8

IDENTIFYING OPPORTUNITIES: SITE INVENTORY AND ANALYSIS

The inventory and analysis of the existing features and conditions of any site is far from an objective process. Rather, it reflects the identification of the site's critical features and relationships as determined by the particular perspective defined by both the landscape architect's theoretical stance and the requirements of the specific project proposed. In other words, the procedures adopted for the inventory and analysis as well as their results reflect those intangibles a designer brings to the site as much as they represent the characteristics of the site itself. As such, the inventory and analysis phase marks the first step in grounding the intangible, non-place-specific aims of the designer and the project in physical form. Although the design development phase (Chapter 9) marks more profoundly the moment when these intangibles merge with the existing site to create physical form, the foundation for this transition is established through a focused inventory and analysis of the site.

The process of inventory and analysis used for the Greenfield site is no exception. Its course was shaped by the theoretical approaches to design and historical site interpretation discussed in previous chapters as well as by the project-specific issues revealed in the historiographic research. Operationally, this was accomplished by carrying forward the site selection criteria presented in Chapter 7 as the basic format for the inventory and analysis process. As discussed in Chapter 7, these site-specific requirements emerged directly out of the Constructivist Design Approach and the historiographic research. Employing these site selection criteria as a basic guide for the exploration of the current site conditions helped ensure that the inventory and analysis—as the precursor to design development—carried the theoretical and project-specific positions into the form-making stage.

Although the site inventory and analysis phase was guided by the site selection criteria, the discussion of the results presented in the remainder of this chapter is organized not strictly by these criteria but according to the contemporary and historical context of the Greenfield site. Within each of these sections, aspects of the inventory and analysis are then identified as stemming from either the Constructivist Design Approach or the historiographic research.

Contemporary Site Context

Overview

Greenfield Plantation is currently the site of a planned office and business park development called the Botetourt Center at Greenfield. In the 1990s, Botetourt County acquired the 922-acre property, which was then functioning as a cattle farm, to pursue a state-of-the-art light industrial and business park "integrated into a natural landscaped environment" (Preservation Technologies, 1996; Figure 8.1). Although the site is largely undeveloped at this time, the complex will ultimately provide high-tech facilities to as many as 14 businesses while offering

Figure 8.1. Main entry to the Botetourt Center at Greenfield. (Photo courtesy of the Office of the County Administrator, Botetourt County)

the site's natural environment as an amenity for both employees and nearby residents.

Figure 8.2 shows the current site plan for the Botetourt Center at Greenfield. Although the site has been subdivided into lots, as the site plan indicates, most of the site is undeveloped. Currently, only Altec and Koyo have purchased lots and constructed buildings. Both of these facilities are located south of International Parkway, the east-west artery built by the county as the main entry into the development. The Greenfield Education and Training Center is also complete and occupies the southeastern edge of the site adjacent to U.S. 220. In addition to classroom space, this facility offers the latest in computer and heavy manufacturing labs for training workers at Greenfield as well as community college students.

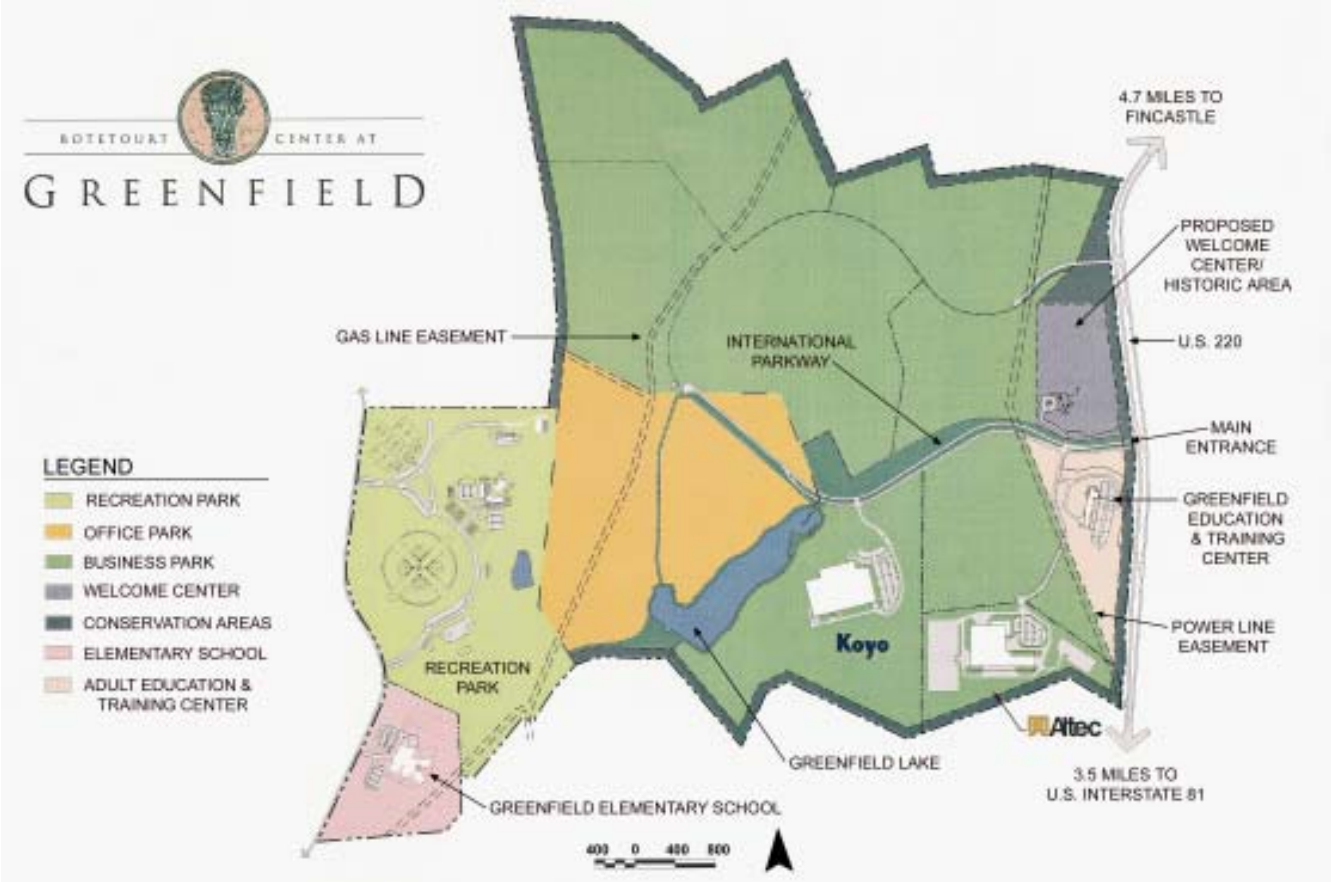

Figure 8.2. Site plan for the Botetourt Center at Greenfield office and business park development. (Adapted from map provided courtesy of the Office of the County Administrator, Botetourt County)

The portion of the site north of International Parkway remains undeveloped. The Welcome Center and Historic Area indicated on the site plan along U.S. 220 is unbuilt. In contrast, the dogleg in the southwest corner of the site is almost fully

developed, with construction of the Greenfield Elementary School completed and the recreation park in progress. Throughout the site, a system of conservation areas (darkest green) with paved walking paths is planned, with the newly created Greenfield Lake as a focal point.

