

9

WORKING WITH THE LAND:
SITE DEVELOPMENT
PROPOSAL

This chapter presents the design proposal for the Appalachian slavery interpretive complex on the Greenfield site. The proposed design synthesizes the components discussed in previous chapters and gives them physical and programmatic form. These components are

- the interpretive program components (outdoor walks and indoor education center; Chapter 2)
- the Constructivist Design Approach (Chapter 4)
- the participatory living history approach (Chapter 5)
- the guiding design concepts and content elements derived from the historiographic research (Chapter 6)
- site characteristics and history of Greenfield (Chapter 8)

The objective of this thesis is to explore the use of the Constructivist Design Approach in order to expand the traditional role of the landscape in historical interpretation from static backdrop to active interpretive tool. As such, the discussion of the design proposal is framed in terms of the specific design attitudes and design interventions identified in Chapter 4 as constituting the Constructivist Design Approach (see summary in the next column). It should be noted, however, that although the attitudes and intervention are, for the most part, addressed individually in the following pages, they are in reality interrelated and overlapping, and their separation—while necessary for discussion—is artificial. The first design attitude (Collaboration of Visitor and Site) exemplifies this. It is not discussed as a distinct element in this chapter because its notion of meaning as a result of the dialogue between visitor and site is implicit in all the facets of the Constructivist Design Approach discussed.

The overall design proposal for the interpretive complex is

presented in Figure 9.1. The remainder of this chapter breaks the discussion of the design proposal into its major components: the indoor education center and the outdoor interpretive landscape, as used in both the daytime walks and the nighttime tour.

CONSTRUCTIVIST DESIGN APPROACH

Design Attitudes

- Collaboration of Visitor and Site
- Structured But Flexible Meaning
- Physical Landscape Influences the Internal Landscape

Design Interventions

- Dislocation From the External World
 - Marking of Thresholds
 - Opportunity for Reflection
 - Control of Views
- Dramatic Rhythm
 - Juxtaposition
 - Concurrence
- Personalized Communication
 - Path as Storyline
- Physical Interaction With the Site
 - Kinesthetic Engagement
 - Sensory Engagement
 - Sensitivity to Scale and Proportion
 - Sensitivity to Materials



Figure 9.1. Proposed site plan for the Appalachian slavery interpretive complex. The interpretive grounds present a 19th century rural Appalachian landscape organized around a dirt loop road (the Great Valley Road to visitors). Costumed interpreters in such roles as tenant farmers, iron mine slaves, mounted slave patrollers, overseers, and farmstead slaves carry out the appropriate activities while interacting with visitors. The crops (e.g., corn, hay, and barley) and livestock (cattle, hogs, horses, and sheep) on the grounds were all found at 19th century Greenfield, according to historiographic research.

EDUCATION CENTER

The goals of the education center are threefold: to educate individuals about Appalachian slavery and the experiences of slaves, to stimulate continued scholarly research on the nature of Appalachian slavery, and to provide a forum for informed discussion regarding the application of these historical understandings to contemporary issues of social, economic, and political equality within the region and beyond. Thus, the education center looks back to the region's past not simply as an end in itself but as a means of encouraging better informed decisions about the future at both the level of the individual and that of local and regional policy.

The organization of the building that houses the education center is designed to facilitate these goals of education and informed discussion (Figure 9.2). The upper floor, which primarily supports the center's goals regarding research and application, contains an Appalachian slavery archive and research facility as well as conference space. This level also offers a modest memorial space suitable for contemplation and reflection. Temporary exhibits focusing on various aspects of Appalachian slavery or the history of the Greenfield site can also be installed on this floor.

The lower two floors of the building are de-



Figure 9.2. Education center contents by floor.



Figure 9.3. Visitors' view of the education center from the loop road. The center is based on the Federal style Dower House built on the site in the early 1800s.

voted to educating visitors about Appalachian slavery through the use of permanent, thematically based exhibits. The ground floor presents an overview of slavery in Appalachia, including the experiences and multiple perspectives of slaves and their owners and the effects of the mountain environment on the system of slavery that evolved in the region. The lower floor is devoted to presenting the various strategies used by slaves to resist the status quo in the Mountain South and to forge a better life for themselves.

Whereas the interior environment of the education center is designed to facilitate its educational goals, from the outside, the education center is designed to look at home in the 19th century mountain landscape that the interpretive grounds present. Built roughly on the site of the Dower House (see Historical Context, Chapter 8), the center has the external appearance of a big house set within a mountain farmstead complex (Figure 9.3).

The remainder of this section describes the education center in terms of the Constructivist Design Approach. The discussion emphasizes the lower two floors, as they relate more directly to the historical interpretation program offered.

Structured But Flexible Meaning. From site selection and analysis, to the development of interpretive program content, to the establishment of guiding design concepts, the results of the historiographic research have provided the basic structure for the design development of the interpretive complex. The design and content of the permanent exhibits is no exception to this. Exhibit content flows directly out of the critical understandings about Appalachian slavery revealed in the historiographic research, including the role of the mountain topography, geology, and climate in shaping the region's economy and thus its unique approach to slavery; the living conditions experienced by mountain slaves; and the role of the mountain environment in strategies of slave resistance. In this way, the historiographic research provide a cognitive structure for visitors' experiences in the exhibit space.

This structure is reinforced by establishing the sequence in which visitors travel through each exhibit room, and thus the order in which they are exposed to the various facets of Appalachian slavery. This sequencing facilitates visitor learning by allowing them to build on each new piece of information in a coherent fashion rather than creating gaps in their understanding that may or may not be filled in at later exhibits. Thus the structure inherent in the exhibit space helps to ensure that the educational goals identified through the historiographic research are achieved.

Within this overall framework of historical understandings, however, the exhibit area is designed to encourage visitors to

derive their own conclusions and construct personally relevant meanings. As in all museum experiences, visitors ultimately control how they take in the information presented to them. Although their path through the exhibit rooms is set, visitors can vary their pace and attention level throughout, self-selecting to skip over parts of the exhibits that do not interest them or to linger where they wish to learn more.

Beyond this—and more importantly in terms of the designer's role in promoting flexibility in meaning-making—is the manner in which information is presented. Whereas the content of the historical information presented provides the overall structure for visitors' understanding of Appalachian slavery, the way in which this content is presented can encourage the construction of personally relevant meanings. The permanent exhibit area of the education center emphasizes the presentation of multiple perspectives or voices on the issues addressed rather than presenting conclusions about them. This is achieved by emphasizing first-person historical accounts of those who experienced slavery over third-person explanations offered by later historians.

This emphasis on individual accounts allows for the presentation of a wide variety of perspectives and experiences regarding mountain slavery. For example, although written accounts of some former slaves describe brutal physical punishments at the hands of their masters, others indicate their owners rarely, if ever, resorted to physical punishment. Both are accurate representations of slaves' experiences, and yet they seem at odds. Rather than resolving such apparent contradictions for visitors by presenting only a consistent set of firsthand accounts or by instead emphasizing a third-person narrative that presents only one interpretation, the presentation of multiple perspectives allows visitors to draw their own conclusions—to resolve

for themselves any contradictions in the material presented to them in the way that most resonates with their personal experiences and life philosophies.

Physical Landscape Influences the Internal Landscape.

One of the attitudes essential to the constructivist landscape architect is the ability to understand the physical environment as a means of influencing an individual's internal state. The potential of the outer landscape to influence the inner one is most clearly seen in the ability of ritual spaces to prepare participants for the ritual experience. The constructivist designer uses this understanding to structure physical space in a way that enhances or facilitates experience. For the education center, this implies that it is not only the content of the exhibits but also the physical configuration of the exhibit spaces themselves that can convey understandings about mountain slavery.

