Demolished
	Williamston Mills	34.611699	-82.482201	Standing
Bamberg				
	Bamberg Cotton Mills	33.294691	-81.036612	Demolished
Cherokee				
	Calhoun Falls Mfg. Co.	34.095052	-82.593182	Standing
	Cherokee Falls Mfg. Co.	35.064159	-81.544822	Standing
	Cowpens Mfg. Co.	35.014591	-81.801261	Demolished
	Irene Mills	35.074207	-81.654096	Demolished
	Mary Louise Mill (Mayo Mill)	35.086692	-81.845322	Standing
	Gaffney Mfg. Co.	35.076949	-81.643060	Demolished
	Limestone Mills	35.079774	-81.631825	Developed
Chester				
	Eureka Cotton Mills	34.718294	-81.198831	Demolished
	Manetta Mills	34.777856	-81.009758	Demolished
	Springstein Mills	34.706591	-81.206293	Demolished
	Wylie (Baldwin/Gayle) Mills	34.707183	-81.239853	Demolished
Colleton				
	Walterboro (Colleton) Cotton Mills	32.898770	-80.664671	Demolished
Darlington				
	Darlington Mfg. Co.	34.298520	-79.882336	Demolished
	Hartsville Cotton Mill	34.375292	-80.06817	Demolished
Dillon				
	Hamer Cotton Mill	34.480095	-79.330065	Standing
Edgefield				
	Edgefield Mfg. Co. (Kendall Mill)	33.785624	-81.926416	Developed
Fairfield				
	Fairfield Cotton Mill (Winnsboro Mills)	34.361858	-81.080456	Standing
Greenville				
	Pelham Mill	34.857028	-82.227542	Demolished
	American Spinning Co.	34.873921	-82.411608	Under Development
	Brandon Mill	34.844257	-82.431614	Developed
	Camperdown Mill	34.845057	-82.400454	Demolished
	Mills Mfg. Co.	34.827542	-82.410243	Developed
	Carolina Mills (Poinsett Abney Mills)	34.85239	-82.418018	Developed
	Woodside Cotton Mill	34.852876	-82.428377	Under Development
	Franklin Mill	34.831342	-82.413243	Standing
	Huguenot Mills	34.847762	-82.402074	Developed
	Piedmont Mfg. Co.	34.702510	-82.462029	Demolished
	F.W. Poe Mfg. Co.	34.891763	-82.436114	Demolished
	Monaghan Mills	34.867197	-82.42398	Developed
	Reedy River Mfg. Co. (Conestee Mill)	34.770267	-82.347574	Under Development

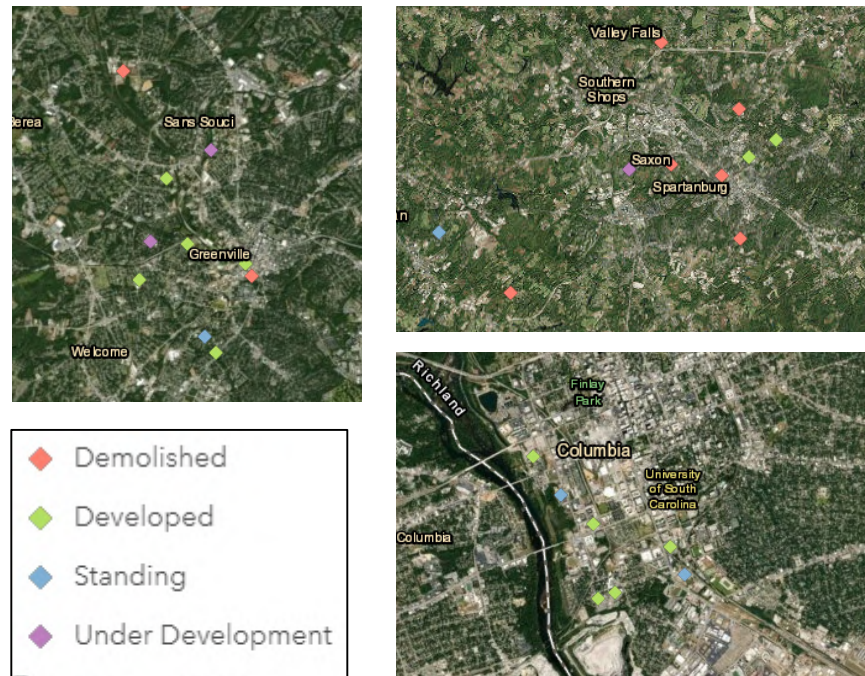
Greenwood	Fountain Inn Mfg. Co.	34.691514	-82.205149	Demolished
	Greenwood Cotton Mills	34.190705	-82.168767	Demolished
	Ninety Six Cotton Mill	34.171189	-82.01365	Demolished
	Ware Shoals Mfg. Co.	34.400089	-82.241989	Demolished
Kershaw	Hermitage Cotton Mill	34.242053	-80.588823	Standing
	Pine Creek Mfg. Co. (Kendall Mill)	34.257589	-80.593548	Developed
Lancaster	Lancaster Cotton Mill	34.711947	-80.779685	Demolished
Laurens	Bana Mfg. Co. (Joanna Mfg. Co.)	34.414754	-81.815086	Demolished
	Clinton Cotton Mills	34.489146	-81.9321	Demolished
	Laurens Cotton Mill	34.502233	-82.005646	Demolished
	Watts Mills	34.517151	-81.997156	Demolished
Lexington	Lexington Mfg. Co.	33.977437	-81.229645	Developed
	Middleburg Mills	33.908679	-81.543442	Demolished
	Saxa-Gotha Mill (Brooker Mill)	33.732427	-81.107257	Demolished
Marion	Marion Mfg. Co.	34.181995	-79.390539	Demolished
Newberry	Glenn Lowery Mfg. Co. (Whitmire Mill)	34.499563	-81.613533	Demolished
	Newberry Cotton Mill	34.271086	-81.623042	Demolished
	Mollohon Cotton Mill	34.268605	-81.607302	Demolished
Oconee	Cheswell Cotton Mill	34.663472	-83.086637	Demolished
	Courtenay Mfg. Co. (Newry Mill)	34.726025	-81.906898	Standing
	Seneca Cotton Mill (Utica Mill)	34.680747	-82.933031	Standing
	Walhalla Cotton Mills	34.761693	-83.061011	Demolished
Orangeburg	Orange Cotton Mill	33.489067	-80.863532	Demolished
	Orangeburg Manufacturing Co.	33.487186	-80.853978	Developed
Pickens	Calumet Mfg. Co.	34.777306	-82.701976	Demolished
	Liberty Cotton Mill	34.784060	-82.687334	Demolished
	Easley Cotton Mill	34.823242	-82.607592	Standing
	Glenwood Cotton Mills	34.834079	-82.585755	Demolished
	Issaquena Mills	34.720588	-82.776114	Standing
	Norris Cotton Mills Co.	34.773161	-82.778724	Demolished
Richland	Granby Cotton Mill	33.982167	-81.038842	Developed

