VALUE BASED DESIGN OF FORMER SOUTHEASTERN PLANTATIONS USING MILLWAY PLANTATION AS A RESEARCH SITE

by

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(Under the Direction of Marianne Cramer)

ABSTRACT

Former Southeastern Plantations are landscapes that suffer from unique challenges in the modern cultural environment. The land-use of these sites have changed over time to respond to different needs, but recently many of these sites have started to decline due to their inability to support themselves economically today. They retain cultural stories that represent value for current peoples and thus warrant intervention to save that cultural legacy. To better explore revitalization options for these landscape types in the present, this thesis will explore historic events, cultural values, and stakeholder input to create a process that applies "value" as a design framework on one particular site called Millway Plantation in rural South Carolina. This framework was used to create and evaluate conceptual plans that redefine what Millway could productively be for present peoples.

INDEX WORDS: landscape architecture, value-based design, plantation, Millway Plantation, word cloud, historic preservation

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the peoples that have supported Millway from its conception to present day. This includes members of the Harrison, Cothran, Perrin, and Chiles families that are blood related to the site, but also includes families such as the Goodes, Widemans, Watsons, Lecroys, and Harveys that have brought life and love to the greater Millway area. This community is special in that "family" has greater meaning than blood relationship. Family describes people whom you grew up with and whom you hold in high regard professionally, ethically, and emotionally. Millway would be worthless without each and every person that has left their mark on this special site. For this I would like to thank the greater Millway Family.

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I would also like to thank my parents, most of all my mother who has spent many hours reading over and editing this thesis. I would not have survived without their support and encouragement throughout the process. I would also like to thank my peers and classmates at the College of Environment and Design, without whom the last three years would not have been as exciting and full of fond memories. The friendships we forged here are sure to last a lifetime.

Finally, I would like to thank the doctors and staff at Piedmont Athens Regional Medical Center for quickly and effectively caring for me during my surprise appendectomy a week before this thesis was due. Without their decisive action this thesis as well as my life would have been in jeopardy.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Across the Southeastern United States hundreds of regionally and locally significant plantation sites are falling into decline. For many reasons, owners that have held on to the land for several generations are finding themselves unable to continue ownership. Although many plantation landscapes in their current use patterns have declining economic value, this thesis asserts that these landscapes associate with other equally important values that should be preserved. Further, this thesis will attempt to prove that these other values can be the very generators to rethink the use patterns of these contested landscapes in the 21st century.

Today plantation landscapes have different associations for different groups of people. Some associate former plantations with the oppression of antebellum slavery, while others see them as homesteads filled with pleasant memories of working and playing together on the land. This division has created a landscape in purgatory - truly contested landscapes, unable to find their place in the present and presenting an uncertain future. For better or worse, plantation landscapes do hold stories that record the events through their history and they are important to tell and retell.

In the quest to find ways that plantation landscapes can move into the future with both their economic and other values intact, landscape architects can play an important role. The profession is trained to work with stakeholders to create possibilities for new land uses while taking into consideration the value sets of those involved. Landscape architects can ask the "What if" questions, difficult for the owners themselves to generate. This thesis argues that landscape architects have the skills to preserve these cultural landscape stories while making

them economically sustainable for a wide range of stakeholders. This thesis focuses on one site - Millway Plantation; however, it is the hope of the author that this exploration can be used by other owners of similar sites to generate possibilities for a new future for the land.

Problem Statement

When evaluating cultural landscapes and their associated structures for recognition by historic registers, certain elements qualify them for designation. These include age, integrity, and significance. Age answers the question as to whether the site is old enough to be considered, integrity evaluates if the site retains the elements original to the property's era of importance, and significance judges whether the site is associated with events, activities, or people that were important to the past (Sprinkle 2014). Designation can be very important to the economic value of plantation landscapes. Lack of physical integrity means these plantation landscapes cannot be recognized as historic landmarks. Designation may provide valuable funding for their upkeep and potentially provide new use as a tourist destination. Even if these plantation landscapes are only of value to current and future family members, neighbors, and community members they are worthy of a reboot that preserves that value and also offers new possibilities for economic survival.

On the other hand, all of the negatives associated with failing to reach designation status could potentially present an opportunity of reuse unencumbered by the traditional preservation methods - more specifically using possible value sets to plan for possible future use. Although many of the physical elements associated with Millway's past are no longer present, stories of the land and the people are still told and people still value the land for more than its economic value. The question becomes, if current value for the land is thought of in more than economic terms, how would a landscape architect go about gathering and

using those values to create new value? For this thesis, value will be defined as the relative "worth and importance" of something to a specific individual. Historic houses and roadways are tangible; values are intangible, but could they be represented in such a way that continues family and community involvement with the land and economic viability for the owners? This thesis set out to see if this is possible by answering the question: *How can landscape architects transform former plantations through value-based design to make them economically and culturally viable in present day?*

Supporting questions used to guide this research include: What are common layers of plantation history that these landscapes share? How are economically successful plantation landscapes valued today? What does Millway's layered story share with the successful case studies? What Millway-specific values can be brought forward to inform a future design? What could a value-based design look like at Millway?

Objectives and Justification

This research provides the opportunity to repurpose and revitalize declining former plantation sites. Using this viewpoint, these former plantations can contribute to cultural progress rather than being economic and social sinks as they are now (Almeida et al. 2016, Dunmore 2000). This thesis topic emerges at the nexus of cultural landscape preservation, social issues, architecture, land-use, economics, ecology, and design. This multifaceted topic warrants a Landscape Architect's analysis, one that can incorporate all of these disciplines required to create a cohesive value driven response to modern values. This thesis explores one method to determine these values, using them to formulate concept plans. The goal is to use family and community values to create possibilities to produce economic stability for the current owners.

Economic stability in this context would begin with the ability of land use to pay yearly taxes to actually providing a profit.

Across the American South many plantations have important stories and events that are left untold and forgotten because their physical evidence does not warrant public protection (Sprinkle 2014). The need is there to find a way to repurpose their value in new ways so that interaction can take place with current peoples. Design based on a site's current cultural value is a way to respond to present social needs, address site specific history, and make a place economically marketable today without relying solely on existing historical elements. This research will add to a very small body of knowledge pertaining to plantation land currently used for anything other than historic feature preservation or agricultural production (Dehai 2007, Dunlap 1997). The possible solutions here focus instead on preserving the intangible cultural value of the place through tangible design. So often our culture discards the old for the new, but there is real opportunity to tap into these sites rich and complex values to rejuvenate the "old" into the "new".

Limitations and Delimitations

All of the people directly associated with the early site history have died and thus direct source interviews will be limited to passed-down stories. This introduces error into the process, even though testimonials of those living are valuable. Additionally, time to collect this data, scheduling conflicts, agreement to participation, and time to process the resulting data limited the total number of interviews to 11 participants. Future research, if given more time, could explore a broader subject pool in terms of total number, and diversity within a population. It should also be noted that the Millway Plantation site being evaluated and planned for in this thesis is the author's extended family's homestead that has been credited as the source point of the Bradley

and Troy, South Carolina, branch of the Harrison bloodline to which the author belongs. This perspective presents a bias on the author's part, but also offers personal investment in the success of this plan in that it may directly influence whether the authors family can continue ownership of the land.

There is limited source material pertaining to new design as an interpretive tool to express value in relation to historic sites. As such, some of the information gathered will be a synthesis of different examples that relate to different geographic areas and academic disciplines. Additionally, this thesis will focus on the land and how it was used more than assigning blame to historical practices such as colonization and slavery. That being said, the issue of slavery is important and inescapable with this landscape type in the present, and will be acknowledged when speaking to current controversy over these landscapes. The final conceptual designs at the conclusion of this thesis only reflect notions of possible use, and are not intended to be a final plan for the site. It should also be noted that the conceptual design and individual value conclusions will pertain only to Millway and the community associated with it, but the methodology expressed here is meant to be implemented by other site owners to define their former plantation's value and possible future use.

Methodologies and Chapter Summaries

For this thesis, interpretative and descriptive strategies were employed to evaluate the information required to create conceptual designs. Both strategies can be applied to historical research in the field of Landscape Architecture (Deming and Swaffield 2011).

This thesis begins in Chapter Two with interpretative historiography research. This was done with historic archival research to obtain documentation and proof of shared history between former plantation sites as a whole. Additionally, in Chapter Two descriptive case study research

was then used to validate that former plantations have been able to become successful and stable sites based on their present value. This chapter examines trends that shaped the former plantation landscapes as a whole, provides examples of values that case study plantations have used successfully, and explores design lessons used for conceptual plan analysis.

In Chapter Three, interpretative strategies such as interpretative historic research were used to provide historical parallels between Millway and other former plantations as well as site specific stories that influenced Millway. Chapter Three also uses complex description to compare case study research to the findings of Millway's past. This chapter provides Millway's historical change of economic use and value, unique stories of the people that lived there, justification for Millway's use as a research site, and design lessons used for conceptual plan analysis.

After forming this strong foundation of common and site-specific knowledge, descriptive social survey research was used in Chapter Four to conduct interviews with different stakeholders connected with Millway. These interviews included peoples who are connected to the site through family ties and community membership. This methodology, described in detail in this Chapter Four, yielded specific values associated with the site that informed categorization of Millway's present cultural value.

Using the specific value areas and specific suggestions for future use from the interviews, Chapter Five uses projective design to understand what value-based design might look like at Millway. These conceptual designs use the information gathered from previous chapters including the case study findings, site specific findings, and values from participant interviews to form three possibilities that respond to areas of Millway's specific value. These designs were

then evaluated for success based on lessons learned from each previous chapter, and conclusions reached from that evaluation.

Chapter Six concludes the thesis by summarizing the research process answering research questions, explaining the research process, and proposing future research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PLANTATION LANDSCAPE

Many former plantation landscapes are not economically viable today. Those that are have been able to find new uses to revalue the land. Many of these retrofits result in preservation of the cultural history associated with them. This causes a reduction in the danger of losing cultural history and stories shared between the families and the surrounding community. Both economically successful and unsuccessful former plantations share a broadly similar global and national history that defined the course they would take to the present.

Methods

Using interpretative historical research, this chapter will explore that common history and point out changes in the use and value over time. Additionally, case studies of economically successful former plantations will be explored to understand their current value. This information then will be used as a working base in understanding Millway's opportunities and constraints in Chapter Three. This chapter seeks to answer the following questions. What are common layers of plantation history that these landscapes share? How are economically successful plantation landscapes valued today?

Layers of Plantation History

The plantation landscape was a model of large-scale farming. In this application, a plantation can be generally defined as, "a large landed estate, located in an area of open resources, in which social relations between diverse racial or cultural groups are based upon authority, involving the subordination of resident laborers to a planter for the purpose of producing an agricultural staple which is sold in a world market," as defined by Franz Boas in

1894 (Thompson 2010). This historical definition describes the physical economic structure of these sites as they originally operated. These plantations in the antebellum Southeastern United States relied heavily on African slave labor for large agricultural production before the American Civil War. “Former plantations” in this academic paper describe these same lands in the present day that no longer operate in this same fashion. Former plantations share a common distinct history that have informed what they have become in the present. These layered time periods are covered in brief below.

Origins of Plantation Agriculture 1500s-1770s

The European North American model of plantations was first created by the Portuguese in 1532 along the Brazilian coast in conjunction with colonization settlements (Stearns 1999). This system was based on sugar cane production first using Native American slaves, then transitioning to African ones as these cane plantations expanded into the West Indies. This was the model that was eventually adopted by English colonists who settled along the Atlantic Coast of what is now the United States. Plantation agriculture was first adopted in The Chesapeake and the Carolinas in the latter half of the 1600s (Thompson 2010). The proximity of large rivers and deep-water ports provided coastal plantations reliable trade outlets with the rest of the world and led to increased demand for plantation goods. This spurred the slave trade and further expansions into Native American territory over the next 200 years (Bartram 2002).

Since the plantation landscape developed over a 300+ year period covering a broad geographic and climactic area, differences exist regarding agriculture, treatment of the land, and architectural styles among cultures. A comparison between the Spanish/Portuguese and the English styles can be reviewed in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Comparison between Spanish/Portuguese and English Plantations

	Start	Location	Architectural style	Climate	Primary Crops	Slaves
Spanish/ Portuguese	1530s	West Indies, Florida, Central America, South America	Mission	Tropical	Sugar Cane	Native Americans, Africans
English	1660s	Atlantic Coast of North America	Classical	Sub-Tropical, Temperate	Rice, Indigo, Tobacco	Africans

(Niell 2013, Thompson 2010, von Brandis 2012).

Due to the aggressive agricultural use of the land during this period, large amounts of forests and prairies were cleared for crop production. This practice stripped the soil of its beneficial nutritional and structural properties and created the foundation for productivity and environmental consequences that continue into the present (Giesen 2011).

The Antebellum Era 1780s -1860s

After the American Revolution, plantation landscapes expanded into the interior of the country. These plantation typologies can be subdivided into Atlantic Coast, Piedmont, and Gulf Coast. These distinct areas can be seen in (Figure 2.1).

Atlantic Coast Plantation landowners continued to operate in a similar manner as the English before them, except expanding in size and adding cotton to their crop palette. As settlement moved westward, plantations began to appear in the Piedmont during the early 1800s. These Piedmont Plantations eventually covered an area ranging from the fall line to the Appalachian Mountains. They were characterized by smaller enslaved labor forces, more modest "farm-house" style architecture, and initially smaller acreage. Their primary crop was cotton, but they did not have the same connections to transportation as the large plantation operations on the coast.

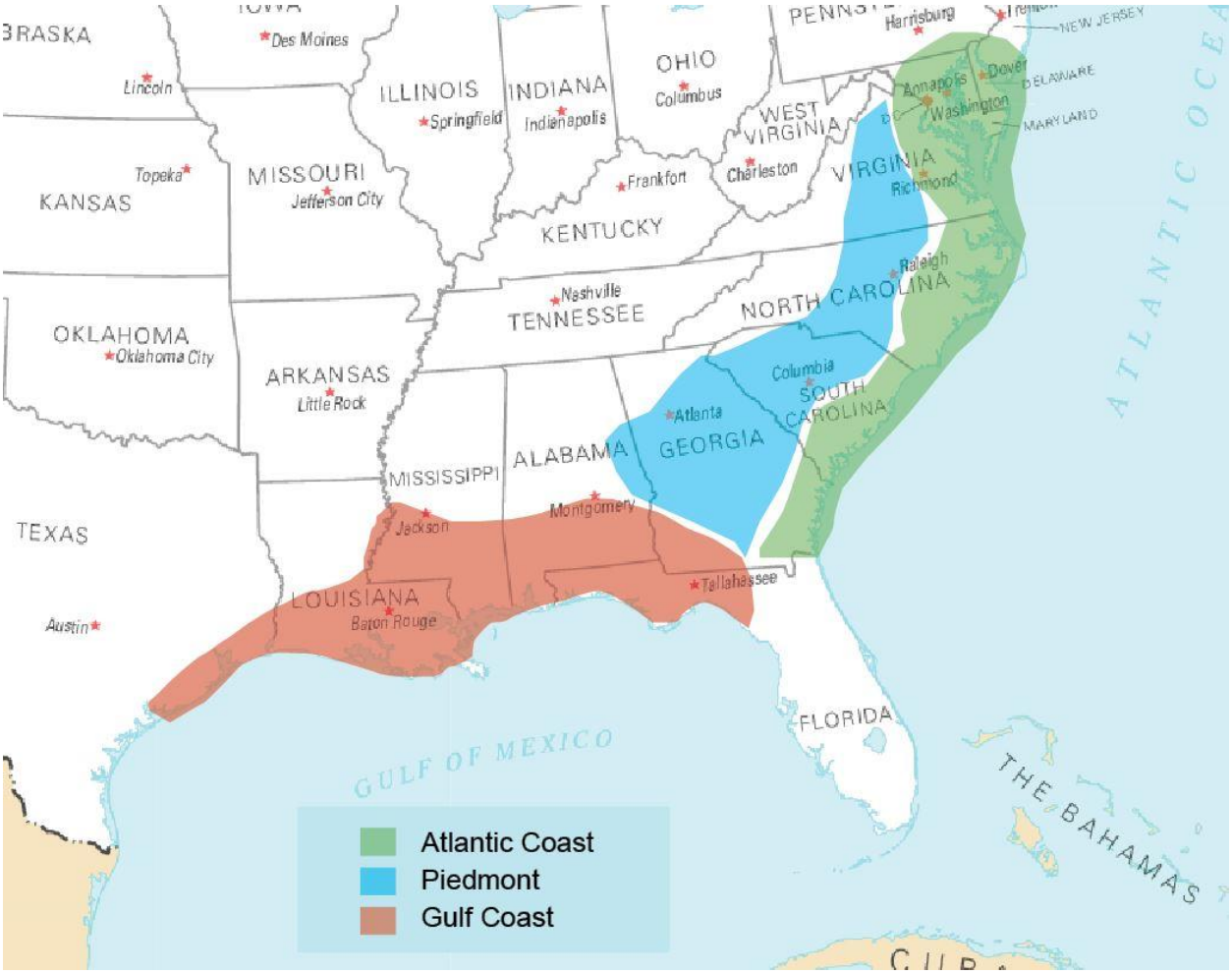


Figure 2.1: American plantation styles approximate geographic locations. (Ellis 2010)

The architype of the "American Plantation" that is known today through Vivian Leigh's book *Gone with the Wind*, originated in the Gulf Coast in the 1830's as a result of changing tastes in architecture. Having direct access to water travel, plantations in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana flourished with large Greek Revival wraparound columned porches and a staggering amount of poorly treated slave labor (Warren 2003). At this time, the value of the land was based largely on its money producing productivity.

Postbellum and Reconstruction Era 1865- 1920s

Regardless of the regional differences, the plantation agriculture system collapsed after the American Civil War ended in 1865. Slavery was abolished throughout the re-unified United States via the 13th amendment to the Constitution (Link 2015). The physical damage of war and loss of an unpaid labor force led to the eventual decline of this agriculture system.

There was an era of transition, however, that utilized sharecroppers as a means to continue to farm the land. This era extended from 1865 to the 1920s in some areas of the South (Stanton 1990). This system allowed land owners to retain their acreage and allowed people, typically ex-slaves or poor whites, to farm it and trade a portion of their harvest for the rights to live and farm on that parcel of land (Harrison 2018). Eventually, technological advancements which produced farming machines and industrialization job growth, as well as the invasion of the Boll Weevil, a cotton pest that decimated 70% of southern crops from 1890 to 1920, forced an end to sharecropping (Gieson 2011). While this may have been a good thing by current social standards, the ripples from this and other compounding effects from the Civil War left much of the South far more impoverished than the rest of the country leading into The Great Depression in 1929 (Gieson 2011). This left the land abandoned and without its former value as a money producing production site.

Many homes, regardless of whether they were located in Atlantic Coast, Piedmont, or Gulf Coast were being renovated with large Greek Revival facades similar to the *Gone with the Wind* architype mentioned previously with wraparound porches and temple-like white columns. This style was in vogue at the time. This style can be seen in popular films such as *Birth of a Nation* in 1915 as well (Barker 2018). Although completely historically inaccurate, it was a style that came aesthetically into vogue due to racially and politically driven social tensions of the

time. This time frame is also known as the "Jim Crow" era in which southern Whites resisted equality of former African slaves and their offspring in America (Link 2015). It has been debated that this style was adapted to glorify antebellum plantation features such as the grand plantation home as a result of Jim Crow thought. However, it is impossible to say if individual home owners harbored these nefarious beliefs or if they just wanted their home to be in style with then current trends, and it is a question outside the delimitations of this thesis.

Diversification in the 20th Century 1920s- Present

Seeing the change in the markets, some landowners, often the descendants of the original owners, sought to transition into new economic markets. Some chose leisure services such as golf courses or hunt clubs, but many chose to explore long-term farming opportunities (Buchko 1977). Much of the east coast had been extensively logged between colonization and the antebellum era, and timber was in high demand. Pine is a tree that grows quickly and could tolerate the poor soil conditions created from previous generations of farming practices (Zhao 2007). Many former plantations transitioned to growing pine for lumber and other wood production, again giving the land economic value to the owners. At first, harvesting was done by cutting select trees out of a planted forest, but this practice would transition to clear-cutting tracts of land once all of the trees reach maturity. This clear-cutting practice has remained the most common practice in present day, although setbacks such as the Southern Pine Beetle, alternative building materials, and rising production costs have forced some owners to subdivide the land for housing or commercial developments to gain economic income (Clarke 2009).

Layers of Plantation History Conclusions

Former plantations parallel and interact with histories of westward expansion, slavery, architecture, agriculture, social movements, and income diversification. Several times in history

plantation landscapes have encountered problems with race, war, economic value, and pests that have affected their value and use. These elements accumulated over the past centuries and give former plantations historical significance as cultural landscapes worthy of preservation.

This layered history emphasizes the economic value of plantations throughout their development. Historically, their economic purpose has determined their conception, operation, growth, and changed use. Today the land does not have the same economic value as the past. Ecologically, repeated deforestation has removed natural forests and prairies for large monoculture agriculture including historically annual crops, and currently for timber producing species such as pine. Due to their large areas of contiguous land, many sites have shifted to different money producing operations including leisure services, commercial/urban development, or timber production.

Case Studies were chosen based on criteria discovered from this background research.

Successful Former Plantations Today

The following case studies evaluate well known former plantations that fit criteria taken from the previous section. The Case Studies chosen were required to 1) be a former plantation site, 2) have had a period of neglect, 3) have interesting historical/cultural significance, 4) be economically successful now, and 5) not be at risk of falling into disrepair and decay. The sites chosen were Augusta National Golf Course, Botany Bay Plantation, Adelia at Old Goodwood, Clemson University, and Wormsloe Plantation. Their geographic locations can be viewed below in Figure 2.2.

The case studies will be evaluated on four values based on D.W. Meinig's 1976 "Beholding Eye" (Meinig 1976). These values are Beauty, Function, Capital, and Nostalgia. Beauty represents the value placed on appearance, Function represents the value of use, Capital

represents the value of money, and Nostalgia represents the value of memory within a site. Wormsloe had been included because, similarly to Millway Plantation, the original Family still owns the plantation and immediate grounds. Meinig originally utilized ten perceptions of landscape to describe "Ten Versions of the Same Scene" (Meinig 1976).

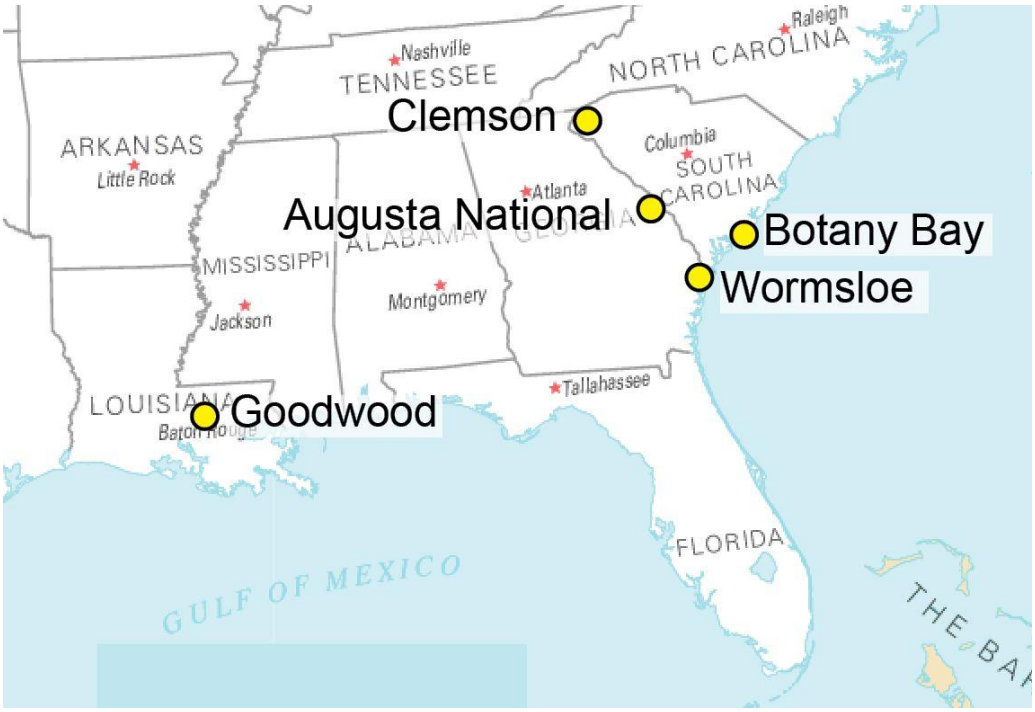


Figure 2.2: Case studies geographic location within the Southeastern United States.

These ten perceptions he describes are landscape as nature, habitat, artifact, system, problem, wealth, ideology, history, place, and aesthetic. The four values used in this academic thesis include all of the ten values expressed in Meinig's article, but collected in groupings that apply themselves better to the former plantation landscape type and the future analysis required to make this a simple and straight-forward process for current owners to implement on their own. Meinig's perceptions and how they apply to the four values are represented Figure 2.3.

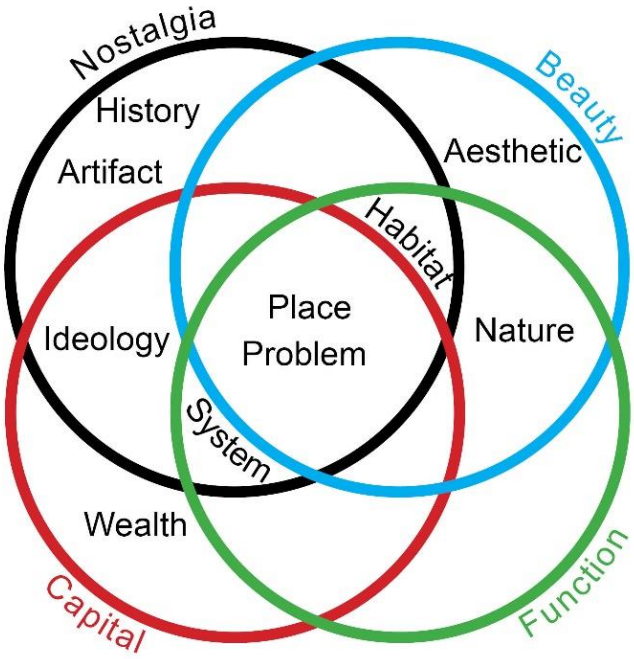


Figure 2.3: Beauty, Function, Capital, and Nostalgia values encompassing Meinig's ten perceptions.

Each of Meinig's ten landscape perceptions are not exclusive to a specific value, but rather can address various values based on the context. For example, Meinig's "Landscape as a System" could refer to the Capital value of the production system of timber on a site, the Nostalgia value of how the site interacted with other sites historically, or the Function value of how the ecology of the site works within the greater natural environment. These four values used in this research encompass Meinig's perceptions but do not group them in an exclusive manner per value, but rather share across values.

The four values of Beauty, Function, Capital, and Nostalgia were chosen because Meinig's ten perceptions can be nested within those four values to consolidate and communicate several perceptions clearly and simultaneously. Many issues and preferences tied up in former plantation landscapes represent more than one perception present within their value. For

example, a person might view a landscape as beautiful. This assertation could be related to a combination of aesthetic, habitat, nature, or place perceptions wrapped in an overlaying description of "beautiful". For this reason, values had to be defined in comprehensive terms to allow multiples of Meinig's perceptions to be expressed simultaneously.

The values of Beauty, Function, Capital, and Nostalgia serve as umbrella terms that lump perceptions together in a way that denotes a gradient scale for clear analysis later in this thesis. Function/ Beauty serves as a gradient in physical use and Capital/Nostalgia serves as a gradient between emotional use. Although possibly limited in its structure, using these two gradient scales in conjunction with an XY coordinate plane could provide a direct, concise, and legible understanding of a specific person's value of a landscape when plotted on that plane. This process will be explained in subsequent chapters and applied to a specific site, Millway.

To better understand these values and how other former plantations have applied them, case study research was utilized. Hypothetically, all of the case study sites have all four of the values present within them working in tandem with each other, but for the sake of comparison one value will be the focus for each.

Case Study 1: Augusta National Golf Course, Beauty as Value

Situated in Augusta, Georgia, Augusta National (Figure 2.4) has become widely accepted as one of the most beautiful golf courses on earth (Bailey 2016). Using a similar thought as Meinig's "Landscape as Aesthetic" and "Landscape as Place" many golfers and golf fans value the golf course based on "its artistic qualities" and see Beauty as a value within the site (Meinig 1976). Its history sometimes forgotten, Augusta National has gone through a transformation from its plantation roots to acquire this new value today.

History

Early in the 1800s, 315 acres of the site was owned by Benjamin Simms and was part of a larger community known as Bedford. The Bedford community was a rural residential and farming area well outside of the boundaries of Augusta. The Bedford Tavern stood close to the location of where the famous Magnolia Allee is today. The 315 acres were eventually sold to Dennis Redmond who started a small nursery on the land in 1853 (Buchko 1977). Redmond originally named the property Fruitland. Shortly after his original purchase he acquired more of the original Bedford community property, bringing the lot close to its current size of 352 acres (Reynolds 2013). His initial crops were peaches, apples, grapes, strawberries, and figs, but later owners of the nursery would switch to primarily ornamental trees and shrubs. Fruitland was to be a model for the diversification of the Southern economy away from cotton, making the area more independent from the North. Although the site never became slavery independent before emancipation, it allowed the business to diversify more easily to a different revenue stream after the Civil War due to its lesser dependency on that unpaid labor force.

In 1854 Redmond built the now famous house on the land. Currently the clubhouse for the golf course, it was originally designed as a two-story dwelling, with the living quarters raised to the second story and the more functional work space located below. Similar to the Gulf Coast style the architecture is quite unique and atypical for Georgia because its design was based on that of a Louisiana / West Indies plantation house with wrap-around porches and a cupola on the roof (Figure 2.5) (Butchko 1977).

