Rethinking the Role of the Landscape in Historic Interpretation

A Constructivist Design Approach
to Interpreting Slavery in Appalachian Virginia

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Abstract

This thesis explores how the landscape, or the physical environment in general, can play a more active, meaningful role in historical site interpretation for the public. It asserts that the landscape can serve not merely as a passive backdrop or stage set for interpretation but as an active tool for communicating important understandings about the past. To accomplish this, a constructivist approach to design—one that emphasizes the direct interaction between the individual visitor and the physical site as the origin of meaning—is presented. The Constructivist Design Approach (CDA) emphasizes the manipulation of form, scale, materials, and path to facilitate visitors’ physical, psychological, and emotional immersion in their environment. The CDA was developed from three research areas: an epistemological grounding in constructivism, ritual theory, and case studies of built works that promote the interaction of visitor and site.

Application of the CDA to historic site interpretation is explored through a conceptual design proposal for an Appalachian slavery interpretive complex in Southwestern Virginia, which interprets mountain slavery from the slaves’ perspective. Through their direct interaction with the landscape of the participatory living history interpretive grounds, visitors deepen their understanding of how mountain slaves perceived, moved through, and appropriated the landscape for their survival.

The design project indicates that the CDA can enhance the effectiveness of interpretive programs. It also reveals the importance of ongoing collaboration between landscape architects and historians throughout project development in order to achieve a physical site design that effectively incorporates and reflects interpretive content and objectives.
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Author’s Note

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# Table of Contents

**Title Page**

**Abstract**

**Acknowledgments**  iii

**Author’s Note**  iv

**Table of Contents**  v

**List of Figures**  vii

**Chapter 1. Introduction**  1

**Chapter 2. Objectives**  4

**Chapter 3. Methodology**  7

**Chapter 4. Articulating the Constructivist Design Approach**  11

  - Theoretical Framework  12
  - Ritual Theory  15
  - Site Design Precedents  23

**Chapter 5. Selecting an Interpretive Approach**  41

  - Historical Site Interpretation: Theory and Practice  42


**LIST OF FIGURES**

*Figure 4.1.* Basic diagram of ritual space.
*Figure 4.2.* Complex diagram of ritual space.
*Figure 4.3.* Book of names, Vietnam Veterans Memorial.
*Figure 4.4.* Children’s area, Oklahoma City National Memorial.
*Figure 4.5.* Atrium wall, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.
*Figure 4.6.* Three soldiers statue, Vietnam Memorial.
*Figure 4.7.* Path adjacent to cornfield, Conner Prairie.
*Figure 4.8.* Slot in atrium floor, Holocaust Museum.
*Figure 4.9.* Bronze gates, Oklahoma City Memorial.
*Figure 4.10.* Hall of Remembrance, Holocaust Museum.
*Figure 4.11.* View from Vietnam Memorial.
*Figure 4.12.* View from Holocaust Museum.
*Figure 4.13.* Glass bridge, Holocaust Museum.
*Figure 4.14.* Diagram of exhibit rhythm, Holocaust Museum.
*Figure 4.15.* Engraved names on Wall, Vietnam Memorial.
*Figure 4.16.* Tower of faces exhibit, Holocaust Museum.
*Figure 4.17.* Interpreter stop on Follow the North Star tour.
*Figure 4.18.* Path conditions, Follow the North Star.
*Figure 4.19.* Cattle car, Holocaust Museum.
*Figure 4.20.* Handprints on bronze gates, Oklahoma City Memorial.
*Figure 4.21.* Diagram of scale of spaces.
*Figure 4.22.* Reflective surface of granite wall, Vietnam Memorial.
*Figure 4.23.* Materials pallet, Holocaust Museum.
*Figure 4.24.* Warsaw Ghetto exhibit, Holocaust Museum.

*Figure 7.1.* Road access through Southwestern Virginia.
*Figure 7.2.* African-American history tourist destinations in and adjacent to Southwestern Virginia.
*Figure 7.3.* Location of potential sites for the Appalachian slavery interpretive complex.
*Figure 7.4.* Greenfield Plantation context map.