	Olympia Cotton Mill	33.982832	-81.036377	Developed
	Richland Cotton Mills	33.988369	-81.028532	Developed
	Capital City Mills	33.984972	-81.026399	Standing
	Palmetto Cotton Mills	33.991003	-81.039490	Developed
	Columbia Mills	33.998942	-81.048042	Developed
	Glencoe Mills	33.994417	-81.044241	Standing
Spartanburg	Apalache Mills	34.962392	-82.208633	Developed
	Arcadia Mills	34.956938	-81.991724	Under Development
	Arkwright Mills	34.925403	-81.929957	Demolished
	Drayton Mills	34.970430	-81.909982	Developed
	Beaumont Mfg. Co.	34.962738	-81.924823	Developed
	Clifton Mfg. Co.	34.978863	-81.813726	Demolished
	D. E. Converse Company	34.994102	-81.836812	Standing
	Inman Mills	34.652459	-81.967669	Developed
	Enoree Mfg. Co.	34.650928	-81.957987	Demolished
	Fingerville Mfg. Co.	35.137115	-81.998753	Standing
	Pacolet Mills Mfg. Co.	34.920999	-81.744771	Demolished
	Saxon Mills	34.959555	-81.968369	Demolished
	Spartan Mills	34.954104	-81.940199	Demolished
	Whitney Manufacturing Co.	34.984470	-81.930625	Demolished
	Valley Falls Mfg. Co.	35.015279	-81.974144	Demolished
	Tucapau (Startex) Mills	34.928632	-82.097459	Standing
	Tyger (Fairmont) Cotton Mill	34.900624	-82.057961	Demolished
	Victor Mfg. Co.	34.932180	-82.219039	Demolished
	Woodruff Cotton Mill	34.739006	-82.045412	Demolished
Sumter	Sumter Cotton Mills	33.911105	-80.349573	Demolished
Union	Monarch Cotton Mills	34.716647	-81.594251	Standing
	Aetna Cotton Mills	34.717249	-81.627422	Demolished
	Jonesville Mfg. Co.	34.833595	-81.684878	Demolished
	Lockhart Mills	34.79001	-81.457906	Demolished
	Union Buffalo Mills Co.	34.723041	-81.679056	Demolished
York	Rock Hill Printing and Finishing Company	34.934104	-81.031164	Demolished
	Hamilton-Carrhart Cotton Mill	34.928681	-81.027218	Developed
	Arcade Mills	34.936348	-81.005485	Developed
	Clover Cotton Mills	35.116669	-81.224014	Demolished
	Highland Park Mfg. Co.	34.920704	-81.010469	Developed
	York Cotton Mill	35.002381	-81.226881	Developed

The input of mill locations and their status into a Geographic Information System resulted in the following figures depicting the extent of Kohn's recorded cotton mills across the state. The resulting pattern included mills stretching from the state's northern border of the Upstate to the middle of the Lowcountry, with the most southerly mill in Colleton County. A distinct band including all categories stretched across the Upstate of South Carolina. Nodal clusters of mills were found in the municipalities of Greenville, Spartanburg, Anderson, and Columbia (Map 1 & 2). Few mills were seen below the geographic fall line.

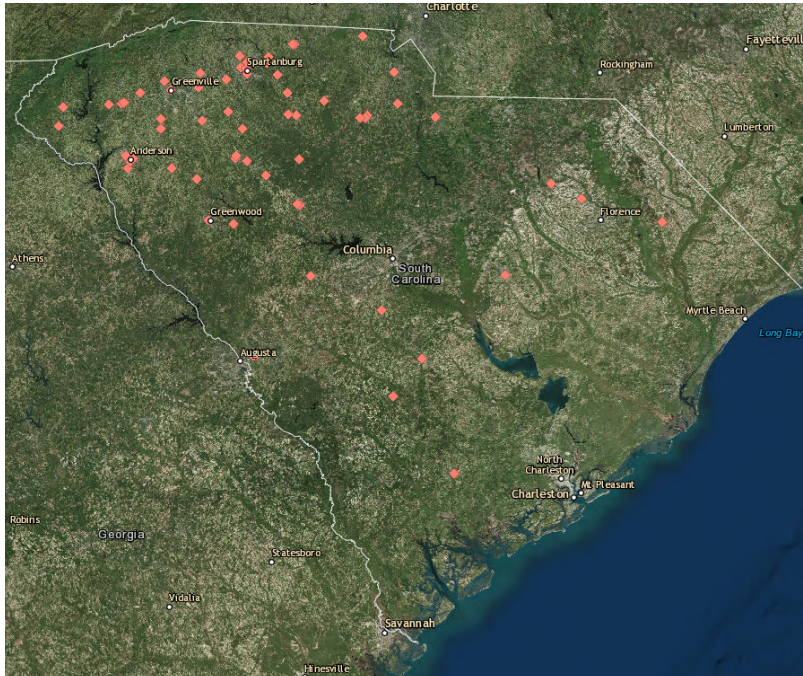


Map 1. Map of South Carolina depicting the status of all mills included in this thesis from August Kohn's 1907 report *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina*. Map Published May 2019.



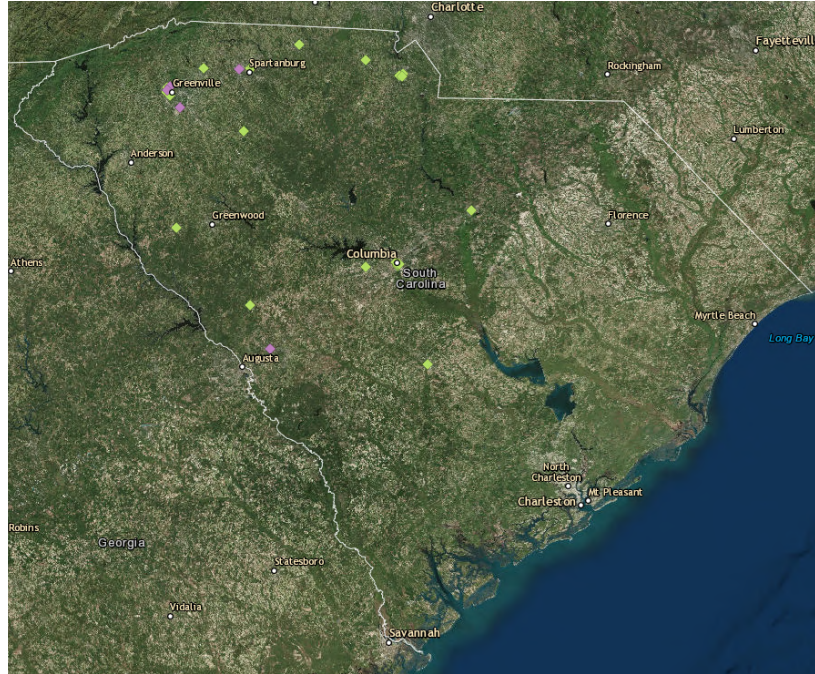
Map 2. Map of the Cities of Greenville, Spartanburg, and Columbia depicting all mills included in this thesis from August Kohn's 1907 report *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina*. Map Published May 2019.

The majority of demolished mills were located within the Upstate region in rural communities without much urban development, such as in Newberry, Chester, and Pickens counties (Map 3).