The exhibit spaces on the lower two floors reflect in their physical structure important aspects of one of the guiding design concepts identified in Chapter 6: the tension between center and periphery. This overarching theme derived from the historiographic research expresses the physical, social, economic, and political structure of slavery. In all these realms, the landed gentry occupied the central, most powerful position in society, while slaves were relegated to the peripheries. Yet within the system in which they operated, each was dependent on the other for their survival.

The exhibit spaces on the ground floor are organized in a set of concentric bands that reflect this basic dichotomy between center and periphery (Figure 9.4) at the heart of the system of slavery. The center exhibit area interprets the lives and daily activities of those holding the power in the landscape of Appalachian slavery—slave owners, brokers, and traders. In

PERSPECTIVES ON APPALACHIAN SLAVERY: GROUND FLOOR EXHIBIT SPACE

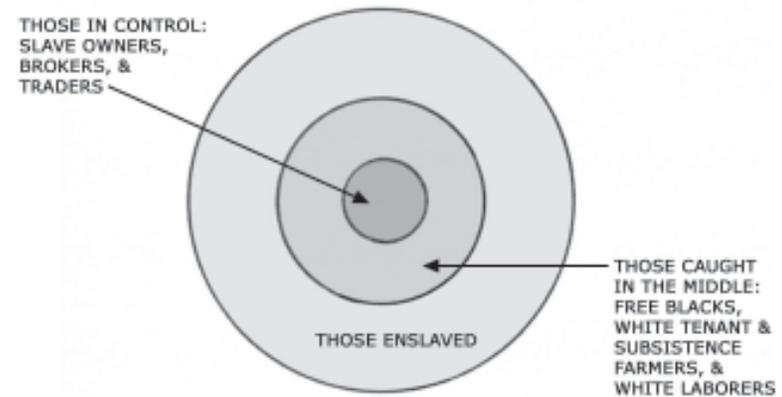


Figure 9.4. Diagrammatic representation of the spatial organization of the ground floor exhibit area, based on the guiding design concept of tension between center and periphery.

contrast, the periphery contains the story of Appalachian slavery from the perspective of the slaves themselves. Located between these two extremes are exhibits describing the other members of 19th century Appalachia who were, in effect, lost in the middle ground to fend for themselves: free blacks, white subsistence farmers and tenant farmers, and white laborers. Although not directly a part of the master and slave dynamic, the economic and social status of this group was nevertheless directly impacted by the system of slavery operating around them. Free blacks in Appalachia lived a precarious existence—ultimately at the discretion of whites—who could and often did force them to leave the state or even sell them into slavery. White laborers were often passed over for jobs because of the

availability of cheap slave labor, while poor farmers were unable to compete with the higher production rates and lower prices of agricultural goods produced by slaves.

The tension between center and periphery—master and slave—is physically reinforced through the control (i.e., restriction) of physical access and views from the periphery into the center. As visitors enter the education center, they see an open central space directly before them. Rather than proceeding through an entry hall into this central space as would be expected, however, visitors are channeled around the periphery of the building. They are allowed only limited views to the central space, which serve to reinforce their separation from it. Only when they have passed through the two outer rings of exhibits are they allowed access to the center space.

In structure and function, the exhibit space is similar to the circumambulating path identified by architect Thomas Barrie (1996) as a common organizational scheme in ritual space (Figure 9.5; see Chapter 4, Characteristics of Ritual Space). In this configuration, people are moved around a central space while direct access to it is restricted. This structuring of the path and the spatial relationship between center and edge it produces serve to emphasize the dichotomy of sacred and profane space and the authority or sacredness of the center. As ritualized behavior, the physical act of circumambulation creates an understanding of the figurative relationship between the sacred and the profane and of the individuals place within that system.

In the same way, the physical



Figure 9.5. Circumambulating ritual path. (after Barrie, 1996)

structure of the exhibit space on the lower floor also helps to communicate important understandings about one of the consequences of the tension between center and periphery: slaves' ability to subvert these peripheries, to exploit the edges to which they were relegated, in order to survive and prosper to the extent possible. Through their exploitation of edges (both as literal, physical edges and figurative ones), slaves remapped the physical, social, and economic territories of their bondage and in both subtle and overt ways resisted the identity imposed upon them by the norms of the slave society in which they lived. Whereas the exhibit space on the ground level is organized as a circumambulating path, the exhibits on the lower floor are organized as a series of exhibit rooms branching off from a central hallway (Figure 9.6). The main hall describes the legal, social, political, and economic restrictions placed on slaves—the status quo—in Appalachia, while the adjoining exhibit rooms present the strategies slaves used to circumvent these prohibitions. These exhibit rooms represent both the physical territories and the figurative domains that lay just beyond the authority of the dominant class—from the unpatrolled peripheries of plantations

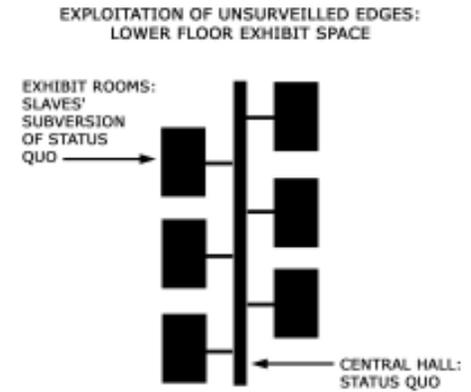


Figure 9.6. Diagrammatic representation of the spatial organization of lower floor, emphasizing the subversive use of peripheries.



Figure 9.7. Visitors on the ground floor experience path as a linear sequence from one exhibit room to the next.

or towns where runaways could hide to the formation of underground economies that flouted laws against doing business with slaves. Although the institution of slavery developed what appeared to be a secure

system of checks to keep bondsmen in their subservient role, slaves consistently found ways to subvert the order imposed on them.

The spatial configuration of the exhibits on the lower floor emphasizes this fact through the way it leads visitors through the space. It presents visitors with a very different kinesthetic experience, in terms of path, from that on the ground floor. On the ground level, visitors circumambulate from one exhibit room to the next in a sequence of experiences (Figure 9.7) that reinforces the dichotomy between center and periphery. On the lower floor, however, this fluid transition between rooms is replaced by the experience of continually orienting to and diverging from the main path, as visitors repeatedly leave the central hall to enter the exhibit rooms and then return to the main hall (Figure 9.8). Thus, in their physical movement through the space,

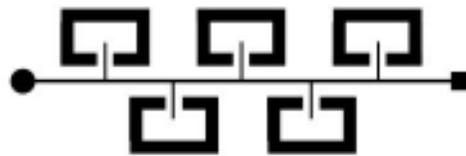


Figure 9.8. Visitors on the lower floor experience path as a sequence of divergences from the main path followed by a reorientation to it.

visitors replicate slaves' subversion of the established norms and ground rules of slavery in order to survive. In this way, important understandings about Appalachian slavery can be communicated simply by requiring visitors to move through the space and physically relate to it in a particular way.

Dislocation From the External World. As the first destination of visitors within the interpretive complex, the entry to the education center marks the first and perhaps most important opportunity to let visitors know that their experiences within the complex will be quite different from what they know in the modern world. Because the participatory living history interpretive method requires a high level of involvement from visitors, the entry into the education center must prepare them to participate in the foreign environment they will encounter in the interpretive complex—that of 19th century Appalachia. In this way, the entry sequence to the education center serves as what ritual theorist Catherine Bell (1997) refers to as a framing experience—one that “set[s] up an interpretive framework within which to understand . . . subsequent or simultaneous acts or messages” (p. 74). In essence, it helps familiarize visitors with the ground rules of the world they are about to enter.