The areas currently undeveloped remain largely as they did when the property came into the county's possession—predominantly pasture land with forested patches and hedgerows (Figure 8.3). Pastures are maintained through seasonal mowing. Successional forest growth has begun along the stream corridors. In addition, the county has demolished all of the structures on the site associated with the modern cattle farm. The only structures remaining on the undeveloped portions of the site are those identified in a Preliminary Preservation Plan (Preservation Technologies, 1996) commissioned by the county as having potential historical significance. At this time, the county plans to relocate some of these structures to the Welcome Center and Historic Area.

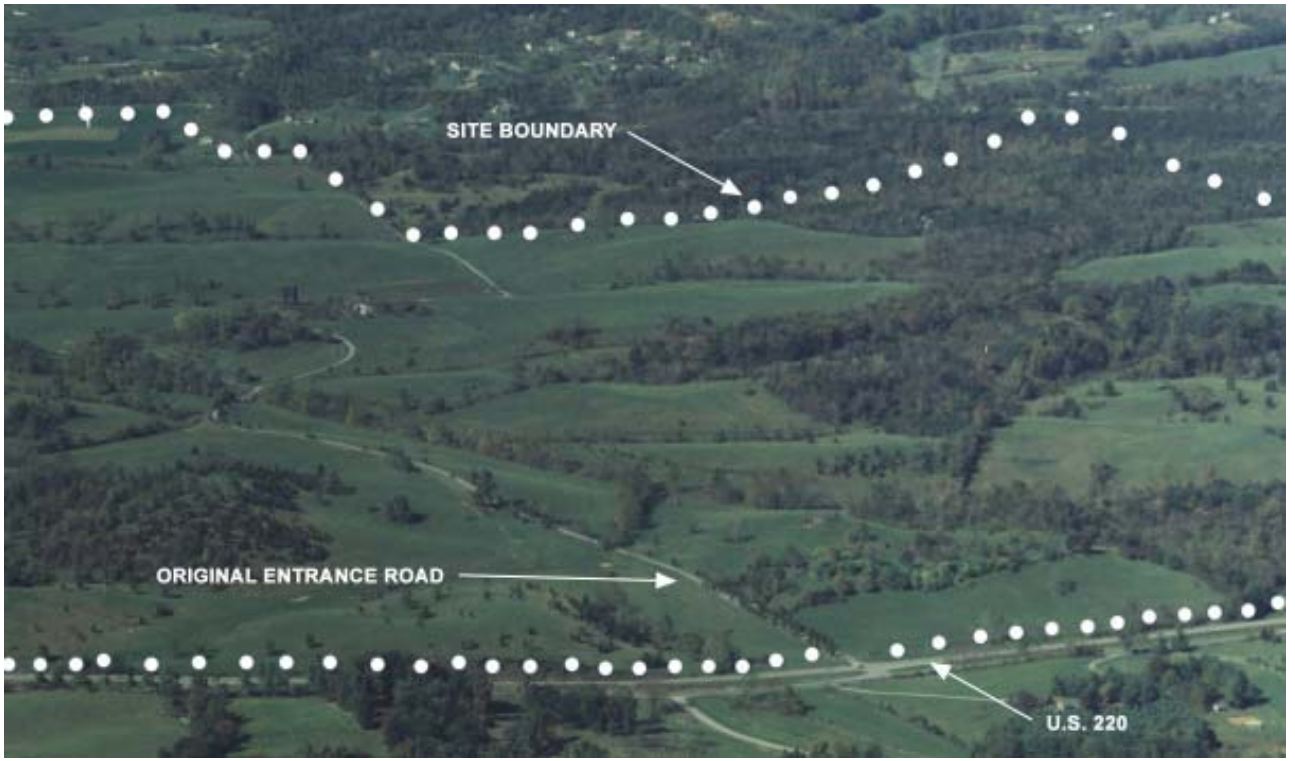

Figure 8.3. Aerial view looking west across the site before development began for the Botetourt Center. The modern farmstead noted was demolished by the county. International Parkway enters the site off U.S. 220 just to the left of the original entrance road labeled in the photo. (Photo courtesy of Kevin R. Shearer, Botetourt County Engineer)

Although Botetourt County intends to develop the entire Greenfield site, for the purposes of this thesis, only construction currently completed or underway was taken into account. This meant that the portion of the site south of International Parkway, including the dogleg in the southwest corner, was immediately eliminated as a potential location for the interpretive complex because of the substantial development already occurring there. Although acknowledging the existing development in

these areas facilitated the site inventory by limiting the study area, it also opened the door to an additional set of potential complications, as the visual and auditory impact of this existing development on visitors at the interpretive complex had to be considered in both the site inventory and analysis and in the final design proposal.

Constructivist Design Approach Criteria: Dislocation From the External World

The Constructivist Design Approach recognizes the importance of isolating the interpretive center from potential intrusions of the modern world in order to facilitate the visitor's immersion in the interpretive experience. In the site selection phase (Chapter 7), this concern was addressed through the establishment of a 100-acre minimum site size, based on the space requirements of the Follow the North Star program. Although this minimum site size offered a solid first step, the inventory and analysis phase offers the opportunity to conduct a site-specific investigation of potential visual and auditory intrusions into the site. These viewshed and noise analyses were key components of the site inventory and analysis. It must be stressed that in these analyses, only those views and sounds not consistent with the 19th century were considered intrusive. This meant, for example, that nearby homes that appeared from the Greenfield site to be consistent with antebellum architectural styles were not considered intrusive. Likewise, the sounds of barking dogs or people talking were judged compatible with the atmosphere of the interpretive complex. In fact, these elements were viewed as potentially heightening visitors' immersion in the interpretive experience, as such sights and sounds could intensify their fear of discovery and sense of vulnerability as they assumed the role of runaway slaves (see Chapter 9 for a discussion of surveillance and visibility in the outdoor tours).

Viewshed Analysis. The objective of the viewshed analysis was to identify areas of the site that allowed unwanted views to modern structures. Such potentially distracting views were divided into two categories: uncorrectable views that could not be blocked or screened through the installation of vegetation or structures on the interpretive grounds, and correctable views that could be blocked with well-placed plantings or structures on the interpretive complex property. Although some of the views classified as uncorrectable in the viewshed analysis could indeed have been mitigated by screening efforts immediately in front of the modern structures, for the purposes of this thesis, only interventions that could be installed on the interpretive grounds were considered. In reality, however, this latter option should be pursued to the extent that landowners are amenable.

The viewshed analysis began with a landform analysis using a USGS topographic map. Since the area south of International Parkway had been previously eliminated as a potential site for the interpretive complex because of heavy development, the analysis focused on identifying areas in the remainder of the site that, based on landforms, would allow unwanted views. This preliminary analysis on paper was followed up with field visits to refine the limits of the usable site. Field visits were conducted in January and February, when views off the site were not screened by vegetation. Such a "worst-case scenario" established a valuable baseline, since the interpretive center is intended to remain open virtually year-round.

Figure 8.4 shows the results of the viewshed analysis. As

Figure 8.4. Results of viewshed analysis. The majority of the undesirable views (dark and light purple areas) came from modern structures within or immediately adjacent to the Greenfield site. The most visible structures included the Koyo complex, the Greenfield Education and Training Center, and the water tower located in a northern corner of the site (also the highest elevation on the site). Views of International Parkway and Route 220 were limited to areas immediately adjacent to the roads. The unshaded area south of International Parkway, previously eliminated as a potential site because of existing development there, was not included in the analysis.