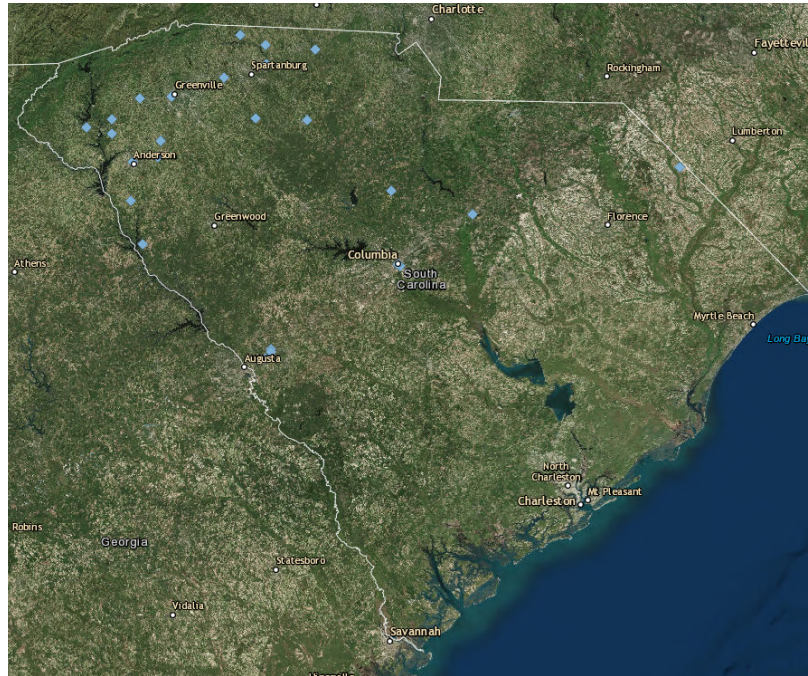
*Map 3. Map of South Carolina depicting the demolished mills included in this thesis from August Kohn's 1907 report *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina*. Map Published May 2019.*

Many of the developed cotton mills could be seen in city centers such as Greenville, Spartanburg, and Columbia. Development was also seen interspersed through other mid-sized communities around the state including the cities of Abbeville, Rock Hill, York, and Orangeburg, as well as the towns of Edgefield, Gaffney, and Kershaw (Map 4).



Map 4. Map of South Carolina depicting the developed mills and mills under development included in this thesis from August Kohn's 1907 report *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina*. Map Published May 2019.

Undeveloped mills that remain standing could be seen primarily in the Upstate of South Carolina outside of highly populated areas. Greenville, Oconee, Pickens, and Spartanburg counties represented the areas with the highest concentration of standing mills. Few mills remain standing along the I-26 corridor. A line of standing mills stretched from Aiken, through Columbia and Camden, to the Pee Dee region of Dillon, South Carolina, as if following the geographic boundary of the fall line (Map 5). No undeveloped standing mills from the list remain south and east of Aiken, South Carolina.



Map 5. Map of South Carolina depicting the standing mills included in this thesis from August Kohn's 1907 report *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina*. Map Published May 2019.

CASE STUDIES

The categories of demolished, standing, developed, and under development were chosen to represent the sheer volume of mills that have been demolished versus the number and rate at which they are being developed. The standing category was included to describe the potential for historic preservation of cotton mills that remain in the State of South Carolina. An exemplar from the demolished category was chosen to represent the history that was lost with its demolition. An exemplar from the developed category was included to represent the potential that cotton mills can achieve if given the chance at a successful redevelopment. An exemplar of a standing mill was included to present current opportunities for redevelopment and to consider the factors associated with a mill's redevelopment. Finally, a model of a mill under development was included to illuminate how the process currently progresses.

DEMOLISHED EXEMPLAR-BUFFALO UNION MILL (UNION COUNTY)

Since 1907, 55% of the mills listed in August Kohn's original research have been demolished, including some listed on the National Register of Historic Places. One such mill was the Buffalo-Union Mill located in Union, South Carolina. Initially chartered in 1837 by the state legislature, and re-chartered in 1907 by the South Carolina Secretary of State, Union was a planned company community of the Buffalo Mill (South Carolina Research, Planning, and Development Board, 1947). Established in 1899 by a group of local businessmen, the mill had the goal to "spin yarn and thread, manufacture cloth and other textile fabrics, and to carry on general mercantile business" (Power and Brown, 1990). Little did they know that this simple goal statement would give rise to a modern community of over 8,000 that found its origins under the smokestacks of one of the most productive mills in the Southeastern United States.

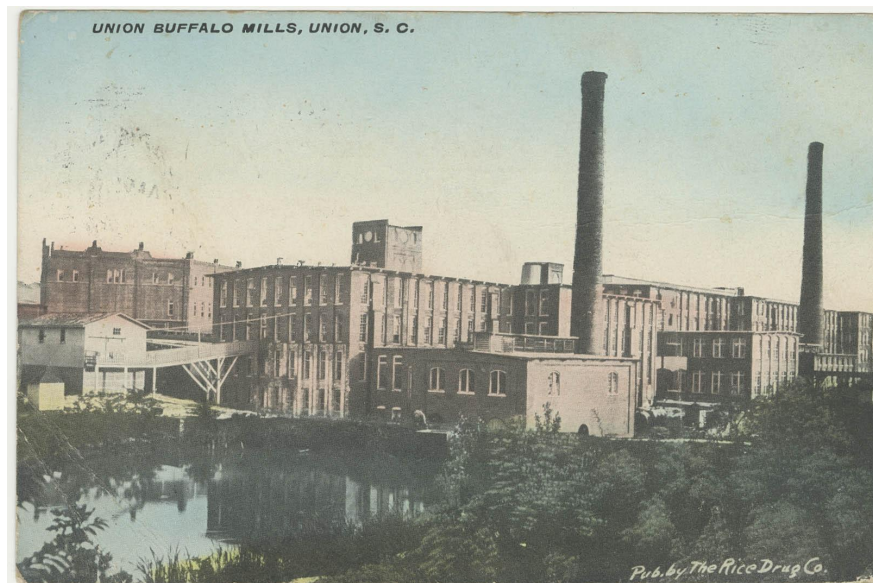


Figure 1. Postcard of the Union Buffalo Mill circa 1910. Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.

Partly giving rise to the mill's success was its original designer, W.B Smith Whaley. Whaley and his company were a prominent architectural firm that constructed sixteen cotton

mills in the state of South Carolina between 1894 and 1903 (Chandler, 2016). The mill's ornamental design represented a "Romanesque revival" style and included two massive seven-story observation towers, one serving as the community's clock tower and the other as the bell tower that signaled the beginning and end of shifts (Power and Brown, 1990). Its facade included 54-bay style windows alluding to the buildings immense scale and therefore increased capacity. In addition to the main building, Whaley constructed a powerhouse and an engine room, an octagonal central office, an ice house, and a warehouse. Before 1955, the Buffalo-Union community fell entirely within the mill-owned property (Power and Brown, 1990). The Department of Rural Social Science at the University of South Carolina described Union as "first and last a mill town" (Powers and Brown, 1990).



Figure 2. Postcard depicting the facade of the Union Buffalo Mill circa 1908. Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.

In early 1907, over 3,600 people called this mill-town home including 781 children under the age of twelve. Of the total population, 1,700 people were operatives of the Buffalo Mill. This

number included six boys considered to be child labor as they were employed while under the age of twelve (Kohn, 1907). Citizens of Union were able to purchase wood to build houses at a reported cost of \$3.75 per unsawn timber and \$4.25 per sawn timber. Building material costs were subsidized by the mill, often at a net loss, to attract operatives from the surplus workforce of the Upstate down to the Midlands region. Coal was the primary source of energy before electrification; operatives could purchase the fuel for \$5.25 per ton. The mill provided advanced sewage and water filtration system for the time, as well as a cotton oil plant and an ice house for use by its employees. The mill invested \$4,000 to build a mill-sponsored school that had an enrollment of 398 students, as well as two separate mill-sponsored churches each with a weekly attendance of over 400 congregants (Kohn, 1907).