This process begins when visitors leave their cars in the complex's parking lot in the northeast corner of the site (see Figure 9.1). Rather than directly entering the education center after a short walk from their cars, visitors embark on a journey—a ritual procession—that takes them away from the modern world and begins to acclimatize them to the antebellum Appalachian landscape. At the entry to the parking lot, visitors are directed to leave their cars in the lot and walk to the nearby ordinary, or tavern, similar to the ones that once lined the Great Valley Road, in order to wait for the wagon that will take them

to the education center. In addition to providing both an outdoor porch and indoor seating for waiting, the ordinary also offers restrooms, sells light refreshments, and houses the only gift shop on the site, which primarily carries educational items for adults and children related to slavery and its legacy. A costumed interpreter, the ordinary's proprietor, is also on hand to welcome visitors as travelers down the Great Valley Road.

From the ordinary, visitors are then picked up by 19th-century-style horse-drawn wagons driven by costumed interpreters and proceed down the dirt road that forms a loop through the interpretive grounds. This road is presented to visitors as the Great Valley Road, which historically ran near the current route of Route 220 past Greenfield. Visitors ride through a rural mountain landscape of crop fields and forests until they reach the education center—the big house in an Appalachian farm complex (Figure 9.3). This elongated procession from parking lot to education center helps to prepare visitors for their experiences in the complex by exposing them to a physical environment like the one they will find on the interpretive grounds as well as helping them become accustomed to interacting with costumed interpreters.

The opening procession also frames visitors' experiences by preventing the visual and audio intrusion of the modern world onto the site. Although the dirt road leading to the education center runs close to Route 220, views to the road are screened by both the natural topography (the dirt road is below the elevation of the highway) and forest vegetation. Some traffic noise will be audible (see Figure 8.7, traffic noise analysis), but the sound of the wagon will mask some of this. Additionally, as a novel sound to visitors, the wagon will tend to draw visitors' attention away from the car noise, which is now standard sensory input for most modern Americans.

The education center itself also serves as a framing experience for participation in the daytime walks or nighttime tour. Through the exhibits in the education center, visitors learn about the landscape and types of characters they will encounter on the interpretive grounds, as well as the dangers faced by runaway slaves in this environment and their tactics for minimizing their risks. In effect, visitors will take the understandings they derive from the exhibits and put them to the test in the interpretive landscape.

Finally, the opportunity for reflection—to make sense of and begin to integrate the experiences at the interpretive complex into everyday life—plays a critical role in impressing on visitors the uniqueness and importance of their experiences. Given that the goals of the education center discussed in the introduction to this section emphasize informed discussion and the application of understandings developed in the interpretive complex to contemporary issues, the provision of a space and time for reflection becomes all the more essential. Two such opportunities are provided in the interpretive complex. First, the wagon trip back to the ordinary offers visitors a moment to reflect privately or to talk with the other visitors that may be accompanying them in the wagon. The interpreter driving the wagon also offers visitors the opportunity to ask any questions that arose from their experiences. In addition, a modest, intimate memorial space is offered on the upper floor of the education center. Because daytime visitors do not otherwise go to the upper floor, this memorial space may be used primarily by participants in the nighttime tour, who are escorted to the space at the conclusion of their tour.

By serving as a frame through which visitors' subsequent experiences can be interpreted and then providing a opportunity for deeper reflection on the understandings they have con-

structed, the education center facilitates both the construction of new understandings of slavery and their integration into visitors' everyday lives.

Personalized Communication. In the realm of historic interpretation, the Constructivist Design Approach emphasizes communicating program content in a way that emphasizes the humanity of historical figures. It takes the disembodied voices of the past and reanimates them in flesh and blood—as mothers, sons, sisters, and wives. In this way, visitors are encouraged to connect with historical figures. As visitors begin to see something of themselves or their own life circumstances in these historical figures, they are more likely to construct highly personalize, empathetic understandings of them.

For this reason, the exhibits in the education center rely heavily on first-person accounts to tell the story of Appalachian slavery. Although some third-person explanations are necessary, the vast majority of exhibit space is devoted to presenting the experiences of slaves, masters, and others in their own words. A variety of sources for such accounts exist, including the personal correspondence and journals of slave owners and brokers, newspaper articles from the period, written accounts of

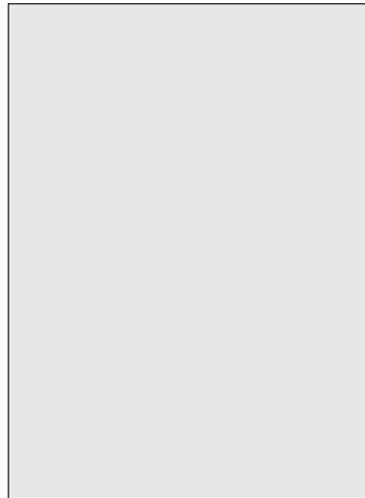


Figure 9.9. Life-size images used in Holocaust Museum exhibit. (Weinberg & Elieli, 1995)

interviews with former slaves recorded in the 1920s and 1930s through the Federal Writers' Project, and runaway slave narratives recorded in a variety of sources including William Still's *Underground Railroad Records*.

The humanizing of the historical record is further enhanced by an emphasis on human images in the exhibits, both in the form of period photographs and drawings as well as videotaped performances of personal accounts by contemporary actors. Figure 9.9 shows an example of an exhibit from the National Holocaust Museum that makes strong use of enlarged photographs of individuals. Here, visitors are confronted by a life-size image of two Nazi SA troopers and their muzzled attack dog—an image that communicates more at a glance than the text beside it. The fact that the figures are full-sized only increases their impact. In a similar way, life-sized images of slaves and the other inhabitants of the mountain antebellum landscape will serve as anchors for exhibit text in the education center.

An additional strategy for humanizing the interpretation is the installation in exhibit space of monitors on which actors read excerpts of personal narratives. Figure 9.10 shows an example of the use of period film footage from the Holocaust Museum. Actors would be filmed in close-ups so that they

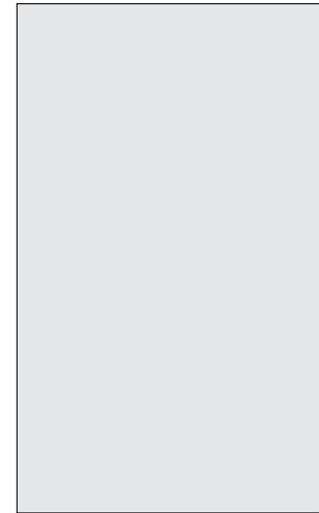


Figure 9.10. Close-ups used on monitors at the Holocaust Museum. (Weinberg & Elieli, 1995)

appear to be at human scale. Like the use of still images, video footage can be used to breathe life and realism into what would otherwise be lifeless words on a display board. In this way, visitors are encouraged to see historical figures as real people and to construct understandings of their experiences that resonate with personal meaning.

Dramatic Rhythm. The presentation of a variety of personal, sometimes contradictory, accounts also demands attention to the rhythm in which these accounts are presented. Rather than grouping similar accounts of slavery together, the juxtaposition of contradictory understandings of slavery would help impress on visitors the variability of experiences and would work against any sense that the education center is presenting one reading or interpretation of history. Again, the juxtaposition of elements in the exhibit space would maximize the individual's ability to construct his or her own conclusions and understandings from the information presented.