*Figure 8.1.* Main entry to Botetourt Center at Greenfield.
*Figure 8.2.* Site plan for Botetourt Center at Greenfield.
*Figure 8.3.* Aerial photograph of Greenfield site prior to construction.
*Figure 8.4.* Viewshed analysis of Greenfield site.
*Figure 8.5.* Example of view to be screened by enhancing existing vegetation.
*Figure 8.6.* Example of view to be screened by adding new vegetation.
*Figure 8.7.* Traffic noise analysis of Greenfield site.
*Figure 8.8.* Area of Greenfield site suitable for interpretive grounds based on viewshed and traffic noise analyses.
*Figure 8.9.* Existing conditions plan for Greenfield site.
*Figure 8.10.* Karst pasture land dominating Greenfield site.
*Figure 8.11.* Forested patch on Greenfield site.
*Figure 8.12.* Hedgerow adjacent to pasture on Greenfield site.
*Figure 8.13.* Creek with shallow banks on Greenfield site.
*Figure 8.14.* Creek with steep banks on Greenfield site.
Figure 8.15. Present condition of Greenfield slave quarters.  
Figure 8.16. Present condition of Dower kitchen.  
Figure 8.17. Stone foundations of German bank barn on Dower farmstead.  
Figure 8.18. Road trace on Greenfield site.  
Figure 8.19. Greenfield big house in the 1950s.  
Figure 8.20. Dower big house in 1947.  
Figure 8.21. Context map of 19th century Greenfield.  
Figure 8.22. Slave coffle headed south along Great Valley Road.  
Figure 8.23. Distribution of iron furnaces in Virginia in the mid 1800s.

Figure 9.1. Proposed site plan for Appalachian slavery interpretive complex.  
Figure 9.2. Diagram of education center contents by floor.  
Figure 9.3. Perspective of entry to education center.  
Figure 9.4. Diagram of spatial organization of ground floor exhibit area in education center.  
Figure 9.5. Diagram of circumambulating ritual path.  
Figure 9.6. Diagram of spatial organization of lower floor exhibit area in education center.  
Figure 9.7. Diagram of path through ground floor exhibit space in education center.  
Figure 9.8. Diagram of path through lower floor exhibit space in education center.  
Figure 9.9. Use of life-size photographs in Holocaust Museum exhibits.  
Figure 9.10. Use of television monitors in Holocaust Museum exhibits.  
Figure 9.11. Proposed daytime interpreter posts at the Appalachian slavery interpretive complex.  
Figure 9.12. Placement of structures along the interpretive grounds loop road.  
Figure 9.13. Placement of landscape elements along the interpretive complex loop road.  
Figure 9.14. Diagram of spheres of surveillance along the interpretive complex loop road.  
Figure 9.15. Rhythm of experience along interpretive complex loop road.  
Figure 9.16. Traditional snake fencing used in interpretive grounds.  
Figure 9.17. Modest log cabin typical of 19th century Appalachia.  
Figure 9.18. Degrees of spatial enclosure experienced in the interpretive grounds.  
Figure 9.19. Nighttime tour route and interpretive posts.  
Figure 9.20. Score for spheres of surveillance.  
Figure 9.21. Score for physical obstructions to views of the road.  
Figure 9.22. Composite score for exhaustion.  
Figure 9.23. Score for appropriation of landscape forms.

Figure A-1. U.S. Holocaust Museum entrance.  
Figure A-2. Eisenhower Plaza at Holocaust Museum.  
Figure A-3. Oklahoma City National Memorial.  
Figure A-4. Wide view of Vietnam Memorial.  
Figure A-5. Entry to Conner Prairie Museum Center.  
Figure A-6. Structures used in Follow the North Star program at Conner Prairie.
Figure C-1. Appalachian region of Virginia.

Figure C-2. Slave populations of Virginia in 1860 as a percentage of the total population for each county.

Figure C-3. Slave population in Virginia by county in 1860 as a percentage of the total adult labor force available in each county.

Figure C-4. Types of agricultural production in Virginia by region in the 1800s.

Figure C-5. Transportation routes through Virginia in the 1850s.

Figure C-6. Slave trading routes in America, 1830-1850.

Figure C-7. Slave coffle crossing the New River along the Great Valley Road.

Figure C-8. Traveler’s depiction of a slave auction at Christiansburg, Virginia, in 1853.

Figure C-9. Distribution of iron furnaces in Virginia in the mid 1800s.

Figure C-10. Distribution of antebellum springs resorts through Virginia (including West Virginia) in the 1800s.

Figure C-11. Slave dance at White Sulphur Springs.
The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes, but in having new eyes.