Conditions were described as luxurious when compared to other mills of the time. According to first-hand interviews conducted by Power and Brown, air conditioning was in the mill's plan from the start. Duct systems stretched throughout the massive structure, all leading back to a set of large fans blowing air across a giant three-hundred-pound block of ice in the basement (Power and Brown, 1990). At its peak, Buffalo's four floors operated an estimated 157,000 spindles and 4,301 looms. As the largest capacity cotton mill in South Carolina, it produced 26,000 bales of cotton at an estimated value of \$2,635,000 in 1907 (Kohn, 1907). Adjusted for inflation, the cotton produced per year at the mill's peak operation was estimated to be over \$71 million dollars.

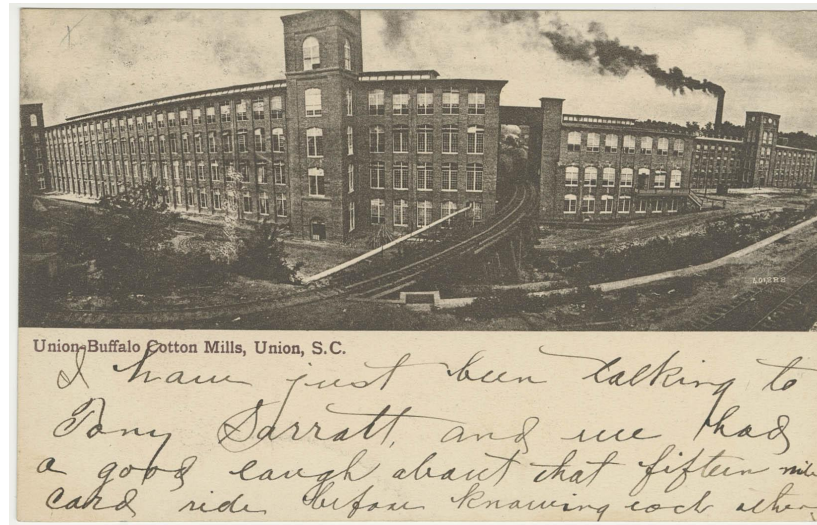


Figure 3. Postcard depicting the transportation and industrial capacity of the Union Buffalo Mill circa 1908. Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.

Although novel for its time, working conditions in the Buffalo mill soon faltered. It became a central figure in the textile strikes of South Carolina when it and neighboring mills went on strike in 1929 and again in 1934 (Power and Brown, 1990). The 1929 strike directly rose out of concern of the “stretch out” system in which operatives were assigned to more looms than they could feasibly handle. Management extended the number of looms per person from 32 to 100, a 212.5% increase in labor with a 0% increase in wages. Initially, the mill took a hardline stand against the employees that walked out, but when labor did not return, they conceded and reduced the proposed number of looms to 72, representing a 125% increase in labor without a wage adjustment (Simon, 1998). In 1934, the mill took part in the national strike executed by the United Textile Workers union. Although Buffalo escaped the violence associated with that national strike, the National Guard of South Carolina still deployed barbed wire across the road leading to the plant to deter any destruction of mill property (Power and Brown, 1990).

Following the Great Depression, the mill entered periods of closures. The population of the town remained, hopefully awaiting the sound of the company whistle from the bell tower signaling them to “report for work” (Power and Brown, 1990). Sold to United Merchants and Manufacturers in 1948, the Buffalo Mill was subdivided, and all remaining land in the mill village was sold by 1955 (Power and Brown, 1990). The mill was closed in March of 1995 (“Companies,” 1995).

The mill was demolished in April 2007 by Old American Lumber, LLC, and its timbers, bricks, and nails sold for use in home furniture and decor (Mercer, 2007). According to tax records, the mill’s property was purchased from its previous owners for \$600,000. After seventeen years on the National Register of Historic Places, the building was razed, and an immense emptiness filled the community. This is not an uncommon occurrence, as Old American Lumber alone has razed other mills in Union, Laurens, and even Concord, NC (Old American Lumber). Although not the ideal preservation, the piecewise preservation and transformation of the mill components does preserve some semblance of the mill’s impact. However, subsequent removal of these pieces from the community to be exported for profit negates the argument for “salvage” methods of preservation. Under immense pressure from the surrounding community, Old American Lumber, LLC agreed to preserve the mill’s twin towers which still stand as a reminder of the mammoth community builder that once was.



Figure 4. Demolition of the Union Buffalo Mill circa 2012. Photo by Bill Fitzpatrick.
*Reproduced under the Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported (CC BY-SA 3.0) license.
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>. No alterations were made.

Since its demolition, Union County has proposed plans to revitalize what is left of the mill for fear that the “pulse of Buffalo” may become “deadened by the loss of the historic mill” (Mercer, 2007). Most importantly, the octagonal office building designed by Whaley was purchased by the county for \$41,000, including all remaining marble, mahogany wood, and Tiffany glass accents remaining from its original construction. A baseball field dubbed “Hero’s Park,” adjoined to a baseball museum constructed within the office building, was proposed to attract commercial development, but without the mill structure no progress has been made (Mercer, 2007).

DEVELOPED EXEMPLAR-BEAUMONT MFG. CO. (SPARTANBURG COUNTY)

The Beaumont Manufacturing Company was founded in 1890 along the Richmond and Danville Railroad adjacent to Chinquapin Creek. In 1907, Kohn documented that the growing mill employed 300 operatives and housed 450 people in their mill village. The village school enrolled approximately 50 students and was one of the first schools in South Carolina to adopt compulsory attendance regulations in 1969 (Janak, 2016). Its manufactured product of both cloth and yarns was generated by 20,224 spindles from 252 looms and its production valued at \$450,000 annually (Kohn, 1907).

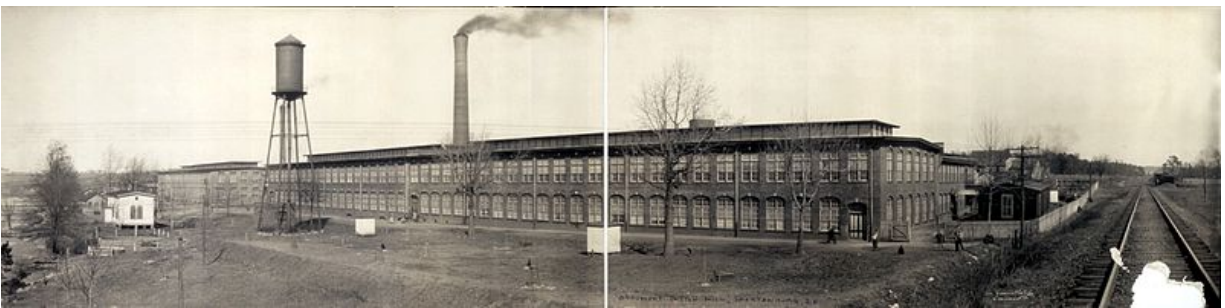


Figure 5. Spartanburg's Beaumont Mfg. Co circa 1909. Photo by Haines Photo Company. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

*Reproduced under public domain rights.

The mill property found itself in a very precarious situation when Spartan Mills Corporation abandoned it in 1999 (City of Spartanburg, 2015). The property was sold to a development company, Jimmy I. Gibbs, LLC, in 2000 for approximately \$2.5 million. Unlike Old American Lumber, which purchased the Buffalo property with the intent to salvage material, Gibbs sought development opportunities. Some demolition occurred on the site, including reclamation of the mill's pine timbers. One of the main mill buildings remained. Gibbs set out to develop the property utilizing historic tax credits to renovate the facility. The City of

Spartanburg assisted in this process by declaring the site as a Textile Mill Site under the South Carolina Textiles Communities Revitalization Act (City of Spartanburg, 2015). Tax records indicate that the property then transitioned into a development corporation, dubbed Beaumont Revitalization, LLC, in 2015 at the cost of approximately \$17 million and was subdivided into the Beaumont Mill Village, a designated zone in Spartanburg.