Sensitivity to the dramatic rhythm of the exhibits also calls for special attention to the transitions between the various exhibit rooms. The exhibits are presented thematically rather than chronologically. For example, along the periphery of the building, exhibits conveying slavery from the perspective of the slave will be grouped according to the various implications of Appalachia's unique form of slavery on slaves of the region, such as the type of work they performed (both working for their masters and as leased slaves), the types of living conditions they endured, and the effects of the high rate of slave trading on slave family units. As with the Holocaust Museum, the provision of brief transition areas between each exhibit room allows visitors to reflect on the information they have just learned and construct more thoughtful understandings.

Physical Interaction With the Site. Previously in this section, the ability of the structure of space and path to deepen visitors' understandings of the tension between center and periphery in Appalachian slavery was discussed. Yet it is not the structure of the exhibit space itself that offers the greatest potential for the construction of meaning but the way in which visitors are invited to physically engage with the site, through their movement and their senses as well as their body's relationship to the volume of space around it. This physical interaction with the site encourages understandings rooted not only in the mind but also in the body.

For example, on the ground floor of the education center, the peripheral spaces that exhibit material on slaves' experiences are smaller and more cramped in terms of the scale of the spaces relative to the human body as compared to the center exhibit space. Materials used to construct the outer ring of exhibits are simply produced, roughly finished materials such as hand-hewn wood beams, stone, concrete, or unpainted steel. The marks of their manufacture, whether from the carpenter's tool or the concrete forms, are left visible. In other words, the human labor required to construct these spaces are evident in the materials.

In contrast, the center exhibits devoted to those who held the power in the Appalachian slave society are marked by richer materials and refined details. Ornate wood trims and architectural details typical of the period finish the exhibits. Instead of the bare concrete floor found in the periphery, woven rugs cover the floors in the exhibits devoted to those who held the power and wealth. These center exhibits are also characterized by an open, airy quality that contrasts sharply with the tighter proportions of the circumference. In addition, the transition into the center exhibits requires visitors to ascend to a slightly raised

platform. In this way, the sensation of leg muscles ascending works with the visible material changes to signal to visitors that they are passing into a different realm. This type of kinesthetic engagement could also be used to provide visitors with a more visceral understanding of slaves experiences. For example, the exhibits depicting the sale of coffle slaves throughout Appalachia could lead visitors onto a raised platform like the auction blocks on which slaves were sometimes placed. Ideally, this platform would form a three-dimensional extension of a life-sized photo or period rendering of such a sale. In this way, visitors would find themselves in the position of slaves.

Visitors are also encouraged to gain a deeper understanding of slaves' experiences through direct physical contact with exhibit items. Whereas most museums enclose their artifacts behind a protective wall of glass, whenever possible the educa-

tion center eliminates these barriers between visitors and historical objects. In many cases, this requires the use of authentically reproduced replicas of fragile articles such as the types of shirts or shoes given to slaves rather than originals that could easily be damaged from excessive handling. Replicas of the tools and implements used by slaves in their work are provided for visitors to try out. Reproductions of the iron shackles used in many slave coffles are also available, so that visitors can feel their weight and their tightness around their wrists or legs. Thus, the physical design of the exhibit spaces, in terms of material choices, scale and proportion, kinesthetic interaction, as well as direct physical contact with exhibit objects, can provide visitors with increased opportunities to construct personalized meanings from their tour of the education center exhibit space.

THE INTERPRETIVE GROUNDS

The interpretive grounds provide visitors with the opportunity—through the daytime walks and nighttime tour—to further develop the understandings gained in the education center regarding runaways’ strategies for moving through the landscape by physically performing them. Rather than just a backdrop for their performance, however, the constructivist landscape of the interpretive grounds plays an active role in it. Through a constructivist approach to design, the landscape presents visitors with obstacles and subsequent opportunities for building understandings of the experiences of mountain slaves.

As a brief introduction, the design proposal for the interpretive complex’s grounds creates a 19th century rural Appalachian landscape (see Figure 9.1). This landscape is animated by the costumed interpreters playing roles and engaged in activities appropriate to the time as well as by the visitors who interact with the interpreters as well as the landscape.

Although specific functions have been assigned to each structure on the grounds in terms of interpretive program, it is important to note that these functions can be reassigned as needed to facilitate the daytime walks and night tour or simply to vary the interpretive program periodically in order to better serve repeat visitors. For example, the tenant farmer and the free black farmsteads could be switched, or the blacksmith’s cabin could become that of a free black. Although the barns on the grounds serve their expressed function of housing livestock and feed, they are intended (in concealed portions) to also accommodate modern mowers and other equipment needed to maintain the grounds.

The following sections detail the design of the interpretive grounds as it relates specifically to the daytime self-guided walks and the nighttime tour.

Self-Guided Daytime Walks

The self-guided walks begin at the slave cabin behind the education center. Visitors are directed there after completing the tour of the indoor exhibits. The objective of the daytime walks is to help visitors experience firsthand strategies that runaway slaves employed to move through the landscape. It is a moment of ritual performance—when visitors adopt the role of runaway slaves and understanding comes through the body as well as through the mind. Visitors operationalize the information they have learned throughout the exhibits, including specific strategies used by runaway slaves in making their way through the landscape.

The daytime walks use a set of field guides that give each visitor or group of visitors a scenario they will follow for the duration of the walk. In each case, the scenarios allow visitors to experience one of the many reasons slaves ran away. For example, they may be running away to join a spouse or parent who has been sold to a distant town, or they may have heard rumors of their own impending sale to the Deep South and decided to instead take their chances on the run. Field guides also review some of the key facts that visitors learned in the exhibits and will need in the field to avoid capture: “If you try to cross a creek at a toll bridge, the toll collectors may demand to see your free papers”; and “Fellow slaves you see on your journey may be unsympathetic to your situation, or they may

offer you information that could greatly increase your chances of completing your journey successfully”; and “If you are caught, you will likely face brutal physical punishment, sale down south to a cotton or sugar plantation, or perhaps even death, so you have little to lose by trying to run if your captors let their guard down. Be ready to take advantage of their lapses.” The field guide can be modified as needed to maximize visitors’ interaction with the landscape and interpreters. For example, if visitors consistently avoid taking the risk of interacting with interpreters because they are scared of being caught, the field guides could be reworded to encourage more contact, perhaps by naming certain locations, such as the iron mine, at which assistance can be found.

Before beginning their walks, visitors are also given vests to wear. These vests signal to the interpreters that visitors want to interact with them. Interpreters who spot visitors in vests will treat them as potential runaway slaves. Visitors can remove their vests in order to be “invisible” to interpreters.

As they head out for their walk, visitors are instructed to use the complex’s loop road (the Great Valley Road) as their instrument of navigation and that their ultimate goal (in addition to avoiding capture) is to find the small cabin belonging to a free black who will help them on the next leg of their journey. They will know the cabin by a quilt hung over the cabin’s fence displaying a pattern often known by slaves to signify a safehouse. In reality, this interpreter will talk to them about their experiences on the walk and direct them back to the education center where they can visit the memorial space on the upper floor or take a wagon back to the ordinary.

The remainder of this section describes the daytime walks in terms of the specific attitudes and approaches of the Constructivist Design Approach.