Figure 8.5. This view of the Koyo complex can be screened by enhancing the existing hedgerow remnant with evergreen plantings.

the figure indicates, views throughout the western portion of the site were too severely degraded (dark purple shading) to make any on-site remediation feasible. With the area of the site south of International Parkway already ruled out as a potential site for the interpretive complex, this left only the northeastern quadrant of the site. As the viewshed analysis shows, however, portions of this area still allowed intrusive views. Those areas where such views could not be mitigated on site (dark purple) began to define the limits of the outdoor interpretive area, whereas most of the intrusive views within the area were considered correctable (light purple). Options for treating these correctable views included enhancing existing hedgerows with evergreen plantings (Figure 8.5) or planting new hedgerows or forested areas on or near the crests of hills (Figure 8.6). It is important to note, however, that

Figure 8.6. Installation of a new forest patch or hedgerow along the ridgeline would screen this view of the Koyo complex.

decisions about whether to employ these strategies were made within the context of designing a coherent landscape reflective of 19th century Appalachia. In other words, a hedgerow used for screening purposes also had to serve its intended function within the agricultural landscape. As stated earlier, the dark purple region that bordered the usable area of the site became the borders of the interpretive grounds. Rather than attempting to screen these views, it was determined that a more workable solution was to prevent visitors from accessing these areas (see Chapter 9 for further explanation).

Noise Analysis. Visual reminders of the modern world are not the only factor that can undermine a designer's attempt to isolate a site from the 21st century. The sounds of the modern world can also intrude upon a site and distract visitors from the interpretive experience. Although some noise pollution, such as airplanes, is beyond a designer's control, the traffic noise present on some parts of the Greenfield site was identified as a potential distraction that needed to be avoided or mitigated by distracting visitors' attention from it.

A traffic noise analysis was conducted on site to identify areas of the site impacted by road noise. As the results of the analysis (Figure 8.7) show, the portion of the site immediately adjacent to U.S. 220 was most affected by road noise. Traffic noise along International Parkway was also a factor, although car traffic was intermittent and sound levels were much lower overall than on U.S. 220. The darker pink areas in Figure 8.7 indicate regions in which the traffic noise was too loud to mask or otherwise mitigate. Such areas needed to be avoided and thus, as with the viewshed analysis, the areas of the site with the darkest shading began to define the limits of the interpretive grounds. For the areas in which traffic noise was less intru-

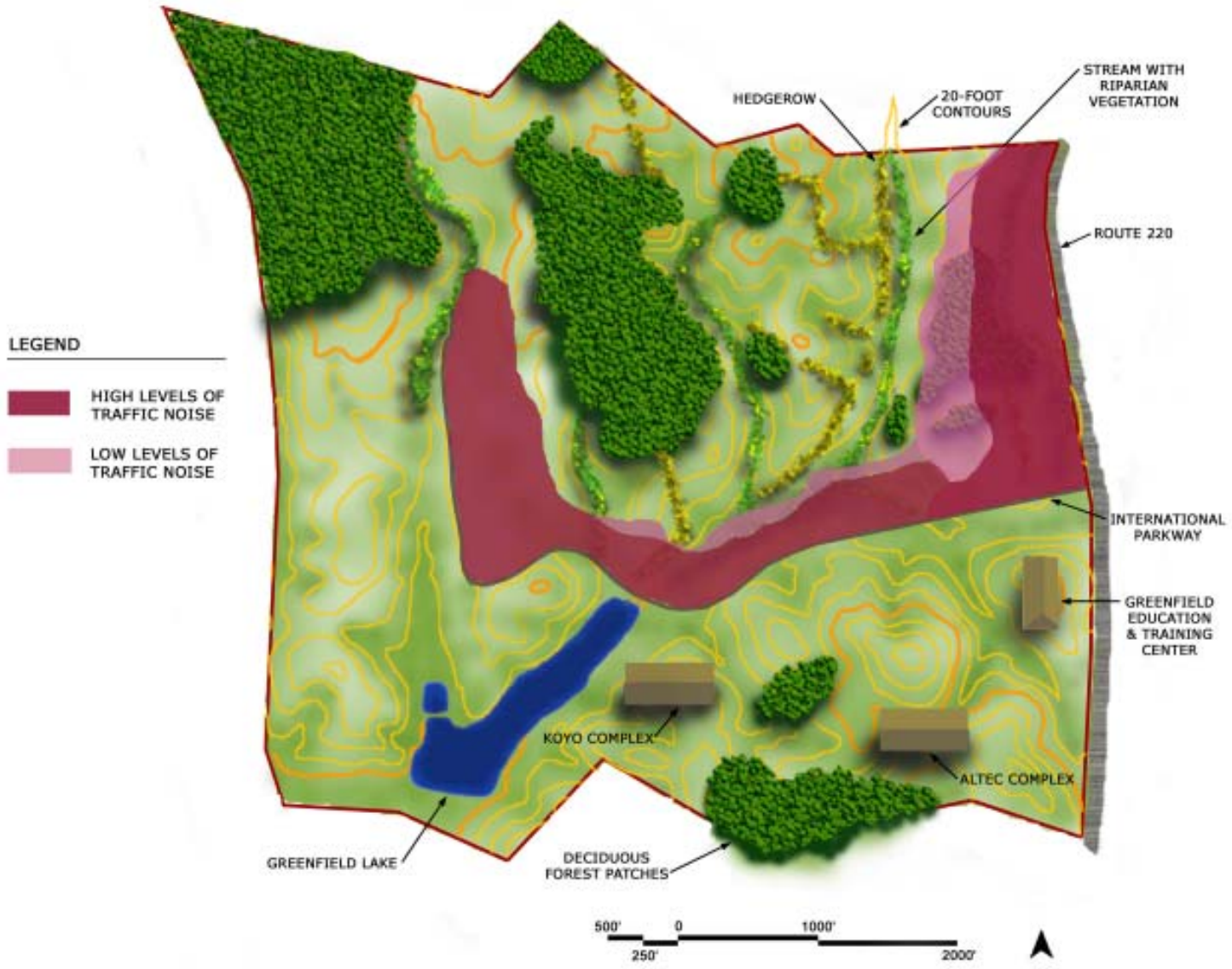

Figure 8.7. Results of the traffic noise anlaysis. The majority of road noise comes from U.S. 220. Traffic on International Parkway is relatively light and occurs predominantly in the early morning and evening, as well as during lunch time.

sive—a low, steady drone of white noise (the lighter pink regions)—a general strategy of distraction was adopted. Given that most modern Americans are so accustomed to the faint hum of traffic that they usually fail to consciously note its presence, it was determined that the most effective mitigation strategy would be to prevent the traffic hum from entering visitors' consciousness by keeping their attention focused on the interpretive experience. In other words, as long as the interpretive programming in these lighter pink regions provided enough dramatic intensity, visitors would not have an opportunity to notice the traffic noise. For example, costumed interpreters could be stationed in these areas to either directly engage visitors in an exchange or simply to provide a focal point for their attention.