Figure 6. Spartanburg Regional Healthcare System Beaumont Administrative Services Building. Photo courtesy of the Spartanburg Regional Healthcare System.

The mill building was renovated into office space and sold to the Spartanburg Regional Health System, a local not-for-profit hospital, for use as administrative offices. The deed was officially transferred to the hospital in 2015 for the sale price of ten dollars. The village of approximately 300 homes is now subject to the Historic Architectural Review Board of Spartanburg. This organization operates with the intent to “preserve existing original materials, site and residential forms that reflect the heritage and history of this historic community” (City of Spartanburg, “Beaumont Village,” p. 1).

STANDING EXEMPLAR-SENECA COTTON MILL/“UTICA MOHAWK MILL” (OCONEE COUNTY)

The Seneca Cotton Mill, later known as the Utica Mill, is a historic mill that remains empty in Seneca, South Carolina as of May 2019 and is a perfect candidate for redevelopment. When Kohn visited the mill in 1907, it employed just 275 operatives and housed 700 in its mill village. Its manufactured product of 5.35 sheetings was produced by 17,280 spindles on 456 looms with an annual value of \$250,000 (Kohn, 1907).

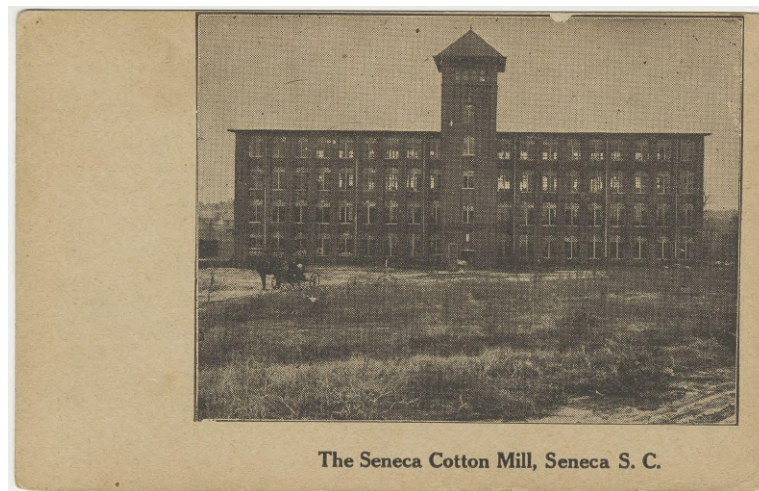


Figure 7. Postcard depicting the Seneca Cotton Mill, undated. Courtesy of the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.

According to the 2010 U. S. Census, the population of Utica now totals 1,322, and the surrounding town of Seneca now totals approximately 8,000 people. This area of Oconee County is also included in the greater Greenville, Spartanburg, Anderson combined metropolitan statistical area with a population of over 1.2 million. The mill is not currently listed on the National Register for Historic Places and could be added by the surrounding community to take advantage of any tax credits offered to the property. The size of the facility, the size of the

surrounding population, and its location just minutes from the recreational areas of Lake Keowee and the college town of Clemson make it a prime candidate for redevelopment.



Figure 8. The Seneca (Utica) Mill as of 2018. Image courtesy of Google (2018).

UNDER DEVELOPMENT EXEMPLAR-AMERICAN SPINNING CO. (GREENVILLE COUNTY)

The American Spinning Company in Greenville, South Carolina was constructed in 1902 by mill designers Lockwood Greene and Co (Bucher, 2016). It included five levels, four above ground, and each 41 bays in length. Arched bay windows characterized its original face and have since been bricked in (Bucher, 2016). Examples of its architectural importance to the period can be found in its “well preserved wooden eaves, original decorative eye brackets, integrated gutters, and exposed rafter tails” (Bucher, 2016, p. 4). The building was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 2016 in part due to its “high degree of historic integrity and [recall of] grander days as the center of work and life for the surrounding neighborhoods” (Bucher, 2016, p. 5).

The American Spinning Company is significant to the labor movement in the United States as strikes were proposed in response to the implementation of an “efficiency system” in which operatives would be responsible for manning more looms without more pay. The 1929 strike did not come to fruition as the owners reportedly backed down (Simon, 1998).



Figure 9. Greenville’s American Spinning Co circa 1910. Photo from the collection of Robert H. Duke. Courtesy of the Greenville County Library System.

*Reproduced under public domain rights

The modern condition of the mill is relatively unchanged except for some site disrepair and bricked-in windows. Its original smokestack remains as a characteristic feature along with a water tower circa 1914 that is decorated by the mill’s latest textile-based tenant, Cone Mills. Development plans were announced in 2016 with its private sale to ASGA, LP, a subsidiary of AII Funds, for \$2.9 million. The project aims to transform the mill into ~230 apartments at the cost of approximately \$50 million. Each unit will contain the mills original oak flooring and exposed brick walls. The mills smokestack and water tower will also be refurbished and remain as features to the apartment community (Jackson, 2016). Representatives of the selling party stated that “the historic

nature of the property when redeveloped will offer something pretty unique,” to its surrounding community (Jackson, 2016).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

A distinct band of cotton mills was seen stretching across the upstate from Georgia to North Carolina. A tangible manifestation of the “Piedmont Belt,” these mills made use of southern flowing rivers for hydroelectric power and plentiful lumber for construction (Lemert, 1933). The massive expanse of this belt was expected as the cotton mill’s primary labor force consisted of the white tenant farmers that settled in the region following the Civil War (Kohn, 1907). In addition, the proximity to a previously untapped labor force of the Blue Ridge mountain villages attracted many operatives further south to work in a more stable environment, one that guaranteed steady pay without the need for a prosperous crop season (Lemert, 1933). Once established, this labor force became self-fulfilling as families would grow with increased opportunities. Additional transportation infrastructure was built, so movement between the mills of the Upstate became easier. The flow of transportation allowed operatives greater transience between positions when job openings were plentiful. Due to the surplus of labor in the Upstate, mills located in the Midlands would often offer higher pay or greater amenities in their mill villages to attract operatives to the center of the state. These incentives were especially evident with the Buffalo Union electrification project (Kohn, 1907).

A southern limit to mill expansion was seen as only four mills were located below Aiken, South Carolina. This is because the southerly most border falls between two geographical phenomena known as the Atlantic Seaboard Fall Line and the Orangeburg Scarp. The fall line stretches over 800 miles from central Georgia to Southern New York. It marks the boundary

between the hard, crystalline rocks of the Piedmont and the sedimentary layers of the Coastal Plains. In South Carolina, the drop of its easterly face causes significant rapids, falls, and deflections in rivers and streams (Renner, 1927). These falls made the harvesting of hydroelectric power nearly impossible without the construction of a massive reservoir to catch and parse out water through the turbines, an economically unfeasible feat. As early as 1933, the fall line was recognized as the southern limit of the “Piedmont Belt” (Lemert, 1933, pg. 1).

On the other side of the mill’s southern boundary lies the Orangeburg Scarp. The scarp is a massive, wave-cut incline demarking the edge between the upper and middle coastal plains of South Carolina. Getting its name from its nearest city, the scarp represents the ocean’s boundary during the Pliocene epoch. This large ancient dune reaches heights of 180 to 215 feet above sea level (Murphy, 1995). Not only did this present a challenge for hydroelectric power, but also construction and production as raw materials would need to be transported over both the fall line and the scarp.