Structured But Flexible Meaning. The self-guided daytime walks are designed to be the most flexible of the three program elements offered in terms of allowing visitors to individually construct their own experiences and understandings. These walks have no set route through the interpretive landscape. In this way, visitors are encouraged to actively collaborate with their environment by responding to its features and spatial conditions with no restrictions other than the attitudes, experiences, and tendencies they bring to the interpretive center and the meanings they have personally constructed from the education center exhibits. For example, based on their prior experiences and interests, visitors can choose to interact to greater degrees with interpreter characters they find compelling or may seek out certain landscape conditions more than others.

The flexibility of the day walks also helps accommodate the various types of groups visiting the complex. For example, adult visitors embarking on a daytime walk with young children will likely have a very different experience from those traveling alone or in couples—not only in terms of the length of time spent on the walk, the route taken, and the rate of travel, but also in terms of the tenor of their experience and the set of meanings generated. A self-guided tour gives visitors the freedom to chart their own course through the landscape in order to construct a more personally meaningful experience. This visitor autonomy is further enhanced by the use of the vests, which visitors can take off when they prefer not to interact with the interpreters.

Yet in order for meaningful experiences to be constructed, this flexibility must exist within a structured framework. Without it, the rich potential of the walks to lead to meaningful understandings about how runaway slaves moved through the landscape could quickly dissolve into chaos and confusion. On a

practical level, with no set route through the landscape to follow, visitors could easily become lost—or simply become afraid they are lost—on the 120-acre interpretive grounds. More importantly, the ability of the walks to directly support the educational goals of the interpretive complex could be jeopardized if visitors feel they do not have enough guidance or feedback about how they are moving through the landscape. This could easily cause visitors to become frustrated or bored and lead them to quit the walks prematurely.

To address both of these potential problems, several levels of structure or organization are built into the interpretive landscape. In terms of wayfinding, the dirt loop road becomes the primary organizing element for the walk. As they are given their field guides, visitors are told by the interpreter in the slave cabin that they must follow this road—the Great Road—on their journey, for it leads north to freedom. This navigational strategy is consistent with what they have learned in the education center about how runaways moved through the landscape. On a practical level, it also keeps them from heading out into the large forested areas in the western and northern portions of the site where they might become lost or wander out of the interpretive complex. (Also note that a contemporary-style boundary fence runs through the wooded areas to keep any visitors that do stray far from the road from leaving the interpretive grounds.) Visitors are assured before they set out that the road will lead them back to the education center or the ordinary, so as long as they follow the road, they cannot get lost.

Orienting visitors to the road also keeps them closer to the interpretive stations, which are located adjacent to the road (see Figure 9.11). Not only does this proximity to interpreted areas of the grounds expose visitors to daily activities of slaves in

rural Appalachia such as harvesting or plowing methods as well as livestock practices, but it also allows them to interact with interpreters who convey important understandings about the attitudes of mountain slaves and the other inhabitants of this landscape. For example, slave patrollers mounted on horseback continually circulate on the road in teams of two, stopping at times to question interpreters costumed as slaves or to confer with those playing white farmers or overseers. Visitors in the roles of slaves will have to respond to the sound or sight of the approaching horses by taking cover or they too will be stopped and questioned by the patrols. In other places, visitors may choose to approach interpreters playing slaves. For example, those who stop at the blacksmith's cabin (see Figure 9.1) learn about slaves who became skilled tradesmen and sometimes enjoyed greater freedoms and a higher quality of life than unskilled slaves. Visitors may also receive some assistance from such an interpreter, such as a warning about an unfriendly cabin up ahead, the location of a crop field where they could find food, or even a set of forged free papers that the visitor could use if stopped by a slave patrol.

Finally, using the road as the organizational backbone of the daytime walks offers the opportunity to provide visitors with constant feedback regarding their success in moving through the landscape as runaway slaves. As long as visitors are traveling undetected with the road in sight, they know they are successfully navigating through the landscape. As they are forced to divert from the road to avoid being spotted and then must work to reorient themselves to it, they also achieve a sense of accomplishment and reaffirmation of their actions. With visitors staying close to the road, it becomes possible to design into the landscape along the road a series of obstacles that provide them with such opportunities to test their under-

DAYTIME INTERPRETER POSTS



STATIONARY POSTS

- 1 ORDINARY: Innkeeper welcomes visitors as travelers on the Great Valley Road
- 2 WAGON: Slave drives wagon taking visitors to education center
- 3 SLAVE QUARTERS: Slave directs visitors as they begin their journey along the Great Valley Road
- 4 HORSE BARN: Slave tends to horses with master or overseer looking on
- 5 BLACKSMITH SHOP: Slave smith forges items for his master's farm
- 6 TENANT FARM: Poor white farmer is eager to turn over any runaways to his landlord
- 7 IRON MINE: Slaves mine and load iron ore
- 8 TOLL BRIDGE: Manned by collector
- 9 PLANTATION: Slave mistress instructing her household slaves
- 10 TOLL BRIDGE: Manned by collector
- 11 FREE BLACK FARM: Free black debriefs visitors and directs them back to education center

CIRCULATING POSTS

One or two pairs of slave children feeding livestock and mending fences throughout grounds

One or two pairs of mounted slave patrollers traveling loop road and questioning the interpreters and visitors they encounter

One slave coffle: 1 or 2 slave traders with 4-8 chained slaves in tow, travelling loop road and stopping at each station to try to sell or buy slaves

Slaves tending to fields and livestock as needed/available

Figure 9.11. Costumed interpreters play a vital role in the ability of the interpretive grounds to present Appalachian slavery as an animated, living landscape. Interpreters assume roles designed to educate visitors about mountain slavery and perform activities appropriate to their characters. Some interpreters remain in one location throughout the day (stationary posts), whereas others move throughout the grounds (circulating posts) and interact with visitors and other interpreters as appropriate for their role. In the interpretive program presented in this figure, a minimum of 26 costumed interpreters are required, although 40 would be more desirable in terms of encouraging a high level of visitor interaction with interpreters.

standings of effective ways of traveling. For example, on the first leg of their journey, visitors are instructed by the interpreter in the slave cabin to head left along the forest edge behind the education center until they spot the road. As they approach the road, however, they see the horse barn and enclosed pasture as well as interpreters in the roles of a slave and master stationed there (Figure 9.12, point A). In order to avoid being spotted by these individuals, visitors must divert from the road (in this case, by using the hillside as a visual barrier; point B) until they can safely reestablish a visual link to the road (point C). If visitors fail to divert from the road, they will be spotted by the interpreters at the horse barn and pursued. In this way, the use of the road as a structuring device allows for the creation of a series of challenges for visitors (in addition to the overall goal of reaching the free black's cabin) that serves as a framework upon which their own experiences and understandings can be constructed.

The verbal directive given to visitors to follow the road is not the only means of providing them with feedback. The interpretive landscape is also designed to present visitors with obstacles and opportunities for feedback through the placement of built structures and landscape features as well as by the placement of costumed interpreters. In this way, the design of the landscape and its features becomes a secondary level of organization or structure for the daytime walk experience. As in the above example of the first leg of visitors' walk, the use and placement of structures (the horse barn) and interpreters (slave and master) along the road provide the mechanisms to introduce an obstacle for visitors, while the adjacent topography and vegetation are designed to offer the means of overcoming it.