Revised Site Boundary. The regions identified in both the viewshed and traffic noise analyses as impacted by the modern world beyond the ability of mitigation efforts to redress (darker shades) began to define a boundary for the interpretive center—not in terms of an absolute property limit but in terms of the area suitable for the interpretive program. The shaded region in Figure 8.8 indicates the area of the site suitable for interpretive programming. This working boundary is derived from both the viewshed and traffic noise analyses as well as from the desire to avoid extending the interpretive area up to the absolute boundary of the Greenfield property. Providing a land buffer around the interpretive area will help ensure that the encroachment of the modern world into the interpretive grounds can be kept to a minimum. Although the actual area taken up by interpretive programming is relatively small, ideally, the rest of the Greenfield site north of International Parkway would be owned by the interpretive complex in order to help maintain this buffer.

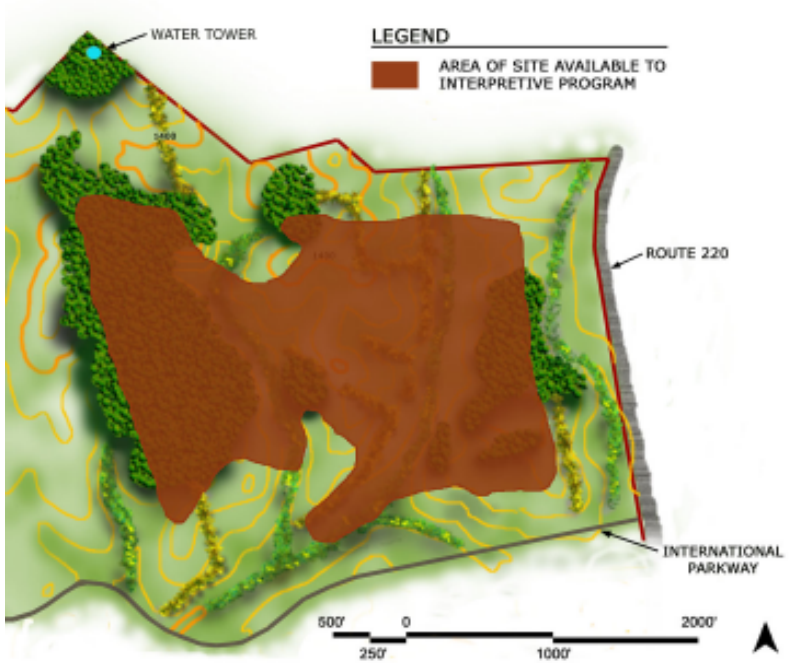

Figure 8.8. The shaded area indicates the area suitable for the interpretive program based on the desire to isolate the interpretive complex from the external world.

Historiographic Research Criteria: Landscape Characteristics and Features

The historiographic research revealed a number of landscape characteristics and features whose presence on the site could enhance the interpretive program. These characteristics and features made up part of the site selection criteria discussed in Chapter 7. Each of these features, discussed individually below, is shown in Figure 8.9, the existing conditions plan.

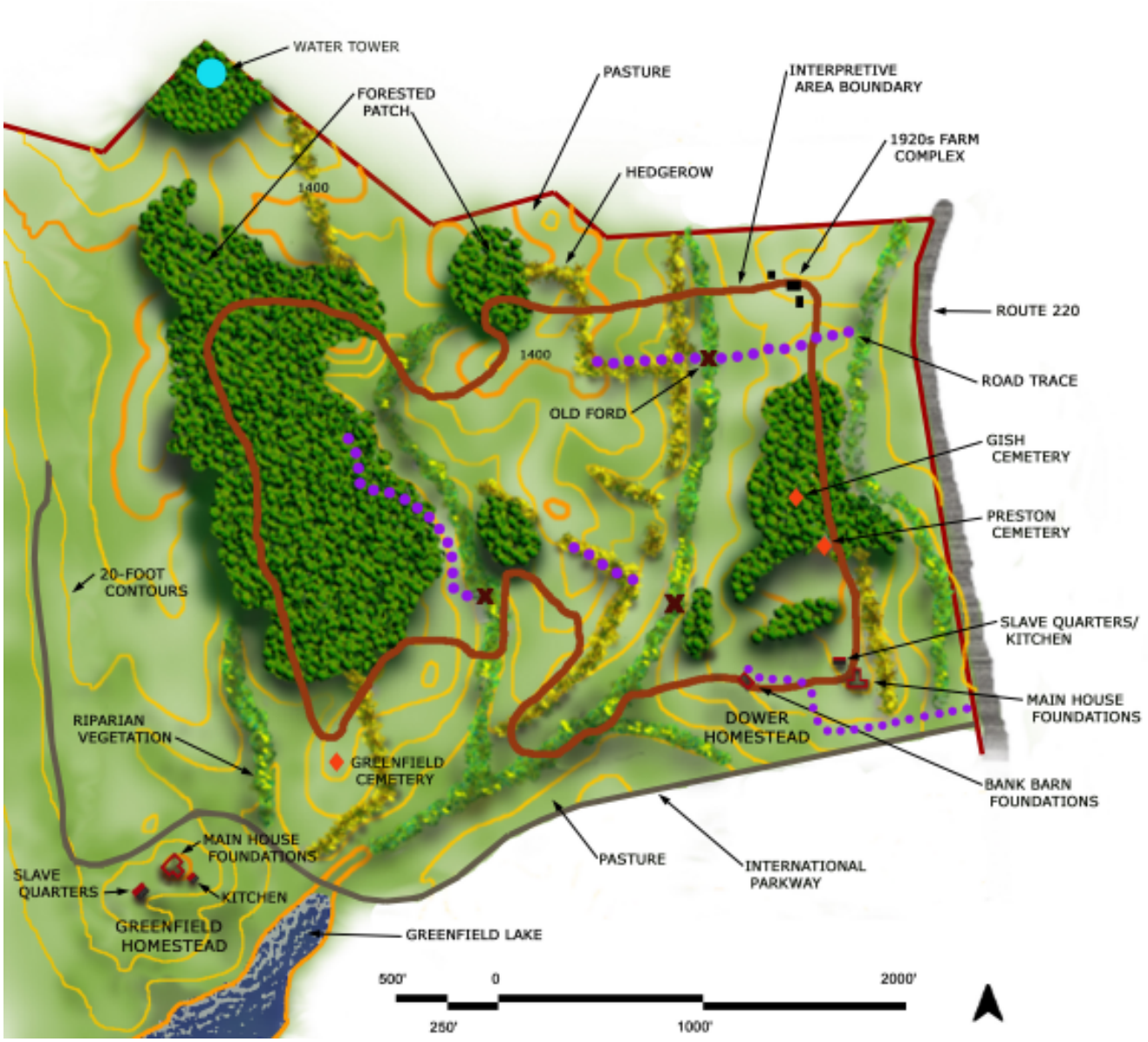

Figure 8.9. Existing conditions plan for the Greenfield site. Overlain on this plan is a brown line indicating the limits of the interpretive area as shown in Figure 8.8 and determined through the viewshed and traffic noise analyses.