The mapping the mill location versus current status resulted in a pattern in which the majority of demolished mills were also located in the Upstate. This could be due to the mills original distribution as being partial to the region, however, when looking at the state as a whole, a higher percentage of Upstate mills were demolished (56%) when compared to the percentage of mills demolished in the Midlands (43%). This could be due to the explosion of growth in the Upstate, especially in the Greenville/Spartanburg area, and therefore a greater demand for cleared land in the center of Upstate communities. The percentage of mills developed in each region supports this hypothesis as only 24% of mills in the upstate were redeveloped compared to 32% of mills in the Midlands that were redeveloped. Economic growth in the Midlands is much more concentrated to areas around Columbia when compared to the wide-reaching spread

of growth along the I-85 corridor in the Upstate. This centralization of economic growth that had the ability to grow radially from a central point rather than competing with surrounding growth may have allowed the additional breathing room that allowed Midland's mills to be redeveloped.

There is great potential across the state for the redevelopment of standing mills. Even with a higher rate of demolition, the Upstate has the most significant redevelopment potential with eighteen empty standing mills and a robust economy in both the technology and manufacturing sectors. Upstate standing mills tend to be in more rural areas and have the greatest potential to impact community empowerment and economic growth. The Midlands has the potential for the redevelopment of seven mills, many of which are near the population centers of Aiken and Columbia.

The limiting factor to mill redevelopment in most cases is the identification of financial support. The era of large-scale government-subsidized urban renewal project is over. Plans that relied heavily on federal and state sources, such as the Langdale Mill in Alabama, have since fallen to the wayside. According to public affairs professor Jerry Mitchell, from the City University of New York, "new downtown revitalization process is often self-financed by local businesses, initiated by innovative public/private partnership and typified by attention to historic preservation" (Farrant, 2007, p. 209). From the combined research and data, this thesis suggests that the route of self-financed redevelopment is most applicable to standing mills in or near large metropolitan areas. In these areas, the capital exists such that multiple local business or partners can work together to form a limited liability company responsible for the redevelopment of the mill via privately raised dollars and historic tax credits.

This method is not conducive to mill redevelopment in areas where such capital does not exist. Therefore, it is suggested that the route of public-private partnerships is most applicable to

standing mills in small rural towns and communities in areas where the surrounding population is large enough to contribute through the spending of municipal or county government tax dollars. The expenditure of public money to attract private capital is an approach known as “urban husbandry,” and is exemplified by the Florence Mill Project in Forest City, North Carolina (Farrant, 2007, p. 209). Initial investment to purchase the mill property prevents its demolition by private companies seeking capital gain through the salvaging and selling of mill fixtures and components. Additional public dollars can be used to convert the area surrounding the mill building into projects that support community empowerment such as public parks, amphitheaters, public art installations, walking trails, or farmers/art markets. This approach works to “reinvigorate and build on existing community assets in order to stimulate a place-based rejuvenation” (Farrant, 2007, p. 209). Renewed interest in the area can attract private partners that can help make a mill’s redevelopment a reality for rural towns and communities across South Carolina.

The redevelopment of cotton mills preserves the rich architectural and societal history that lies at the core of so many towns and communities across the State of South Carolina. Though much has been lost through the demolition of cotton mills over the last 100 years, increased interest in their preservation has resulted in new life breathed into both developed mill complexes and their surrounding communities. Redevelopment projects bring the hope of community empowerment, job creation, and local business growth, as well as the financial and societal accrual of benefits for those that have lived in the empty mill’s shadow for too long. Great opportunities lie ahead, whether through private developments or public-private partnerships, for the preservation of a disappearing linchpin of southern society. Through wise

“urban husbandry” and redevelopment with an emphasis on historic preservation, communities can once again claim with pride to be a flourishing “mill town” in South Carolina.

REFERENCES

- Alonso, Able D, O'Neil, Martin A, & Kyungmi Kim. "In Search of Authenticity: A case examination of the transformation of Alabama's Langdale Cotton Mill into an industrial heritage tourism attraction," *Journal of Heritage Tourism*. Vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 33-48, *Taylor&Francis*, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17438730903469821>
- Behre, Robert. "Knitting together Greenville's rich textile heritage: The true fabric of an Upstate city." *The Post and Courier*. 28 Mar. 2014.
https://www.postandcourier.com/archives/knitting-together-greenville-s-rich-textile-heritage-the-true-fabric/article_fe01496f-675c-53a5-bfed-0cd1a59d4ca5.html
- Bradley, Rob. "Forest City breaks ground on Park at Florence Mill." *Sinclair Broadcast Group - WLOS*. 23 August 2017.
<https://wlos.com/news/local/forest-city-breaks-ground-on-park-at-florence-mill>
- Brecher, Jeremy. *Strike!*. Straight Arrow Books, San Francisco, California. 1972.
- Bucher, Josh. "American Spinning Company Mill No. 2." *National Register of Historic Places, US Dept. of Interior*, 2016.
http://schpr.sc.gov/index.php/Detail/DownloadRepresentation/representation_id/24928/object_id/37151/download/1/version/original
- Chandler, Andrew. "Whaley, Williams Burrough Smith." *South Carolina Encyclopedia*, 26 July 2016, <http://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/whaley-william-burroughs-smith/>.
- "NAFTA: The politics in the United States" *Trading Blocs: States, Firms, and Regions in the World Economy* by Kerry A. Chase. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2005, pp. 181-221. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.133506.12.
- City of Spartanburg. "Beaumont Village."

http://www.cityofspartanburg.org/cms_assets/Beaumont%20Village%20-Section%201.pdf

City of Spartanburg. "City County Agenda." 23 November 2015.

http://www.cityofspartanburg.org/cms_assets/CityCouncilAgendas/11.23.15.Agenda%20Packet.pdf

Clark, Wayne. "Historic Langdale Mill may find new life." *Valley Times News*, 14 November 2018,

<https://www.valleytimes-news.com/2018/11/historic-langdale-mill-may-find-new-life/>

Conley, Mike. "Grant money saved Forest City mill." *The McDowell News*. 1 September 2010.

https://www.mcdowellnews.com/news/grant-money-saved-forest-city-mill/article_0e60459d-715f-529e-b1e7-2e7dd9ff3c10.html

"Companies win judgements against Buffalo mill owner." *GoUpstate*, 26 Sep. 1995,

<https://www.goupstate.com/article/NC/19950926/News/605187775/SJ/>.

"Cotton Mill Blues (1930's)." *Hear My Sad Story: The True Tales That Inspired "Stagolee,"*

"John Henry," and Other Traditional American Folk Songs, by Richard Polenberg, 1st ed., Cornell University Press, Ithica; London, 2015, pp. 183-191. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt1tm7gdx.24.

"Florence Mill National Register and Rehabilitation Tax Credit Status," *Fearnbach History Services, Inc.* December 2014. *Town of Forest City Office of Economic Development*.

<https://www.townofforestcity.com/Data/Sites/1/media/business/economic-development/attachment-5-florence-mill-re-development.pdf>

Forrant, Robert. "Adaptive Reuse of Buildings: If It Is Already Built, Will They Come?"