— Marcel Proust, “The Captive,” Remembrance of Things Past
INTRODUCTION
Elegant plantation homes, tobacco and cotton fields stretching to the horizon, smoke billowing from the hard-working furnaces at the iron forges, trains hurrying goods to market along newly laid tracks, finely dressed ladies and gentlemen spending the summer social season strolling the paths at the many springs resorts of the region. This was the landscape of wealth and power in the antebellum South—a landscape carved out of the wilderness by the economic ambitions of the region’s planters and entrepreneurs.

Yet this Southern landscape, which so dramatically reflected the prosperity and authority of the landed gentry, was also the landscape in which slaves lived and labored. Indeed, slaves left their mark on virtually every tobacco leaf harvested, every load of pig iron sent to market, every plantation house or resort guest room. But despite their integral role in the creation and maintenance of the Southern lifestyle, slaves were also marginal to it—interlopers needed but ignored, at once conspicuous and invisible amid scenes of Southern wealth and leisure.

Slave and master shared the same physical landscape, but inhabited it very differently. Whereas the wealthy overtly appropriated and altered the landscape to preserve and perpetuate their way of life, slaves had to adapt to the existing landscape in order to survive. This is not to say that slaves were passive in their use of the landscape or that they failed to make their mark on it—merely that their ability to overtly shape it was severely limited by their socioeconomic and legal position. Instead, slaves often relied on subtle and temporary appropriations of the landscape—a shortcut through the woods to avoid a slave patrol on the main road, the branch of a tree at the edge of the forest bent to show the way to a clandestine church meeting, corn stolen from a master’s unattended fields. Indeed, their successful use of the landscape often hinged on the invisibility of their interventions.

Although marginalized not only in terms of their social, economic, and legal status but also in terms of their position in the landscape, slaves turned this invisibility to their advantage. Instead of accepting their peripheral position in the landscape as yet another symbol of their powerlessness, they exploited this position as a tool for their daily survival and sometimes even for their liberation. Slaves routinely hid out in the woods just beyond their masters’ farms to avoid a whipping, supplemented their meager food allowances by stealing from masters’ unpatrolled chicken coops or milk houses, and hugged the margins of plantations and towns as they attempted to make their way to freedom in the North. Through their fleeting appropriations at the margins of the Southern landscape, slaves were able to exploit and subvert the Southern power structure—often without the knowledge of those in power. They made a life in the places the planters forgot or ignored.

Master and slave engaged the same physical landscape. What differed was their understanding of their place in that landscape, as determined by their socioeconomic status, and the types of uses this position both permitted and prohibited. Given their marginal status in the world of Southern gentry, slaves developed a unique way of using and moving through the landscape. In essence, they found a way to make a landscape that declared the power of the white elite also speak for them. But rather than roar in broad daylight, it whispered in secret mountain hollows, in dark forests, and along the unseen edges of a master’s fields.

The goal of this thesis, most simply, is to explore how that almost silent voice can speak to modern ears—how the slave’s understanding of the landscape and his place in it can be com-
municated in a meaningful way to a contemporary American population whose own attitudes toward the landscape often more closely resembles that of the Southern gentry. As such, it is most concerned with not what we see but how we see it.

This thesis explores the active use of the landscape itself as an interpretive tool for communicating slaves’ relationship to the landscape in terms of their appropriation of it and movement through it. It restricts its interpretive focus to the nature and landscape of Appalachian slavery in Southwestern Virginia, a context much different from the conditions of slavery elsewhere in South. Instead of the vast numbers of slaves toiling in the expansive cotton and sugar fields of the Deep South or the tobacco fields of the coastal regions, Appalachian slaves worked salt ponds and iron furnaces in the mountains of the region, waited on the Southern gentry taking the cure at the region’s resort springs, and were herded on foot down the Great Valley Road to the slave markets of the Deep South. Instead of making for the swamps or large cities of the coastal regions, runaway slaves made for the dark hollows and forest cover of the mountains, sometimes with mounted slave patrols in pursuit. Although the phenomenon of the slave’s appropriation of the landscape was consistent throughout the South, its expression in Appalachian Virginia—like the expression of slavery itself in the region—was uniquely influenced by the nature of the mountain landscape. Through the development of an Appalachian slavery interpretive complex in Southwest Virginia, this thesis explores one approach to interpreting this landscape of mountain slavery from the slave’s perspective.
OBJECTIVES
The goal of this thesis project is to explore how the landscape or physical environment can play a more active and meaningful role in the interpretation of historical conditions, sites, or events for the public. More specifically, it asserts that a constructivist approach to design—one that emphasizes the interaction between the individual visitor and the physical site environment as the origin of meaningful experience—can evoke a new understanding of history.