Natural Features. Several natural features were considered desirable in the site in order to enhance the interpretive program. These features are karst topography, forest areas, vegetative corridors such as hedgerows, and streams (see Figure 8.9 for the locations of these features on the site). As the contour lines on Figure 8.9 suggest, the site exhibits a karst terrain. Figure 8.10 shows the irregular patterning of hills typical of the site. Not only is such terrain characteristic of Southwestern Virginia and thus an important element in telling the story of the land's influence on the nature of slavery in the region, but as suggested in the viewshed analysis section, the topography can also be used to screen out unwanted views. In the design development phase, the hilly terrain was also seen as an important tool for heightening the visitors' immersion in the interpretive experience both by enhancing opportunities to orchestrate moments of concealment and exposure to surveillance for visitors traveling through the landscape as runaway slaves and by increasing their physical exertion as they move through the landscape in order to more realistically evoke the stress and physical exertion experienced by runaway slaves.

Figure 8.10. The site is dominated by karst pasture land broken up by forested patches and remnant hedgerows.

Figure 8.11. A typical forest patch on the site.

The site also has several large forest patches (Figure 8.11) whose interiors offer possible hiding places or meeting spots for visitors engaged in the interpretive experience. Adaptation of forest areas for these uses was typical for mountain slaves and runaways.

Figure 8.12. Typical hedgerow (right) adjacent to pasture land.

The site also offers numerous vegetated corridors. These linear features appear as remnant hedgerows and corridors of riparian vegetation (Figure 8.12). As vertical edge conditions between pastures, these corridors offer potential screens for runaways attempting to avoid detection. The exploitation of vertical edge conditions such as forest patches or hedgerows adjacent to horizontal elements such as pasture land or roads was an important strategy adopted by runaways trying to avoid detection.

Figure 8.13. The shallow water and level, open banks of this stream make for a relatively easy crossing.

Streams also figure prominently in many runaway slave narratives. The numerous streams on the site and their varying spatial characteristics offer numerous opportunities for interpreting the importance of streams from the runaway's perspective. The open, shallow conditions of the stream in Figure 8.13 would be ideal for a hurried crossing during the initial stages of flight. Although the opportunity to literally get visitors' feet wet in crossing such a

Figure 8.14. Deeply incised stream bank (photo taken from the stream itself).

shallow stream is considered a desirable design element because of the Constructivist Design Approach's emphasis on sensory engagement in the interpretive experience, the crossing could be made safer with the placement of a "fallen" tree across the stream as a handrail or a few additional stepping stones in the streambed. In contrast to such a relatively easy crossing, other streams on the site offer greater challenges. Figure 8.14 shows the steep path worn by deer down to a stream. To cross this deeply incised stream, visitors would have to search along the banks for a manageable crossing place. Such a stream also offers the opportunity for a bridge crossing. Historiographic research revealed that bridges were often manned by toll collectors and thus were avoided by runaways, who had to find their own way across a stream.

Man-Made Features. Evidence of man's interventions on the land was also seen as a potentially important aspect of the site in terms of the interpretive program. Remnants of the small farmsteads and wagon roads that dotted the nineteenth century landscape of the Mountain South were identified in Chapter 7 as important features. The Greenfield site offered some remarkable examples of each of these man-made features.

Evidence written on the land of the placement, function, or appearance of the small farmsteads typical of the Mountain South as well as the larger, more affluent "plantations" was viewed as a way of ensuring that the proposed designed landscape of the interpretive complex remained faithful (to the extent possible in a designed landscape) to the spirit of settlement and land use practices in the 19th century Appalachian South. The Greenfield site offered two such antebellum settlement complexes—the Greenfield homestead and the Dower homestead (see the next section of this chapter for the historical significance of these complexes). Both homesteads were relatively affluent farmsteads for Appalachian Virginia. Each included not only the big house but also its outbuildings, including kitchen and slave quarters, and family cemeteries. Although the foundations of all the structures are still visible, only the Greenfield kitchen and slave quarters (Figure 8.15) and the Dower kitchen, which also likely housed slaves (Figure 8.16), still stand. The remnants of a bank

Figure 8.15. The Greenfield slave quarters remain intact, although in need of repair. A cinderblock addition (far right) is visible.

Figure 8.16. The original log structure of the Dower kitchen is hidden by later additions. It runs from the far left addition to the brick chimney behind the clump of three trees.

Figure 8.17. Stone foundations of the German bank barn set into the hillside behind it.

barn are also visible in the Dower complex (Figure 8.17). All of these structures are in need of extensive restoration and repairs.

Road traces were also seen as a valuable asset on the site. They suggest how roads responded to the terrain and features of the landscape before the advent of mechanized earth-moving equipment. Incorporating these traces into the design of the interpretive complex would help ensure the creation of a realistic 19th century Appalachian landscape.

In addition, roads figured prominently in the story of Appalachian slavery as both the route into and out of bondage. Historiographic research revealed that the stage roads of the era provided important infrastructure for the mountain slave economy. Not only did the Great Valley Road facilitate the export of mountain slaves to the slave markets of the Deep South where the demand for labor was higher, but the turnpikes also fueled the local slave economy as itinerant slave traders went door-to-door buying and selling slaves. Such slave coffles (chained gangs of slaves led by slave traders and usually traveling on foot) were a common sight along the Great Valley Road and its byways in the Mountain South. But even as the roads carried such slaves into bondage, other slaves appropriated them on their journey to freedom. Runaways trying to make their way north often followed roads from the cover of adjacent forests. Northbound roads offered a more reliable navigational guide than the North Star, which was often obscured by clouds. Following roads had the added benefit of keeping slaves close to towns and cities, where they could more easily find food or assistance than in the wilderness. It also, of course, increased their risk of discovery, but most slaves were willing to tolerate this risk for the potential benefits.

Site visits revealed the presence of four road traces on the property (see Figure 8.9). Although their ages cannot be determined, they are all unpaved and thus offer insights into historical folk road placement practices. One of these road traces marks an older entry into the Dower homestead and the Greenfield plantation from U.S. 220 (shown in Figure 8.3). The remaining three road traces are associated with three stream fords on the property (the stream crossing in the northeast quadrant of the property was originally a bridge). Although these old roads are only partially discernible, as the existing conditions plan (Figure 8.9) suggests, the roads traces at one time may have joined to form a circuit around the property. One road trace cuts across open pasture (northeast corner of the site), while the other two are located in what are now forested areas (Figure 8.18). These last two road traces offer a landscape condition often exploited by runaway slaves—following a road as a navigational aid from the relative safety of an adjacent wooded area.

Figure 8.18. Road trace through a forested pocket on the Greenfield site.

Historical Site Context

Constructivist Design Approach Criteria: Structured but Flexible Meaning

For the constructivist designer, incorporation of the history of the Greenfield site itself into the interpretive complex offers an opportunity to increase the possibility that visitors will construct meaningful experiences there. The Constructivist Design Approach is based on the premise that meaning is constructed out of the collaboration between the individual and the site. As in any collaborative process, success depends upon the raw materials that each party brings to the partnership and how these materials resonate with each other. For the individual, this raw material consists of a unique set of experiences, attitudes, and knowledge that mediates his or her interaction with the site. The raw materials of the site consist of its formal and programmatic elements. In other words, the site functions as a stockpile of building blocks out of which visitors construct meaning.