Visitors are also discouraged from straying too far from the loop road by the design of landscape features. For example,

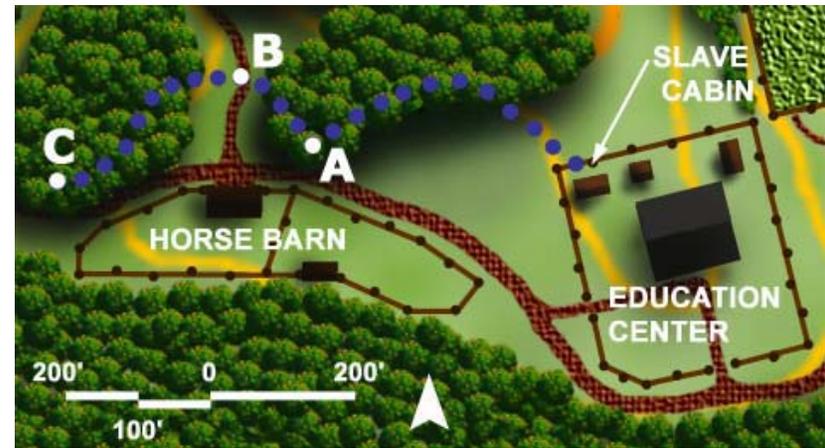


Figure 9.12. Placement of the horse barn along the loop road gives visitors the opportunity to learn how runaways used topography as a screen. In order to avoid being seen from the horse barn, visitors must divert from the road (A) and cross the gap in the tree cover at a lower elevation (B) before finally reorienting themselves to the road (C).

because of the proximity to the site boundary and the potential for unwanted views north to adjacent housing developments, it was seen as important to prevent visitors from traveling in the wooded area north of the town complex (visitors diverting north around the town complex would also miss the free black cabin that is the goal of their journey). In order to achieve this, as visitors travel north along the hedgerows adjacent to the road at the approach the town, the forest edge along the northern boundary of the site has been pulled back from the loop road in order to leave an expanse of open space between the hedgerow and the forest that is too large to risk traveling across (Figure 9.13). As an additional deterrent, the toll collector at the bridge has a clear view of any visitor attempting to cross the

open space. If a stronger deterrent is needed, a mounted slave patrol could also be stationed at the bridge. With the possibility of circling around the town to the north to pick up the road precluded by the landscape features and interpreter placement, visitors will head south along the vegetated stream corridor to find a crossing in order to circle around the town to the south. Thus, although it is unlikely that any two visitors will follow exactly the same route through the landscape, the introduction of the road as an orientating device and the careful design of the landscape adjacent to it limit the possible routes of visitors.

Although it would be philosophically inconsistent for the designer of a constructivist site to seek to overtly control or severely restrict the movement or experiences of the site's users, as the above discussion indicates, the limitations put on visitors' ability to roam freely through the interpretive grounds provides a necessary framework for their experience. Although it was important in the daytime walks to offer visitors a high degree of autonomy in terms of determining their route through the landscape in order to maximize their ability to construct their own experiences and understandings, the structure provided by the loop road and the design of the adjacent landscape allow the walks to be more effectively tailored to facilitating the educational goals of the complex. In addition to reassuring visitors that they could not become lost on the grounds, the underlying structure also encourages visitors to engage more fully in the experience by providing them with ongoing feedback about their strategies for moving through the landscape and helping to ensure that visitors experience the types of landscape and situational conditions that they learned about in the education center. Ultimately, the structure built into the daytime walks is used not to restrict individuals' ability to construct personal meanings from their experience but to enhance it.



Figure 9.13. Although the day walks have no set route, the design of the landscape and placement of interpreters helps to guide visitors. Here, the large expanse of open space created by pulling the forest edge away from the bridge, combined with an interpreter on the bridge with unobstructed views, forces visitors to backtrack and find an alternative creek crossing. This causes them to cross in an area with a view to the free black farm for which they are searching.

Physical Landscape Influences the Internal Landscape. As in the education center, the structural organization of the interpretive grounds is used to facilitate visitors' experiences in ways that reinforce key understandings. Like the indoor spaces, the grounds are structured according to the guiding design concept of tension between center and periphery and the exploitation of edges. Whereas the concept is used on the ground

floor of the education center to convey a sense of superiority and subordination, in the landscape, it is used to encourage visitors to move through the landscape as runaway

slaves did. For runaways, the tension between center and edge meant physically traveling at the margins of white territories—farmsteads, towns, roads—in order to take advantage of the greater ease of finding food, shelter, and other assistance while still remaining out of sight. It meant moving through the landscape in a manner that kept them at the outer edges of the territories surveilled by slave owners and overseers, slave traders and patrollers, and anyone else who might see fit to turn them in. In terms of the design of the interpretive grounds, this meant setting up surveilled territories, hereafter referred to as spheres or zones of surveillance, along the loop road in the form of farmsteads, a town, an iron mining complex, individual barns and sheds, and even merely the presence of interpreters (Figure 9.14). Each sphere of surveillance extends out into the landscape as far as an interpreter at these stations can see. The road takes visitors into and out of these various spheres. Like the runaways they learned about in the education center, visitors must learn to look at the landscape and analyze their path

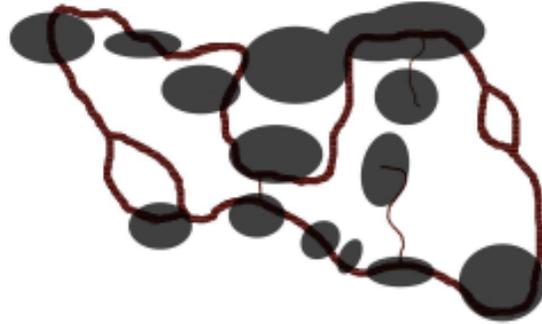


Figure 9.14. Spheres or zones of surveillance along loop road.

through it in terms of these spheres of surveillance—or risk discovery and capture.

To further encourage visitors to view the landscape in terms of zones of surveillance and their margins, these zones of surveillance are pierced or fragmented by the introduction of edges, in the form of vertical screens such as vegetation, buildings, and landforms (i.e., topography) that can block views from these centers of observation. They represent the types of edges that historiographic research revealed runaways often exploited for their survival.

Dislocation From the External World. A physical threshold marks the transition between two spaces or territories. On a cognitive level, the exhibit area of the education center functions as a threshold for the daytime walks: It prepares visitors to put aside their 21st century identities and adopt the role of runaway slaves in the landscape. The ground floor exhibits provide visitors with an overview of the landscape of Appalachian slavery—the characters and their assigned roles (slaves, masters, patrollers, etc.) and their relationship to each other socially and economically, as well as the typical settings in which they were found. Essentially, these exhibits familiarize visitors with the landscape they will find on the interpretive grounds. As they encounter various costumed interpreters during their walk, they will already have some understanding of their place in the landscape of mountain slavery, so that the decisions they make on the walk will come from an informed understanding rather than trial and error.

Whereas the ground floor exhibits acquaint visitors with the visible landscape of mountain slavery, the exhibits on the lower level provide visitors with an understanding of a more furtive aspect of slavery—that of slave resistance. These exhib-

its equip visitors with information about specific strategies used by runaways to move through the landscape successfully, such as following roads from the cover of adjacent woods and hiding in unattended barns or other farm structures. They also acquaint visitors with common obstacles that runaways (as well as other slaves) had to overcome, such as needing a pass from their master to travel or finding ways to cross rivers and creeks.

In this way, their tour through the education center prepares visitors for their walk through the interpretive grounds. To be successful, they must draw on the facts as well as the conceptual understandings they learned inside. Without the exhibit tour as a frame, the visitors' experiences in the landscape would have a severely limited impact in terms of helping them construct understandings of Appalachian slavery and the experiences and behavioral strategies of runaway slaves.