The Constructivist Design Approach, as the term is used here, is based on the premise that meaning and insight develop through the individual’s interaction with his physical environment, be it a building, an outdoor landscape, or any other tangible object. Although a constructivist approach to landscape architecture has the potential to improve any design project—from park to playground to parking lot—this thesis explores the application of this approach to the field of historic site interpretation—specifically, the interpretation of slavery in Appalachian Virginia. It asserts that the landscape can serve not as a passive, period-appropriate backdrop for interpretation, but as an active agent in the process of interpretation that offers site visitors a more profound and meaningful understanding of the past.

This thesis explores the validity of such a Constructivist Design Approach in historic interpretation through a proposal for an interpretive complex for slavery in Appalachian Virginia. This complex, consisting of an indoor education center and approximately 120 acres of interpretive grounds, focuses on interpreting the unique conditions of slavery in the mountain region of Virginia from 1800 to the beginning of the Civil War in 1861.

Three interpretive program components are proposed in order to offer educational experiences with a variety of emphases. These components are:

- indoor education center
- self-guided daytime walks on the interpretive grounds
- guided nighttime tour on the interpretive grounds

Although each interpretive component offers a different type of experience, they are all grounded in the Constructivist Design Approach, and thus focus on the experience of the individual visitor in his or her immediate environment as the locus from which historical understandings emerge. The three interpretive components, in the order listed above, offer increasing levels of involvement with the environment through the manipulation of the level of immersion the visitor has in the interpretive experience. Immersion is here defined as the ability of the visitor to interact with the immediate environment unmediated by or unfiltered through his or her identity as a present-day visitor.

**Education Center.** Through its physical layout and exhibit content and presentation, the indoor education center is designed to inform visitors about the nature of 19th century slavery in the Appalachian South and the various forms of resistance with which slaves responded, as well as the physical landscape’s role in both. Although its structure and content are designed to encourage visitors to immerse themselves in the interpretive experience through their interaction with the indoor environment and exhibit content, the visitor’s consciousness of his or her identity as a 21st century tourist is always present. Within the center, visitors are essentially onlookers into the lives of slaves. This emotionally and intellectually more distant vantage point facilitates the education center’s goal of providing visitors with an understanding of the larger context of Appalachian slavery.
**Guided Nighttime Tour.** At the other end of the spectrum of immersion, the nighttime tour seeks to eliminate the participants’ consciousness of their modern identity as well as all indications of the modern world as a filtering device that mediates the visitors’ experiences of their environment. They are asked to travel through the landscape as runaway slaves and see the world through their eyes. Although the tour follows a set route and storyline, visitors are not aware of this. They are called on by their guides to make decisions—based on the information they learned in the education center—about how to move through the interpretive grounds in response to the physical landscape conditions and costumed interpreters (both helpful and hostile) they encounter.

**Self-Guided Daytime Walks.** In contrast to the nighttime tour, the self-guided daytime walks give visitors more freedom to set their own route through the interpretive landscape and to determine their level of immersion in the experience. As in the nighttime tour, visitors are asked to adopt the role of a runaway (and one of several scenarios) as they move through the landscape. They are given a field guide that reiterates the strategies used by runaways to move through the landscape undetected and provides warnings about potential dangers they may encounter on their walk. The walks through the interpretive grounds take visitors into a rural landscape typical of the Mountain South in the first half of the 19th century. The grounds are animated by interpreters in such roles as fellow slaves, farmers, overseers, and slave patrollers, as well as by other visitors following other scenarios. Visitors themselves determine the route they take, how long they walk, and whether to interact with the interpreters and other visitors, thus controlling their level of immersion.

In order to best prepare visitors for their outdoor experiences, daytime visitors must work their way through the education center exhibits before embarking on the self-guided walks. Participants in the nighttime tour are given a guided tour through the education center exhibits. With these three levels of participation, a wide array of experiences is available to visitors. But all are designed with the intent of providing historical understandings through personal interaction with the environment.
METHODOLOGY
The methodology used to accomplish the thesis objectives is as follows:

Articulating the Constructivist Design Approach

The following investigations were conducted in order to derive and describe this design approach as a set of Constructivist Design Attitudes and Interventions:

• Theoretical Framework
  At its heart, this thesis is concerned with developing an approach to design that encourages meaningful experiences for site users. As such, it was necessary as a first step to establish a firm grounding in epistemology, the study of the origin of knowledge or meaning. Three basic theories (constructivism, objectivism, and subjectivism) were examined in order to develop a theoretical grounding with the most potential for a designer seeking to create meaningful places.