This view of a designed site suggests that the landscape architect's work is merely the beginning of the design process, not the end of it. Rather than providing a client with a landscape that has reached the end of its design evolution, the designer must set his or her priority on enriching the collaborative process by providing the raw material at the site. Incorporating elements of the history of Greenfield Plantation into the interpretive complex, both in terms of physical form and program, would add such richness to the site—another layer at which visitors could potentially engage with and interpret the site. In this way, the richness or depth of a designed site imbues it with the flexibility necessary to allow for multiple, individualized interpretations. Just as the richness of language and thought in a classic piece of literature supports multiple understandings of the text, the constructivist site uses its richness and multilayered quality to encourage a multitude of interpretations.

Although a rich supply of raw materials offered by the designed site can encourage the collaborative process between visitor and site, too much disparate content can be counterproductive to the meaning-making process. Fruitful richness can degenerate into chaos without an overall structure—an interpretive framework—that not only helps the landscape architect make appropriate design decisions but also gives visitors a cognitive framework through which to interpret the site. In terms of the interpretive complex, this structure or framework emerged from the interpretive content established by the historiographic research. Thus, decisions about which elements of Greenfield's history should be incorporated into the interpretive complex were guided by the opportunity they provided to enhance or support the interpretation of the content established by the historiographic research.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to a summary discussion of the elements of Greenfield's history that have the potential, in light of the historiographic research on Appalachian slavery, to add depth to the interpretive agenda of the complex and thus enhance its meaning-making capacity.

Unless otherwise indicated, the historical information about Greenfield Plantation and its owners presented in this section comes from the Historic Background written by Mari Julienne for the National Register of Historic Places Nomination for the Bowyer/Holladay House (Preservation Technologies, 1998).

Early Years of Greenfield. In many ways, the history of Greenfield Plantation and its owners—the Preston family—is the history of the development of Southwestern Virginia. In the 200 years that Greenfield remained in the Preston family (1759-1960), the landscape of Southwestern Virginia changed dramatically. Those changes are reflected in the history of the Greenfield property, as it evolved from a log cabin outpost on the Western frontier of European expansion, to one of the most affluent antebellum plantations in the county, to a modest contemporary farm. Slavery—both in terms of its presence and its absence after the Civil War—had a strong hand in shaping the landscape of Greenfield and the region.

In 1759, William Preston, a 30-year-old Irish immigrant, purchased 191 acres of land near Tinker Creek in Southwestern Virginia with the intention of settling his young family there. This land, soon to be named Greenfield, lay along the cusp of European expansion into Indian territory. William, along with 18 newly purchased slaves (Troutman, 2002), set about the task of building a new home for his wife Susanna and their young daughter. In these early days, however, the Shawnee Indians also claimed the region as part of their hunting grounds, and William's family, along with a handful of other determined settlers, spent much of their time within the protective walls of a fort somewhere near the Greenfield site. Despite this precarious beginning, however, the Greenfield homestead served a critical function as an outpost in Indian territory that helped set the stage for further European settlement of Southwestern Virginia (Johnson, 1976).

As the threat of Indian attacks faded and the Revolutionary War ended, an increasing number of Europeans came to the region and settled down to the business of building their fortunes and building America. By this time, William (now a colonel) had attained military distinction for his participation in the Revolutionary War as well as earlier treaty negotiations with the Indians, helped George Washington survey the Virginia frontier, and served as a county justice, sheriff, coroner, and escheator, as well as a Representative to the Virginia Assembly (Dorman, 1982). The Prestons prospered and Greenfield expanded. By 1783 (the year of William Preston's death), the plantation had grown to 2,175 acres and enjoyed a reputation as one of the more affluent farmsteads of Southwestern Virginia, as the glazed windows (a luxury in the region) on the Greenfield big house attested (Figure 8.19; Johnson, 1976).

Figure 8.19. The Greenfield big house not long before it was destroyed by fire in 1959. (Johnson, 1976)

The Second Generation at Greenfield. By the first half of the 1800s (the time period addressed in the interpretive complex), Greenfield had been divided among Colonel Preston's four children. John Preston, the eldest son, received the western section of the property, including the area identified in the existing conditions map (Figure 8.9) as the Greenfield Homestead. This included the Greenfield big house and its attendant slave quarters and kitchen building. John's two sisters, Sarah and Susan, owned what was referred to as East Greenfield. This

Figure 8.20. The Dower big house in 1947. The kitchen/slave quarters are to the left of the main house. The main house was torn down in the mid-1900s. (Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Roanoke)

portion of the property included what is labeled as the Dower Homestead in Figure 8.9.

During the majority of this time, John was an absentee owner, choosing instead to live about 40 miles away at Horseshoe Bottom (another plantation left to him by his father). John relied primarily on overseers or tenant farmers to managed the farm and the slaves who lived there. Despite this arrangement, correspondence also indicates that he and his family made frequent trips there, and from at least 1822 to 1825, they considered Greenfield their primary residence.

John's sister Sarah apparently spent all of her adult life at Greenfield. Upon marrying her husband Henry Bowyer in 1830, the couple moved into the Dower house (which apparently received its name because it was built as a wedding present to the couple; Figure 8.20). Over the next 20 years, the couple increased the size of their East Greenfield property from 300 acres to 500 (some of it from Sarah's sister Susan), according to the 1850 Census.

The Antebellum Landscape of Greenfield. The area of Botetourt County in which Greenfield is located has long been recognized as one of the more fertile regions of Southwestern Virginia. Even before Colonel William Preston came to the area in the mid-1750s, much of the land had been cleared by the Indians for farming. The 1800s were no exception. By this time, both John Preston and Henry Bowyer identified their primary occupation as farmers in Census records. John was planting hemp, wheat, corn, rye, hay, oats, barley, flax, and potatoes and raising cattle, hogs, and a few sheep.

On East Greenfield, 1850 Census records indicate that Henry produced Indian corn, wheat, oats, hay, clover seed, and Irish potatoes. He also had nine horses, three mules, six milch cows, 34 other cattle, 100 hogs, and 40 sheep. In the 1840s, corn was the most widely grown crop in Botetourt County. Like the other farmers of Southwestern Virginia, the majority of the goods produced at Greenfield were consumed on the premises (by people and livestock) rather than being sold for profit. The region was also know for its fruit orchards, and by 1880, Henry was harvesting crops from a 4-acre apple orchard on his section of Greenfield.

The Landscape of Slavery at Greenfield. Although John and Henry farmed in a manner similar to their neighbors, they did so at a much grander scale. This meant that the availability of slave labor was crucial. Whereas most mountain farmers, producing little more than subsistence crops, held only one or two slaves, Henry and John were among only a few planters in the county that owned more than 20 slaves. In 1817, John was

taxed for 55 slaves over the age of twelve at Greenfield. By 1830, Henry owned 23 slaves—roughly split evenly between male and female. Eleven were under the age of ten. This suggests a heavy presence of family units among the slaves at the Dower farmstead. While the Bowyer's slave holdings would remain relatively steady in terms of numbers up to the Civil War, slave schedules suggest that the presence of intact family units sharply declined. By 1860, only four of the Bowyer's 21 slaves were females. Although the reason for this drop in the presence of adult female slaves is unknown, it suggests a transition from a relatively stable slave population in which family units were allowed to stay intact to one in which the selling and buying of individual slaves occurred more frequently. Such a transition would not be surprising for a mountain master, whose profits typically came not from a slave's value as an agricultural laborer but as a commodity that could be bought, sold, or leased to take advantage of market forces (Dunaway, 1999).