Dramatic Rhythm: Juxtaposition. In simplest terms, the rhythm of the daytime walks oscillates between opposite states: exposure versus concealment, orientation to the road versus diversion from it, safety versus danger. Essentially, the daytime walks provide the dramatic juxtaposition of moments of control versus chaos for visitors. This is made possible by the zones of surveillance set up in relationship to the road, which require visitors to skirt in and out of these zones as they follow the road. Visitors experience moments of relief and safety followed by moments of apprehension and potential danger. For example, as visitors follow the road north past the mountain plantation located at the center of the interpretive grounds (Figure 9.15), they use a hedgerow lining the east side of the road for cover. This thin line of trees and brush, however, is broken in spots, leaving them visible from the road and potentially from the farmstead. Although each visitor will take a slightly different

path through the landscape and experience the walk differently, the overall structure introduced into the walk through the use of the road for navigation and the placement of interpreters and structures ensure that most visitors will encounter a similar oscillation between safety and danger, control and chaos, albeit in different areas on the interpretive grounds and at different levels of intensity.

This juxtaposition provides the dramatic tension that helps sustain visitors' interest in the walk and reinforce their learning. Each episode of chaos and danger provides valuable feedback to each visitor about their strategies for moving through the landscape. The period of relative safety and control immediately following each moment of danger gives visitors time to reflect on how and why their tactics failed—as well as what might have been their fate were they truly runaway slaves.

This juxtaposition of moments of safety and danger also serves to heighten visitors' experiences of each. For example, as

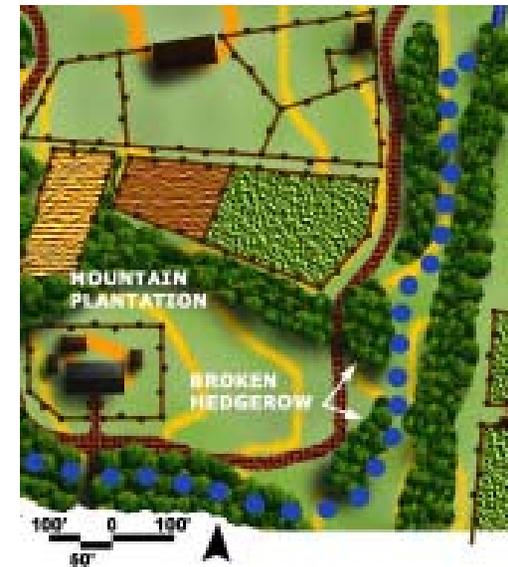


Figure 9.15. Visitors experience an alternating rhythm of exposure and concealment as they travel along the broken hedgerow.

they emerge from the cover of the forest into wide-open pasture, the sense of exposure they feel is heightened by its contrast with the previous sense of enclosure. In this way, juxtapositions of opposing spatial conditions can also enhance visitors' understandings of the importance of various landscape features and conditions to runaways. Through this juxtaposition, visitors begin to look at and evaluate the landscape like a runaway slave rather than a 21st century visitor.

Personalized Communication. Whereas the education center emphasizes learning about Appalachian slavery primarily through the words and images of past individuals, the daytime walks take a different but equally personal level of communicating with visitors. By adopting the role of a runaway slave and interacting with interpreters while in this role, each visitor experiences firsthand—physically and psychologically—what it means to move through the landscape as a runaway slave and how this contrasts with their own everyday relationship to the landscape. In this way, the daytime walks seek to increase visitor identification with the experiences of runaway slaves and to increase their appreciation for the obstacles they overcame. No matter how deeply visitors identify with the individuals portrayed in the education center, they are still separated from their experiences by time and space. On the interpretive grounds, however, visitors become the slaves and experience directly some of the emotions and situations that they learned about in the education center.

In order to enhance the sense of personal identification visitors feel with the roles they adopt, the scenarios they receive at the start of their walk are tailored to each visitor or visitor group. For example, a family of four (mother, father, and two children) can be given a scenario in which enslaved parents

decide to flee north with their children when they hear that their master is planning to sell the children away. The parents in this group could readily understand the decision of their slave counterparts to flee rather than lose their children. The flexibility necessary for creating these tailored scenarios is possible with the use of a computerized database of scenarios that can be selected on the spot and printed as inserts to the field guide. This could be done before visitors leave the education center for the slave quarters to begin their walk.

This personalization of the runaway scenarios visitors are given helps to increase their ability to identify with them. Visitors will more easily be able to immerse themselves in roles that they also play in their everyday life—parent, spouse, etc. This use of personalized scenarios also encourages visitors to draw upon their own prior experiences and attitudes during their walk. For example, the mother of this family of four may, upon reading the scenario, call upon memories of a time when she briefly lost one of her children at a mall or supermarket. In this way, visitors are encouraged to blend their own personal experiences with the raw materials provided by the interpretive complex in a collaborative process of constructing meaning.

Physical Interaction With the Site. The objective of the daytime walks is to encourage visitors to become a part of the landscape of Appalachian slavery as it exists on the interpretive grounds—to interact with it directly rather than merely observe it. The value of this level of immersion lies in the depth and breadth of meanings that can be constructed from such a rich, immersive experience. This type of interaction with the site requires that the designer consider in depth the ways the human body and all its faculties interact with the site. It also requires that the designer actively create opportunities through which

the site can engage individuals bodily and psychologically. It is a process of grounding the individual in the site through the engagement of his or her senses, including a kinesthetic awareness and spatial relationship to the environment. The remainder of this section on the daytime walks discusses specific ways in which physical elements of the interpretive landscape are manipulated to encourage visitors' interaction with their physical environment and thus heighten their immersion in the interpretive experience.

Sensitivity to Materials. The interpretive grounds are designed to create a realistic 19th century Appalachian rural landscape not only in terms of the elements incorporated and their placement in a manner sensitive to antebellum practices, but also in terms of the materials from which these elements are built and the construction methods used. For example, hand-split rails are used to construct snake fences around crops and pastures in the traditional style of the region (Figure 9.16). The slave cabins and other small homes on the site are also built using construction methods, building styles, and materials common to the antebellum mountain region (Figure 9.17). This authenticity in terms of the materials and construction methods helps to create a



Figure 9.16. Traditional snake fence at Booker T. Washington National Monument. Rail ends rest on field stones rather than posts, making repositioning easier.

landscape markedly different from the modern environments to which visitors are accustomed. As they travel through the landscape as slaves, there is nothing in their environment to remind them of the 21st century world. This, in turn, deepens their immersion into the 19th century landscape of slavery.



Figure 9.17. Example of a square log structure similar in style to 19th century Appalachia.

Sensory Engagement. One of the advantages of a landscape animated by interpreters, visitors, and livestock is that it provides a sensory feast that helps to strengthen the engagement of visitors in the experience. The interpretive grounds are not only visually rich but also offer a constant selection of sounds, smells, and sensations. For example, at both of the toll bridges, visitors must find their own way across the creeks. In the process, many will get their feet wet, a common (and in winter months dangerous) condition for runaway slaves.

The sensory richness of the interpretive grounds also enhances the fear of discovery that the daytime walks emphasize as critical to the understanding of runaways' experience in the landscape. The spheres of surveillance that visitors move in and out of throughout their walk are not only defined through visual contact with interpreters or structures that could contain interpreters but also through the other senses. For example, walkers may smell campfires or the smoke from nearby cabin chimneys before they actually see them. Likewise, the sound of horses' hooves will serve to warn visitors of approaching slave patrols. In this way, visitors learn to rely on all their senses, not

merely sight, to successfully navigate through the landscape. This, in turn, deepens their immersion in the experience and increases the opportunity for the construction of meaning.