Preserving and Enhancing Communities: A Guide for Citizens, Planners, and

- Policymakers, edited by Elisabeth M. Hamin et al., University of Massachusetts Press, 2007, pp. 207–218. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vk59r.20.
- Giermanski, James R., and Peter Lodge. “An analysis of NAFTA and textile closings in North Carolina.” *Journal of Textile and Apparel, Technology, and Management*. Vol. 2, no. 3. 2002.
- Hughes, Bill. “S. Carolina Business Leaders Fear Loss of Textile, Apparel Jobs Under NAFTA,” *Journal of Commerce*, 16 August 1992, https://www.joc.com/maritime-news/s-carolina-business-leaders-fear-loss-textile-apparel-jobs-under-nafta_19920816.html
- Jackson, Sherry. “Old mill spins new apartment project.” *Upstate Business Journal*. 18 February 2016. <https://upstatebusinessjournal.com/old-mill-spins-new-apartment-project/>
- Janak, Edward. *Politics, Disability, and Education Reform in the South*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, New York, 2016, pp. 139.
- Kohn, August. *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina*. S.C. Department of Agriculture, Commerce, and Immigration, 1907.
- Lemert, Ben F. *The Cotton Textile Industry of the Southern Appalachian Piedmont*. The University of North Carolina Press, 1933.
- Mercer, Monica. “Demolition at Buffalo stirs emotions in the community.” *GoUpstate*, 13 Apr. 2007, <https://www.goupstate.com/news/20070413/demolition-at-buffalo-stirs-emotions-in-the-community>.
- Murphy, Carolyn H. *Carolina Rocks! The Geology of South Carolina*. Orangeburg, S.C.: Sandlapper, 1995.
- Old American Lumber. “About.” <https://www.oldamericanlumber.net/spa>
- Power, J. Tracy. “‘The Brightest of the Lot’: W. B. Smith Whaley and the Rise of the South

- Carolina Textile Industry, 1893-1903." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 93, no. 2, 1992, pp. 126–138. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/27568280.
- Power, Tracy J., and Frank Brown III. "Buffalo Mills Historic District." *National Register of Historic Places, US Dept. of Interior*, 1990.
<http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/union/S10817744024/S10817744024.pdf>
- Renner, George T. "The Fall Line of the Eastern United States." *Science*, vol. 66, no. 1711, 1927, pp. 356–357. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/1651837.
- Roscigno, Vincent J., and William F. Danaher. *The Voice of Southern Labor: Radio, Music, and Textile Strikes, 1929-1934*. University of Minnesota Press, 2004.
- Schwenning, G.T. "Prospects of Southern Textile Unionism." *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 39, no. 6, 1931, pp. 783-810. JSTOR. www.jstor.org/stable/1823172.
- Simon, Bryant. *A Fabric of Defeat : The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910-1948*. University of North Carolina Press, 1998. EBSCOhost,
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=41194&site=ehost-live>.
- The Towns of South Carolina*. South Carolina Research, Planning, and Development Board, 1947. *SC State Library*, <https://dc.statelibrary.sc.gov/handle/10827/230>.
- Woodman, Harold D. "Sequel to Slavery: The New History Views the Postbellum South." *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 43, no. 4, 1977, pp. 523–554. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/2207004.

APPENDIX A – LIST OF DEMOLISHED MILLS BY ADDRESS

Demolished Mills (As of May 2019)

Mill Name (1907)	Street Name	City	State	Zip.	County
Aetna Cotton Mills	201 N. Enterprise St.	Union	SC	29379	Union
Aiken Mfg. Co. (Bath Mill)	115 Mill St.	Warrenville	SC	29851	Aiken
Anderson Cotton Mills (Abney Mill)	401 Glenn St.	Anderson	SC	29625	Anderson
Arkwright Mills	50 Railroad St	Spartanburg	SC	29306	Spartanburg
Bamberg Cotton Mills	253 Calhoun St	Bamberg	SC	29003	Bamberg
Bana Mfg. Co. (Joanna Mfg. Co.)	117 Joanna Square	Joanna	SC	29351	Laurens
Brogan Mills	800 Medina St.	Anderson	SC	29625	Anderson
Calumet Mfg. Co.	17 Tillman St.	Liberty	SC	29657	Pickens
Camperdown Mill	55 E. Camperdown Way	Greenville	SC	29601	Greenville
Cheswell Cotton Mill	160 Parkview St.	Westminster	SC	29693	Oconee
Chiquola Mfg. Co.	507 Chiquola Ave.	Honea Path	SC	29654	Anderson
Clifton Mfg. Co.	120 River Dr.	Spartanburg	SC	29307	Spartanburg
Clinton Cotton Mills	3806 Torrington Rd	Clinton	SC	29325	Laurens
Clover Cotton Mills	602 N Main St.	Clover	SC	29710	York
Cowpens Mfg. Co.	118 S. Linda St.	Cowpens	SC	29330	Cherokee
Cox Mfg. Co. (Equinox Mill)	230 Jackson St.	Anderson	SC	29625	Anderson
Darlington Mfg. Co.	700 Orange St.	Darlington	SC	29532	Darlington
Enoree Mfg. Co.	120 Graham St.	Enoree	SC	29335	Spartanburg
Eureka Cotton Mills	624 Saluda Rd	Chester	SC	29706	Chester
F.W. Poe Mfg. Co.	35 Sulphur Springs Rd	Greenville	SC	29617	Greenville

Fountain Inn Mfg. Co.	409 Fairview St.	Fountain Inn	SC	29644	Greenville
Gaffney Mfg. Co.	110 Railroad Ave	Gaffney	SC	29340	Cherokee
Glenn Lowery Mfg. Co. (Whitmire Mill)	943 SC-66 Hwy.	Whitmire	SC	29178	Newberry
Glenwood Cotton Mills	306 Hagwood St.	Easley	SC	29640	Pickens
Gluck Mills	309 Riley St	Anderson	SC	29624	Anderson
Greenwood Cotton Mills	232 Mill Ave	Greenwood	SC	29649	Greenwood
Hartsville Cotton Mill	150 Coker Ave	Hartsville	SC	29550	Darlington
Irene Mills	500 W. Buford St.	Gaffney	SC	29341	Cherokee
Jonesville Mfg. Co.	200 State Road S-44- 166	Jonesville	SC	29353	Union
Lancaster Cotton Mill	1102 Midway St.	Lancaster	SC	29720	Lancaster
Laurens Cotton Mill	220 Mill St.	Laurens	SC	29360	Laurens
Liberty Cotton Mill	120 Mills Ave	Liberty	SC	29657	Pickens
Lockhart Mills	100 River St.	Lockhart	SC	29364	Union
Manetta Mills	3801 Lando Rd.	Lando	SC	29724	Chester
Marion Manufacturing Co.	601 Manning St	Marion	SC	29571	Marion
Middleburg Mills	408 W. Church St.	Batesburg- Leesville	SC	29006	Lexington
Mollohon Cotton Mill	1813 Milligan St.	Newberry	SC	29108	Newberry
Newberry Cotton Mill	800 Main St.	Newberry	SC	29108	Newberry
Ninety Six Cotton Mill	211 Duke Street	Ninety Six	SC	29666	Greenwood
Norris Cotton Mills Co.	609 Cateechee Trl.	Central	SC	29630	Pickens
Orange Cotton Mill	1031 Middleton Street	Orangeburg	SC	29115	Orangeburg
Orr Cotton Mills	2324 S Main St.	Anderson	SC	29624	Anderson
Pacolet Mills Mfg. Co.	1560 Sunny Acres Rd	Pacolet	SC	29372	Spartanburg
Pelham Mill	2770 E. Phillips Rd	Greenville	SC	29615	Greenville