To date, little information has been documented regarding the daily activities of slaves at Greenfield (Troutman, 2002). Certainly, they would have preformed the vast majority of the farming and livestock work. In addition, they would have built most of the structures on the site, including the eight slave quarters that an 1860 Census taker recorded at Greenfield. Correspondence also indicates that one of John Preston's slaves, Godfrey Brooks, was responsible for managing the plantation in his master's absence from 1809 to 1811. In letters apparently written by Brooks himself, he describes the Greenfield slaves engaging in such tasks as making nails to repair the fences, sowing wheat and rye, harvesting corn, threshing the hemp, and tending to the cattle, hogs, and horses.

Not all of the slaves residing at Greenfield were as reliable as Brooks, however. An April 1812 letter from John's brother Thomas at Greenfield reported that two of his slaves, Daniel and Emanuel, ran away after they were severely whipped. The records do not indicate whether the two were found, returned on their own, or were never seen again. The results of the content analysis of runaway slave narratives (Appendix B) indicate that a severe or unwarranted punishment often motivated slaves to run away. Whereas many such slaves returned in a few days, those whose masters consistently mistreated them typically never returned unless caught.

By the first half of the 1800s, the Preston family owned five plantations in Southwestern Virginia (Greenfield, Smithfield, Solitude, Whitethorn, and Horseshoe Bottom) and anywhere from 40 to 90 slaves at any given time. Evidence suggest that the family's resources—including their slave holdings—were often shifted between properties as work requirements changed. A handful of family slaves, for example, were even sent to the Colonel's son Francis (John's brother) whose wife owned salt works in Saltville, Virginia (Troutman, 2002). This mobility was a typical characteristic of slavery in the Mountain South, where masters had to engage in a variety of businesses to make a profit rather than relying solely on agriculture. Slaves were often sold or leased, or even shifted between a master's enterprises, according to where they could be most profitable (Dunaway, 1999). The Prestons' large slave holdings would have been an important family resource.

In addition to their temporary or permanent reassignments, the Prestons' slaves also endured a series of traumatic upheavals and relocations that were also typical of all slaves. These occurred when owners died and the slaves were either sold away or divided among heirs. Slaves especially feared the death of a master, for the relocation process almost always meant the separation of family units (Dunaway, 1999). The Preston slaves

experienced four such upheavals (Troutman, 2002), including the death of Colonel William Preston's wife Susanna in 1823. Although no information is currently available on the fate of the family slaves after her death, the runaway slave content analysis as well as Dunaway's (1999) research revealed that the immanent sale and consequent dissolution of the family that came with the death of a master was the biggest factor in slaves' decisions to run away.

The Great Valley Road. Along the eastern edge of the Greenfield property ran the Great Valley Road. Just as the Prestons' home at Greenfield had evolved from a one-room log house to a grand plantation home in the years before the Civil War, the Great Road too had evolved from a narrow footpath used by Native Americans to a macadamized interstate road—the major route for settlers and trade goods through the mountain region. Indeed, much of the Preston's early prosperity could likely be attributed to Greenfield's favorable location at a crossroads along the Great Road.

Although the exact locations of the early roads are lost, the Great Valley Road ran along the eastern edge of the Preston's property (Johnson, 1976). Modern-day U.S. 220 between Fincastle and Roanoke is believed to approximate its route (see Figure 8.21). Toward the southern end of the Greenfield property, a branch of the Great Road diverged west

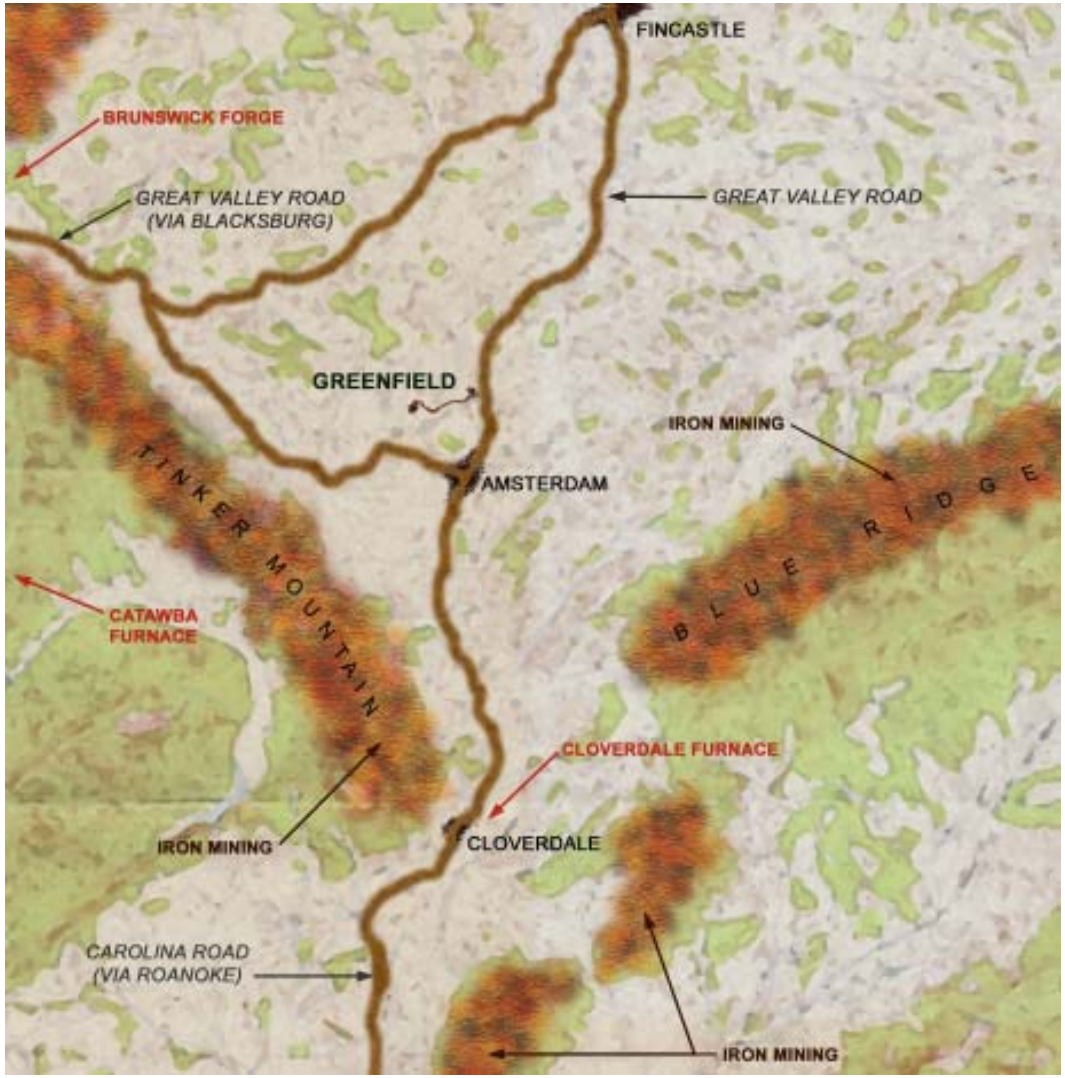

Figure 8.21. Although 19th century Greenfield and the neighboring town of Amsterdam were farming areas, they were surrounded by iron mining and processing operations. At the crossroads of the Great Valley Road and the Carolina Road, much of Greenfield's success could be attributed to its favorable location.

and wound through the Catawba Valley toward Blacksburg (where the Preston's other plantations were located), while the Carolina Road continued south from there through Big Lick (Roanoke).