In 1858 the property was sold again to Louis M.E. Berckmans, a member of a Belgian family with horticultural and nursery background (Caldwell 2016). Much of the operation infrastructure has now been removed, but elements such

Figure 2.4: Augusta National in 2018, scale 1”=800’

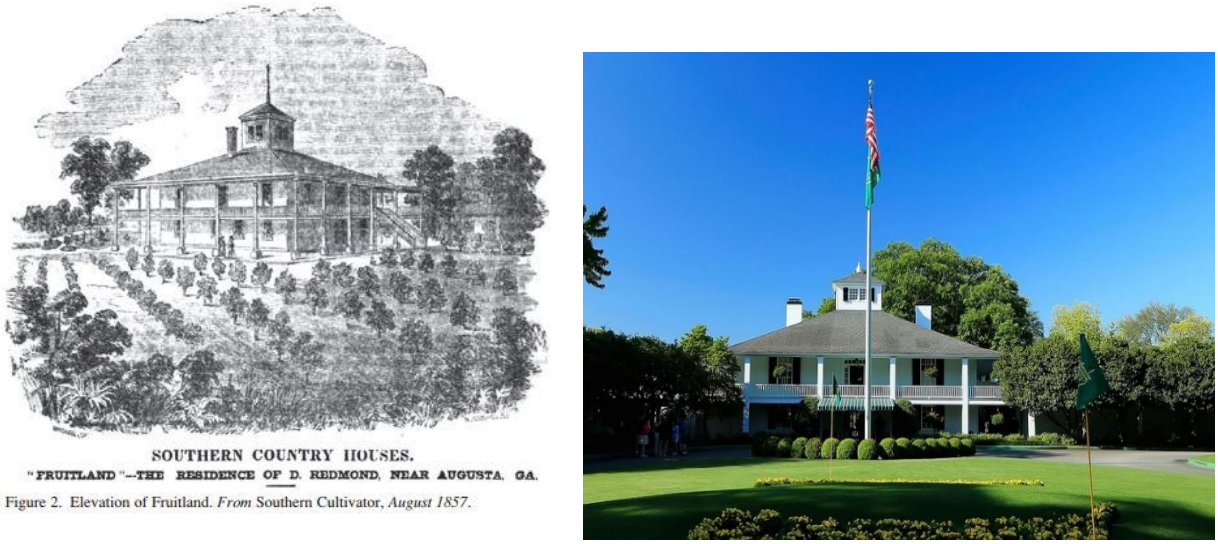


Figure 2. Elevation of Fruitland. *From* Southern Cultivator, *August 1857.*

Figure 2.5: Gulf Coast style of Fruitland's/ Augusta National's main house, 1857 vs. 2018

as the Magnolia (*Magnolia grandiflora*) Allee (Figure 2.6) and many other horticultural oddities such as the Amur Privet (*Ligustrum amurense*) hedge, Golden Arborvitae (*Thuja occidentalis*), and Chinese Firs (*Cunninghama lanceolata*) date to the Berckmans' period when the nursery had diversified to grow ornamental plants. The Berckmans continued to own the property until 1925 when they sold it, and the property sat idle for much of the 1920s (Reynolds 2013).

In 1930 famous golfer Robert "Bobby" Tyre Jones sought to open a revolutionary course to cap his career. He acquired the property and chose Alister Mackenzie of Scotland to design the course (Reynolds 2013). On August 19th, 1935, the course was officially opened as Augusta National Golf Club. This successful course continues to operate today and hosts one of golf's most prestigious tournaments, known as "The Masters".

Beauty as Value

Currently the property is meticulously groomed for the annual Masters tournament, maintaining a strict aesthetic to portray visual beauty of nature. This beauty is so

Figure 2.6: Fruitland's allee of magnolias, ca 1900 vs. Augusta National's allee of the same magnolias.

coveted and protected that the general public is only allowed to visit during this tournament. It is a good example of beauty as value because of this. Part of the aesthetic standard known in the golf industry as the "Augusta effect" is due to the prominence of public visibility due to the broadcast of the Masters Tournament on television, and the amount of following it receives

(Bailey 2016). The tournament raises enough funds through ticket sales, television contracts, and sponsorship to support the upkeep of the property (Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.7: Augusta National at a recently televised Masters Tournament

The landscape functions as a golf tournament venue, but the high value put on beauty has become the gold standard across the sport. To support this claim, Mike Bailey, a columnist for *Golf Advisor*, wrote, "Golfers watch the Masters on TV and salivate over the beauty and perfection. And if you've never been to Augusta National during tournament week and think that maybe that's just the way it looks on television, think again. It is that perfect" (Bailey 2016). Augusta National is relevant to this research because is a site that has been adapted from an antebellum plantation nursery to fit a value that can support its financial needs.

Controversy

Despite the successes this landscape has managed to achieve in creating value and

revenue in its recent iteration of its use, it still often wrestles with the issues of its antebellum and segregated past. Before and even after the Civil Rights act of 1964, Augusta National banned all non-white golfers, and the course did not accept its first African American member until 1990 (Benjamin 2011). Some journalists state that the "former slave plantation has not ventured very far beyond its roots", and attribute its history to ingrained prejudice within the place and its patrons. Additionally, women were not allowed to be members of the club until 2012 and did not have a designated event there until 2019 (Harig 2019).

These issues of success versus prejudice persist even within well known and thriving former plantations such as Augusta National. These issues create complex social environments that present ethical and perception challenges for these sites today.

Case Study 2: Botany Bay Plantation Wildlife Management Area, Function as Value

Located on Edisto Island, Botany Bay Plantation (Figure 2.8) is owned by the State of South Carolina and operated by the South Carolina Department of Natural Resources (SCDNR). Today its mission focuses on conservation, recreation, and education. The wildlife management area contains two former plantation sites. SCDNR manages the site in a way that responds to the functions that are of value to both humans and wildlife. Meinig takes a look at similar concepts in the "landscape as a system" and "landscape as habitat" sections of "The Beholding Eye" (Meinig 1976). The now protected estuaries and maritime forests at Botany Bay attract and protect wildlife. The site provides wildlife food sources, nesting, shelter, and habitat space. In turn it provides human value as a unique recreational opportunity such as hunting, fishing, boating, jogging, and swimming to name a few. This is the most recent value use of the land, but it has a previous history as well.

History

Originally two plantations, both had an association with cotton production throughout the antebellum time period (Waddell 2002). With its location along the Atlantic coast, the two

Figure 2.8: Figure Botany Bay Plantation in 2017, scale 1'=4000'

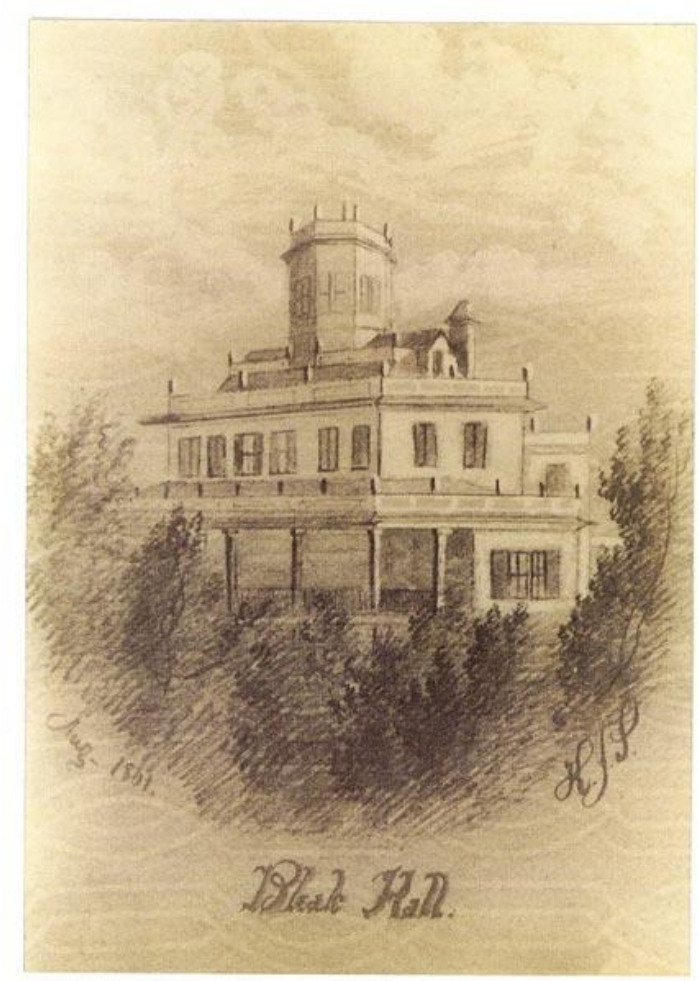


Figure 2.9: Bleak Hall ca. Aug. 1861 by Carolina Sosnowski.

American Style plantations took close cues from the English style of plantation architecture. Bleak Hall (Figure 2.9) was a grand home built in 1789 by the Townsend Family (Reszczynski 2016).

Not long thereafter, the Townsend family acquired an adjacent property and built another plantation named Sea Cloud Plantation in the mid-1800s. At its height Sea Cloud, under John Townsend, was producing the most cotton in the state of South Carolina, exporting mostly to

lace producers in Belgium and France (Caughman 1973). John Townsend, because of his prominence as a successful plantation owner, was a signer of the Ordinance of Succession, a document that declared South Carolina independent from the United States and prompting the Civil War (Caughman 1973). During the war both houses were utilized by the Union and Confederate Armies, and Bleak Hall would eventually burn down during or shortly after the War. Sea Cloud would eventually meet the same fate at a later time. The plantation in its agricultural capacity continued to produce cotton through sharecropping and small freedmen farms until 1917 when the Boll Weevil reached Edisto Island (Caughman 1973). The property remained in Townsend family ownership until 1933 when it was sold to Dr. James Greenway who combined the two properties and renamed it Botany Bay Plantation. In 1968 it changed hands again to John Meyer who would then, in his will, bequeath the 4,630 acres to the State of South Carolina as a wildlife preserve, but only after his wife, who continued to live on the site, died (Caughman 1973). She passed away in 2007, and the property would open to the public the following year in 2008.

To this day the property retains some of the ruins of plantation structures, including a gothic revival ice house, tabby concrete outbuildings, foundations, chimneys of an overseer's house, and a well built by African Slaves (Caughman 1973). The ice house is listed on the National Register of Historic Places due to its distinct architecture.

Function as Value

The property has managed to define its modern value possibly because of the lack of complete historic plantation structures on the property. This allowed more effort and interest to be placed on the natural environment over the human one. This large parcel of connected forest and wetlands was perfectly placed on an island in the coastal ecosystem to become a site for

conservation and education. The recreational experience there allows the public to use the landscape to learn about the natural functions of that environment through experiencing recreational function there. Its critical location in the Ashepoo, Combahee, and Edisto river delta serves a host of wildlife species and the ban on development within its confines will preserve this environmental and cultural function for the future (SCDNR 2016). It has redefined its value as a functional site in modern culture, thus giving it new purpose and use. This was done by repositioning its value from that of an economic value for a single family to a state-supported function value that serves conservation of wildlife habitat and recreation value for all who visit. (Figure 2.10).

Figure 2.10: Ocella Creek running through conservation lands of Botany Bay Plantation.

Controversy

Botany Bay has managed to remain free of headlines surrounding racist issues. This could be due to the fact that interpretive elements there clearly acknowledge the site as a place of African enslavement. It also credits historic elements such as a unique "bee hive well" to the African Slaves (Caughman 1973). Because it is a park, Botany Bay is open to the public, thus inviting all members of the community to enjoy the landscape and its amenities. This puts the focus on nature rather than its antebellum pedigree. This is not to say that slavery is not an issue, just that these issues have not created controversy for the site as of this time.

Case Study 3: Adelia at Old Goodwood, Capital as Value

Situated in Baton Rouge Louisiana, Adelia at Old Goodwood (Figure 2.11) is a high-end residential community carved out of the former Goodwood Plantation. Meinig's "landscape as wealth" is a good parallel to this value (Meinig 1974). People who view this landscape economically, in Meinig's words, "look on every scene with the eyes of an appraiser, assigning monetary value to everything in view" (Meinig 1974). It was the developer who saw its potential as a residential development, and completely dismantled family ownership to sell value to a new group of people in the form of land investment within the core of the city.

History

The Goodwood Plantation house was built in 1852 by Charles Laycock as a replica of the Goodwood House in West Sussex, England as a gift for his wife Adelia (see figure 2.6). It was one of the first homes in the area to have running water, supplied by cisterns in the attic (Boone 2015). It sat at the center of 2000 acres of a sugar cane plantation operating with a reported 79 African slaves.

Figure 2.11: Adelia at Old Goodwood in 2018 scale 1”=200’

The house managed to avoid being burned down during the Civil War. One account says it is because Abraham Lincoln was the Laycock family lawyer (Chambers 2017). Another account states that it was saved because the house served as a Union Hospital (Boone 2015). The Laycock Family sold the plantation to the Babin family in 1930 (Figure 2.12) after it was no longer agriculturally productive (Boone 2015).

Figure 2.12: Goodwood Plantation after Babin Purchase.

Since then the city of Baton Rouge has grown up around it, and the original 2000 acres were incrementally sold off until only 16.8 acres around the house remained. The house briefly served as a nightclub and then was divided into apartments during World War II (Gagliano 2017). The house was not considered historically significant at that time; however, it was used as a movie set location for the 1967 film *Hurry Sundown* starring Michael Caine and Jane Fonda (Figure 2.13).

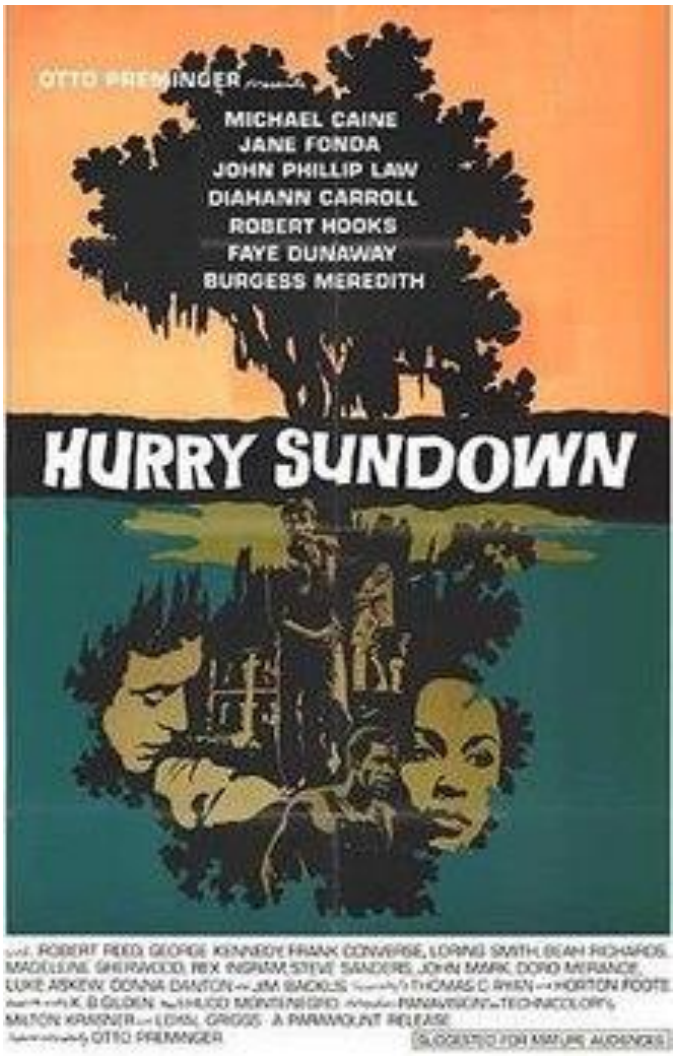


Figure 2.13: 1967 film *Hurry Sundown* set in Georgia, partially filmed at Goodwood Plantation.

In 2015, a developer, Michael Hogstrom, purchased the house from the Babin family and the remaining 16.8 acres surrounding it with the plan of subdividing it into 47 high end properties starting at $300,000 for each lot, and $800,000 with a built home (Boone 2015). He is now in the process of selling those lots and restoring the Goodwood Home as a community centerpiece, set to open in 2019 (Figure 2.14).

Figure 2.14: Rendering of Adelia at Old Goodwood Subdivision

Capital as Value

The Goodwood Plantation site has been redefined as a very successful residential development operation that has transformed unutilized land for the maximum money-making potential. To date, 35 of the overall 47 lots available have been purchased. Hogstorm, as well as those who purchased property within the Adelia subdivision, sees value in the landscape as capital and as a way to grow and invest money for the future. Many other former plantation lands have been utilized in this way as well, and it seems to be a successful strategy in terms of creating value for many more people in addition to the developer.

Controversy

The project has not come without controversy, however. A member of the Babin family supports it; "His master plan will breathe new life into this extraordinary place that my family holds so dear" (Boone 2015). Others are against the development: "Plantations are the place

where white people got to own my ancestors, to work their sugarcane fields in the case of Dr. Laycock…This development is a slap in the face of black history, of real truth about Baton Rouge history" (Chambers 2017). The differences in opinion illustrate the wide gulf in how former plantation sites are viewed today. The cultural division present at these sites speaks to Meinig's "Landscape as Problem" perception (Meinig 1976). Adelia has achieved commercial success because it ignores ties to slavery, probably because it's not marketable to homeowners. Opposition to the project is correct in pointing out this premeditated oversight of history for capital gain.

Case Study 4: Clemson University, Nostalgia as Value

Clemson University (Figure 2.15) lies in the very corner of Upstate South Carolina, in Clemson, South Carolina. It is a state-funded university with roughly 24,000 students in attendance, built on a former plantation site known as Fort Hill. Again, using Meinig's "Beholding Eye" as a frame work, many students, graduates, and visitors see this landscape as "History" and "Ideology" because their memories inform their present value of the campus (Meinig 1974). Clemson makes an effort to tap into this value stream by up playing up their "Traditions" that they market to prospective, current, and past students (Clemson University 2018). This creates a value culture that associates the University with a string of memories, connecting current people to past events. This place has been redefined from a past plantation to a successful modern university largely in part to the long-standing positive memory associated with it by graduates and legacy graduates and not its plantation past.

History

Fort Hill Plantation was originally known as Clergy Hall and was part of church property for the local "Old Stone Church" not far away (Fort Hill 1993). A parcel of 341 acres from that

larger property was bought and inhabited by John C. Calhoun and his wife Floride. John C. Calhoun was an important figure in both South Carolina and national politics. He served as a US Congressman, Secretary of War, Vice President to both John Q. Adams and Andrew Jackson, Secretary of State, and US Senator. His home during this time period was Fort Hill Plantation until his death in 1850 (Fort Hill 1993). Association with Calhoun has earned the house a place

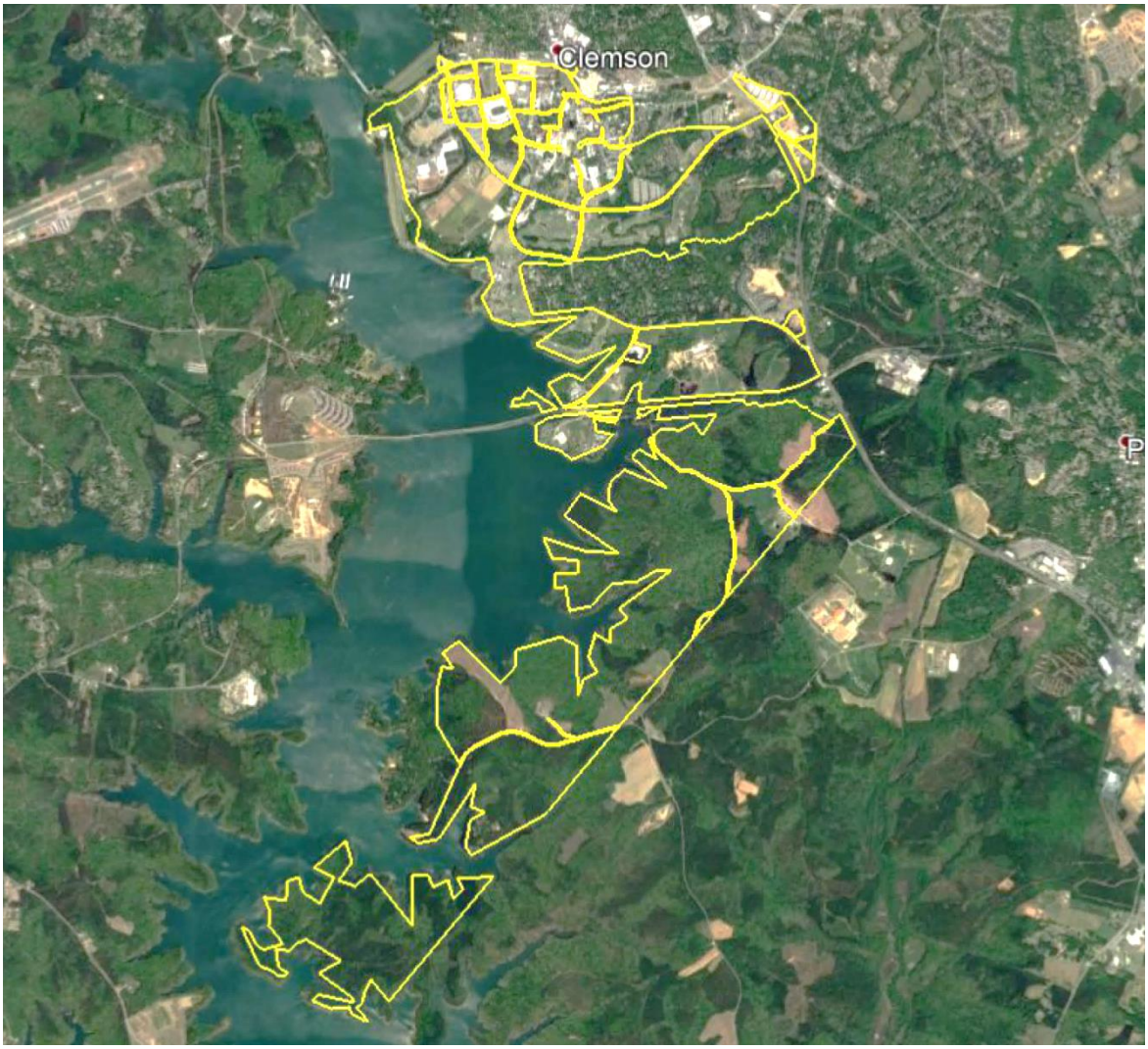


Figure 2.15: Clemson University in 2018, scale 1” = 1 Mile

on the National Register of Historic Places. During his time there, the house was remodeled from a Piedmont Farmhouse to a Federalist style mansion and renamed (Figure 2.16). In subsequent years, Greek Revival additions such as ornate columns were also added to the facade. The site was operated as a cotton plantation with around 50 slaves (Thomas 2018). After Calhoun's death and various property shuffles among the family, the house and grounds totaling about 814 acres would pass to Thomas Green Clemson, husband to Calhoun's daughter Anna Maria. She had been managing the property throughout Calhoun's absence in Washington D.C. (Thomas 2018). Clemson would serve several positions as a diplomat, US Department of Agriculture Superintendent, as well as serving in the Confederate Army. During his final years of life, Clemson and his wife completed plans to open a college on the Fort Hill site. Much of the physical work that was required to make this possible was accomplished by freedmen and sharecroppers (Thomas 2018). In 1888, upon Clemson's death, the land was then deeded to the State to operate as an agriculture and military college.

Figure 2.16: Fort Hill's remodeled architectural style.

Nostalgia as Value

As a place of higher learning, Clemson University has contributed much to knowledge and progress, but current students and former graduates value the Nostalgia of their university experience (Figure 2.17). Veterans remember beginning their studies there and then being sent to WWII battlefields; alumni remember parties with friends; sports fans remember victories; the list goes on. These are the memories that people are proud of, and this is why the site has value for Clemson's graduates.

Figure 2.17: Clemson football traditions that create pride and good memories for students and graduates.

Controversy

Nostalgia is not a word that would likely be used by African Americans to describe much of Fort Hill's history. Memory can take many forms, good and bad. Memory can have negative connotations, and for Clemson University this comes in the form of racial injustice. For all its association with good times, the landscape is still a place of oppression and slavery (Thomas 2018). Calhoun, among others, was a proponent of this system, and many point out that his

accomplishments were built on the backs of slaves. Recently, Clemson in response to this scrutiny has made an organized effort to represent the story of the African American slaves and freedmen at Fort Hill (Figure 2.18). Many do not see this action as enough and have demanded greater action be taken by the University by changing building names and enrolling more minority students. This memory of the space presents a "landscape as problem" component when that memory of the space comes from two very different perspectives. One perspective being that of fond times, and the other of forced oppression. Although Clemson as a learning institution has become a valued former plantation landscape, it may be as a result of focusing only on the good times rather than the bad.

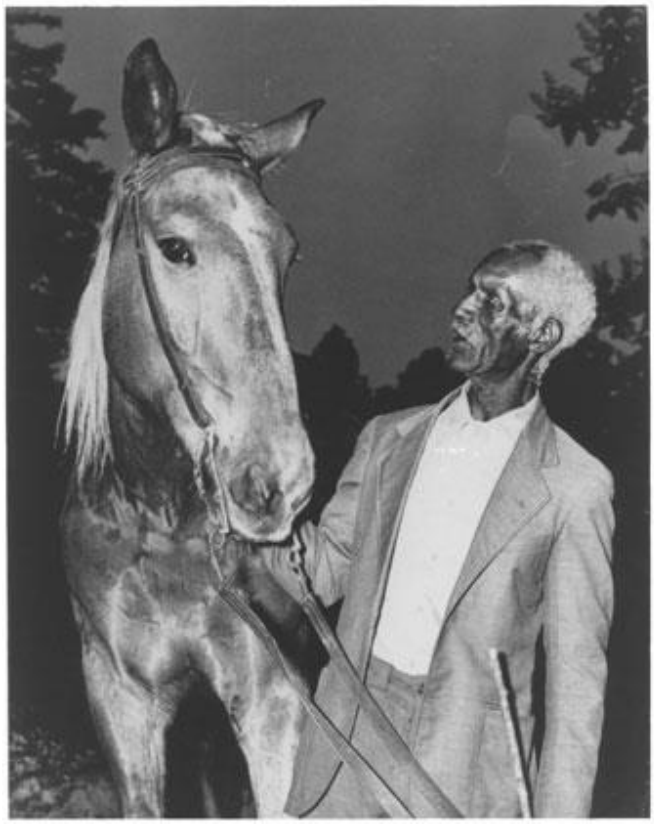


Figure 2.18: A Freedman who worked at Fort Hill, and one of many African Americans' whose story is largely untold.

Case Study 5: Wormsloe Plantation, Family Ownership at Former Plantations

Situated outside of Savannah, Georgia, on the Isle of Hope, Wormsloe Plantation consists of 822 acres divided between multiple owners managed in tandem with each other (Figure 2.19). None of the previous case studies retained original family ownership in any form. Wormsloe is an example of a former plantation environment that encompasses the four values explored above, but with continued involvement of the original family that built it. This involvement does not extend to the complete 822 acres but rather to the Wormsloe Home and area directly around it. The State Historic Site receives state funds, the private land owner has a family trust, and University of Georgia (UGA) owns ten acres that they put their finances towards.

History

Native Americans inhabited the Isle of Hope on a semi-annual basis, with the predominant tribes of the area being the Yuchi and the Creek when Europeans arrived in the 1500s. In 1736, one of Georgia's founders, Noble Jones, obtained a grant for 500 acres from the British Crown on a sea island next to the newly founded colony of Savannah (Coulter 1955). This location was of strategic military importance and for this reason a fortified home built of tabby concrete was constructed to protect the city from a possible Spanish invasion. This structure was constructed between 1739 and 1745 and consisted of eight-foot outer walls surrounding a five-room house (Coulter 1955). The home doubled as a residence and a patrol base for a twelve-man marine garrison (Coulter 1955). The remnants of this structure are still visible on the site today.

Georgia's original charter banned slavery. To get around this, Jones used indentured servitude in its early years (Coulter 1955). When slavery was re-established in 1749 in Georgia, Wormsloe moved to that system that utilized African slave labor to produce crops such as corn,

rice, and indigo (Coulter 1955). Wormsloe never proved profitable as an agricultural enterprise, and Jones accrued most of his wealth through real-estate (Coulter 1955).