• Ritual Theory
  This study examined ritual as a constructivist event—an instance in which the physical environment and the physical and cognitive activities of the individual combine to produce a meaningful experience. In other words, emphasis was placed on the design of ritual spaces and the relationship between these physical spaces and the psychological or emotional effects they produced in ritual participants. Underlying this study was the assumption that visits to historic sites or interpretive centers are themselves ritual events, in the sense that their ultimate goal is the transformation of the individual in terms of his understanding of the world and his place in it.

• Site Design Precedents
  This study looked at built works that exhibit constructivist design objectives; that is, they promote the visitor’s physical, psychological, or emotional involvement with the physical environment as a vehicle for enriching visitors’ experiences. Given the ultimate goal of applying the Constructivist Design Approach to the field of historical interpretation, all sites selected commemorated or interpreted a historical event or phenomena. Data for the studies were taken from site visits and personal interviews, published interviews with the designers, and written critiques of the places, as available.

Selecting an Interpretive Approach

The following research was conducted in order to apply the Constructivist Design Approach to the field of historical site interpretation:

• Historical Site Interpretation Theory and Practices
  This study reviewed interpretation techniques, past and present, and the theory that informs them. Emphasis, again, was placed on visitor interaction with the physical environment as a vehicle for accomplishing educational goals. Based on the research into the field of historic interpretation, participatory interpretation was selected as the approach most suited to a constructivist design approach. The objective of participatory interpretation is to allow visitors to learn about the past by experiencing it directly. Rather than observers, visitors become participants in historical reenactments or dramas through techniques such as role-play. Like the Constructivist Design Approach, it is predicated on the notion that understanding
develops through the individual’s direct involvement with his or her immediate environment.

Establishing Interpretive Content

With the Constructivist Design Approach articulated and the interpretive approach identified, historiographic research into the project-specific subject matter was conducted in order to develop guiding design concepts and a palette of the interpretive content elements from which to draw during the development of the physical site design and the interpretive program:

- Historiographic Research
  The development of any historical interpretation program must be grounded in rigorous research into the historiographic record. A series of research questions were developed to focus and guide the historiographic research into Appalachian slavery. These research questions emerged from the design and interpretive approaches selected earlier, as well as from the general educational goals and interpretive structure previously established for the interpretive center. These decisions necessitated the development of research questions emphasizing the slave’s interaction with or relationship to the landscape. Two research methods—a content analysis of runaway slave narratives and a literature review of recent scholarship on Appalachian slavery—were adopted to best address the research questions. Appendixes B and C provide the results of the historiographic research.

  The results of this research provided an understanding of Appalachian slavery that informed the remainder of the thesis process in several ways. The research contributed to the establishment of a set of site selection criteria based on the physical features of the site important to the development of an effective interpretive landscape. Ultimately, the results of the historiographic research formed the basis of both the proposed interpretive program and the design of the proposed interpretive center. Once a site was selected and design development began, however, some of these interpretive content elements revealed through the research were eliminated as the constraints and characteristics of the site dictated.

Working With the Land: Site-Specific Application

- Site Selection
  The development of site selection criteria was based on consideration of three factors: the results of the historiographic research, the Constructivist Design Approach, and the requirements for a successful tourist destination.

- Site Inventory and Analysis
  A thorough inventory and analysis of the chosen site was conducted using the site selection criteria previously established for the proposed interpretive center as a guide. The inventory and analysis encompassed both the existing and antebellum conditions of the site. The results of the inventory and analysis revealed opportunities to adapt the interpretive program and site design to the chosen site and in this way strengthened the integration of the site and interpretive program.

- Site Development Proposal
  Synthesis of the above material resulted in a proposal for an interpretive complex for Appalachian slavery. The proposal
consists of a conceptual design for an indoor education center and a 120-acre outdoor interpretive area that presents an interpretation of an 1850s rural Appalachian landscape based on the historiographic research into Appalachian land uses of this era and of the particular site selected. It is important to note that this proposed landscape is not intended to replicate the antebellum landscape that existed on the particular site selected or that of any other particular site. Instead, it is a newly created landscape intentionally designed to support the interpretive strategies and goals of the complex while also providing visitors with an internally coherent landscape in terms of the types of land uses and elements depicted, their siting in the landscape, and their interrelationships—all mediated by the physical characteristics of the site. The design proposal calls for the three levels of interpretation: an indoor education center and outdoor self-guided daytime walks and a nighttime tour.