Although the area was only lightly populated when William Preston established Greenfield, the roads would soon bring civilization to the plantation's doorstep—additional settlers to hold back the Shawnee, much needed provisions to supply them, and even an opportunity for profit. As early as the 1770s, William had set up stills and obtained a peddlers license to sell whisky to thirsty travelers passing by Greenfield (Johnson, 1976). By 1794, the prime location had drawn enough settlers to found the modest town of Amsterdam just south of Greenfield on the Great Road. By this time, traffic in the area was great enough to support not only William's business venture but also ordinaries opened by several Amsterdam residents (Prillaman, 1985).

From these early days, the Prestons relied on the supply of goods afforded by the Great Road. Barrels of sugar, fabrics, and books for his children's education were just a few of the items that made their way to William Preston and his descendants down the Great Road. One of the most important commodities transported down this turnpike, however, was slaves. As mountain masters found they could profit more from selling their slaves to the Deep South than by putting them to work at home, the Great Road became the primary conduit to the great slave markets of the Deep South. Dunaway (1999) estimates that almost one million slaves were transported from the Upper to the Lower South between 1790 and 1860. Independent slave traders made their way down the Great Road, buying and selling slaves with residents along the way. Although the Preston family papers have not brought to light any such dealings, it is highly likely that traders would have made the prominent Greenfield plantation a consistent stop on their journey south. The sight of these itinerant slave traders was common in the mountain region. They dragged behind them what were referred to as slave coffles (Figure 8.22)—bedraggled groups of slaves usually chained together to prevent them from escaping and traveling on foot. In some cases, women and children were allowed to ride in the supply wagons. Troutman (2002) calculates that 80 to as many as 200 slaves passed through Southwestern Virginia along the Great Road each week (see Appendix C for more details).

Figure 8.22. Sketch of slave coffle heading down the Great Valley Road south of Staunton. (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA)

The Iron Industry. Like the Great Valley Road, the prevalence of the iron industry also had a dramatic effect on both the

nature of slavery in Southwestern Virginia and the appearance of the landscape itself (see Appendix C for more details). Although Greenfield and Amsterdam were primarily agricultural, the surrounding mountains were littered with iron mining and processing operations (Figure 8.21). This mixture of agricultural and industrial activities was common throughout the Appalachian Virginia landscape of the 1800s as mining and processing operations harvested the vast quantities of ore the mountains offered while farmers worked the deeper soils of the valley bottoms. By the 1830s and 1840s, more than 75 iron furnaces were in blast in the Blue Ridge and Shenandoah Valley (Figure 8.23), with a great deal of this activity in Botetourt and the surrounding counties (Russ, McDaniel, & Wood, 2000). Although some of the iron was refined in the region (mostly as tools for local farmers and artisans), most was exported through Lynchburg to the Tredager Iron Works in Richmond. The importance of the region's iron production to the South extended through the Civil War, when the Confederacy depended on iron shipments from Botetourt and Rockbridge counties, as well as adjacent Alleghany, Craig, and Bath counties for the manufacture of armaments (Russ et al., 2000). (See Appendix C for more details.)

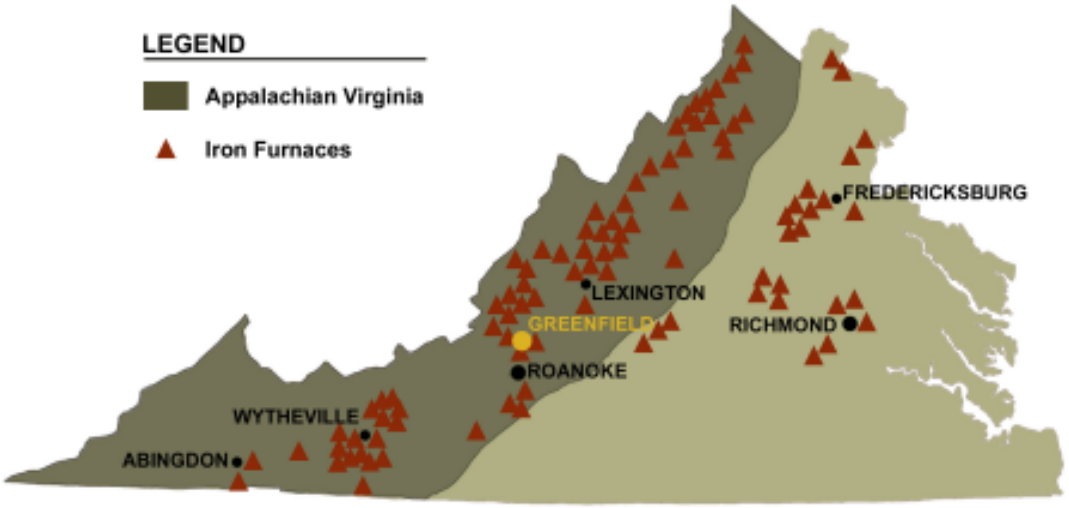

Figure 8.23. Iron furnaces and their attendant mining operations made a major impact on the landscape of Appalachian Virginia. Greenfield was located on the southern edge of one of the most important ore-producing regions in the state. (Data taken from Kuennecke et al., 1989)

These furnaces, and the supporting activities they required, left a distinct mark on the land. In addition to the mines dug into the mountain sides and the furnaces with their large stone stacks belching smoke, the iron operations diverted streams to supply water to the furnaces, quarried limestone for use in the smelting process, cut roads through the mountains to connect the various parts of their operations, and left behind vast slag piles (the lava-like residue of the smelting process) and smoldering charcoal pits used to convert wood into the charcoal needed to heat the furnaces. More than the smoke, heat, and noise produced in these operations, however, the dramatic deforestation that accompanied iron processing probably had the largest visible effect on the mountain landscape. Producing enough charcoal to fuel an iron furnace for a single day required about 1 acre of timber. On average, furnaces consumed 250-300 acres of hardwood forest per year (Russ et al., 2000). Most

likely, the 19th century view from Greenfield to the surrounding mountains would have revealed the prominence of industry in the region rather than an unspoiled sylvan wilderness.

In addition to the changes to the landscape itself, the iron industry also helped shape the characteristics of slavery in Appalachia. In addition to the coffles headed to the Deep South, the Great Road would likely have brought leased slaves heading to and from their yearlong assignments at the furnaces past Greenfield. The iron furnaces that proliferated the mountains of Virginia depended on slave labor to work around the clock and keep production rates high, and the practice of leasing slaves to this local industry for 12-month terms became common in the Appalachian South. Not only did this practice benefit the iron manufacturers who often faced labor shortages but it also allowed mountain masters to earn a profit on slaves they could not put to work on their own farms. Although for the slaves, this often meant separation from their families and exposure to dangerous work in the mines and furnaces, the widespread system of paying slaves directly for their frequent overtime work did allow some slaves to improve their own and their families' daily living conditions by supplementing their food and clothing allowances and in rare cases to eventually buy their freedom.

As the preceding discussion suggests, the unique history of the site offers numerous opportunities to carry forward important interpretive elements revealed in the historiographic research into the design phase. The site's history suggests a vehicle through which those interpretive elements can be woven into the interpretation rather than forced.