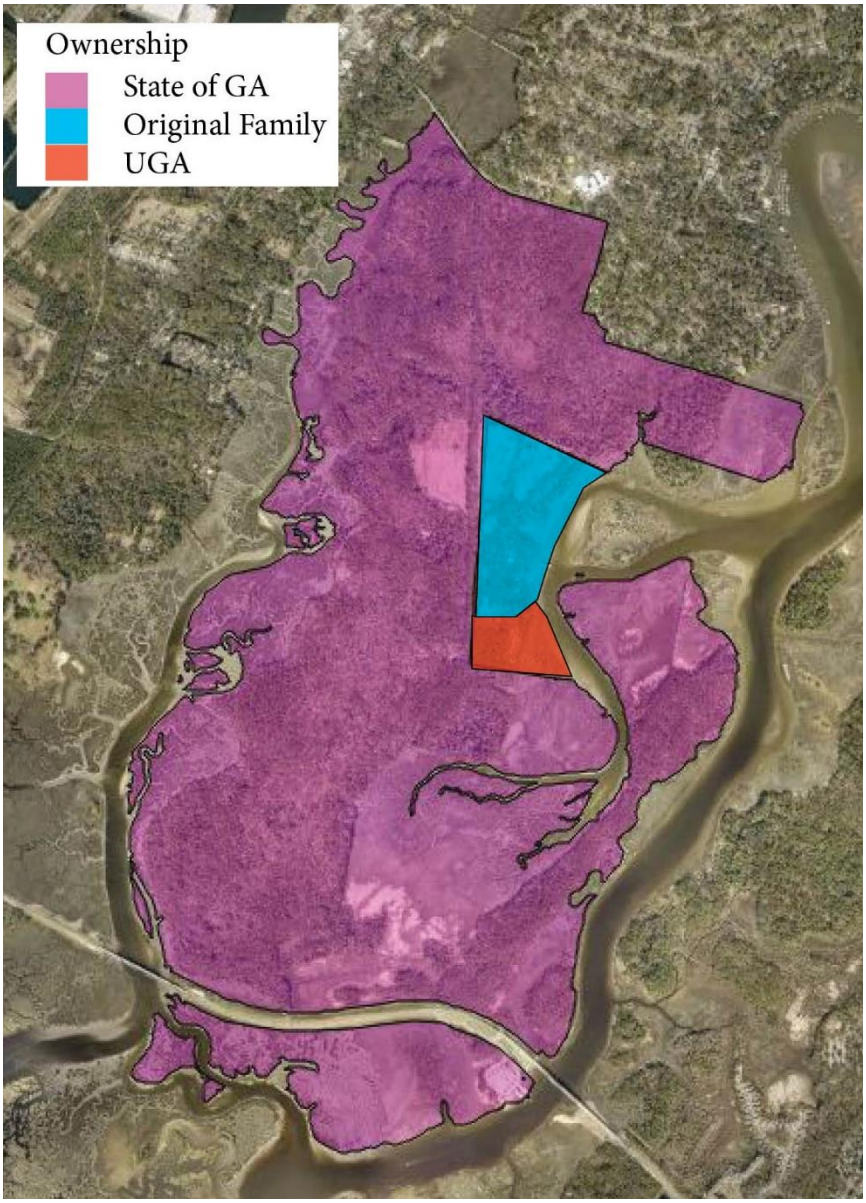


Figure 2.19: Wormsloe Plantation in 2018, scale 1"=3000' (Savannah Area GIS)

Noble Jones died in 1775 and the property passed to his daughter rather than to his son with whom he had bitterly disagreed over the American Revolution (Coulter 1955). After her death, the property would revert to the same son, Noble Wimberly Jones, with whom he had

disagreed (Coulter 1955). From there Wormsloe would remain in that family's control passing to Noble W. Jones's son George Jones in 1804 (Coulter 1955). George Jones built a more elaborate house in 1828 which can be seen in Figure 2.20 (Coulter 1955). This is the house that remains on the site today. George Jones passed the property in this configuration to his son George Jones De Renne in 1857. The house and property were used as a fort for the Confederate Army, and confiscated by Union forces after the capture of Savannah (Coulter 1955). After the war the property was returned to the family.

Figure 2.20: Wormsloe Plantation home built in 1828

After the Civil War the property passed from generation to generation serving mainly as a residence. During this time, 400 oak trees were added to create a grand allee towards the 1828 home (Coulter 1955).

In 1961, Elfrida De Renee Barrow, descendent of the Jones/De Renee line, donated the majority of the estate to the Wormsloe Foundation, excluding the house and the land immediately around it (Georgia Department of Natural Resources 2008). The foundation then transferred ownership to The Nature Conservancy in 1972. They transferred it to the State of Georgia which opened it to the public in 1979 (Georgia Department of Natural Resources 2008). The University System of Georgia was also gifted a small portion of the site by the state for research and education as a satellite campus. To this day the decedents of Noble Jones control the Wormsloe home site.

Family Ownership

The site responds to value much in the same way as the other case studies. It provides Beauty by preserving the natural maritime forest of the site; Function by allowing multiple uses such as wildlife habitat and recreational space; Capital by leveraging the gifting of land to other state entities ties to obtain support funds; And Nostalgia by partnering with a University that can preserve stories and create new ones on the site. It differs in that the original family has been able to retain the homesite. The reduction in acreage has reduced the tax and maintenance burden on the family while also allowing them to retain the portion to which they feel most connection - the house and immediate grounds.

Controversy

Wormsloe has largely been able to avoid public scrutiny despite its obvious ties with the past practice of slavery. There is not much known about the slaves' perspective on the site, with only a few photographs that show a row of slave houses. This situation may be similar to Botany Bay. The majority of Wormsloe is state owned and open to the public, offering recreational opportunities and interpretative elements that acknowledge and denounce the practice of slavery.

The State Historic Site also focuses on the history of the fort and not the plantation. The home could perhaps be the most controversial, but it is held in private control away from the public eye as a private space for the family (Ron 2012). This is not to say there may not be future controversy over the former use of Wormsloe as a place of enslavement. It just has not arisen to public spotlight as of this time.

Case Study Conclusion

These case studies demonstrate that former plantations can change their value to observers over time. In many of the case studies, values have changed from one based on agriculture production to ones that create worth through other value sources like Beauty and Nostalgia. The case studies show these four values of Beauty, Function, Capital, and Nostalgia have been used to transform plantation landscapes into economically viable enterprises. These case studies also revealed that structures on a site do not have to be accurate to their original architecture or residential use for the land to still hold value for people. In addition, all of these sites are financially stable by either using government funds for conservation or education, or through private means including profits from events or the sale of physical land. All but Botany Bay have struggled with balancing their success with the realities of their past use as sites of African enslavement and racial oppression. This demonstrates the continuing challenges they face to create a welcoming space for all. Each has relinquished all or some of their land from family control, with Wormsloe being the outlier that has retained land directly around the home site for family use.

Chapter Synthesis: Addressing Value in a Changing Environment

Understanding that it is possible to change former plantations uses to activate peoples' modern value perceptions is critical when considering the future of a site that has not yet been

able to do so. The history of the plantation landscape and case studies have shown that not only can value of a landscape change over time, but also can generate enough income to maintain the land, features, and some cultural stories. Figure 2.21 illustrates the design lessons learned from this chapter that will be used to analyze this thesis's final conceptual designs.

The next steps of this thesis are to gain an understanding of Millway, a site that has not been able to achieve success in the ways that the case studies have. Through the study of Millway, this thesis will compare the site with the lessons learned from the case studies.

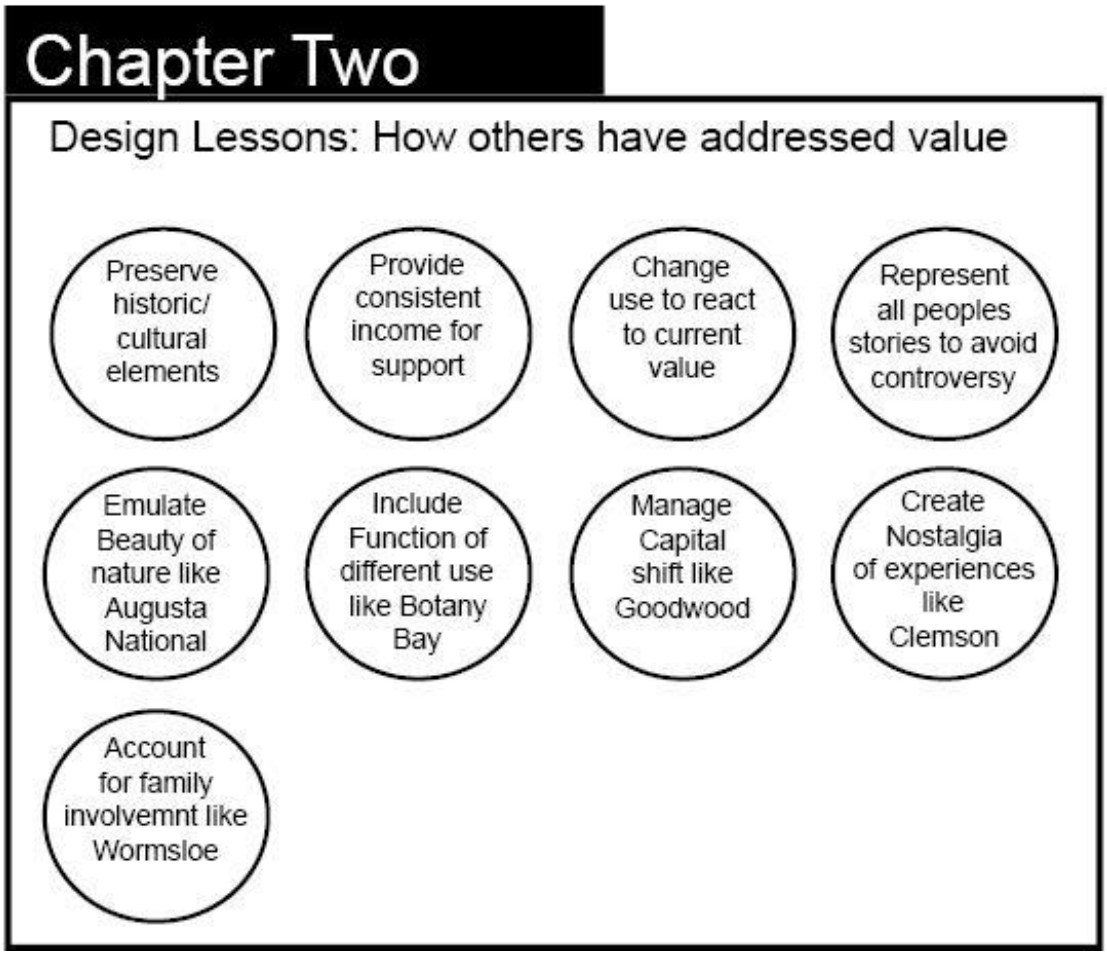


Figure 2.21: Chapter Two design lessons.

CHAPTER THREE

MILLWAY PLANTATION: A HISTORY

Millway is a former rural Piedmont Plantation in Bradley, South Carolina, and shares much of the same history as the case studies outlined in the previous chapter. There is one important difference: Millway has not yet been able to successfully redefine itself in the present. In fact, Millway is one of many former plantations that have not made that transition. Thus affecting their ability to be financially stable in the present.

Methods

Based on interviews, photos, and historic documents provided by family historians, Chapter Three will provide a foundation for understanding how the specific cultural landscape of Millway has been valued over time. This chapter will also look more closely at the similarities it shares with the case studies. This background information will help answer the following secondary question: What does Millway's layered story share with the successful case studies?

Millway Plantation

Once a plantation of 2000 acres, the Millway Plantation of interest is now a 32-acre tract of land with a residential Greek Revival style house on site (Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4). The foundation of this house was constructed in 1838. Located on the outskirts of the small town of Bradley, South Carolina, on the southwestern edge of Greenwood Country, the area is characterized by rolling hills, cow pastures, and pine forests managed for timber production. Bradley is a small town with a population of 170 and declining. The closest larger city to Bradley is Greenwood, South Carolina, with a population of 23,000+. It is located 13 miles away, which is roughly 20 minutes by car.

Figure 3.1: Millway within the Southeast United States.

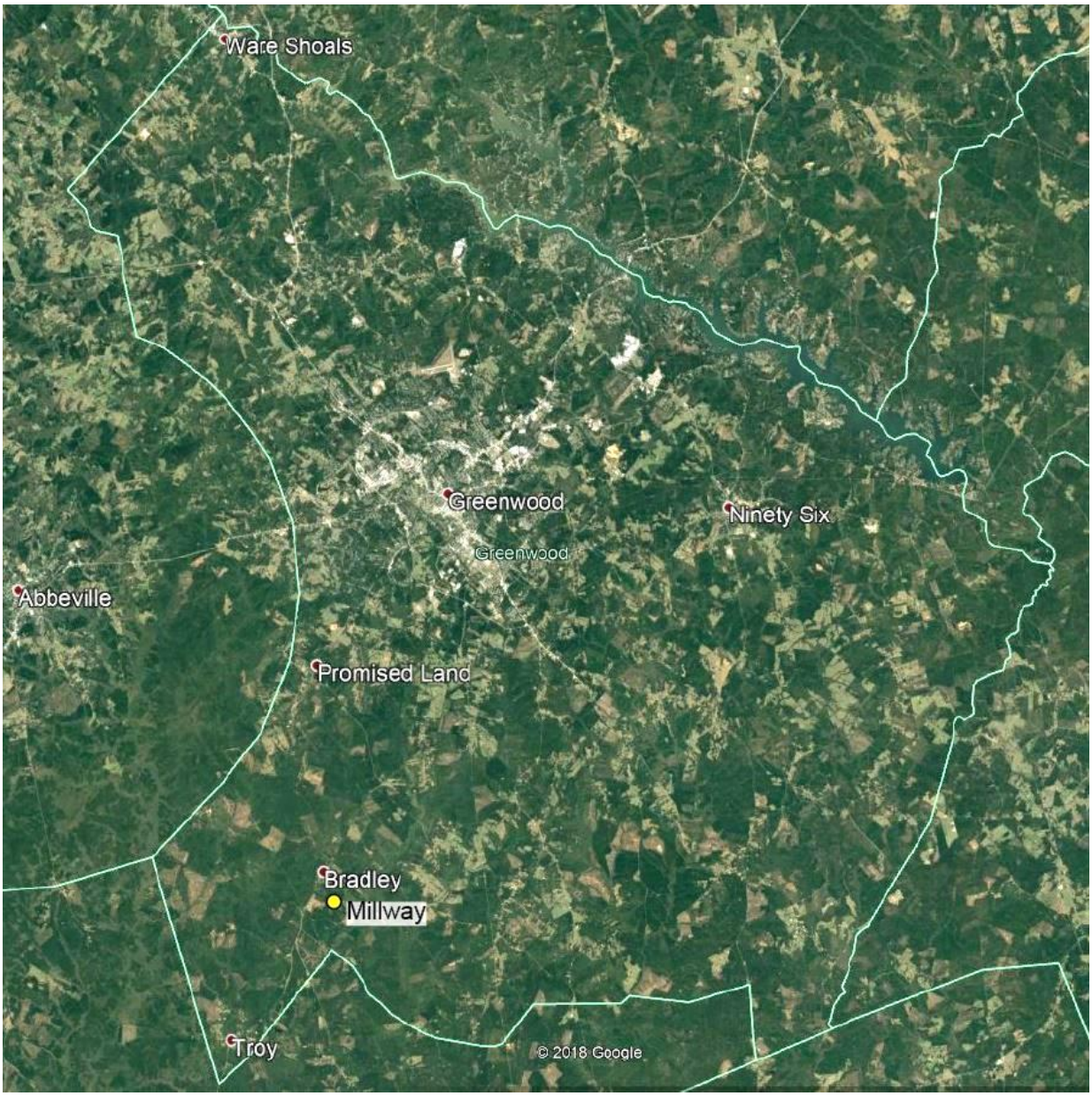


Figure 3.2: Bradley and Millway within Greenwood County, South Carolina.

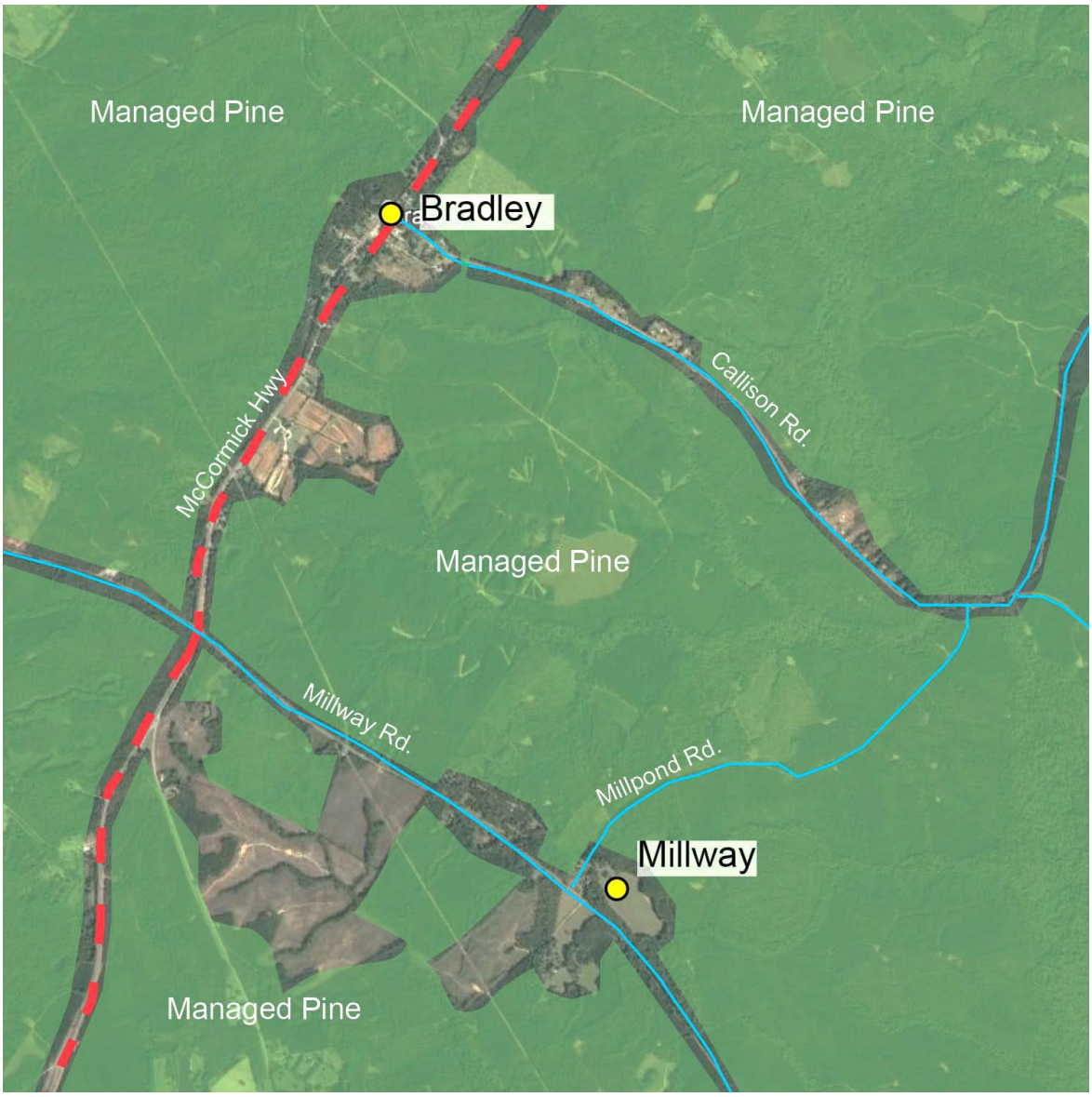


Figure 3.3: Millway within the Town of Bradley, SC

Figure 3.4: Current Millway Plantation's 32 acres.

There are also three other former plantations of note near Millway all of which are on the National Register of Historic Places for architecture. These homes are the Frazier-Pressley House, Sylvania, and Eden Hall. Millway routinely struggles to make enough money to pay for taxes and maintenance. More often than not, it takes more money to operate than it generates.

Colonization and The Antebellum Periods 1500s- 1864

Millway Plantation's land was originally inhabited by Native American tribal peoples along the banks of Hard Labor Creek which borders and intersects the site. Clovis arrow points found along the banks of Hard Labor creek, including former Millway property, suggest that the area could have been inhabited by Clovis People. The Clovis, also known as Paleo-Indians, occupied the land as early as 13,000 years ago (Alexander 2018). Different Native American tribes occupied the general area in fluctuating densities for thousands of years until the arrival of Spanish explorers in the mid-1500s (Harrison 2018). Numerous naturalists from the 1600s to the 1850s, including Dr. John Logan and Mark Casteby, noted the seamless transition from rolling piedmont prairies inhabited by copious numbers of bison and cane growth, to pine and oak forests (Harrison 2018). The English would eventually lay claim to the area in the late 1600s, where they would develop piedmont farms, plantations, and homesteads. One of these settlements, which overlapped what would become Millway property, was called Londonborough (Figure 3.5) and was inhabited by German refugees who were granted land by the British Crown in 1760s (Harrison 2018). As was the case all across colonial America, settlements and farmsteads impacted the natural environments heavily as they cleared land for large format agriculture (Harrison 2018).

The families that would eventually intermarry and own Millway Planation began to arrive in the Hard Labor Creek and Long Cane Creek area around the time of the American Revolution

(Harrison 2018). The Chiles and Perrin families resided on various tracts along Hard Labor Creek, eventually acquiring land formerly part of Londonborough township. Another very important family to the Millway story is the Cothrans, who came to the area in the 1820s (Harrison 2018). Alexander Cothran bought land on Hard Labor Creek. His two sons, John

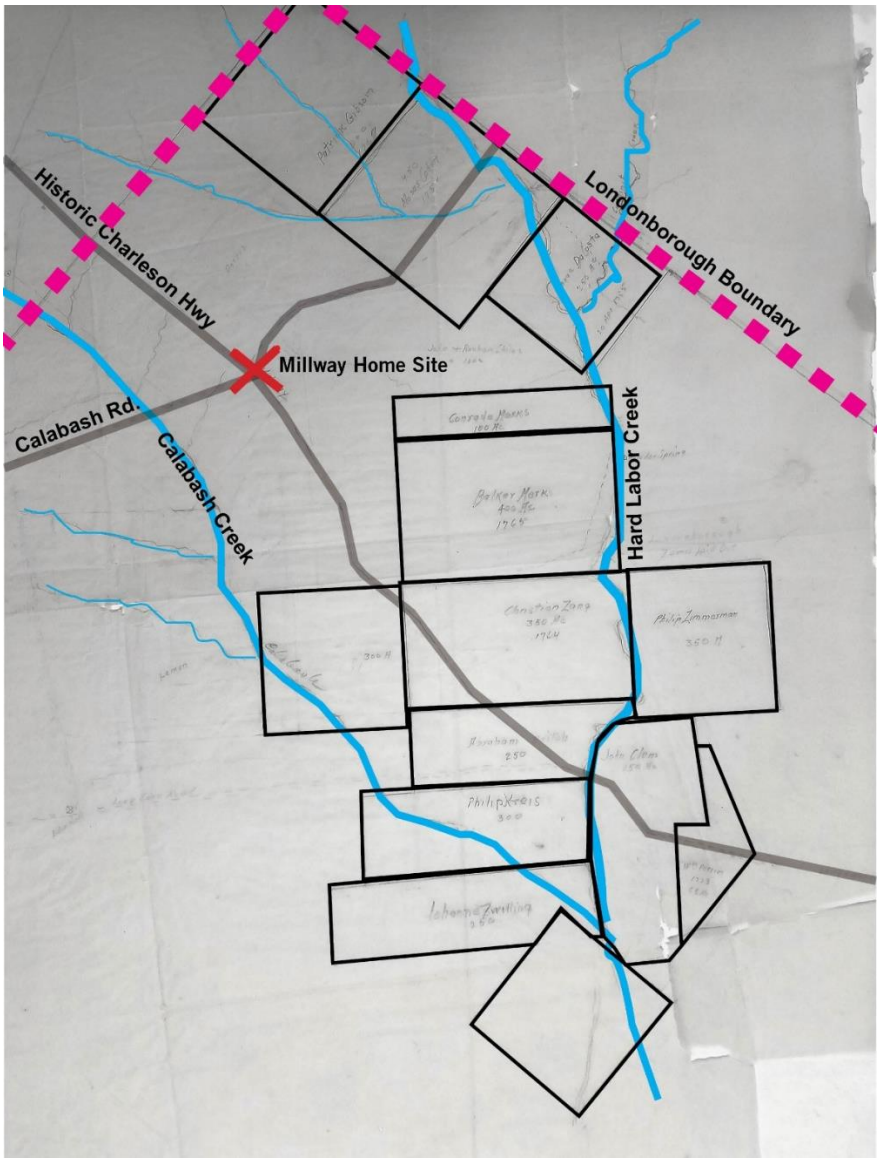


Figure 3.5: Londonborough and its parcels as it would have overlapped Millway Plantation lands. Graphic based on a hand drawn historic map by Wade C. Harrison Sr.

Cothran and Wade S. Cothran, would become successful planters in the area (Harrison 2018). John ran a plantation called Hickory Grove north of present day Millway (Harrison 2018). He would eventually use the proceeds generated from Hickory Grove to purchase 2000 acres on either side of Hard Labor Creek from the Chiles and Perrin families (Harrison 2018). These 2000 acres would then become the original Millway Plantation property. On that 2000 acres he built a house, completed in 1838, whose original framing and elements are part of the current structure on the site today (Harrison 2018).

The original house was a traditional I-style farmhouse with two front rooms upstairs and downstairs separated by a hall. The back of the house had an additional two rooms built on the ground floor with shed roofs and a detached kitchen house (Harrison 2018). The basic floor plan for this style home can be seen below in Figure 3.6 and a historic image of Millway expressing this style can be seen in Figure 3.7.

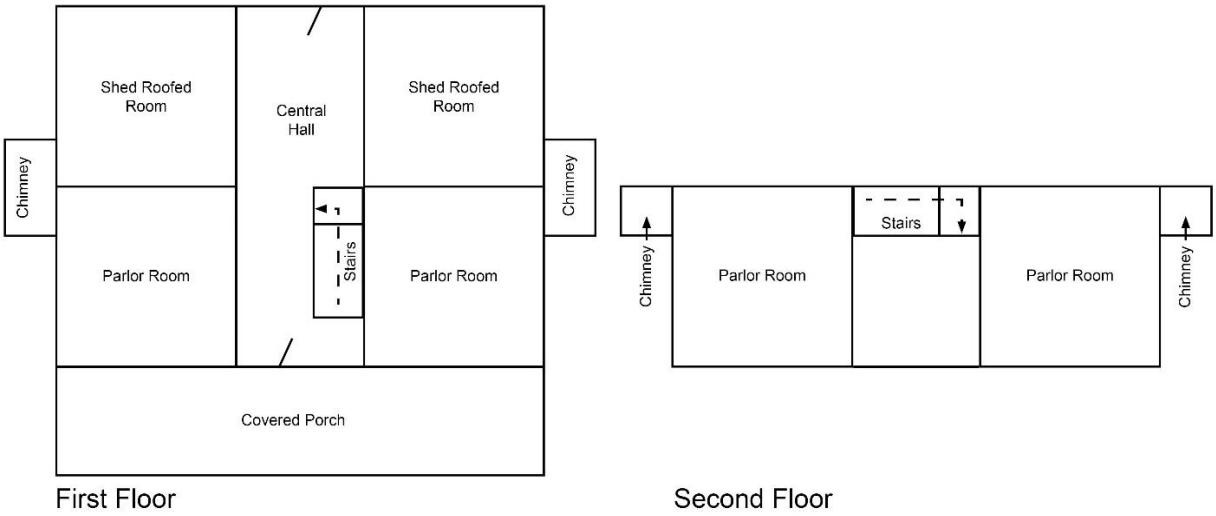


Figure 3.6: Floor plan for traditional I-style farmhouse

The original name, then “Mill Way”, was chosen because of its proximity to a grist mill down the road on Hard Labor Creek, owned by the Chiles family (Harrison 2018). The compressed “Millway” was originally a misnomer used by the nearby railroad stop (Figure 3.8) and post office, and was supposed to reflect the name of “Mill Way” Plantation. (Jaycocks 2018). This stop can be seen on historic maps, but no longer exists today. “Mill Way” eventually adopted the compressed “Millway” as its own name (Jaycocks 2018). Other homes did exist around the Millway home site; notable ones include Sylvania (Figure 3.9) and Eden Hall which are well preserved and on the National Register of Historic Places.

Figure 3.7: Millway’s I-style exterior circa late 1800s

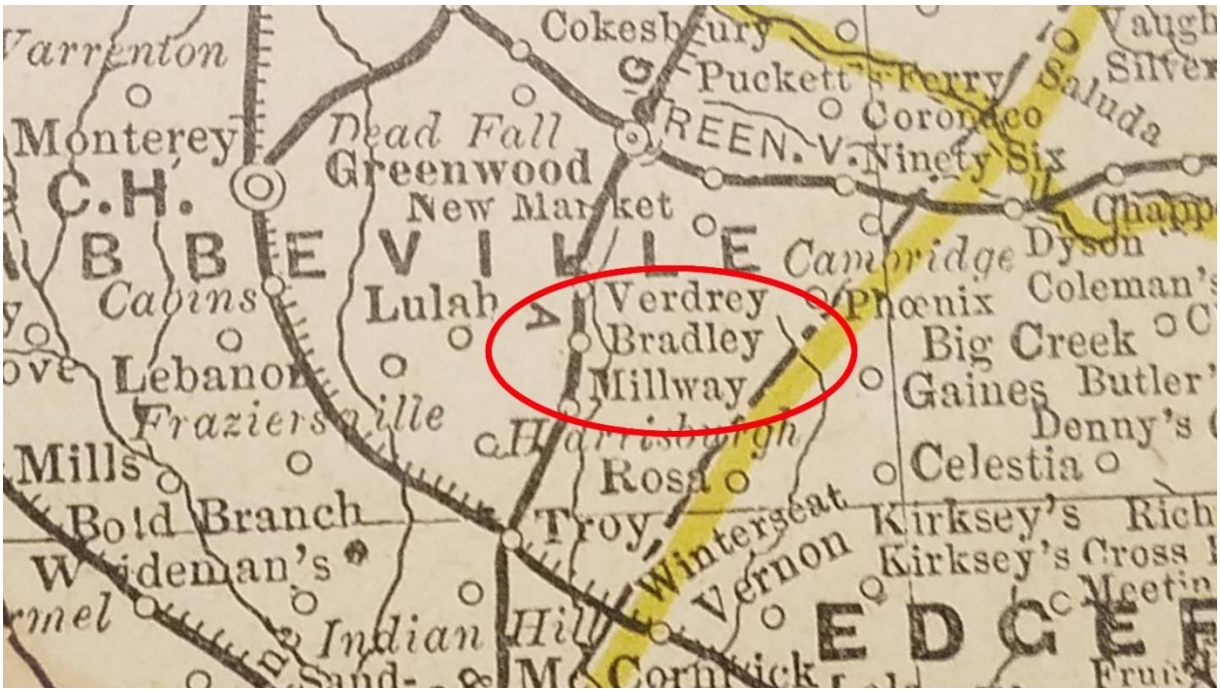


Figure 3.8: Millway railroad stop as seen on historic map of South Carolina

Figure 3.9: Sylvania plantation in 2018, located across the road from Millway plantation.

John Cothran would have three marriages. His second marriage with Elephare Rushton resulted in the birth of two sons, Samuel Cothran and Wade Elephare Cothran. His third marriage with Eunice Perrin Chiles resulted in the birth of a daughter, Elizabeth Chiles Perrin Cothran. These marriages and births united the families who had been purchasing and exchanging property in the area over the previous generations (Harrison 2018). John Cothran passed away in 1860, leaving Millway to his eldest son Wade Elephare Cothran. Wade Elephare Cothran married another Chiles relative named Sally Chiles right as the Civil War began (Harrison 2018). As a result of this marriage, Wade Elephare Cothran gained ownership of Sally's family plantation called Chiles Crossroads Plantation. This gave Wade Elephare Cothran control of two plantations simultaneously at a total of over 3000 acres.