Pelzer Mfg. Co.	5 Stevenson St.	Pelzer	SC	29669	Anderson
Piedmont Mfg. Co	1 Main St.	Piedmont	SC	29673	Greenville
Riverside Mfg. Co.	208 S. Gossett St.	Anderson	SC	29624	Anderson
Rock Hill Printing and Finishing Company	400 W. White St.	Rock Hill	SC	29730	York
Saxa-Gotha Mill (Brooker Mill)	795 S. Spring St.	Swansea	SC	29160	Lexington
Saxon Mills	13 Front St	Spartanburg	SC	29301	Spartanburg
Seminole Mills	20 Belvedere Rd	Warrenville	SC	29851	Aiken
Spartan Mills	350 Howard St.	Spartanburg	SC	29303	Spartanburg
Springstein Mills	98 Spring St	Chester	SC	29706	Chester
Sumter Cotton Mills	410 Council St	Sumter	SC	29150	Sumter
Toxaway Mills	3 S. Gossett St.	Anderson	SC	29624	Anderson
Tyger (Fairmont) Cotton Mill	581 Fairmont Ave	Spartanburg	SC	29301	Spartanburg
Union Buffalo Mills Co.	145 Fire Ln	Buffalo	SC	29321	Union
Valley Falls Mfg. Co.	710 4th St.	Boiling Springs	SC	29316	Spartanburg
Victor Mfg. Co.	250 Victor Ave	Greer	SC	29301	Spartanburg
Walhalla Cotton Mills	802 Crenshaw Dr.	Walhalla	SC	29691	Oconee
Walterboro (Colleton) Cotton Mills	301 Sanders St	Walterboro	SC	29488	Colleton
Ware Shoals Mfg. Co.	39 E. Main St.	Ware Shoals	SC	29692	Greenwood
Watts Mills	28 Beattie St	Laurens	SC	29360	Laurens
Whitney Manufacturing Co.	2 Beech St.	Spartanburg	SC	29303	Spartanburg
Woodruff Cotton Mill	165 Gray St	Woodruff	SC	29388	Spartanburg
Wylie (Baldwin/Gayle) Mills	534 Beacham St.	Chester	SC	29706	Chester

APPENDIX B – LIST OF STANDING MILLS BY ADDRESS

Standing Mills (As of May 2019)

Mill Name (1907)	Street Name	City	State	Zip.	County
Belton Mills	14 Woodward St	Belton	SC	29627	Anderson
Calhoun Falls Mfg. Co.	601 Cherokee St.	Calhoun Falls	SC	29628	Cherokee
Capital City Mills	1206 Flora St.	Columbia	SC	29201	Richland
Cherokee Falls Mfg. Co.	1406 Cherokee Falls Rd	Cherokee Falls	SC	29702	Cherokee
Conneross Yarn Mill	223 N Towers St.	Anderson	SC	29625	Anderson
Courtenay Mfg. Co. (Newry Mill) D. E.	710 State Rd S-37-203	Seneca	SC	29672	Oconee
Converse Company	200 High Street	Converse	SC	29329	Spartanburg
Easley Cotton Mill	601 South 5th St.	Easley	SC	29640	Pickens
Fairfield Cotton Mill (Winnsboro Mills)	200 6th St.	Winnsboro	SC	29180	Fairfield
Fingerville Mfg. Co.	4495 Cherokee Foothills Scenic Highway	Inman	SC	29349	Spartanburg
Franklin Mill	112 Guess St.	Greenville	SC	29605	Greenville
Glencoe Mills	929 Huger St	Columbia	SC	29201	Richland
Graniteville Mfg. Co. (Vaucluse)	118 Hard St	Graniteville	SC	29829	Aiken
Hamer Cotton Mill	2965 Faithful Rd	Hamer	SC	29547	Dillon
Hermitage Cotton Mill	145 E. York St.	Camden	SC	29020	Kershaw
Issaquena Mills	237 Mill Ave	Central	SC	29630	Pickens
Jackson Mills	1000 W. Front St	Iva	SC	29655	Anderson
Langley Mfg. Co.	403 Carline Rd.	Warrenville	SC	29851	Aiken
Mary Louise Mill (Mayo Mill)	180 Springdale Rd	Cowpens	SC	29724	Cherokee

Monarch Cotton Mills Pendleton Cotton Mill Seneca Cotton Mill Tucapau (Startex) Mills Warren Mfg. Co. Williamston Mills	273 Monarch Ave 250 S. Depot Street 1215 E. Main St. 21 N. Main St. 1 Trestle Pass 15 Broad Street	Union Pendleton Seneca Startex Warrenville Williamston	SC SC SC SC SC SC	29379 29670 29678 29377 29851 29697	Union Anderson Oconee Spartanburg Aiken Anderson
---	---	---	----------------------------------	--	---

APPENDIX C – LIST OF DEVELOPED/UNDER DEVELOPMENT MILLS BY ADDRESS

Developed Mills and Mills Under Development (As of May 2019)

Mill Name (1907)	Street Name	City	State	Zip code	County
Abbeville Cotton Mill	601 Brooks St.	Abbeville	SC	29620	Abbeville
Apalache Mills	2200 Racing Road	Greer	SC	29651	Spartanburg
Arcade Mills	1439 Dave Lyle Blvd.	Rock Hill	SC	29730	York
Beaumont Mfg. Co.	700 N. Pine St	Spartanburg	SC	29303	Spartanburg
Brandon Mill	25 Draper St	Greenville	SC	29611	Greenville
Carolina Mills (Poinsett Abney Mills)	10 Gates St.	Greenville	SC	29611	Greenville
Columbia Mills	301 Gervais	Columbia	SC	29201	Richland
Drayton Mills	1800 Drayton Rd	Spartanburg	SC	29307	Spartanburg
Edgefield Mfg. Co. (Kendall Mill)	100 CTC Dr.	Edgefield	SC	29824	Edgefield
Granby Cotton Mill	510 Heyward St	Columbia	SC	29201	Richland
Hamilton- Carrhart Cotton Mill	215 Chatham Ave.	Rock Hill	SC	29730	York
Highland Park Mfg. Co.	923 Standard St.	Rock Hill	SC	29730	York
Huguenot Mills	101 W. Broad St.	Greenville	SC	29601	Greenville
Inman Mills	15980 US 221	Enoree	SC	29335	Spartanburg
Lexington Mfg. Co.	711 E. Main St.	Lexington	SC	29072	Lexington
Limestone Mills	1206 Cherokee Ave	Gaffney	SC	29340	Cherokee
Mills Mfg. Co.	400 Mills Ave	Greenville	SC	29605	Greenville
Monaghan Mills	201 Smythe Street	Greenville	SC	29611	Greenville
Olympia Cotton Mill	530 Heyward St	Columbia	SC	29201	Richland
Orangeburg Manufacturing Co.	620 Magnolia St	Orangeburg	SC	29115	Orangeburg
Palmetto Cotton Mills	617 Devine St	Columbia	SC	29201	Richland
Pine Creek Mfg. Co. (Kendall Mill)	90 E. Hampton Street	Camden	SC	29020	Kershaw
Richland Cotton Mills	211 S. Main St.	Columbia	SC	29201	Richland
York Cotton Mill	7 Ross Cannon St.	York	SC	29745	York
American Spinning Co.	300 Hammett St.	Greenville	SC	29609	Greenville
Arcadia Mills	1856 Hayne St.	Spartanburg	SC	29301	Spartanburg
Graniteville Mfg. Co.	133 Marshall St.	Graniteville	SC	29829	Aiken
Reedy River Mfg. Co. (Conestee Mill)	1 Spanco Dr.	Greenville	SC	29605	Greenville
Woodside Cotton Mill	100 Woodside Ave	Greenville	SC	29611	Greenville