Postbellum and Reconstruction Era 1865- 1920

Wade Elephare Cothran and his brother Samuel left to fight for the Confederate Army during this period. They brought at least one enslaved person with them. This slave fought in battle and returned the wounded Wade Elephare Cothran home during the war (Jaycocks 2018). With their father John Cothran dead, and the brothers Wade and Samuel gone for war, this left the unmarried 18-year-old sister, Elizabeth Chiles Perrin Cothran, in charge of the entire Millway Plantation operation during the Civil War (Harrison 2018). At this time, Millway was growing cotton with a workforce of 99 enslaved African workers who lived on the site in areas called "The Near Quarter" and "The Far Quarter" (Harrison 2018). During the war, Samuel Cothran had been killed and Wade Elephare Cothran wounded. As surviving son, Wade Elephare Cothran was left with two plantations to run, Millway and Chiles Crossroads (Jaycocks 2018). Wade Elephare Cothran elected to focus his efforts at Chiles Crossroads, leaving Millway as a

side operation. For this reason, his young sister Elizabeth Cothran continued to run Millway after the war (Jaycocks 2018).

Elizabeth married Colonel F.E. Harrison in 1878 (Figure 3.10), and moved to her husband's plantation land in Andersonville, currently located under Lake Hartwell, in the upstate of South Carolina (Harrison 2018). Later that same year he died, leaving Elizabeth to return to Millway to run the land by herself once again (Jaycocks 2018).

Figure 3.10: Colonel F. E. Harrison and Elizabeth Chiles Perrin Cothran Harrison

Harrison left Elizabeth with a single son, Wade Cothran Harrison. Elizabeth not only raised her own son Wade, but also many of Harrison's children from his previous marriages (Harrison 2018). She relocated these children to Millway after his death. During Reconstruction, she wrote a letter commenting that she and the workers all labored together planting, picking, and baling the cotton in the hard years after the war (Jaycocks 2018). Although she was complicit in the slave and sharecropper systems of the time, her story is that of a strong and

capable woman who alone raised a host of children both blood related and not, while also managing over 2000 acres of farmland and field labor involved in the sharecropper system largely on her own. At the time this involvement was not the accepted role for women.

These years around the turn of the century were ones of great flux for both the South as a region and Millway in particular. After the Civil War, Millway lost its unpaid slave labor force and moved to the sharecropper system to keep the land economically viable. The agriculture by then was still primarily cotton production. This is the period during which Elizabeth's biological child, Wade Cothran Harrison, grew up. He would leave in the 1890s to attend Davidson College in North Carolina (Harrison 2018). This would leave Elizabeth alone again to manage the land. Wade C. Harrison would work building railroads several years throughout the rural South and Mexico (Figure 3.11) before receiving word from his mother around 1907 that he needed to return home to manage Millway due to her increased age (Harrison 2018).

Figure 3.11: 1903 Photos from Wade C Harrison's time working railroad construction.

Diversification in the 20th Century 1908- 2000s

During his time building railroads, Wade C. Harrison was exposed to the devastation that the Boll Weevil was causing in Mexico and the Gulf States (Harrison 2018). He saw that it was

spreading east at a rapid pace. At the time no one knew how to stop the spread of the boll weevil. For this reason, when he returned to Millway, he knew before most landowners of the area that cotton would soon be an ineffective economic crop, both in terms of labor and crop survival. Therefore, he began the switch from cotton to pine production (Harrison 2018).

Also, during this time, he would marry Lucia "Dolly" Tarrant Hughey (Figure 3.12) of the nearby town of Greenwood (Harrison 2018). Dolly was described by a family member as, "quite the person to be reckoned with, but also very sweet (Harrison 2018)." She was another strong woman similar to Elizabeth who had inhabited the house previously. Dolly appreciated the "grand estate" Greek Revival style architecture that was coming back into style. For this reason, the house on Millway's grounds was subjected to a massive Greek Revival remodel in 1913 (Harrison 2018).

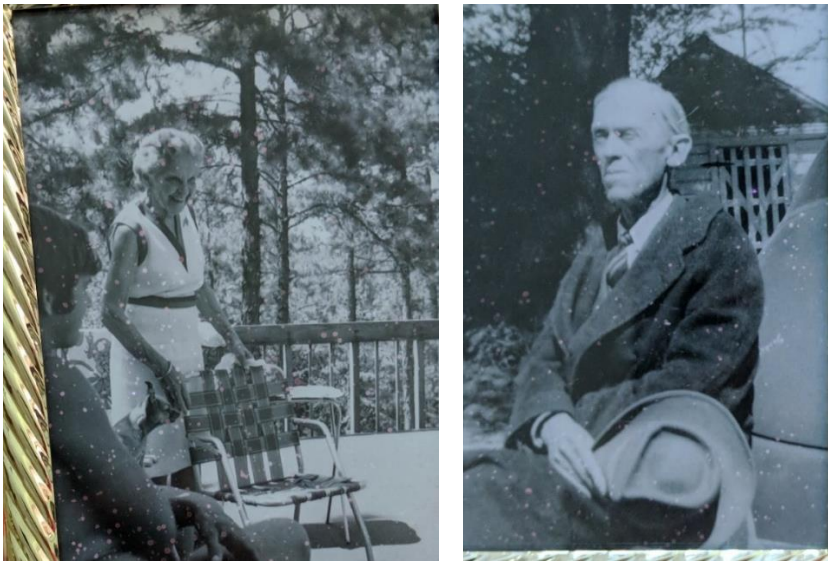


Figure 3.12: Lucia "Dolly" Tarrant Hughey Harrison and Wade Cothran Harrison Sr.

Some think that the house was completely deconstructed and a new one built on the same foundations with the reuse of timbers (Harrison 2018). Others maintain that although it was a

substantial remodel, the bones of the original house were used as the base (Harrison 2018). One confirmed part of the original 1838 home is a huge 16 by 16-inch pine log that runs under the center of the home (Jaycocks 2018). Large white columns were added with a partially wrap-around porch, two extra rooms were added upstairs above the shed-roofed rooms, and a kitchen was attached to the back side of the home. These changes conformed to a more romanticized architectural aesthetic that was in fashion at the time. Another curiosity of the architecture of the Millway house is a change to the chimneys. In the original home the chimneys were located on the outside of the home on either side (Figure 3.13). After the remodel, the chimneys were moved into the interior of the home, with one corkscrewing as it ascended (Jaycocks 2018). In addition, a steam radiator system was added shortly after, first fueled by a wood boiler and then by an oil furnace whose tank is still buried in the yard (Harrison 2018).

Figure 3.13: 1913 Remodel of Millway Plantation

Landscape features that were added at this time were large Southern Magnolias (*Magnolia grandiflora*) at the driveway, a generator shed for an early Delco glass battery generator that gave the house limited electricity, and the evolution of a formal garden that included Daylilies (*Hemerocallis spp.*), Spider Lilies (*Lycoris radiata*), Yucca (*Yucca alnifolia*), Fig (*Ficus carica*), Gloriosa Lilly (*Gloriosa superba*), Redbud (*Cercis cannadensis*), Wisteria (*Wisteria chinensis*), and Arborvitae (*Tsuga spp*.) (Jaycocks 2018). Features also noted were the presence of an old well that has only recently been filled in, a water tower that is no longer in place, large Black Walnut (*Juglans nigra*) trees throughout the yard that are still present, food producing fruit trees and vines some of which are still present, a large barn that has since been torn down, and auxiliary buildings including a blacksmith shop and house servant quarters that are no longer present (Jaycocks 2018). These features are or were part of the landscape, but their exact history is unclear.

Around this time the Millway Road that ran in front of the house (originally the Charleston Road that was once a prominent route to the coast) was moved farther away, increasing the size of the front yard and leaving a sunken depression that remains today (Harrison 2018). Additionally, there is an old perpendicular road bed to that highway that is no longer in use (Jaycocks 2018).

After the completion of the 1913 remodel, Wade and Dolly Harrison had six sons from 1914 to 1925 (Harrison 2018). These boys, named Wade Jr., James, Frank, William, Robert, and John, would grow up on the Millway property. It was during this time the sharecropper system began to decline with the growth of industrial textile jobs in the cities. This once again cut into the economic productivity used to support Millway.

In the early 1910s Wade C. Harrison sold 60 mules and the majority of the farming equipment used for sharecropping and obtained a sizable loan to grow Millway to 3000 acres for growing timber (Jaycocks 2018). In a very brief time, the majority of the land was transitioned from monoculture cotton production to pine timber. The milling of that wood was done with a portable sawmill at first, but that portable operation soon became a permanent one, bringing those industrial jobs back to Millway (Harrison 2018). This change in use gave Millway value economically once again. Originally called Harrison and Sons Lumber, the sawmill employed many local residents, including former freedmen and sharecroppers, as well as their offspring (Harrison 2018). The mill operated by selecting the premium pine out of the existing forests and cutting it for sale (Jaycocks 2018). This practice changed greatly over the following decades, moving to a rotation of timber tracts that would be clear cut in cycles for more standardized lumber production in response to market needs.

All of the six brothers would attend in-state colleges. Half would attend Clemson University and the other half the Citadel. They would also serve in World War II, with all but John seeing active combat, leaving the mill to the supervision of Wade C. Harrison (now Wade C. Harrison Sr.). After World War II, the name would eventually change to Millway Lumber Company and management transferred to Wade Jr. and William after the death of Wade C. Harrison Sr. in 1956 (Harrison 2018). The years following saw the growth of Millway Lumber Co. to a sizable operation that acquired more land outside of the original Millway property (Figure 3.14). Millway land holdings by now totaled more than 5000 acres of timber tracts. Additionally, Millway Lumber was also in the market of buying timber from others' land to process at the mill, providing a value-added service. Dolly lived in the Millway house after her

husband's death with the support of African American employees. This included an elderly woman named Alice who provided domestic help (Harrison 2018).

Figure 3.14: The mill office circa 2018 where Millway Lumber Co. was managed and operated

The 1970s represented another great change in Millway's use. One family member associated with the site recalls, "the sound of boards being stacked, the sound of saws ripping apart logs, the sight of log trucks and wood chip trucks going up the road, the smell of saw and lumber, the smell of wood chips, dust, mud (Harrison 2018)." The property went from this, a busy functional sawmill and home, to an uncertain future. Large timber companies such as Georgia Pacific and Mead-Westvaco began to control much of the milling industry, and it became harder for the smaller operations to compete with them. In addition, Wade Harrison Jr.

who ran part of The Mill, was in declining health (Harrison 2018). For these reasons the milling operation at Millway shut its doors in the late 1970s.

The property was still used as a residence for Dolly Harrison until she eventually relocated to a nursing home in Greenwood (Harrison 2018). After she left, the home remained vacant. There are stories of an African American, Douglas Goode (Figure 3.15), a family friend and worker, who used to sleep in the house off and on to keep watch (Harrison 2018). Dolly would pass away in 1989, leaving the future of the estate in flux.

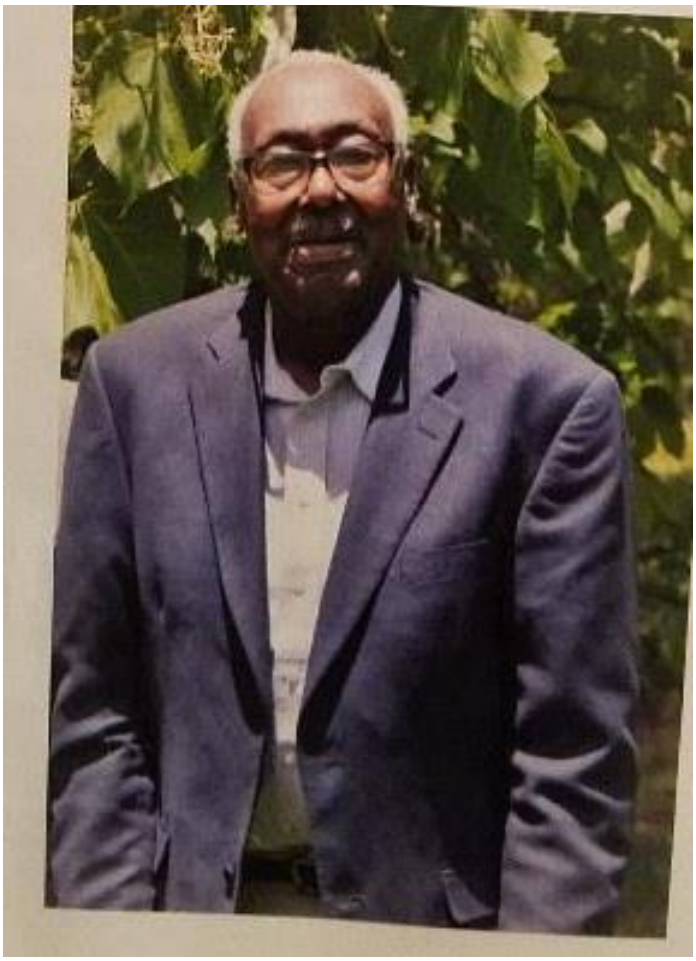


Figure 3.15: Douglas Goode, employee of Millway Lumber, The Harrison Family, Millway LLC and described as a dear family friend.

The remaining members of the six Harrison sons and their families were well established in their lives elsewhere and were not willing to relocate back to Millway. The 5000 plus acres of land surrounding the house were then divided up evenly among those brothers or their surviving families, and are still retained today in separate family trusts, mostly for timber production (Harrison 2018). At the time of the division, the general thought was that the house would have to be demolished and planted with pine because of the operating and repair costs associated with the vacant structure (Harrison 2018).

Fortunately, Robert Harrison, one of the six brothers, had a daughter Ann, who with her new husband Tim Woolston decided that they would rather live on Millway amongst family than where they were then living out of state (Harrison 2018). The house site, consisting of about 32 acres, was carved out of the adjacent timber tract. These 32 acres only included a fraction of what had been the original plantation land, and many original features including the sites of the field slave quarters became separated from the house site. Millway then saw its third and final major remodel in the late 1980s. This remodel included changing the layout of the kitchen, the removal of a Palladian window on the roof, updated climate control system, and substantial foundation and structural work (Figure 3.16) (Jaycocks 2018).

In addition, the land saw a change as well. Ann enjoyed riding horses and for this reason the large adjoining pasture was fenced in, and a stable and workshop were added (Figure 3.17) (Harrison 2018). Other landscape changes included the planting of a Live Oak (*Quercus virginiana*) in the front yard, asphalt paving at the rear of the drive, and removal of declining woody plant material throughout the home site. The Woolstons would enjoy raising two children, John and Robert, on the property. Millway was also utilized by the extended family as a location for family gatherings throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. However, as the Woolston

family grew up, they elected to move to the nearby city of Greenwood which offered more amenities. Other families on Millway Road decided to do the same separately, and Millway was once again vacant, isolated, and losing value to the family.

Figure 3.16: Millway in 2014 as it looked after the 1980s update

Figure 3.17: Horse barn in 2018 added after the 1980s update

Decline 2010- Present

After the Woolstons left, the property again faced the same challenge it did upon Dolly's death in the late 1980s. This was finding a family member who wanted to live in a remote area of the South Carolina piedmont to care for the land. This time no such person was available for such an endeavor. For this reason, in 2010 Millway was placed on the open real-estate market (Harrison 2018). The listing was removed two months later as key members of the family banded together to purchase the homesite and form Millway Limited Liability Company (LLC). The members of this partnership are Ann Woolston, Wade C. Harrison II, and Tom Anderson, who are all relations of the Harrison family. The LLC is not a money-making operation, and consistently does not break even between revenue and maintenance costs (Harrison 2018). The house has been used sporadically as an Airbnb, wedding venue, family meeting space, and community event space (Harrison 2018). These events and uses have given Millway life, but have not been enough to fully support it as an economically sustainable operation (Harrison 2018). In large part the house has remained the same as the 1980s remodel. The largest structural change is the addition of ramp access to a side door, allowing access for all. The land and the other existing buildings have also changed very little in the past 30 years. The biggest changes are seen in the decline and removal of some of the Black Walnuts (*Juglans nigra*), boxwoods (*Buxus spp.),* and other declining plant material on the site. The only notable landscape changes are the addition of two millstones that were brought in from Anderson County and placed on the grounds, the addition of a Long Leaf Pine planting along one side of the property, and rotating areas where native or naturalized grasses have been allowed to grow up for ecological and aesthetic benefits (Harrison 2018). Wade Harrison II now works part time in the area, allowing him to spend more time at the home site, but the house continues to be vacant a great deal of the

year. This situation raises ongoing management and security issues for the current owners (Harrison 2018).

Millway History Conclusion

Millway plantation has followed a similar evolution as other former plantations. Specifically, Millway's various architectural remodels and lack of national significance do not make it a prime candidate to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places as are structures found at Botany Bay or Clemson University. Its uniqueness seems to come more from the meaning to the extended family and the economic activities associated with it.

Elizabeth Harrison's (Figure 3.9) experience on the site speaks volumes to women's issues, as well as to the heretofore unspoken importance they had during the postbellum time period. The story of the African Americans who worked and built various iterations of Millway from 1838 to today is deep rooted within the site, as well as their transition from slaves to sharecroppers to independent timber company employees.

Additionally, Millway as a saw mill addresses function and capital value, specifically through how industry operated as a community cornerstone for the area in terms of productivity, employment, and diversification of economic production. This addresses how economic value and revenue can change over time and shares this similarity with all of the case studies.

Millway has always been considered a beautiful landscape particularly the acreage around the residence. This value on the visual can be seen in historical descriptions of the land by naturalists, as well as Dolly's remodel towards the grand estate aesthetic that included garden plantings of horticultural landscape plants which enhanced its beauty as a residence.

Based on these findings, Millway has the potential to achieve all of the four values that were used in the analysis of the case studies. These uncovered stories and history can be used as design narratives to support Millway's discovered value in the final chapter's design iterations.

Millway Compared to Case Study Examples

Millway shares many attributes with the case studies. Some of these shared attributes are shown in Table 3.1.

Millway shares many historical traits with the case studies such as use as a former plantation, historic change in economic revenue stream, and having architectural remodels. Many of the case studies' architecture is not original, but they have still managed to define a niche of operation outside of their historic use. Likewise, the case studies have managed to be successful despite their association with African enslavement. These are traits that Millway shares, and suggests that Millway can learn from the successes of the case studies.

Table 3.1: Millway Compared to Case Study Former Plantations

Former Plantations	Piedmont Plantation	Changed industry in 1900s	Changed Architecture	Associated with national figure	Located in populated area	National register	Family Owned	Financially Viable Today
Millway Plantation	☑	☑	☑				☑	
Augusta National	☑	☑		☑	☑			☑
Botany Bay Plantation		☑	☑			☑		☑
Adelia at Old Goodwood		☑			☑			☑
Clemson University		☑	☑	☑		☑		☑
Wormsloe Plantation				☑		☑	☑	☑

Millway is located in a low population area. Botany Bay Plantation has been able to tap into value despite having the same limitations. Botany Bay, and Clemson University for that matter, also show a difference in that they were deeded completely to another organization and are now accessible to the public for free.

Millway also is unlikely to be listed on the National Register for architecture or association with a historic figure like Botany Bay or Clemson's Fort Hill. However, Augusta National and Adelia at Old Goodwood are also not listed on the register and have become valued by people today.

One important difference that Millway only shares with one of the case studies is that it is still owned by decedents of the family who originally built it. This presents a challenge or opportunity in that it is the original family that is searching for ways to make Millway economically sustaining again. To do this might require a member of the family to spend significant time managing the property or for a family created corporation to hire professional management. If this is not possible, change of ownership may have to be considered to insure Millway's cultural legacy in the same way that four of the case studies have insured their own. The Wormsloe family has lessened the need for economic support by donating much of its land to other organizations. This reduces the taxes and maintenance required for upkeep. Millway, although substantially smaller, could learn from Wormsloe in order to retain the home that the family wishes to remain under Harrison control.

Chapter Synthesis: Addressing a Millway in Decline

This chapter has demonstrated that Millway shares a common history with other former plantations including the case studies and supports its use as a research site. This history aligns with a broader narrative, but Millway's individual people, industry changes, and landscape

features present design opportunities and challenges that are unique to it as a place. In order to respond to Millway's economically declining cultural legacy, Figure 3.18 illustrates Millway-specific design lessons learned from this chapter that will be used to analyze the final conceptual designs of this thesis.

Although the history of Millway described in this chapter is the history of how it financially supported the family over the decades, there are glimpses of other values embedded in the place and its stories. The following chapter will look for these values more directly and will attempt to gather more detailed information of what the family and community values in Millway today. The resulting categorization of their values will be used as basis to direct conceptual designs of Millway's current 32 acres.

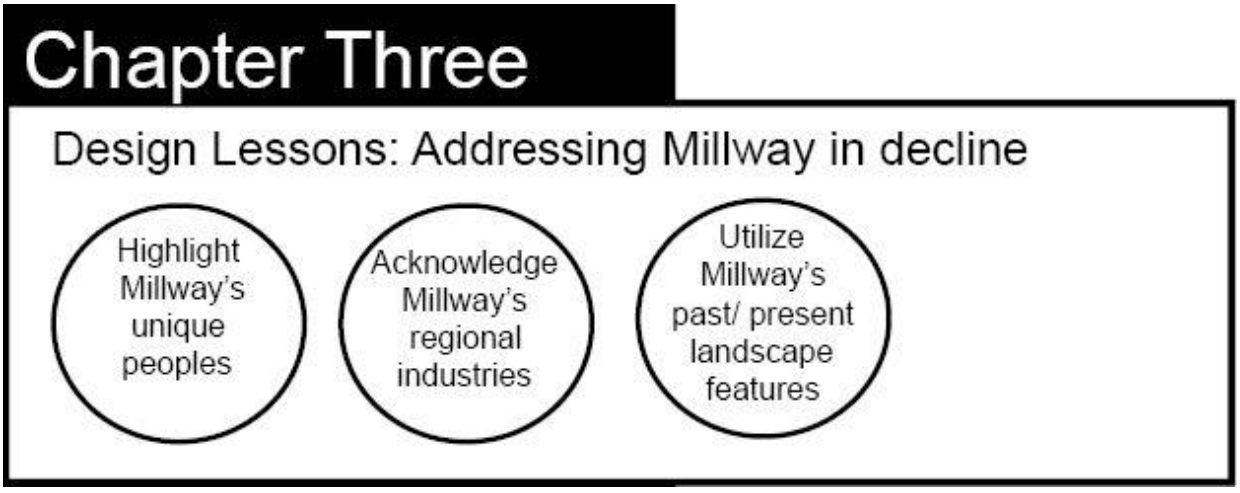


Figure 3.18: Chapter Three design lessons

CHAPTER FOUR

MILLWAY AS A RESEARCH SITE

Chapter Two looked at how other plantation landscapes have adjusted their value to become economically successful and avoid cultural loss and physical maintenance decline. Chapter Three looked at the similarities Millway historically shares with these sites, as well as individual values and stories that have made Millway unique in its past. This chapter attempts to explore and define the values embedded in Millway Plantation by using in depth interviews with a select group of family and community members. Stakeholder specific values of today discovered in this chapter will inform the direction of conceptual designs used to explore possible options for Millway's future in the following chapter. The values that will be used in Millway's analysis are the same values used to look at four of the Case Studies. These values are as follows: Beauty, Function, Capital, and Nostalgia. The secondary question this chapter seeks to answer is: What Millway specific values can be brought forward to inform a future design?

Methods

During the fall and winter months of 2018-2019, interviews were conducted with stakeholders associated with Millway Plantation. A series of interviews were used to fully understand how the plantation is currently viewed and valued. The interviewees were chosen to represent a diverse cross section of society and connection to the site to provide multiple perspectives. The interviews were analyzed for key value words and phrases, and then based on the highest values accrued, placed in a comparative value matrix.

Interview Protocol: After each participant was read a prepared statement and had agreed to a recorded interview (see Appendix A), they were then given the following definition of value

that has been used for their interview answers: “value is the relative worth or importance of a place to an individual.” The tape recorder was started and the interview proceeded.

Each interview consisted of a three-part question format. The first part began with questions exploring the participant’s feelings toward former plantation sites. Prompt questions were used to probe into the reasons for the original answer. These questions addressed how they value the memory and land associated with former plantations in general. A prompt question also addressed what they saw as positives and negatives of former plantation sites in today’s world. Each interview began with general questions about the plantation landscape to help focus the participant.

Part two of the interview format consisted of questions directly related to values associated with Millway Plantation today. Prompt questions were again used to elicit support for their original value assessment by asking participants to recall specific stories or events they remembered or experienced.

The third part of the interview addressed the future of the site and asked the participant, hypothetically, what they would do to or with the site in the future. This was done in order to probe whether the participant was willing to change or modify their value category. This line of questioning allowed the participant to suggest specific changes that could inform future land use decisions as well. The interview concluded with a chance for each participant to add information either remembered or overlooked during the interview process. The complete interview format can be reviewed in Appendix A.

Interviews were recorded and then transcribed to text using the online transcription service Rev.com. These transcriptions were stored as Microsoft Word text documents for easy

access in the next phase of analysis. For the protection of the participants, these transcripts are not available for public review with this thesis.

Interview Analysis: In order to determine value, the interviews were analyzed for specific value words. A word cloud is a tool that uses single words whose importance is shown by size relative to other words around it. The importance is calculated based on how much a word is weighted in comparison to others. A common method of weighting a word is on the frequency of times it occurs in a data set. This frequency is by extension significance, and is used to determine meaning from data sets (Shahid 2017). This form of visual representation has most commonly been used in analyzing large quantities of text quickly (Shahid 2017). Practical applications of this have been used predominantly to analyze social media posts and hashtags in order to parse out trends among larger populations with large text data sets (Shahid 2017). A 2017 study "Word cloud segmentation for simplified exploration of trending topics on Twitter", done by Nablia Shahid at the Applied Network and Data Science Research Lab in Pakistan, concluded that word clouds are good for "quick exploration of major themes in text data" (Shahid 2017).

The word cloud was also chosen as an easily accessible tool for other former plantation owners to easily replicate this thesis's process based on interviews about their own site. Using word clouds as way to analyze themes of the transcribed text is a logical choice because of its simplicity and effectiveness. For this purpose, an easy word cloud generator, WordClouds.com, was utilized. Taking the digital Microsoft word transcripts from Rev.com, the participants' responses were pasted into the word cloud generator. The output from that process produced both a list of words with their word count and the visual word cloud. This data was then used to

analyze value themes in each interview. The values utilized were Beauty, Function, Capital, and Nostalgia. These were the same values used to choose and analyze the case studies.

Within the word cloud and pairing word count list, certain words can be coded for a specific value. Unfortunately, the generator counts all words including filler and conversational words. For this reason, a list was created of these words for exclusion. Examples of these excluded words can be viewed in the below Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Examples of Words to be Excluded from Word Cloud Analysis

Excluded Words	See, just, like, yeah, can, think, going, thing, stuff, kind, got, really, back, way, well, per, something, still, come, came, one, lot, always, know, sure

Examples of meaningful words such as “Family”, “Beautiful”, “Memory”, “Feel”, “Happy”, “Experiences”, and “Love” could indicate a person may value a site based more on the Nostalgia and Beauty spectrum. Examples of common words that code for different values can be found in the below Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Examples of Words that Code for Values

Beauty	beauty, beautiful, aesthetic, landscape, pretty, attractive, gorgeous, love, wonder, connections, look, feeling, life, woods, forest, creek, country, cottage, house, architecture, tree
Function	industry, timber, tracts, productivity, mill, work, ecology, creeks, ecosystem, labor, companies, woods, forest, timber, land, hunting, deer, area, tree, acres, farm, grow, recreation, harvesting, job
Capital	Product, money, prices, production, area, wood, tree, growing, make, industry, timber, acres, size, quantity, board, drone, dollar, farm, cost, grow, harvesting, maintenance, job
Nostalgia	Memory, experience, remember, family, *family names*, history, years, time, historical, stories, horseback

Many words can be applied to more than one value, so duplicates occurred between some values. Additionally, many words that were not excluded, such as “Millway”, occurred in high frequency but did not code for a clear value in the analysis.

In Shahid’s 2017 study of Twitter, a two-step system was used using large computing capabilities to insure accuracy. Without that level of computer resources, a three-step data system that included an analogue final check was employed to insure accuracy. This strategy was used to further analyze and check the results of the word clouds to avoid misrepresentation of the data.

In Step One, the twenty most used words in each interview were taken and then given a value(s) based on the value category shown in Table 4.2. This does, however, allow substantial room for error given that individual words could have many meanings and can be taken out of context. For this reason, the second step in the system utilized the word cloud output. To substantiate step one’s original value claim, the word cloud was used as secondary evidence. This visual output showed all the words ranked by size in terms of number of times used. This visual representation showed clearly the words used in the interview as a whole as opposed to a snapshot of the top twenty. This includes words that may have been used less, but could be related to other terms as synonyms. Categorizing these lesser-used terms started to refine, solidify, and possibly confirm the first step. Lastly, each transcript was reviewed again to confirm the generator’s findings to avoid misrepresentation. This three-step process attempted to provide quantitative data proof to a qualitative value interview.

After the three-step analysis of each of the eleven participants was completed and their four values were ranked from highest to lowest based on their testimonial, the participants were then compared to each other. This was done by sorting their results on a four-quadrant gradient

that showed the values each held compared to other participants interviewed. Each axis on this quadrant gradient represented the four values explored. Their top two values determined the quadrant in which they fell, while the remaining two values determined where they fell within that quadrant, ranging from extreme to moderate. This information was then used in Chapter Five to support conceptual designs of Millway's grounds.

Participant Profiles

A total of eleven family and community members were selected to participate in the interview process. Participants were selected to provide the following diversity: 1) a range of ages; 2) an African- American perspective in addition to a white perspective; 3) members of the surrounding community in addition to members of the family. Millway is still owned and occasionally enjoyed by members of the family that originally built it, thus their values represented an important viewpoint for this research. For the participants' privacy, numbers were assigned in place of their names. Table 4.3 shows the 11 participants' information and their relation to the Millway site.

Table 4.3: Interview Participant Information

	Approx. Age	Gender	Race	Relation
P1	18-35	F	White	Family, out of state residency
P2	50+	M	White	Neighbor, community member
P3	50+	F	White	Neighbor, Community member
P4	18-35	M	White	Family, out of state residency
P5	18-35	M	White	Neighbor, DNR Game Warden, community member
P6	50+	F	White	Family, in state residency

P7	50+	F	African American	Descendent of Millway Lumber worker, community member
P8	50+	M	White	Hunt Club lease holder, community member
P9	50+	M	White	Millway forester, In state resident
P10	50+	M	White	Family, part owner, part time resident, community member
P11	18-35	M	African American	Farmer, Descendent of Millway Lumber worker, community member
Percentages	36% 18-25 64% 50+	36% Female 64% Male	18% African American 82% White	36% Family 64% Not family 64% Bradley Community 36% Outside Bradley

The interview pool was limited because many people who would have known the plantation are either deceased or have moved away. Many young people or people new to the area do not know that Millway even exists and are not familiar with its history and current status so were not good candidates for the interviews. Furthermore, finding African Americans who would sit for what might be considered a controversial topic was a challenge. Of the four contacted, only two responded to that correspondence. Finally, there was limited time available to locate willing survey participants, as well as limited time to conduct the interviews themselves.

Data Analysis

The following figures analyze the data collected from each participant using the three-step analysis method outlined in the previous section (Figures 4.1-4.11). Their individual results were then compared to each other in the final figures of this section (Figures 4.12-4.13).

Participant 1 (P1)

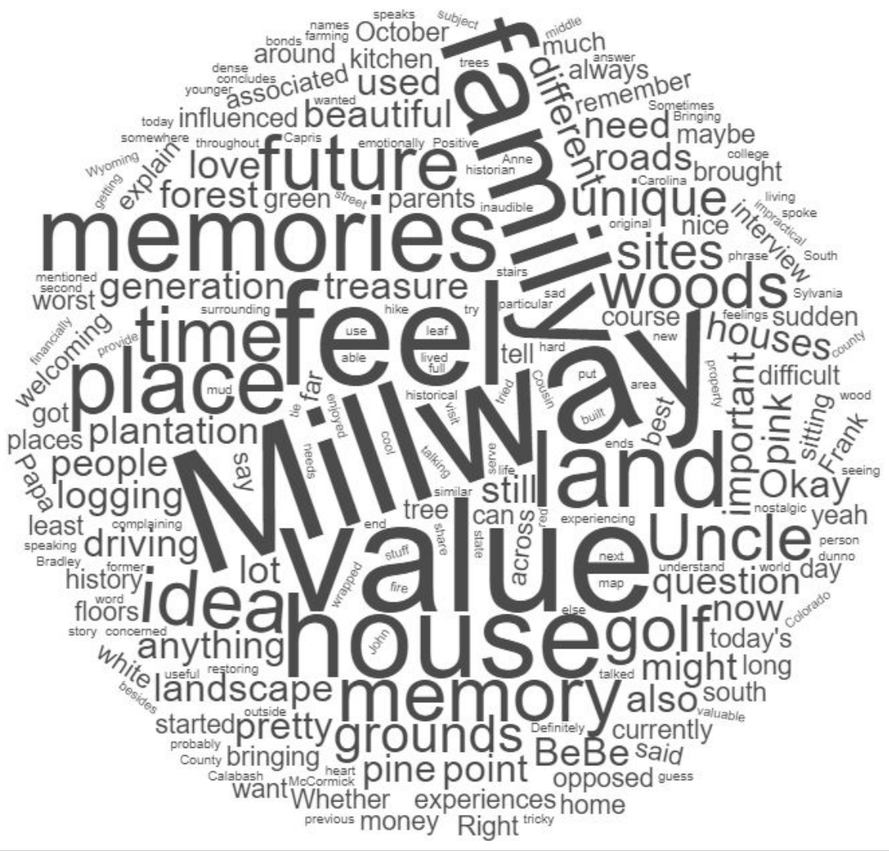
Age:	18-35
Gender:	Female
Race:	White
Relation:	Family member
Residency:	Outside South Carolina

Upon cross referencing the original transcript the assessment that Participant 1 values Millway for Nostalgia and Beauty appears to be true. During her interview, she recalled fond memories with friends and family there, as well as the collected memories that previous generations have shared with her. She also recalled the beauty of the place more as the feeling she gets when she is there as opposed to the house itself. Her definition of beauty seems to be derived from the people and the experiences rather than the land or existing architecture. Upon further inspection even some of the Function based words mentioned during step two such as “logging” were actually being applied in the instance of a memory of being on a “golfcart” that she used to tour the property. “Golfcart” was a term that was in the top 20 list. The Capital based words shown were in reference to how much money it would take to “re-do” as she put it. In conclusion, the value feeling of Participant 1 falls heavily on the nostalgia and beauty spectrum. P1 also values recreation as a function but to a lesser degree.

Step 1

23	Millway
17	value
16	feel
13	family
11	house
10	memories
9	land
8	place
7	memory
7	future
7	time
6	woods
6	Uncle
6	golfcart
5	grounds
5	unique
5	sites
4	plantation
4	generation
4	important

Step 2



Rankings (highest to lowest)

1: Nostalgia
2: Beauty
3: Function
4: Capital

Present Value Words

Beauty

Feel
House
Land
Place
Woods
Grounds
Unique
Pretty
Landscape
Beautiful
Pine
Welcoming
Treasure

Function

Logging
Driving
Roads
Sitting
Used

Capital

Money
Logging
Pine

Nostalgia

Family
Memories
Memory
Time
Uncle
Generation
People
History
BeBe (family member)
Papa (family member)
Experiences
Remember
Treasure
Parents

Figure 4.1: Analysis of P1’s Value of Millway

Participant 2 (P2)

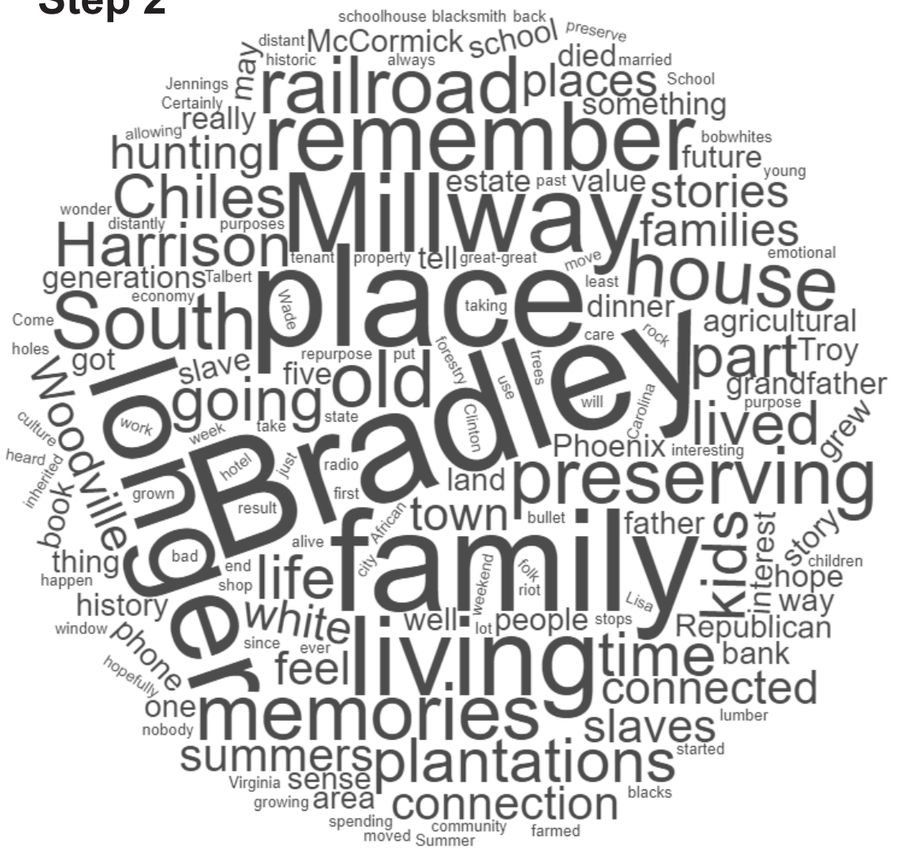
Age: 50+
Gender: Male
Race: White
Relation: Community Member
Residency: Bradley, SC

Upon cross referencing the original transcript, Participant 2 values Millway for Nostalgia and Function. He recalled being “deeply rooted” in the area and a positive personal history of growing up in the community. He also spoke to the negatives of the segregated South. His interview shows the dichotomy of valuing history both in a positive and negative light simultaneously. His Nostalgic value stems more from history than experience. His experiences have certainly shaped his value, but the true “roots” seemed to come from family history more than specific life events. He also values the Function of the place. One of the most striking was when he described the place as “alive” and talked of the wildlife and how organic it is in its function. He seems to value the Function less than the Nostalgia however. He values Capital as well. He talked about the value of timber and agriculture to the area, although he spoke to this more in a past tense. In conclusion, the value feeling of Participant 2 falls heavily on the Nostalgia spectrum, but does show some Function value as well. Additionally, he did mention the Capital value of growing timber on his land, although this value was comparatively minor.

Step 1

14	Bradley
12	place
11	family
10	longer
9	Millway
8	living
7	remember
6	preserving
6	memories
6	railroad
6	South
6	house
6	old
5	plantations
5	Harrison
5	Chiles
5	going
5	lived
5	life
5	part

Step 2



Rankings (highest to lowest)

1: Nostalgia
2: Function
3: Capital
4: Beauty

Present Value Words

Beauty

Estate

Function

Living
Railroad
Lived
Life
Hunting
Estate
Agricultural
Land
Purposes
Grew

Capital

Economy
Bank
Agricultural
Grew

Nostalgia

Family
Remember
Memories
Preserving
Old
Harrison
Chiles
Summers
Stories
Grandfather
Tlme
Generations
Kids

Figure 4.2: Analysis of P2’s Value of Millway

Participant 3 (P3)

Age: 50+
Gender: Female
Race: White
Relation: Community Member
Residency: Bradley, SC

Upon cross referencing the original transcript to check the information derived from the world cloud generator, the assessment that Participant 3 values Millway for Nostalgia and Beauty remains generally true. During her interview she talked more of the Beauty value of the place than the word cloud generator indicated, using terms such as “pretty, “beautiful”, and “gorgeous.” All these terms are relative synonyms, but only used in individual instances across the interview. This shows the limitations of this world cloud method, but points out the importance of Step Three to obtain clear analysis. The Nostalgia value holds true from the previous steps in that she felt many good and bad memories that have tied her to the area. In conclusion, it is confirmed that Participant 3’s value lies in Nostalgia and Beauty, but her value on Beauty is higher ranked than assumed in Steps One and Two. She displays a limited function value because she spoke of the interactions with using the land for walks and recreation. Capital seemed to not be of value to her.

Step 1

21	love
18	people
12	land
10	see
9	house
8	Millway
8	Frank
8	home
8	time
7	Pippa
7	place
6	houses
6	lived
6	life
5	remember
5	feeling
5	living
5	wonder
5	came
5	walk

Step 2

Rankings (highest to lowest)

1: Nostalgia
2: Beauty
3: Function
4: Capital

Present Value Words

Beauty

Love
Land
See
Wonder
Feeling
Feel
Woods
Country
Pond
Outside

Function

Walking
Connections

Capital

Owned

Nostalgia

Love
People
Frank (family)
Home
Pippa (pet name)
Remember
Memories
Historical
Gone
Forge (blacksmith)
Roots
Old
Kids

Figure 4.3: Analysis of P3’s Value of Millway

Participant 4 (P4)

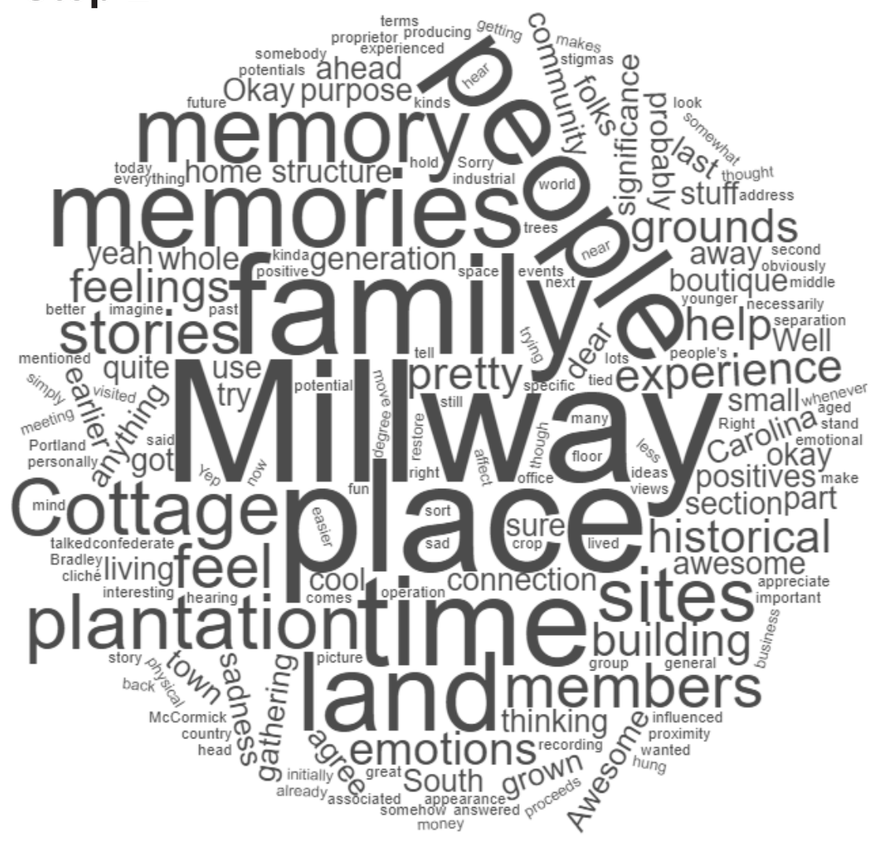
Age: 18-35
Gender: Male
Race: White
Relation: Family Member
Residency: Outside SC

Upon cross referencing the original transcript to check the information derived from the world cloud generator, the assessment that Participant 4 values Millway for Nostalgia and Beauty remains true. He spoke about bittersweet memories of experiencing Millway mostly in the light of funerals. Despite this, he described the personal feeling of belonging and connection with the place both in terms of family ties and memories with the natural environment. These stories exhibit Nostalgic and Beauty values within them. The Function value words that show themselves more clearly in Step Two seem to be in relation to what he sees as a future value rather than a current value to the site. He suggested a cottage industry as a way to give Millway an economic place in the present. For this reason, he still shows a personal value of Nostalgia and Beauty, but suggests Millway could have a value of Function and Capital in the future.

Step 1

21	Millway
18	place
14	family
9	people
9	time
8	memories
8	land
7	memory
6	plantation
6	Cottage Industry
6	sites
5	members
5	stories
5	feel
4	experience
4	historical
4	building
4	emotions
4	feelings
4	grounds

Step 2



Rankings (highest to lowest)

1: Nostalgia
2: Beauty
3: Function
4: Capital

Present Value Words

Beauty

Place
Land
Feel
Building
Grounds
Structure
Community
Feelings
Pretty
Awesome
Appearance

Function

Cottage Industry
Purpose
Boutique
Operation
Living
Crop

Capital

Crop
Industry

Nostalgia

Family
People
Memories
Stories
Feel
Experience
Historical
Emotions
Significance
Home
Generation
Gathering
Sadness
Community
Feelings

Figure 4.4: Analysis of P4's Value of Millway

Participant 5 (P5)

Age:	18-35
Gender:	Male
Race:	White
Relation:	Community Member DNR Game Warden
Residency:	Outside SC

Upon cross referencing the original transcript to check the information derived from the world cloud generator, the assessment that Participant 5 values Millway for Function and Nostalgia remains true. He talked largely about how he used the land growing up and how that has affected his view of it today. He also described land uses from the lens of the hunting community and his employment as a DNR officer. As a result, he has valued memories that he connects with that function. Again, one value informs the other. He also talked of the function of the ecology and how human interaction can help that function. He sees the future value deriving from the function of the place as well, suggesting planting “quail woods” or a “bird field” to be enjoyed by friends and family within the hunting community. In conclusion, Participant 5 values the land based largely on Function, but that Function has significantly informed a secondary value of Nostalgia. His Function value also informs a slight Capital value in that his paycheck is derived from employment on the land. His Beauty value is small or absent.

Step 1

25	property
17	Harrison
16	years
16	land
15	place
14	Millway
14	deer
13	hunting
13	people
13	house
12	remember
12	family
9	hunt
9	old
8	time
7	plantation
7	Abbeville
7	important
7	memories
7	acres

Step 2

Rankings (highest to lowest)

1: Function
2: Nostalgia
3: Capital
4: Beauty

Present Value Words

Beauty

Place
Pines
Pasture

Function

Property
Land
Deer
Hunting
Old
Hunt
Acres
Tracts
Farm
Ride
Quail (hunting)
Law Enforcement
Turkey (hunting)
Farming
Pastures

Capital

Property
Acres
Tracts
Law Enforcement (job)

Nostalgia

Harrison
Years
Place
Remember
Old
Memories
Terry
Dad
Boy
Historical
Time
Memory
History

Figure 4.5: Analysis of P5’s Value of Millway

Participant 6 (P6)

Age: 50+
Gender: Female
Race: White
Relation: Family Member
Residency: Inside SC

Upon cross referencing the original transcript to check the information derived from the world cloud generator, the assessment that Participant 6 values Millway for Nostalgia and Capital remains generally true. During her interview she talked at great lengths about family history and the effect that had on her upbringing. She recounted stories of riding horses with dear family members and the fond memories she treasures as a result. This indicates that her Function values are influenced by her Nostalgia values, as the function itself was a distant memory. She acknowledged the struggles Millway faces today with social perception, but is steadfast in her Nostalgic value Millway has played in her personal life and the ones she cares about. The Capital value also remains true as she referenced various business ventures of Millway both past and present that offered social standing and monetary gain for her and her family. In conclusion, her Capital and Function values seem to be subordinate to her Nostalgia value, but are still present in her evaluation of Millway. She did not mention the physical beauty of the place explicitly in the interview.

Rankings (highest to lowest)

1: Nostalgia
2: Capital
3: Function
4: Beauty

Present Value Words

Beauty

Nature
Woods

Function

Riding
Hunting
Growing
Experiences
Enjoyed
Care

Capital

Land
Trust (legal)
Acres
Money
Timber
Economic
Growing
Care

Nostalgia

People
Family
Years
Time
Grandfather
Memories
Enjoyed
History
Used
Experiences
Dolly
Preserving
Generations
Enjoyed

Step 1

33	land
21	people
20	family
20	house
18	Millway
17	good
16	years
11	Harrison
10	time
9	world
8	Greenwood
8	riding
8	trust
7	great
6	Grandfather
6	Green Pastures
6	future
6	acres
6	sense
6	last

Step 2

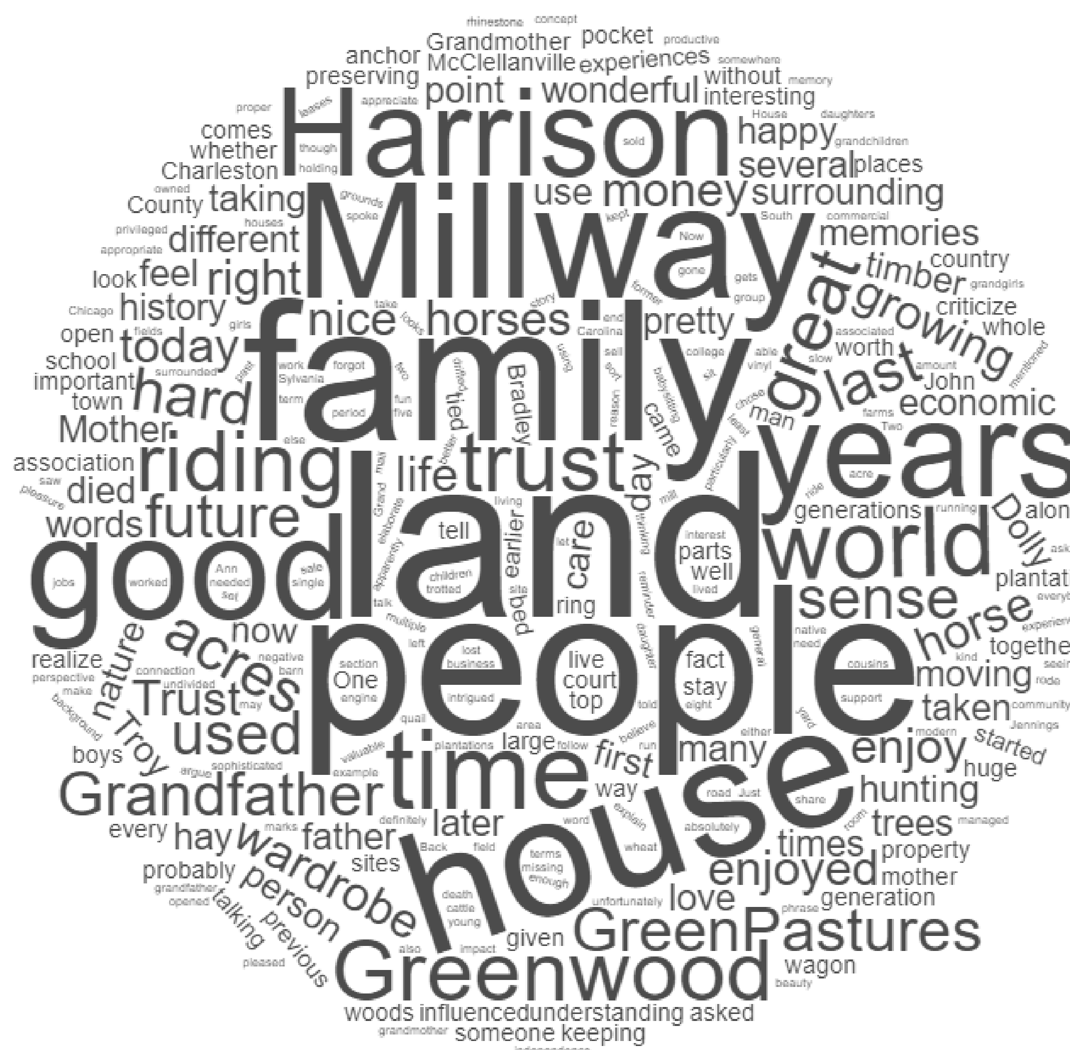


Figure 4.6: Analysis of P6’s Value of Millway

Participant 7 (P7)

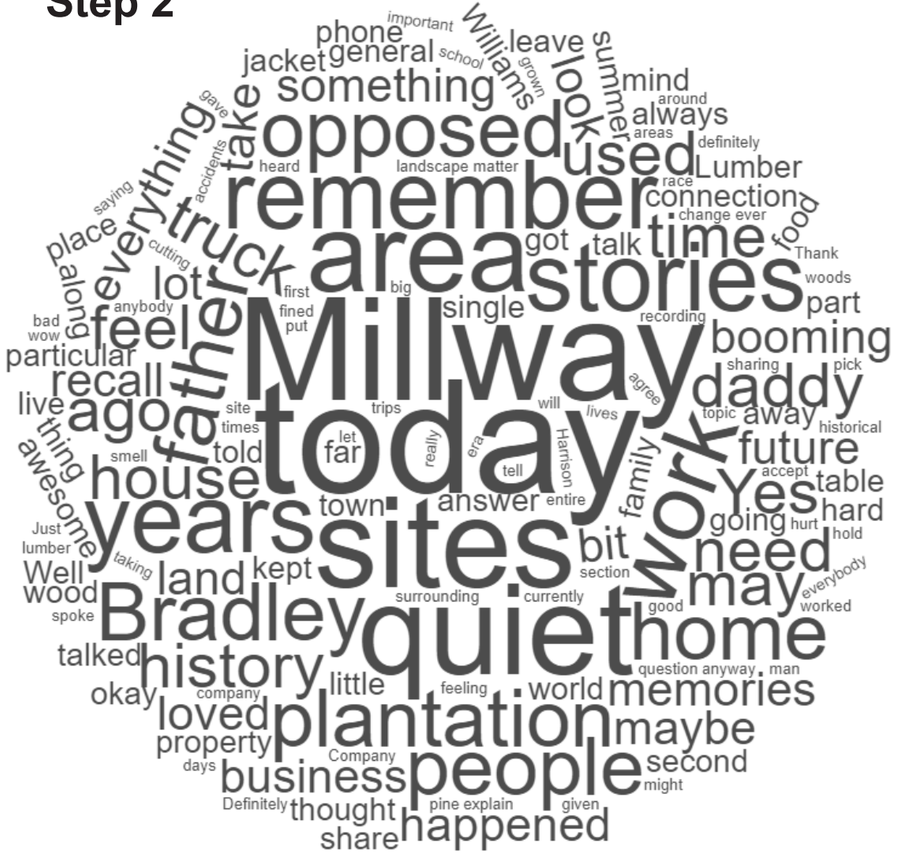
Age: 50+
Gender: Female
Race: African American
Relation: Community Member
Residency: Bradley, SC

Upon cross referencing the original transcript to check the information derived from the world cloud generator, the assessment that Participant 7 values Millway for Nostalgia and Capital remains generally true. However, Capital played a bigger role in her assessment of the land than originally hypothesized based on Steps One and Two. Most of the memories and uses of the land reflected the necessity of gaining the funds to “put food on the table”. The words “food” and “table” show up in the word cloud, but were not put together until Step Three. She did not express much value on Beauty stating that she “never really thought of it that way.” She did however express that she really liked the “quiet” in more of a Function value, rather than the assumed Beauty value. Additionally, she expressed a value related to Millway as an indication of social progress based on her Nostalgia. Her high word frequency of “today” refers to how far she believes Millway and places like it have come from the past. To her it represents a change that “Black People” can come and be a part of former plantations now, whereas that was never really an option in the past. In conclusion, Participant 7 values Nostalgia in terms of the Capital and Function that she and her family have put into the place, and the progress it shows in culture.

Step 1

19	today
14	Millway
12	sites
12	quiet
9	area
7	remember
7	stories
7	years
7	work
6	plantation
6	Bradley
6	opposed
6	father
6	people
6	home
5	history
5	truck
5	house
5	daddy
5	feel

Step 2



Rankings (highest to lowest)

1: Capital
2: Function
3: Nostalgia
4: Beauty

Present Value Words

Beauty

Quiet
Place

Function

Work
Truck
Quiet
Timber
Food
Connection
Home

Capital

Work
Truck
Booming
Timber
Wood
Property
Hard
Business

Nostalgia

Remember
Stories
Years
Father
History
Daddy
Family
Loved
Time
Memories
Loved

Figure 4.7: Analysis of P7’s Value of Millway

Participant 8 (P8)

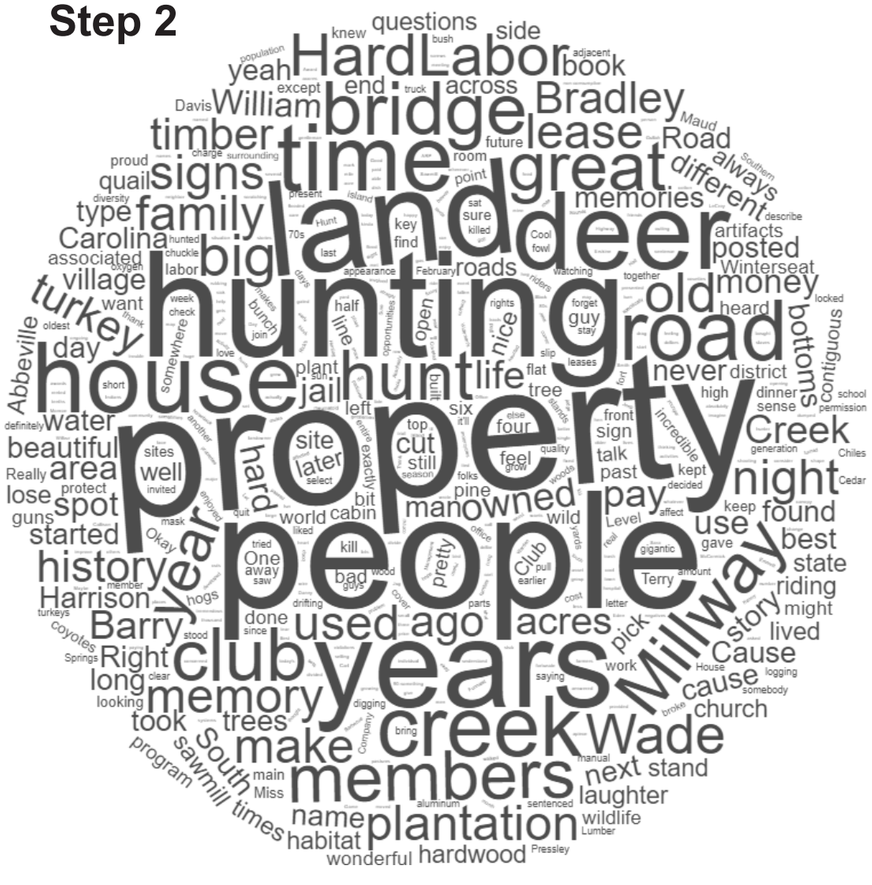
Age:	50+
Gender:	Male
Race:	White
Relation:	Community Member Hunt Club Member
Residency:	Bradley, SC

Upon cross referencing the original transcript to check the information derived from the world cloud generator, the assessment that Participant 8 values Millway for Function and Nostalgia remains true. As a hunter that utilizes the site, most of the ways he has experienced the site has been in the Function category. His Nostalgia value is also influenced by this relationship with the site. Many of the stories he shared related to the hunting function he used the site for. Similarly, his Beauty value is associated with how the ecology functions, with hunters providing what he sees as a valuable role in that function. His Capital value as expressed in Step Two was rather an acknowledgement of responsibilities rather than a true value of the place as a Capital producer for him, thus clarifying that he values Capital as an obligation. In conclusion, P8 values Function and Nostalgia above all else, but also sees value in Capital and Beauty on a lesser scale.

Step 1

62	property
47	people
38	hunting
29	land
28	years
25	deer
21	house
21	time
18	creek
18	road
16	bridge
16	club
15	Millway
15	members
15	great
15	hunt
13	Hard Labor
13	year
13	big
12	old

Step 2



Rankings (highest to lowest)

1: Function
2: Nostalgia
3: Capital
4: Beauty

Present Value Words

Beauty

Creek
Bottoms
Night
Wildlife

Function

Property
Hunting
Land
Creek
Road
Bridge
Club
Hunt
Turkey (hunting)
Sawmill
Habitat
Hardwood
Used
Timber
Acres

Capital

Lease
Money
Owned
Sawmill
Timber
Acres

Nostalgia

People
Years
Time
Members
Old
Wade
Laughter
Memory
Ago
Family
History
Memories

Figure 4.8: Analysis of P8's Value of Millway

Participant 9 (P9)

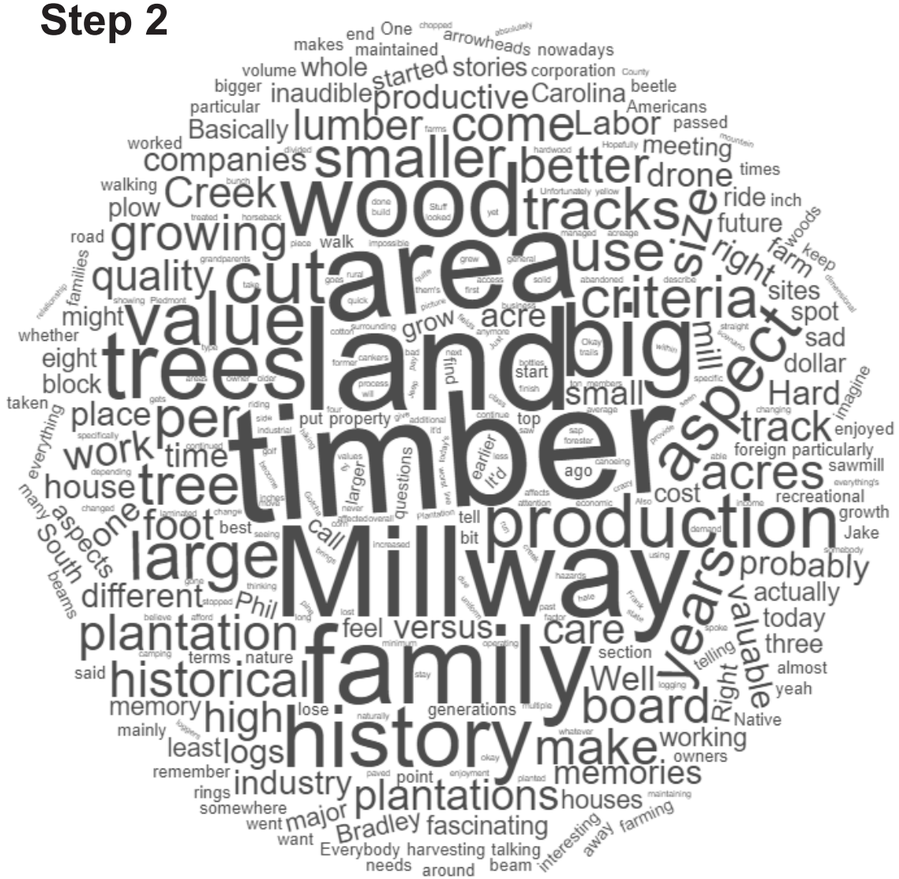
Age:	50+
Gender:	Male
Race:	White
Relation:	Community Member Forester for site
Residency:	Resident of SC

Upon cross referencing the original transcript to check the information derived from the world cloud generator, the assessment that Participant 9 values Millway for Capital and Function remains true. As a forester, his use of the site is generally to create revenue from the timber grown there. This means the Function for him is the growth of timber, which will then translate into an income for himself and his clients. In addition to the timber growth Function he puts onto the place, he also mentioned the Function of habitat that the pine tracts produce for wildlife. Additionally, he mentioned the fond memories of dealing with family members and workers associated with the site, so there is a bit of Nostalgia value in his perception. This Nostalgia value is still tied to his career, and thus to his Capital value. In conclusion, P9 values the Capital and Function Millway represents, but these values have in turn created a lesser value of Nostalgia.

Step 1

46	timber
39	land
16	Millway
16	area
14	family
13	wood
13	big
12	trees
11	history
10	production
10	value
10	cut
9	aspect
9	large
8	criteria
8	smaller
8	tracks
8	years
8	tree
8	use

Step 2



Rankings (highest to lowest)

1: Capital
2: Function
3: Nostalgia
4: Beauty

Present Value Words

Beauty

Creek
Nature

Function

Land
Trees
Timber
Tracts
Use
Work
Harvesting
Labor
Native
Drone
Recreational
Sawmill
Farm
Ride

Capital

Timber
Land
Wood
Production
Cut
Large
Criteria
Tracts
Board
Size
Lumber
Quality
Companies
Harvesting

Nostalgia

Family
History
Years
Memories
Historical
Years

Figure 4.9: Analysis of P9's Value of Millway

Participant 10 (P10)

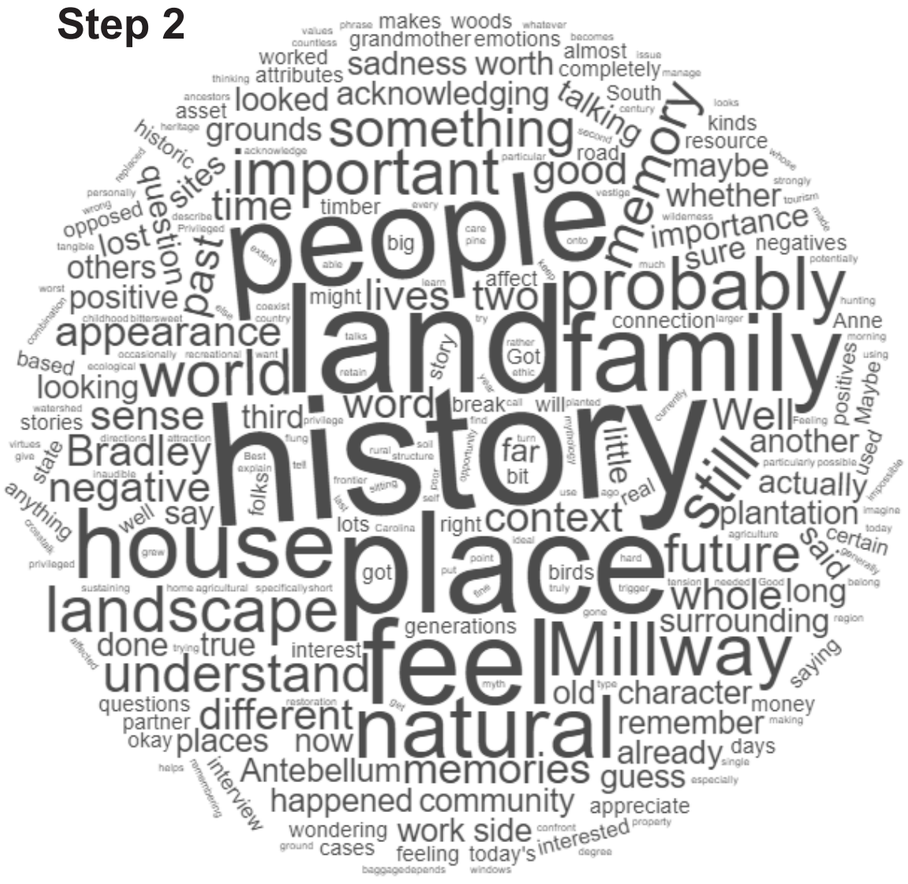
Age: 50+
Gender: Male
Race: White
Relation: Community Member
Part Owner of Site
Residency: Outside of SC

Upon cross referencing the original transcript to check the information derived from the world cloud generator, the assessment that Participant 11 values Millway for Nostalgia and Beauty remain relatively true, although it is interesting the value that he puts on ecology that informs his Beauty value. The Function words and Beauty words are very closely related in his case as he used them almost interchangeably when he talked about systems and the natural environment. This in effect elevates his value of Function higher than previously suggested in Steps One and Two. In conclusion, he values Nostalgia of the place the most, but his Beauty and Function values are almost equal in that he sees one as synonymous with the other. Even though the financial burden falls partially onto him, he did not mention many Capital words in this testimony.

Step 1

17	history
17	land
14	place
13	people
12	feel
11	family
11	house
9	natural
8	probably
8	Millway
7	important
7	landscape
7	still
7	world
6	understand
6	something
6	future
6	memory
5	appearance
5	different

Step 2



Rankings (highest to lowest)

1: Nostalgia
2: Beauty
3: Function
4: Capital

Present Value Words

Beauty

Land
Feel
Natural
Landscape
Appearance
Sense
Surrounding
Character
Grounds

Function

Natural
Land
Work
Connection
Wandering
Community
Resource

Capital

Land
Work
Resource

Nostalgia

History
People
Family
Important
Memory
Memories
Lives
Past
Old
Time
Antebellum
Remember

Figure 4.10: Analysis of P10's Value of Millway

Participant 11 (P11)

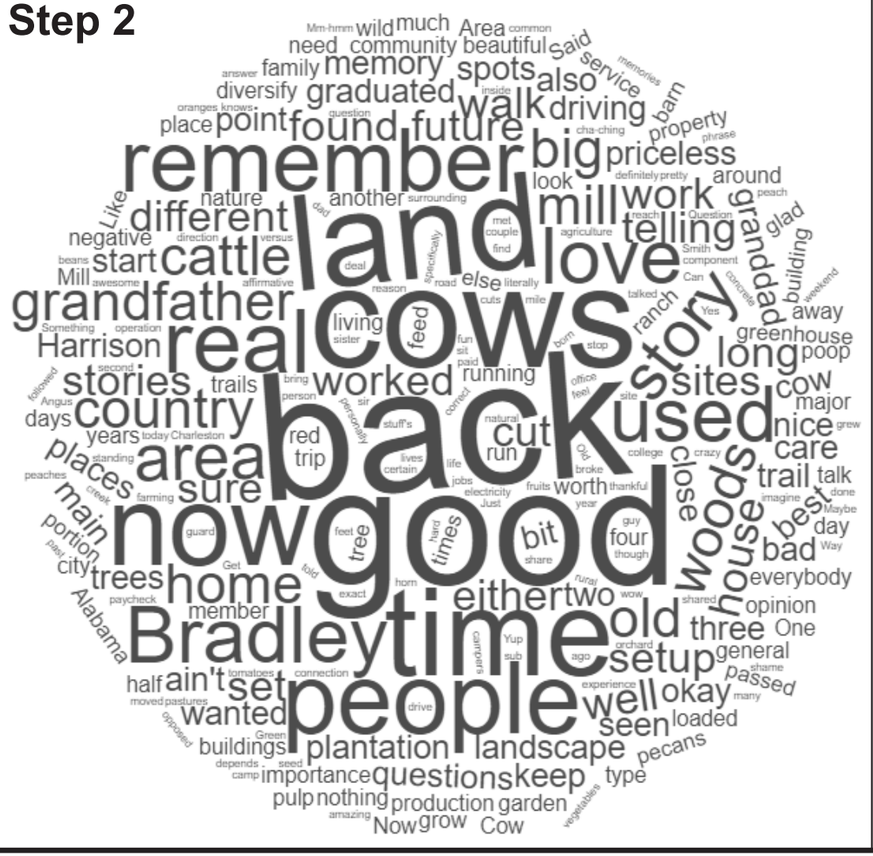
Age:	18-35
Gender:	Male
Race:	African American
Relation:	Community Member
Residency:	Bradley, SC

Upon cross referencing the original transcript to check the information derived from the world cloud generator, the assessment that Participant 11 values the area for Function and Nostalgia remains relatively true. He had never visited Millway (the house) before the interview, but his use of adjacent lands for raising cattle has affected his value of the space. His grandfather ran cattle on the same land, and for him this Nostalgia informed his Function value of the place. He also spoke to the future more than most of the participants, stating that former plantations represent the change in culture; “even though we came from that time [slavery]…to where we at now so we can just sit down and just be cordial with each other. No problems, no hassles. It’s a beautiful thing.” His Nostalgia value seems to encompass a present mindset. He also commented on the beauty of the place in terms of his memories, thus increasing the Beauty and Nostalgia value he put on the area. He acknowledged his livelihood as a farmer and cattleman, but never talked about the money, only the work and experience, confirming his Function value and decreasing his Capital value. In conclusion, based on Step Three, Nostalgia seems to inform much of his value, with Function being closely tied to that value. Beauty is a subordinate value, but this seems to be influenced by his primary values of Nostalgia and Function. His Capital value seems to not be very high even though the land represents his livelihood.

Step 1

25	back
21	good
15	cows
13	land
13	time
13	now
10	people
9	remember
9	real
8	Bradley
8	love
8	used
7	story
7	area
6	grandfather
6	country
6	cattle
6	woods
6	home
6	mill

Step 2



Rankings (highest to lowest)

1: Nostalgia
2: Function
3: Beauty
4: Capital

Present Value Words

Beauty

Love
Country
Woods
Landscape
Trail
Spots
Beautiful

Function

Cows
Land
Used
Cattle
Woods
Home
Mill
Worked
Setup
Work
Walk
Greenhouse
Production
Diversify
Community

Capital

Cows
Cattle
Production

Nostalgia

Time
People
Remember
Love
Story
Grandfather
Stories
Priceless
Harrison
Memory
Community

Figure 4.11: Analysis of P11’s Value of Millway

All Word Clouds

The below figure shows all of the word clouds displayed together for comparative analysis.

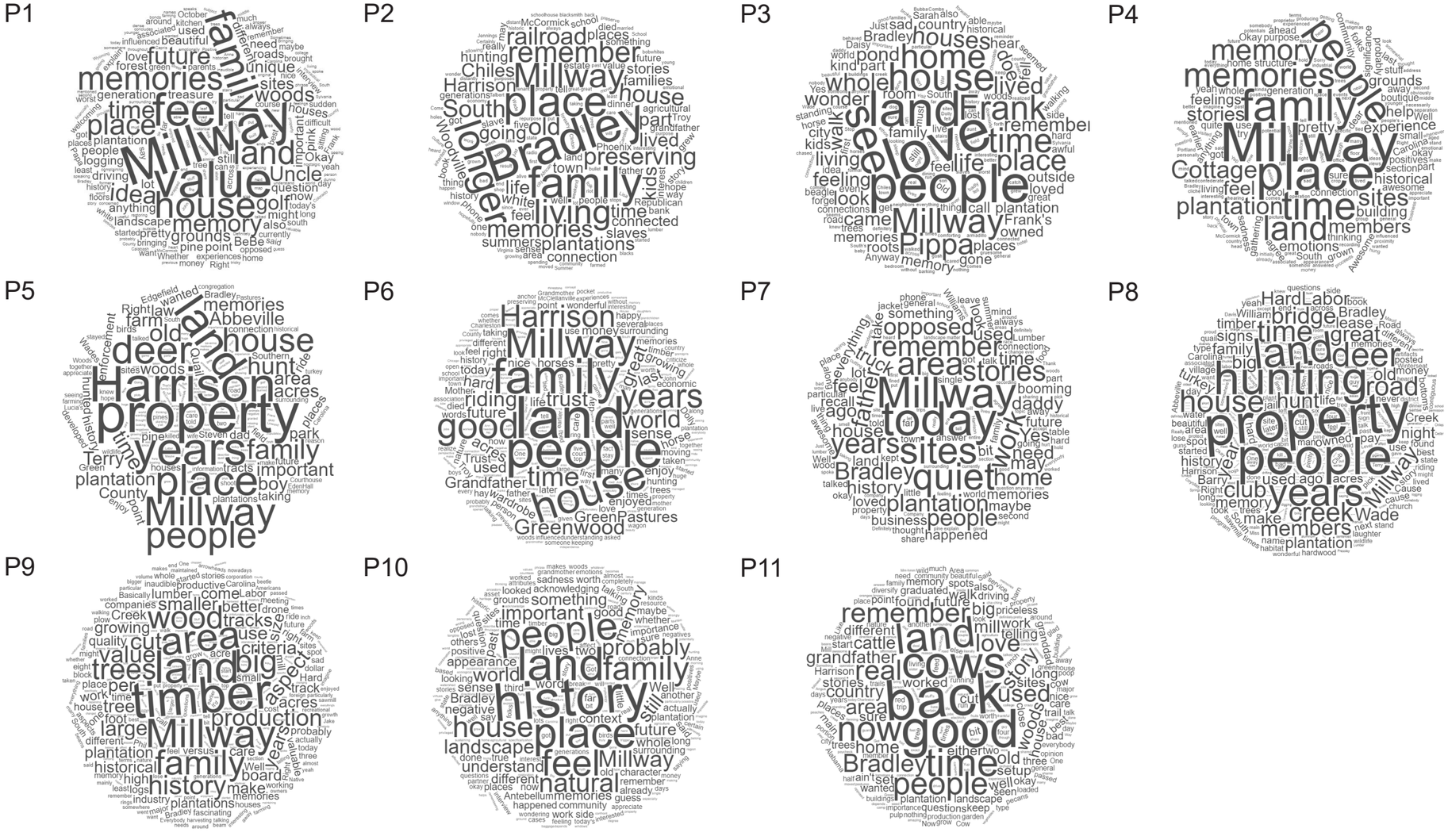


Figure 4.12: All participants' word cloud for visual comparison

All Participants Collective Value

Age: 36%18-35, 64% 50+
Gender: 36% Female, 64% Male
Race: 18% African American, 82% White
Relation: 36% Family, 64% Community

The majority of the participants found Nostalgia to be the most important component of their value. Function was found to be the second most important value across the sample. Supporting this information is that the Function/ Nostalgia quadrant contains the most participants of any other quadrant. Beauty resonated with some of the Participants, while Capitol had the lowest number of participants who valued it. When used in conjunction, Function/ Nostalgia occurred most often with participants as a pair, followed by Nostalgia/ Beauty, and then Function/ Capital. No participants valued Capital/ Beauty as a pair.

Male and Female results did not show clear division over value. Younger people tended to value Beauty over Function more than older participants. Family members always harbored Nostalgia as a value. Neighbors and community members typically included Nostalgia as a primary value, but this did not remain true for two members of that group. Racially, White participants put value more heavily on Nostalgia, while African Americans favored the Function or Capital in a higher degree. Generally speaking demographics did not play as large a role in the value perception of Millway as was expected. Values came down to personal experience with the site, area, and people. For this specific site, value differences varied more on an individual basis than on a demographic basis.

Rankings (highest to lowest)

1: Function / Nostalgia

2: Beauty / Nostalgia

3: Capital / Function

4: Capital / Beauty

Participants Values for Millway

Below is a chart displaying all of the participants values displayed side by side as derived from the previous individule analysis.

Participant	Values ranked from greatest to least from interview
P1	Nostalgia, Beauty, Function, Capital
P2	Nostalgia, Function, Capital, Beauty
P3	Nostalgia, Beauty, Function, Capital
P4	Nostalgia, Beauty, Function, Capital
P5	Function, Nostalgia, Capital, Beauty
P6	Nostalgia, Capital, Function, Beauty
P7	Capital, Function, Nostalgia, Beauty
P8	Function, Nostalgia, Capital, Beauty
P9	Capital, Function, Nostalgia, Beauty
P10	Nostalgia, Beauty, Function, Capital
P11	Nostalgia, Function, Beauty, Capital

Using this information, the participants were sorted on a quadrient matrix to display their values of Millway relative to their peers. This matrix can be found directly to the right.

Value Quadrent Matrix for Millway

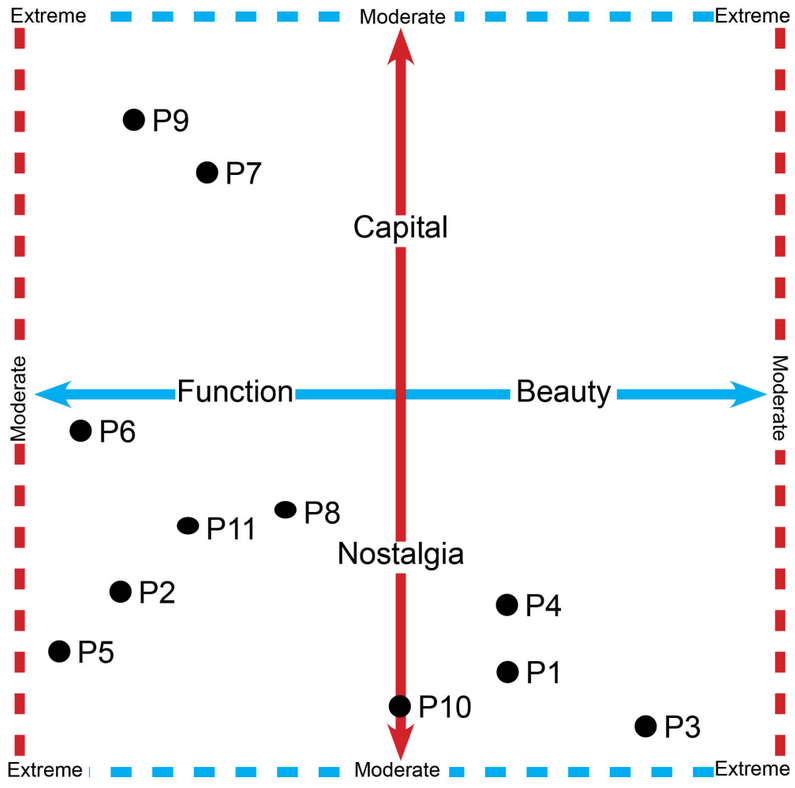


Figure 4.12: Analysis of all participants' collective value of Millway

Chapter Synthesis: Addressing Millway Specific Value

In conclusion, the results derived from the analysis will be used to direct three sets of conceptual plans. These three plans will be based on the Value Quadrant Matrix for Millway (Figure 4.13) with each plan reflecting a quadrant including: Function/ Nostalgia, Beauty/ Nostalgia, and Capital/ Function. Capital/ Beauty will be omitted as it did not present as a value to surveyed participants. Figure 4.14 illustrates design lessons from this chapter that will be used to evaluate the success of those conceptual designs.

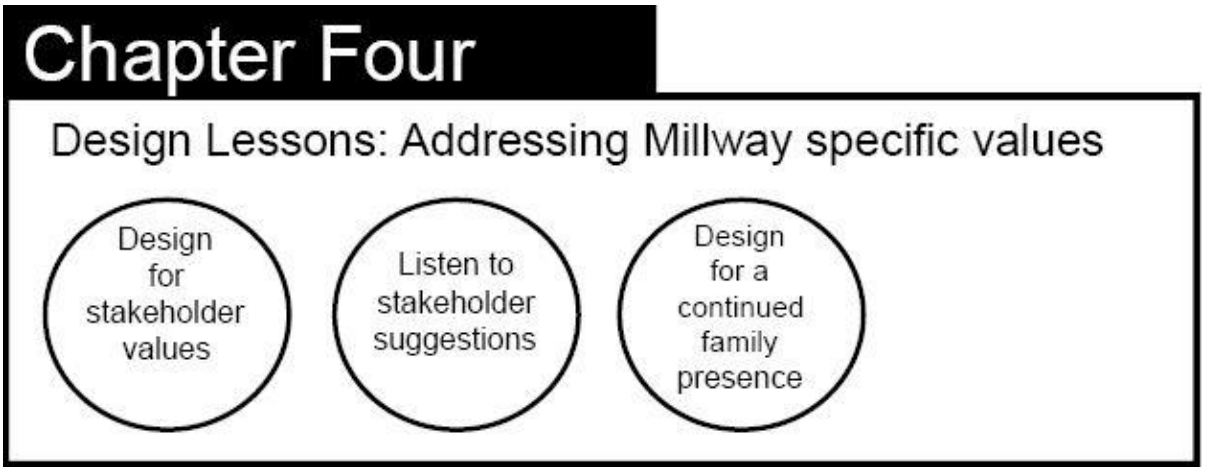


Figure 4.14: Chapter Four design lessons

The following chapter will synthesize possible land use options for Millway's future using learned material from Chapters Two, Three, and Four.

CHAPTER FIVE

MILLWAY REIMAGINED

This chapter will use design to explore what opportunities Millway has to diversify in order to become economically successful once again. The designs presented in this chapter are based on the value areas identified in the previous chapter. The author created conceptual plans addressing the three value areas of Function/ Nostalgia, Beauty/ Nostalgia, and Capital/Function. The designs utilize tactics learned from the Chapter Two case studies, historic values that became clear in Chapter Three, and community suggestions of Chapter Four. Each of the concept plans was then analyzed to determine the potential success and drawbacks of each option based on the design lessons synthesized at the end of Chapters Two, Three, and Four. The goal of this chapter is to suggest possibilities that allow Millway's owners to pay the taxes and maintenance costs, while also responding to site values. Each of these plans attempts to respond to community value while also providing economic income to support the site. The sub-question this chapter seeks to address is: What could value based design look like at Millway?

Site Analysis

To understand the landscape, an initial analysis of the site was completed to point out existing conditions. This was done to inventory physical and historic features that values might be able to interact with on the site. The findings of this analysis will be discussed in further detail below.

Circulation Diagram (Figure 5.1): Most of Millway's current 32 acres consist of open pasture and lawn which makes circulation from place to place fairly free flowing, although there

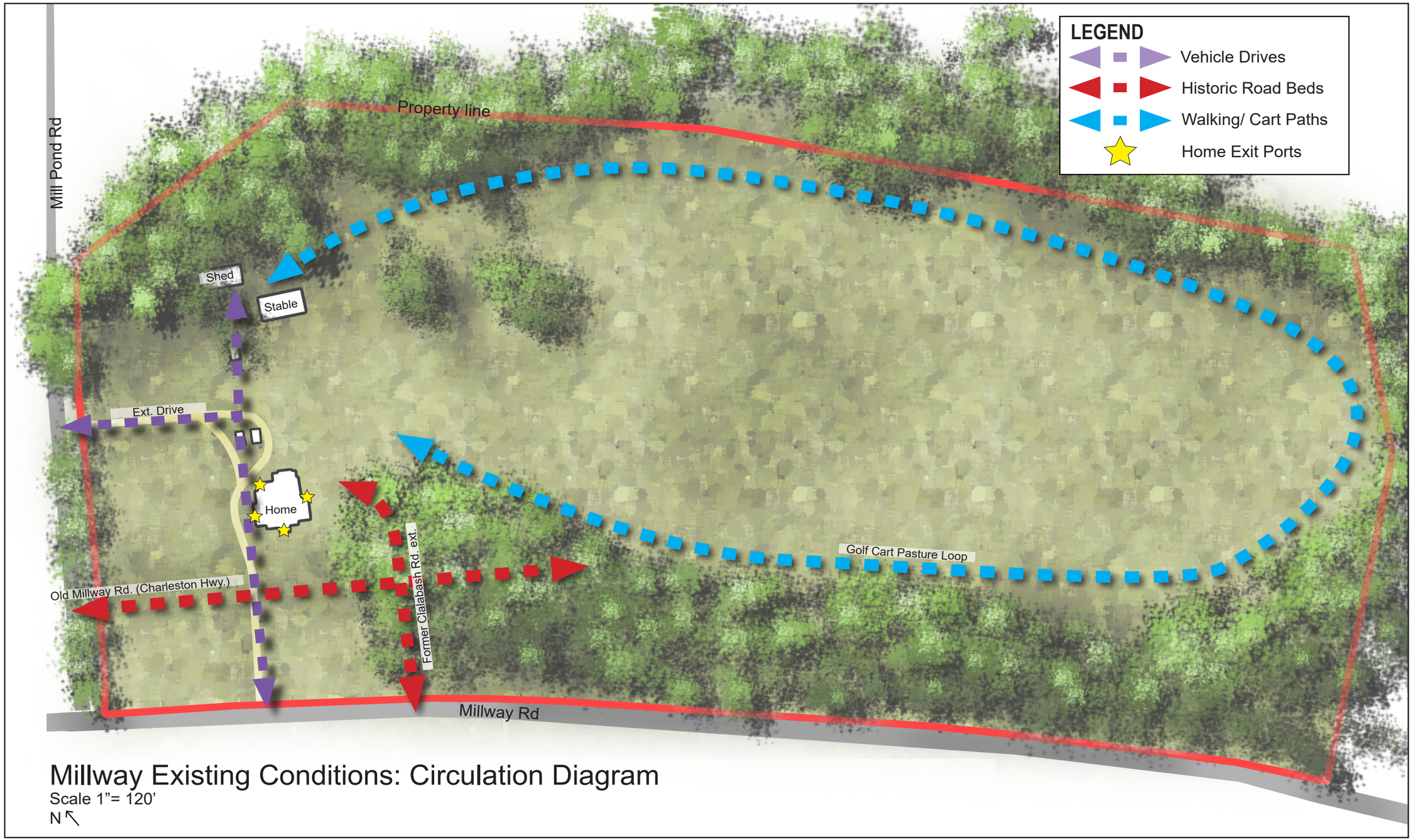


Figure 5.1: Millway Existing Conditions: Circulation

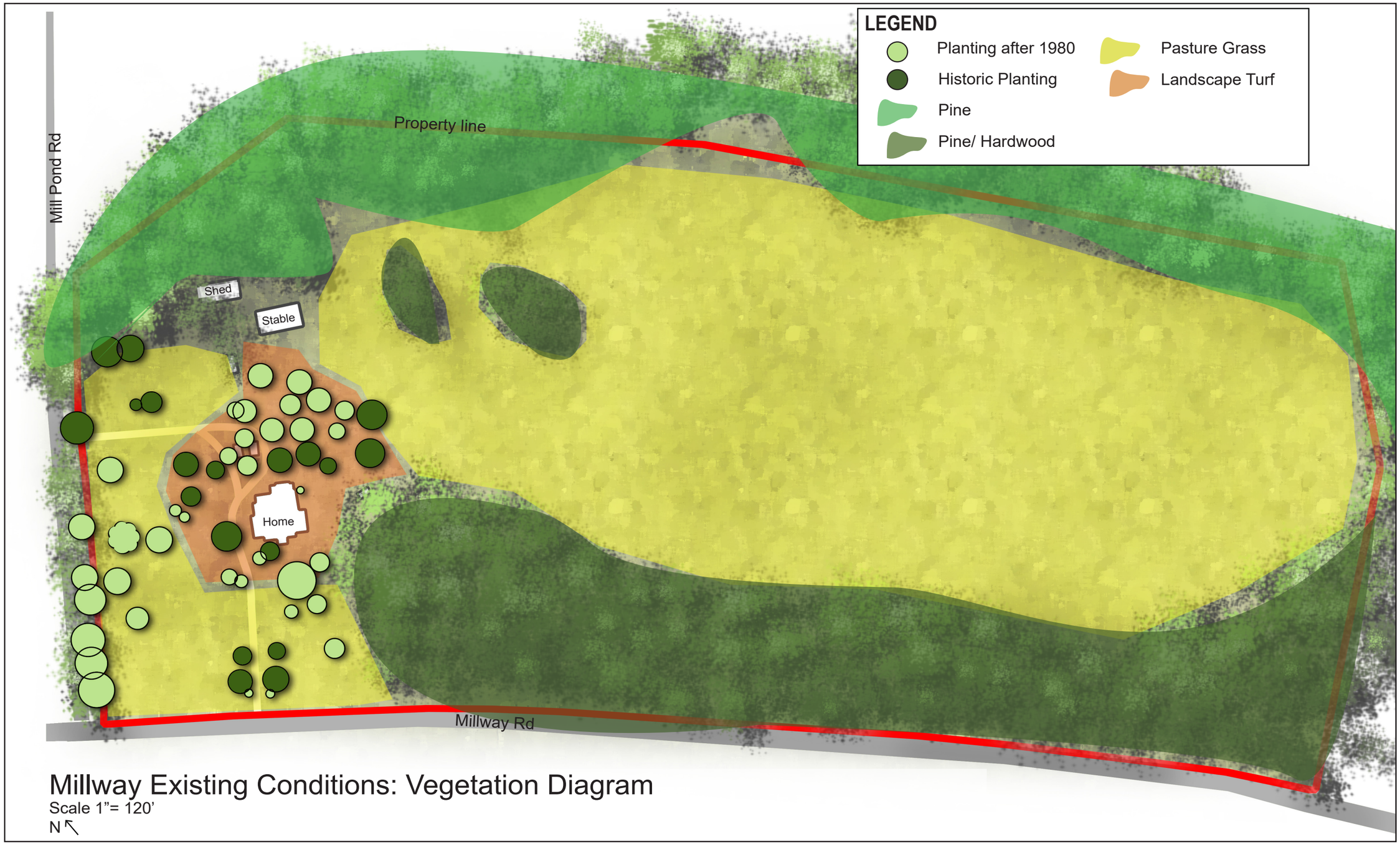


Figure 5.2: Millway Existing Conditions: Vegetation

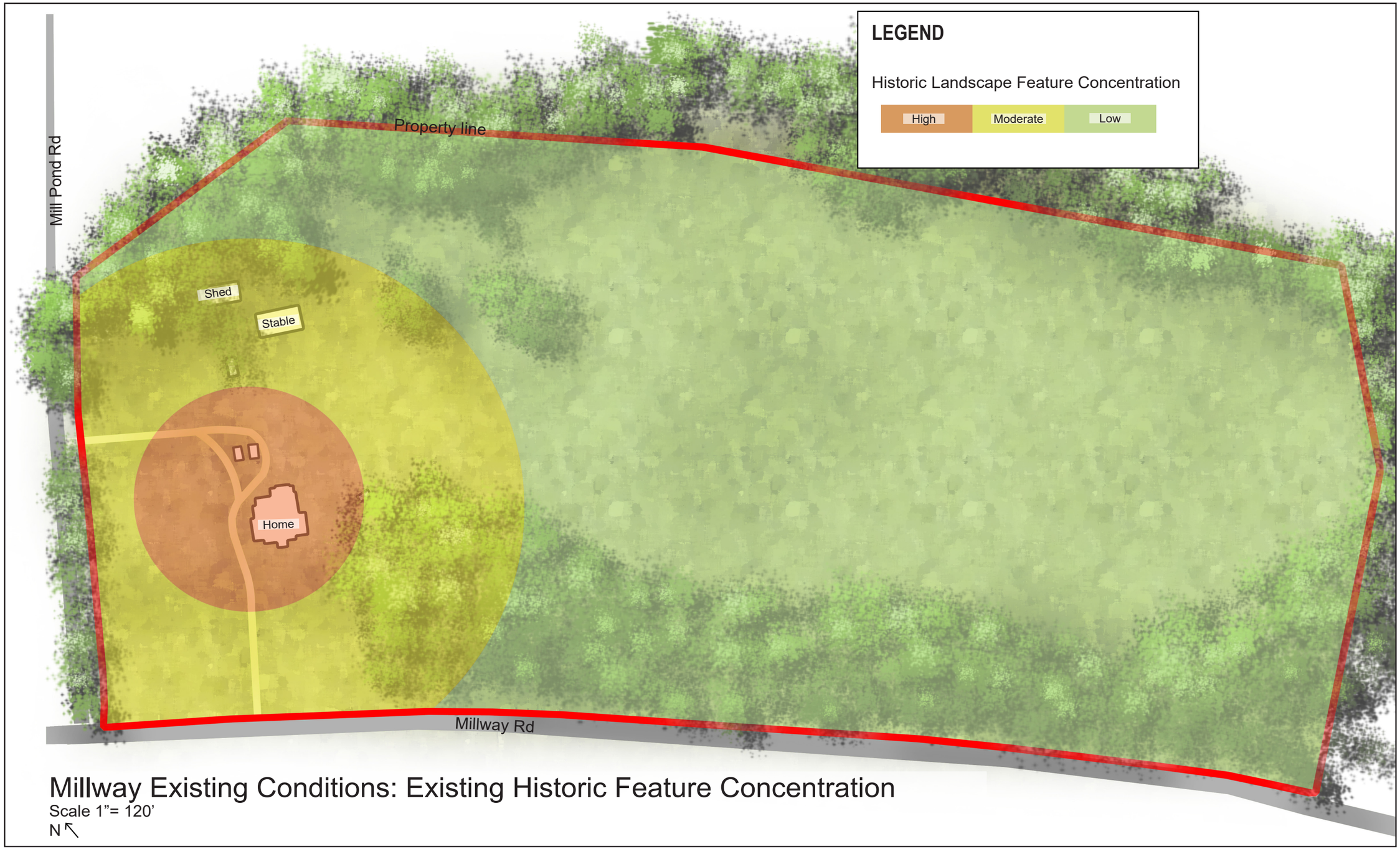


Figure 5.3: Millway Existing Conditions: Historic Features

are several key pathways on the site. The vehicle drives allow access to both Millway Road and Millpond Road. These drives mainly service the house on the property and do not extend into the adjacent pasture land part of the property. To access the pasture section, a large cart path loop circles it, leading from the house's side yard and outbuilding structures. Perhaps the most interesting section of the circulation diagram is the location of former roads on the site. This consists of two depressed road beds that cross in front of and to the right of where the house stands. These are the remnants of the old Millway Road (Charleston Highway) and a no longer used extension of Calabash Road.

The prominent placement of the driveways lends these drives for future use. The circulating path, while convenient to the pasture limits the use of the interior of the pasture. The historic road beds offer possible future use to highlight the sites historic connections.

Vegetation Diagram (Figure 5.2): Millway has a mix of historic and contemporary plantings. Some of these plantings have grown together and have created vegetative masses where it is difficult to decipher original from added material. Larger concentrations of planted material are directly around the house. Large open areas of pasture grass extend to the rear right of the home in the form of a horse pasture and in front of the house in the form of a gracious lawn. These large areas of turf present management issues if the owners mean to keep these areas mowed as lawn. Historic plant material is largely in decline which the owners will have to address. Additionally, the site is wrapped in forest providing seclusion from the road within the pasture area of the site. The back of the site also backs up to separately owned family pine land and could provide extended family involvement with Millway. Vegetation outside of the immediate home site is sparse, essentially providing a clean slate for design.

Historic Feature Concentration (Figure 5.3): Existing historic features on the site are predominantly focused around the home site. These features become less and less frequent in a fairly radial pattern moving farther away from the home. This makes the case that the area around the home is the most important in terms of preserving historic legacy at Millway because there are more tangible artifacts to connect with.

Conceptual Designs

With a general understanding of the site's existing conditions, design ideas were explored using the information acquired from Chapters Two, Three, and Four. The three designs that follow respond to the community-determined value areas discovered in Chapter Four. These value areas are Capital/Function, Function/ Nostalgia, and Beauty/ Nostalgia. An assembly of ideas from the interviews and case studies were created to collect ideas from across the research. This information was used to think about what design elements could communicate value in the site. Different Millway uses were then explored that could employ these elements. From that, three options were chosen to explore more thoroughly and demonstrate how future design could respond to Millway's specific values. This collection of ideas can be seen in Figure 5.4. For each of the three chosen concepts chosen to explore more deeply, a visual graphic was created to legibly show ideas from case studies, Millway's history, interviews, and how each concept could respond to one of Millway's value areas. A concept plan diagram was created to address the possible design idea per each idea. The concepts created only explore one of endless options that could respond to each of the value areas. This demonstrates how the word cloud analysis might inform future steps for designers and homeowners, but does not represent all conceivable possibilities for the site.

Idea Collection and Design Exploration

Beauty

Interviews

- Estate
- Views and Visas
- Architecture
- Woods and natural elements
- Welcoming atmosphere
- Formal Garden
- Nature
- Community
- Love and Emotion'
- Water
- Suggestion: Re-do formal garden, preserve vistas.

Case Studies

- Manicured Landscape atmosphere
- Natural Beauty
- Plant Material
- Architecture
- Ecological beauty

Function

Interviews

- Hunting
- Sawmill
- Livelihood
- Gatherings/ funerals/ thanksgivings
- Walking/ riding paths
- Riding Horses
- Growing Timber
- Gathering resources
- Suggestion: Boutique Production, Craft Products, Hunt Club escape

Case Studies

- Recreation opportunities
- Hunting/ Fishing
- Wildlife space
- Habitat Preservation
- Human space vs Wildlife space management
- Open to public
- State funded

Capital

Interviews

- Pine timber production
- Cattle
- "Food on the table" Employment
- Sawmill
- Maximizing yield
- Agriculture for sale
- Suggestions: Land Sale, Boutique Store Front Business

Case Studies

- Sale of land
- Development and infill density
- Value added product (houses on sold land)
- Amenity center out of historic home
- Sacrifices "unmarketable" history

Nostalgia

Interviews

- Family memories
- "Roots" to area
- Gatherings: Funerals, Thanksgivings,
- Accumulated stories
- Regional sawmill history
- African American and Woman experience
- Recreational experiences; Hunting etc.
- "Working home"
- Suggestions: Take Back to a residence

Case Studies

- Create Experience
- "Tradition/ Legacy"
- Highlight former experiences through interpretation
- Bring people together to create memory
- Advertise experience
- Retell stories
- Tangible objects to connect with past

Possible Design Elements

1. Memorial Statuary
2. Millstone Water Feature
3. African American Garden
4. Womans' Garden
5. Specialty Food production (wine, sausage, canned goods or other
6. Timber plot
7. Land sale for profit
8. Recreation trails
9. Conservation land
10. Event lawn/ space
11. Sawmill Demonstration
12. Ornamental Horticulture Plot
13. Food Crop Agriculture Plot
14. Deer/ Bird Hunting Areas
15. View and Vista Protection
16. Using House as a residence
17. Using Hosue as a buissness
18. Family Run
19. Donated or Sold
20. Livestock / Horse areas

Possible Uses of Millway and Design Elements They Could Employ

Wildlife Refuge 8,9,14,19	Satellite Campus 1,2,3,4,8,9,12,15,16,17,19	Sawmill Museum 1,2,3,4,8,9,10,14,16,17,18 or 19, 20	Art Gallery 1,2,3,4,8,10,15,17,18 or 19	Bed and Breakfast 8,9,15,16,17,18 or 19
Cottage Industry 5,6,7,8,13,17,20,18 or 19	Music Venue 8,10,9,15,17, 18 or 19	Hunt Club Headquarters 9,13,14,16,17,18 or 19	Wedding Venue 8,9, 10,15,17,18 or 19	Corporate Retreat 1,2,3,4,8,9,10,14,16,17,18 or 19, 20

This graphic illustrates the multiple paths that future design could take based on the interview and case study research. It condenses the learned information and applies it to design elements that in many cases respond to multiple values simultaneously (as shown by the colored dots to the right of each element). Millway uses were then explored that encapsulated multiples of these elements. Three of these uses were then chosen to explore further to demonstrate the process through separate conceptual diagrams. These three (circled in red above) seem to respond best to the three value designations determined by the word cloud analysis. Additionally, they could provide a better revenue stream in the low population area to bring people from the outside to visit. By no means are these the only options that could respond to interviews and case study research. This graphic demonstrates in brief how one could use gathered information to formulate a variety of possible design directions.

Figure 5.4: Idea Collection and Design exploration

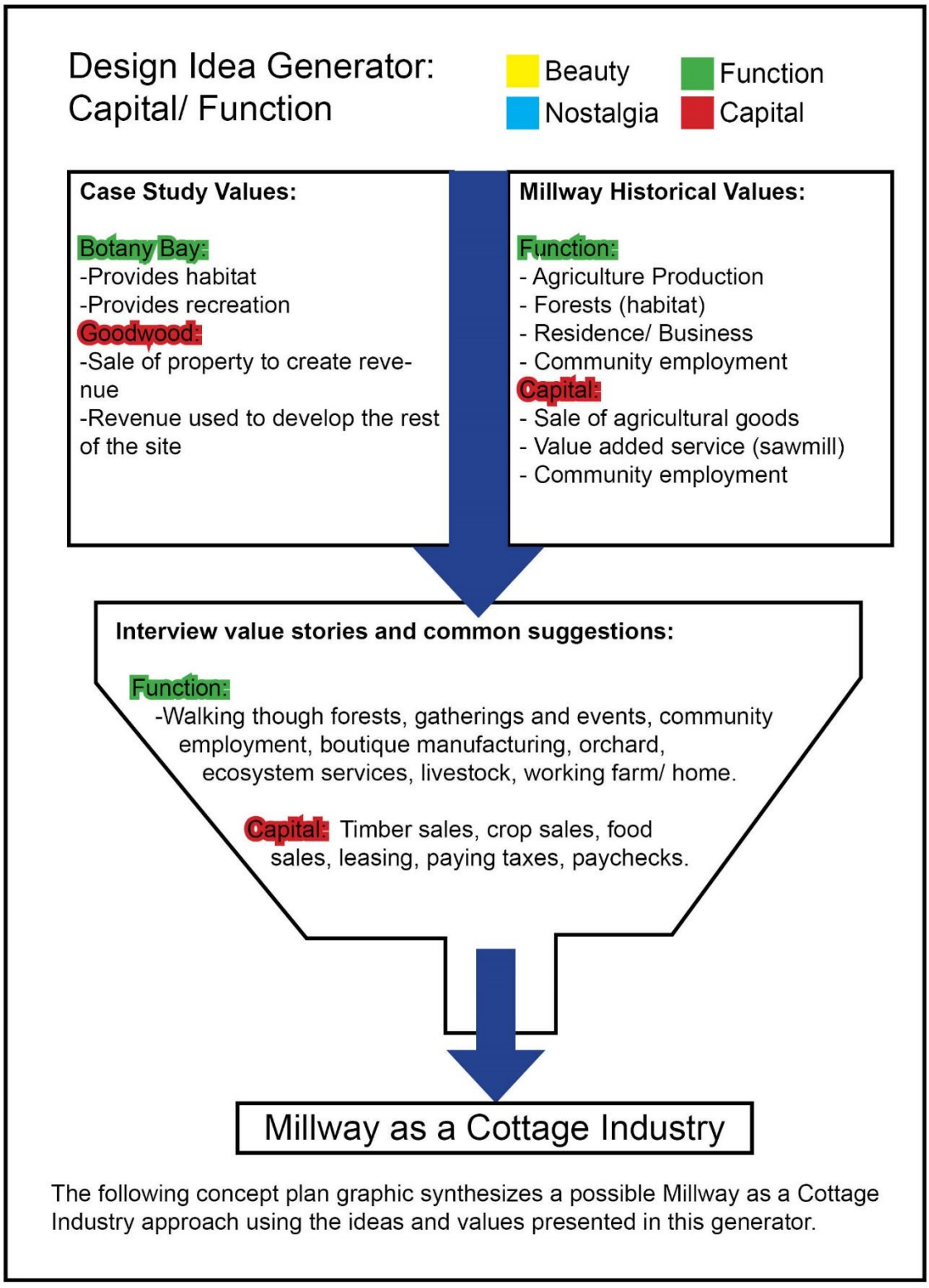


Figure 5.5: Capital/Function concept idea generator.

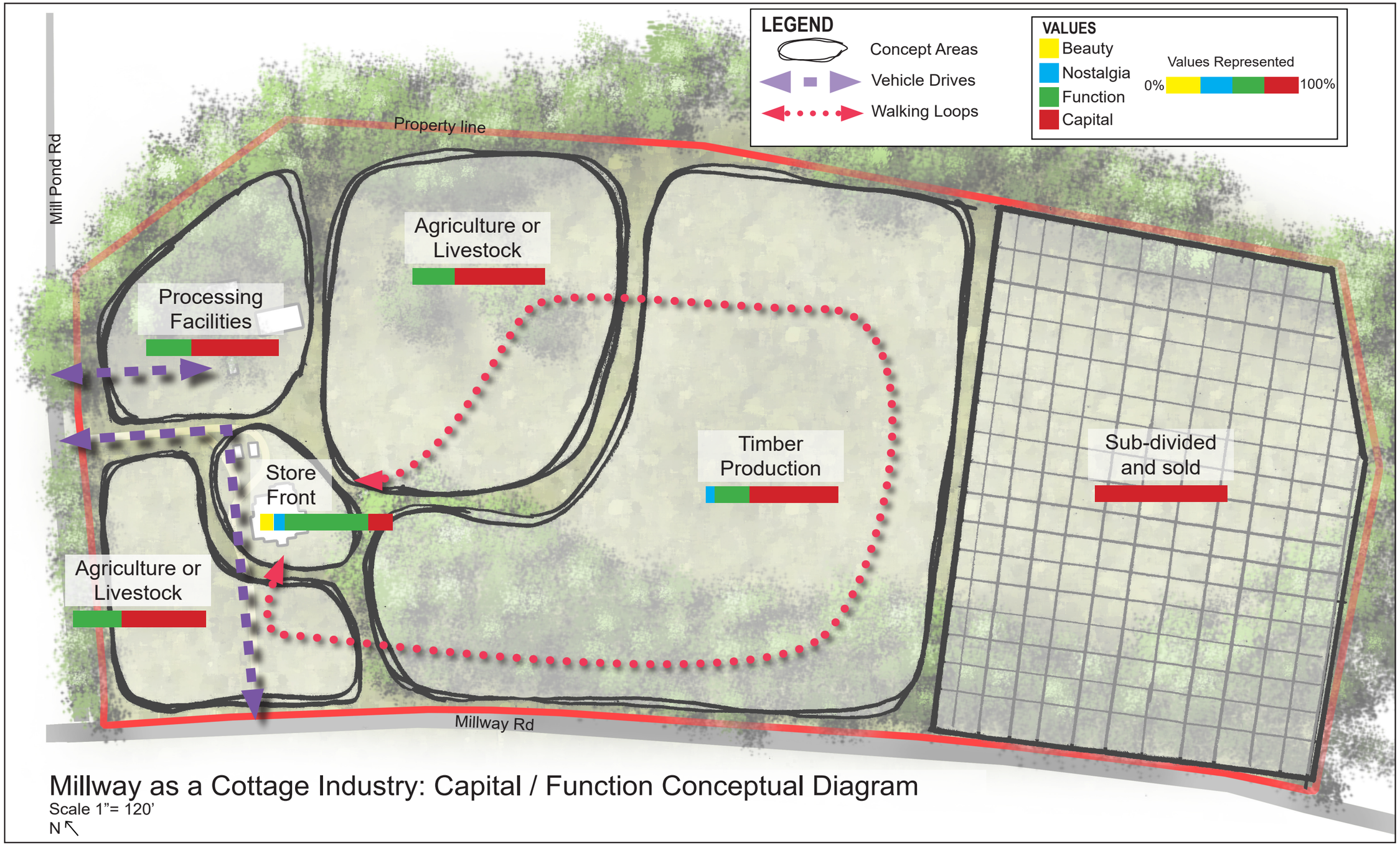


Figure 5.6: Millway as a Cottage Industry, concept plan

Concept 1: Millway as a Cottage industry, Capital/ Function (Figures 5.5 and 5.6)

This concept makes Millway a small agricultural food-producing industry. The products produced here could be anything such as wine, cured meats, or preserves. This idea responds directly to a participant's suggestion of what Millway could be. The concept preserves Millway's history as a place of agricultural industry, but reframes it to respond to current market tastes. As a result, Millway could be able to retain its cultural character while also producing the economic revenue required to support it. Different sub areas of this concept and their values are explained below.

Sub-divided and Sold: This area uses Goodwood's tactic of using the physical land as Capital value. The proceeds from selling off this portion of Millway's 32 acres could be used as start-up money to fund the rest of the operations on the site.

Agriculture or Livestock: This area uses the land for agriculture production. This area recalls the former uses of Millway's past. The area also provides Function and Capital value for the production of the raw materials used in Millway as a Cottage Industry.

Processing Facilities: This area uses existing outbuildings to add additional Function and Capital value by processing the raw products to be exported and sold in area farmer's markets and grocery stores.

Store Front: This area repurposes the house and yard to be used as a retail store front. This retains the physical structure and historic landscape elements while giving it a Capital and Function value.

Timber Production: The remainder of the land could be used as area to grow timber. This use responds to Millway's timber growing heritage while also serving a long-term Capital and Function purpose to support the site. The area could also add the function of having walking

trails for the Store Front to utilize as an amenity area. This area uses Function like Botany Bay to provide multiple uses for a single area.

Concept 2: Millway as a Corporate Retreat, Function/ Nostalgia (Figures 5.7 and 5.8)

This concept reimagines Millway as a retreat gathering space. This idea ties in the memories of events and hunting as expressed in the interviews by making a functional space for these activities to take place. The design also responds to Millway's specific history by re-imagining the landscape surrounding the home as memorial gardens for peoples of Millway's past. This resort style reformulation of Millway's land also provides income for the property through revenue generated by events and accommodations. The concept also offers the chance to create new nostalgia through shared experiences between people. This tactic is similar to the Clemson University Case Study. Path circulation uses historic road beds to further reinforce the Nostalgia value on the site. Different sub areas of this concept and their values are explained below.

Dove Hunting Field: A direct suggestion from a participant, this field would provide Function in the recreation of the space. This Function would support revenue in that visitors would pay to utilize this space for its recreational purpose of hunting.

Quail Hunting Forest Infill: Participants recalled memories of quail hunting with loved ones or remembering the way that open "quail woods" looked before the invasion of invasive species. Providing a forest hunting space taps into this Nostalgia value, while also representing similar Function value as the above Dove Hunting Field.

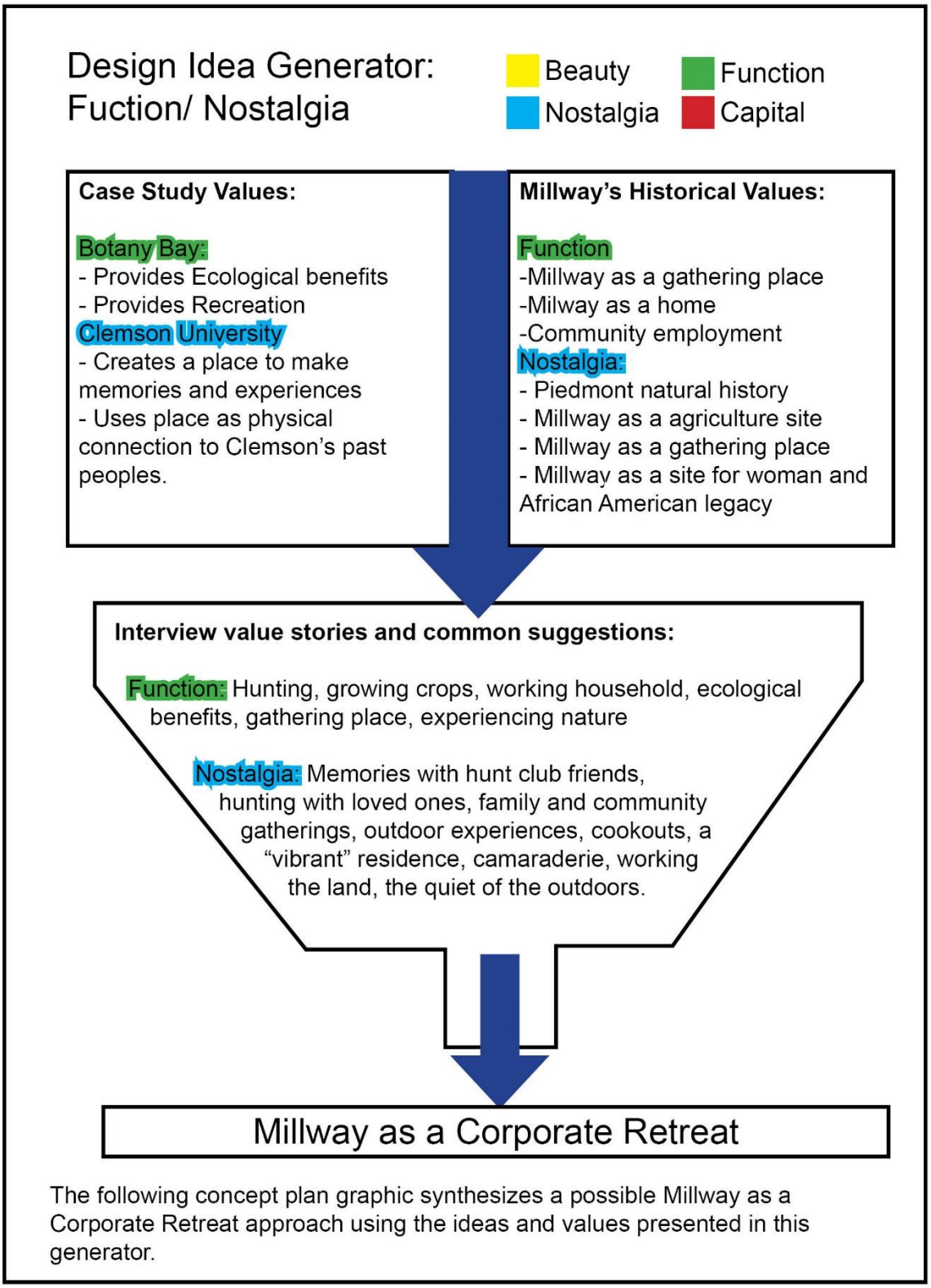


Figure 5.7: Function/ Nostalgia concept idea generator.

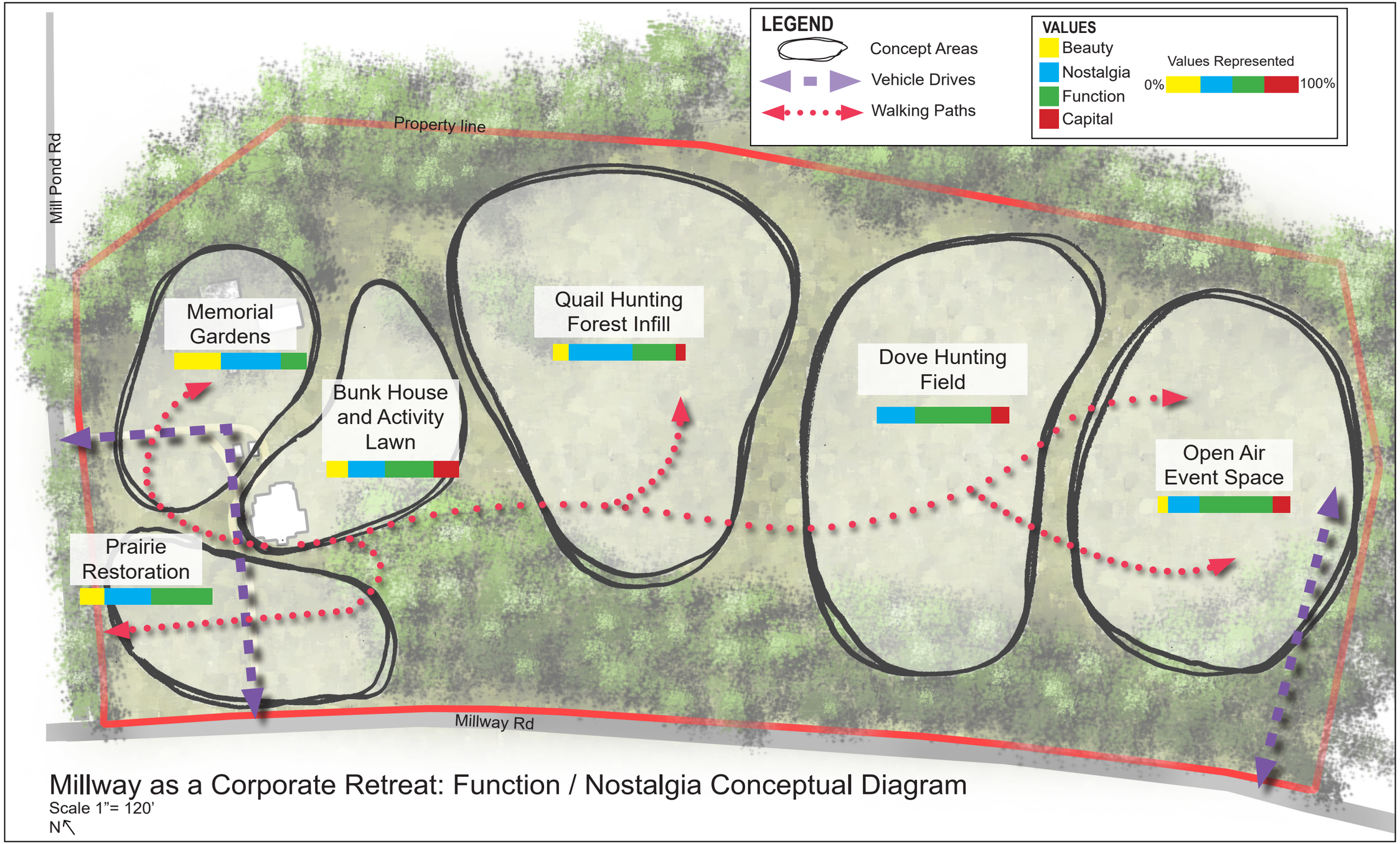


Figure 5.8: Millway as a Corporate Retreat, concept plan

Bunk House and Activity Lawn: The home at Millway could be repurposed to serve as bunkhouse for the adjacent hunting fields and event space. These accommodations would add revenue and increase the ability to stay on the site and spend more money there. Additionally, using the home as accommodations would allow the home to be a functional residence of sorts again, thus keying into the Nostalgia value of the site.

Open Air Event Space: This event space could be utilized by the site to host gatherings and create experiences within the site. The space could provide economic revenue by renting the functional space out for acoustic concerts, business events, and parties. The space also supports Nostalgic use because of the value put on gatherings at Millway in the past.

Memorial Gardens: This area serves as a connection to past peoples in an amenity space that can be used by the Bunk House. This area falls close to the former formal garden and the house slaves' homes. This close proximity provides an excellent opportunity to create gardens that pay homage to the strong women and African Americans of Millway's past. This provides Nostalgic value and preserves cultural stories.

Prairie Restoration: This area fills Nostalgic and Functional values. Functionally it responds to ecologic needs and processes much in the way that Botany Bay does. Additionally, restoring the area to a Piedmont Prairie would respond to Nostalgic values due to the natural history of the area.

Concept 3: Millway Donated as a University Satellite Campus, Beauty/ Nostalgia (Figures 5.9 and 5.10)

This idea would require the current owners to give up complete ownership to a University organization. Doing this would insure the funding required to keep Millway from decline and continue its legacy. The family could maintain involvement by providing access to adjacent

family owned timber land for research and use by the university. The current 32 acres could serve as student housing and educational land devoted to historic preservation, horticulture, landscape architecture, forestry, and ecology. These educational fields could provide Beauty value benefit to the site much like they have at Augusta National through emulation of nature. Additionally, these educational fields could bring a diversity of students so that new Nostalgia creating experiences could be made by all types of peoples. This speaks to the interviews from African Americans who see Millway as a site of change and progress in racial relations. Clemson would be a prime first choice due to their success at Fort Mill, present academic programs, proximity within the state, state funding, and historic association with three of the six brothers that grew up there and attended Clemson. Although this concept was intended to preserve Nostalgia and Beauty, this concept also provides Function similar to the multiple uses of Botany Bay. Different sub areas of this concept and their values are explained below.

Conservation Land and View Preservation: This area preserves the aesthetic view coveted by participants. Retaining this view responds both to Beauty and Nostalgia because of the beauty of nature expressed by historic naturalists and as individual stories of appreciating the view from the house into the pasture field. This Beauty value in nature can also be seen in the Augusta National case study, although their version is much more refined. This area also presents opportunity for students of ecology and historic preservation to study real life projects, thus giving it an added Function value as well.

Student Housing and Classrooms: This area provides all of the values, but primarily responds to the Nostalgic value of the home as a residence. Bringing students into the home will give back to the place its historic use, thus providing another layer of function. Having

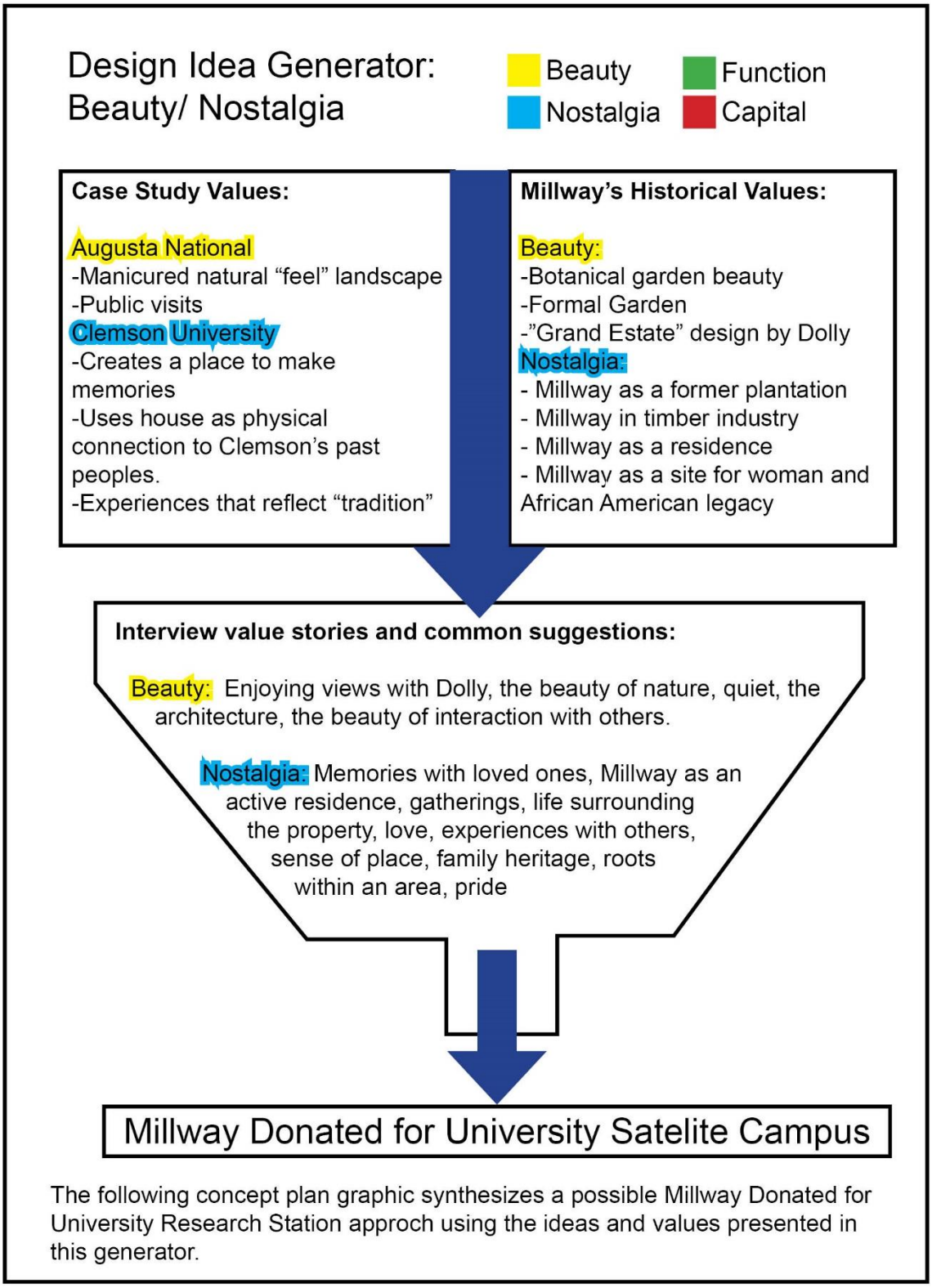


Figure 5.9: Beauty/ Nostalgia concept idea generator.

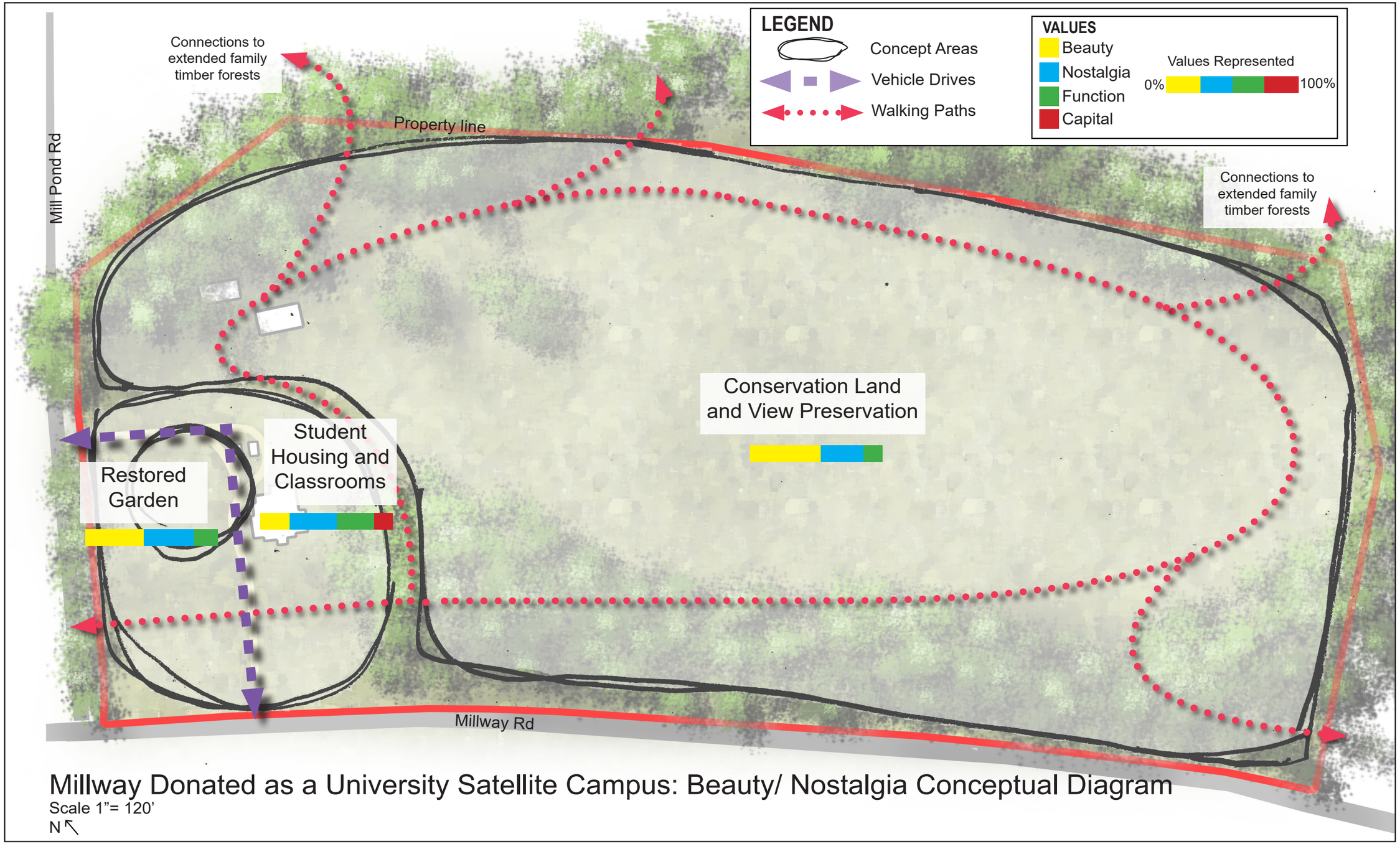


Figure 5.10: Millway Donated as a University Satellite Campus, concept plan

preservation students present on the site presents opportunities for projects to save beautiful and historic features of the home, as well as the cultural history associated with it.

Restored Garden: At the site of the former formal garden on the site, a restored garden project could be implemented by horticulture, historic preservation, and landscape architecture students. This garden could achieve both Beauty and Nostalgia values due to its historic and aesthetic nature.

Evaluation of Concept Designs

Each of these concepts are just a possible option for Millway's future use. To determine if these designs could be successful in present day, each design was compared to the design lessons presented at the ends of Chapters Two, Three, and Four. These design lessons were collected in Figure 5.11 for review. Table 5.1 show the comparative analysis of the concept plans to the design lessons.

Results

It appears that "Millway as a Corporate Retreat" came in first in terms of possible success and provides the possibility of family ownership. It was the most successful because it was able to satisfy more values and uses than that for which it was initially designed. It also was successful in retaining Millway specific cultural identity and providing economic revenue within its value areas.

It appears that "Millway Donated as a University Satellite Campus" was the second most successful in addressing the design lessons learned in the previous chapters. This is because it was able to satisfy more values and uses than that for which it was initially designed. It was also able to satisfy Millway's economic needs by gathering funding from its university partner. The

funding and the academic disciplines associated with a university maintain the cultural legacy of the site, thus satisfying more design lessons. This concept did not, however, manage to keep family ownership of the site which may be a deal breaker for the owning family.

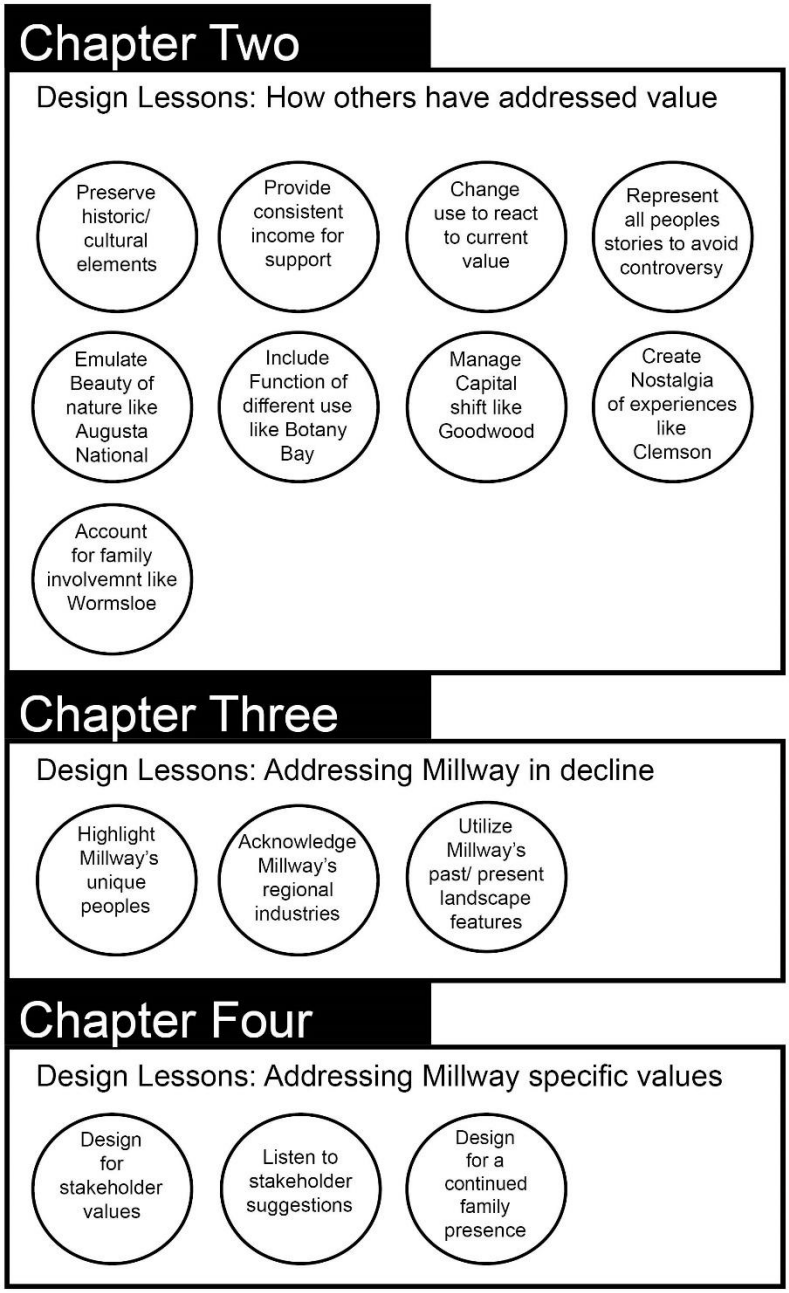


Figure 5.11: Recap of chapter design lessons

Table 5.1: Concept Plans Compared to Design Lessons

Does the design….?	NO	COULD/ SOMEWHAT	YES
	Cottage Industry	Retreat	Satellite Campus
Preserve historic/ cultural elements			
Provide consistent economic income for support			
Change use to react to current value need			
Represent all peoples' stories to avoid controversy			
Emulate Beauty of nature like Augusta National			
Include Function of different use like Botany Bay			
Manage Capital shift like Goodwood			
Create Nostalgia of experiences like Clemson			
Account for family involvement like Wormsloe			
Highlight Millway's unique peoples			
Recognize Millway's regional industries			
Utilize Millway's past/ present landscape features			
Design for stakeholder values			
Listen to stakeholder suggestions			
Design for a continued family presence			

"Millway as a Cottage Industry" came in third as the least successful, but still offers some benefits. The family may be able to retain most of Millway under this plan and make a steady profit doing it. That being said, it was not as successful in preserving the cultural legacy of the site, which was a key component of this research.

Both "Millway as a Corporate Retreat" and "Millway as a Satellite Campus" respond better to possible inequality controversy than does the "Millway as a Cottage Industry". The Corporate Retreat option allows for areas, particularly around the house, to be used in a way that tells the narrative of Woman and African Americans of the site through possible signage, statues, memorial gardens, and other such interpretative elements that bring these narratives to light. The Satellite campus concept is not as literal in its expression, but similar to Botany Bay and Wormsloe in that the land would be public domain and accessible to all people. Additionally, the use of it as a school offers students of multiple ethnicities and sexes a way to create a new chapter at Millway outside of its ties to oppression. This may be wishful thinking, but these groups would have more opportunities than through the Cottage Industry concept. The Cottage Industry concept could suffer from the same issues as Adelia at Goodwood by covering up the past for the sake of marketability and profit.

The designs presented here are not final plans and do not represent all of the options that could be explored at Millway. They are ideas that were used to address topics learned and discovered within this thesis. They should be used to guide future implementation, but there are tradeoffs in each that will have to be weighed individually by the property owners. If the suggestions made here do not respond to the site's needs at the time of implementation, then they should be altered accordingly.

In the process of analyzing proposed value-based conceptual designs at Millway, this thesis came to a bittersweet conclusion. Yes, it is possible for former plantations to redefine what they are today while becoming economically sustaining and preserving their cultural legacies. However, this could come at an emotional price for the owners, as it might require the sale or partial sale of the property to insure its economic future and continued legacy.

Conclusion

This chapter utilized a two-tier framework to create and analyze conceptual designs at Millway Plantation. First the designs were guided by case study elements from Chapter Two, Millway History from Chapter Three, and interview values and suggestions from Chapter Four. The concepts created helped to answer the question: What could value based design look like at Millway? The designs and ideas contained within them are only a small portion of what could take place there. The conceptual plans address the three value areas of Function/ Nostalgia, Beauty/ Nostalgia, and Capital/Function that were discovered as Millway's value areas during the participant interviews.

The second step of the framework compared the concept designs to design lessons learned in previous chapters to determine the possible success of the designs once implemented. Some concepts were more successful in the goal of creating economically and culturally stable sites, and all presented drawbacks that will have to be explored by owners at a later date.

The designs have not been tested in implementation, and would need to be installed and then analyzed to truly gauge their effectiveness. The author hopes that the information gathered here is of use to Millway as well as to sites like it, so that they can continue accumulating their layered history that enriches so many lives which experience it. This research proves that

landscape architects have a chance to rethink sites like Millway in the future, and can use value-based design to respond to individual site and community needs.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

The guiding question for this thesis was: How can landscape architects transform former plantations through value-based design to make them economically and culturally viable in present day? Across the Southeastern United States, nationally insignificant former plantation sites are falling into decline due to their inability to economically support themselves in the modern day. This thesis hoped to prove that re-designing their land-use to the present values of their communities is a valuable method for these sites to economically support themselves, retain their cultural stories, and provide for the use of all peoples today. In doing this, landscape architects could use their multidisciplinary skills to insure the legacy of stories and character that are important to culture.

Summary

Chapter Two sought to understand the common history that former plantations share and provided case study examples of former plantations that have become successful through tapping current community value. Chapter Three studied Millway specifically to tease out its site-specific stories and the commonalities it shared with other former plantation sites. Chapter Four yielded participant values through in-depth interviews about Millway. Chapter Five combined information learned from previous chapters into conceptual plans that were analyzed for their effectiveness in addressing design lessons.

The results achieved were encouraging, but somewhat bittersweet. The author began by researching the general history of plantation sites and a clear pattern of change in economic use and value began to emerge due to external cultural and environmental movements. Using “Ten

Versions of the Same Scene" the author devised four values that encompassed Meinig's ten landscape perceptions. These values are Beauty, Function, Capital, and Nostalgia and were applied to case studies. The values surprised the author by the ways they manifested themselves on different sites, and in how they could be applied in multiple ways depending on reference point. These case studies and their values gave a solid foundation for design lessons in terms of how value could be applied to another former plantation site.

In the early phases of traveling back and forth between Millway and Athens, Georgia, the author was mainly concerned with the chronologic history of the Millway site. This presented a challenge in terms of information quantity and the relevance of the information. The shared historic relationship between Millway, the case studies, and other former plantations was clear, but what made Millway special when compared to them? Eventually, stories of strong women and continued involvement of African Americans came to the forefront. These stories were wrapped around a narrative of changing agricultural industries in South Carolina. This association between economic industry and cultural value is a relationship that the author did not expect when they set off on this thesis.

These stories and values became more apparent in interviews of community members as they recalled the past and how that affected them in the present. Their testimonies linked past and future values, and substantiated the need for Millway to live on. Improvements on the interview process might be including a larger sample size and increasing the number of questions to gain more data to inform individual analysis.

The method of word cloud analysis proved to be fairly effective in terms of identifying the participant's values quickly from text-dense transcripts. It was not a perfect method, however, as an analog read-through after word cloud analysis sometimes changed the

participant's value rankings. Further refinement of this method involving a computer programmer may be warranted.

The author created concept designs to address many of the design lessons learned from the thesis and to provide current owners substantial information and ideas to inform future action. That being said, they do not represent all ideas that could be administered on the site. These designs, as with most designs, are never complete and could be iterated and reiterated endlessly. If situations change at Millway, new ideas will have to be explored. Perhaps ideas can be combined to address more values or site needs, in which case design modification would be required.

Conclusions

Further survey work at Millway could also uncover added information about issues surrounding continued family ownership. A pivotal question that emerged through his research is if the family has the ability and time required to direct the site towards the financial success and away from decline. This thesis has not definitively answered that unknown in Millway's case. Additionally, with more survey data, different values and stories could restructure the value areas and design lessons for Millway. This added information could change the ownership concept options, or even present a new one entirely.

Reflection

The research strategies used presented both strengths and weaknesses. The process seemed to be a good way to narrow down large amounts of qualitative information to discern a clearer direction for design thought at these sites. That being said, in hindsight, the author would have changed and revised some elements primarily in the interview process.

The interview, which can be reviewed in Appendix A, was perhaps too broad during the first line of questioning that pertained to former plantation sites as a whole. The participants would tend to answer specifically for Millway, when the questions were intended to elicit responses on sites other than Millway. To remedy this, questions that state "other than Millway…" could have been employed to better focus the participant. Additionally, the most successful questions were the questions that asked about personal experience. These were largely a part of section two of the interview, and received the most in-depth stories. More questions that ask for personal anecdotes as opposed to broad conceptual questions would be a good way to improve on the questionnaire.

A striking finding of this particular set of interviews was that no negative values exhibited themselves in conjunction with Millway. This could be due to the interview participant pool, but it is the author's suspicion that it was due to how the interview was worded. It was the author's goal for this to be a positive and proactive process aimed to look at the future more so than the past, but perhaps this optimism jaded the results. The interview questions presented many words that could be taken as positive words. Questions in the future could be rewritten to reflect more neutral sounding words, and the interview administered by someone clearly not associated with the site to provide a more neutral pallete from which participants could form their responses. Additionally, perhaps a larger pool of people may have presented more values, including negative ones. This would be a challenge in terms of tracking down people familiar with the site, but perhaps it would be better to formulate an interview that could be used with people both familiar and not familiar with a site to respond to more values across a larger population. This broadened scope may also provide more information on how to attract people from outside the area to visit and support Millway and sites like it.

Sorting an interview through the three-step world cloud process seemed to be an effective way of distilling wordy interviews into digestible information. Using the analogue check of the transcript in the final step three helped to confirm suspicions as a result of steps one and two. The logical evolution of this process would be to include a designated computer program that would run the process to decrease further the human error. That being said, part of the point for making the process low tech is so other former plantation owners can replicate the process for their own site.

If asked if the author would suggest this method to other former plantation site owners, the author would say, yes, with a caveat. This process seems to be an effective way to narrow focus on a complex site. It is not refined enough to provide a single answer on a site. These sites offer opportunities, but the stories and values associated with them are dense, individually unique, and sensitive. At first it may seem too arduous for a site owner to undertake, but this process pares the large down to a more digestible size so that decisions can start to be made from the information gathered. For this reason, the author believes it is worthy of future use and exploration.

Future Action

This thesis has provided a framework to guide design at former plantations using people's values as an engine. However, there are still questions that could be answered: What more could be learned with implementation and post-occupancy evaluation? How would each proposal in the thesis change if it was implemented? Would the economics of the conceptual plans be enough to sustain a site if implemented? Would the family remain involved with the site under these solutions? Would the increased presence of people at the site in some way damage it?

All of the designs presented within this thesis pertain to Millway. However, what would the results look like at a different site? At a different scale? In a different geographic area? It is the author's hope that the framework explored in this thesis will be utilized, expanded, amended, and refined by researchers and site owners to better the prospects for their own site and the community that surrounds it. There are many site applications for future use that are outside of the scope of this thesis.

It is the author's hope that future research will be done at Millway and sites like it, using this value-based design framework as a base. Other disciplines will need to be involved including computer programmers for increased accuracy in analysis, business professionals to determine business plan feasibility, historic preservationists to study the impacts on historic features, and the list goes on. After implementation, sites should be studied to determine effectiveness. Additional research should also be conducted on the issues surrounding continued family ownership of former plantation sites. Furthermore, more research needs to be completed on the reuse of declining former plantation sites to retain cultural stories of the past and increase their productivity for peoples in the present. The area is largely untouched as a whole. Above all, this thesis begins the conversation of designing towards people's values at former plantations in the field of landscape architecture. This partnership can possibly respond to the needs of the present while acknowledging the stories of the past.

In addition to future applications at other sites and in other research, the author hopes that this thesis provides some concrete information for Millway specifically. The author holds Millway very dear, and it is their hope that the information gathered in this thesis can be of use to the current owners of the site as they make decisions that will influence Millway's future. Stated earlier, the findings of this thesis were encouraging but bittersweet. It is encouraging to know

that Millway could have a productive future that allows its cultural legacy and values to live on. It is bittersweet knowing that this future may be contingent on a change of ownership outside of the author's family. But as it has been said before, "if you love something, let it go."

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APPENDIX A

Interview Format

Interview Preamble:

First off, thank you for the time that you are taking to sit down with me. I am doing research for my Graduate Thesis, and through this research will try and address how the values associated with former plantation sites, both in family stakeholders and the community of Bradley, SC, could possibly inform and guide the future land use of one such site in the Bradley, SC community.

Your answers will not be associated with your name in the publication of this academic thesis. The only information that will be associated with the answers you provide are your approximate age, gender, demographic, and relationship to the site.

Value is a difficult term to define, as it means different things to different people, but for this conversation let's use this definition: Value is the relative worth or importance of a place to an individual. This worth and importance is different to each person, and is as complex as the individual themselves.

The purpose of this interview is to obtain some understanding of the value you put on a place. Would you be willing to answer questions to the best of your ability about how you value former plantations using the simple definition of value as "worth" and "importance" to you? (Wait for a response) I would like you to feel free to draw on past and current feelings, events, practices, and stories you can tell or have been shared with you to answer. Please do not worry about being brief, as I would like you to fully explain what you mean by your answers, and I may ask you to expand on responses as we proceed. If you agree, I would like to record our

conversation so that I don't have to divide my attention taking notes. Would this be okay with you? (Wait for a response)

Do you have any concerns or questions before we proceed? (Wait for a response)

Do you wish to continue participation in this interview? (Wait for a response)

Question 1: What do you think about former plantation sites, and how they affect your life or the lives of those you care about currently?

Sub Question 1: What is the value of the memory associated with these sites? Does this memory trigger any specific emotion within you? (Follow up with "Why" if they do not elaborate)

Sub Question 2: What is the value of the land? Do you feel any particular connection with this landscape type? (Follow up with "Why" if they do not elaborate)

Sub Question 3: What do you feel are the positives and negatives of these sites in today's world?

Question 2: When you think about Millway in 2018. How do you value Millway today?

Sub Question 1: What memories do you have there? Can you tell me a past story that has influenced your value of Millway?

Sub Question 2: What is your worst memory? What is your best memory?

Sub Question 3: How have you used the land? And, if you could, tell me about a time and way that you have interacted with the land?

Sub Question 4: How does the appearance of Millway and the surrounding land make you feel? Try to describe it in a single word, and then explain why you chose that word.

Question 3: Imagine you could do anything you wanted with Millway. What would you do?

Sub Question 1: What could you see the future use of the house being? How would this be of value to you?

Sub Question 2: What could you see the future value of the grounds being? How would this be of value to you?

Sub Question 3: What could you see the future value of the surrounding woods being? How would this be of value to you?

Sub Question 4: What might the value of Millway be to the town of Bradley, SC in the future?

Sub Question 5: Is there anything else you would like to share with me at this time?