Kinesthetic Engagement. The daytime walks are designed to maximize the kinesthetic involvement of the visitor in the interpretive experience. After reading and hearing about the difficulties of the journey from excerpts of runaway slave narratives in the education center, the daytime walks give visitors the opportunity to feel those hardships in their own bodies. In essence, visitors commit the experiences of runaways to both cognitive memory and muscle memory. Visitors stumble over the uneven ground as they cut through forest patches or skirt along hedgerows. They feel their muscles strain as they hurry up and down hills or flee from approaching patrollers. When they pause to rest or hide from an interpreter, they will feel the pounding of their heart in their chest and the sound of their own rapid breathing.

Performance theory has highlighted the central role of the body moving in space in terms of the power and efficacy of ritual (see Chapter 4, Ritual Theory). It is as much through the physical movement of the body through ritual space as through communication of concepts and values that the primary function of ritual is achieved—the altering of the understandings and perspectives of participants. In the same fashion, the physical engagement of the body in the daytime walks is intended to create a new state of awareness and empathetic appreciation for the experiences of runaway slaves in visitors.

Sensitivity to Scale and Proportion. Purposeful manipulation of spatial conditions in terms of scale and proportion is also a key factor in immersing visitors and creating the opportunity

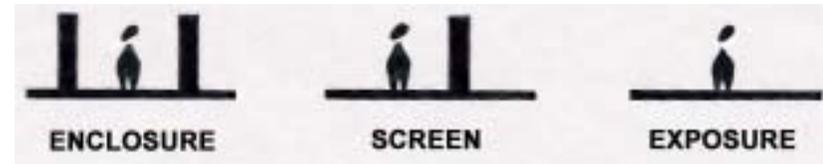


Figure 9.18. Degrees of spatial enclosure and exposure experienced on walks.

for the generation of understandings regarding runaways' relationship to the landscape. In the interpretive landscape, much of this revolves around the sense of exposure or enclosure provided by the physical environment. The interpretive landscape provides a variety of spatial conditions frequently encountered by runaway slaves in the region and described in their narratives.

Visitors travel through environments marked by varying degrees of enclosure and exposure, transparency and opacity. Conditions range from enclosure, such as traveling through forested patches or mature corn fields, or hiding inside buildings; to vertical screens between themselves and a road or building, such as a hedgerow; to exposure, such as bare pasture land or fields with crops less than three feet high (Figure 9.18).

For the most part, the greater the enclosure, the less visible visitors will be and the greater their sense of safety. However, the level of transparency or opacity characteristic of these environments will also affect their visibility and therefore affect how they move through the environments. In general, the land itself, when used as a screen, offers the greatest opacity. In other words, in some places visitors must use the hilly terrain to their advantage to keep themselves hidden from the road, structures, or interpreters. Vegetation offers varying levels of

transparency, both in terms of the changing seasons and the anatomy of the different types of vegetation found on the site. Hedgerows, which typically consist of trees a few rows deep with dense, woody undergrowth will provide a great deal of opacity, especially during the growing season. Likewise, forest edges on the site, which contain understory trees and shrubby growth, will effectively screen views into the forest, thus keeping visitors traveling within the forest hidden from the nearby road and populated areas. However, because the interiors of the forests on the site have little undergrowth, visitors traveling through the forest will be visible to any interpreters who are also in the forest. This is a critical consideration for visitors traveling near the road at the western edge of the site. Up to this point, visitors have been able to use the forest interiors as opaque screens between themselves and the road running outside of the forest. But as visitors follow the road into the western woods, they must modify these previously developed strategies in order to remain hidden. Visitors will need to use the rolling topography in this forest for cover.

Lastly, some vertical elements on the site, such as the snake fences, are highly transparent. The snake fences not only offer no protection from discovery but they can also present additional dangers. At two locations on the grounds, the road is bordered on both sides by snake fences. In this case, if visitors needed to quickly leave the road in order to avoid detection by an oncoming traveler, their flight would be slowed by the presence of the fences.

The spatial conditions visitors encounter become a tool for emphasizing the importance of recognizing the zones of surveillance. In this way, the visitor's spatial relationship to his environment becomes an important teaching tool in helping him see the landscape from the perspective of a runaway.

Guided Nighttime Tour

The guided nighttime tour offers the highest level of immersion in the runaway slave experience. With a preset route through the landscape, it is more structured than the self-guided day walks, but rather than lessening the immersion in the experience, this structure allows more intense and focused interaction with costumed interpreters and the landscape itself.

The nighttime tours take place after sunset, when the interpretive complex is closed to other visitors. It is structured so that more than one tour group (each consisting of eight to ten visitors) can operate concurrently, on different areas of the grounds. The tour is structured in three phases: a 20-minute guided tour of the education center exhibits that prepares visitors for the rest of the tour, a 60-minute guided journey through the interpretive grounds as runaway slaves, and a 20-minute debriefing session in the education center.

As in the daytime programs, participants are taken by wagon to the education center, where they are met by a staff member who provides a tour through the exhibits, with an emphasis on lessons visitors will need in order to complete the outdoor portion of the tour successfully. Throughout this part of the tour, the guide also carefully briefs visitors on the ground rules for the outdoor tour. Specifically, the guide stresses that once outside, visitors must adopt the role of runaway slaves. They will be treated as slaves by the costumed interpreters they meet and will be expected to react as slaves. Some of the characters visitors meet will be hostile, but none will physically harm them. The guide also emphasizes that their best hope of reaching safety on the tour is to stay together as a group, helping the slower members as necessary. They are reminded that runaways who were left behind and recaptured often faced

physical torture, sale to the Deep South, or even death. The guide also emphasizes to visitors that the 1½-mile outdoor tour is physically strenuous, as well as emotionally intense, and that they must be prepared to move quickly, stay in character, and focus on their journey. Visitors who have doubts about their ability to physically keep up with the group are asked to stay behind in the visitor center (and are refunded their money). Children under the age of fifteen are not permitted on the tour.

Visitors are then led to the slave cabin behind the education center, where their tour begins. In the slave cabin, visitors meet the three slaves who live there—a married couple (Sam and Callie) and Sam’s mother. Sam and Callie accompany visitors through the rest of the outdoor tour. In addition to their educational value in providing visitors with additional insights about the lives of mountain slaves, the couple also keeps the tour group on the correct route and on schedule. It is important to note that participants are not aware that a preset route exists for their journey or that part of the couple’s task is to keep them on the right course and on schedule. Because it is important that visitors do not feel led through the tour but instead are making decisions about how to travel through the landscape, the two interpreters accompanying them must steer the group through more subtle means. For example, if the group needs to move more quickly, Callie may say that she just heard a noise or saw a lantern and that someone may be tracking them. These two interpreters must be able to respond spontaneously to the reactions of the group and provide plausible reasons for why the group should or should not move through the landscape in a particular manner.

The outdoor tour consists of a circuit through the landscape punctuated by brief pauses at interpreter stations (Figure 9.19). At each station, the runaways meet costumed interpreters

who either try to capture them or assist them. In addition to providing visitors with an understanding of some of the other inhabitants of the landscape of Appalachian slavery, the interaction with interpreters at each station heightens participants’ immersion in the experience. Visitors encounter an absentee slave temporarily hiding in the woods, a white tenant farmer who sees capturing the runaways as a way to bolster his position with his planter landlord, a leased slave working at one of the many iron mines in the region, a mounted slave patrol eager to make an example of any runaways, and a free black. The outdoor tour concludes when the slave patrol catches up to the runaways as they prepare to spend the daylight hours hiding in a barn. After the initial scare of being “caught,” participants are informed by the patrollers that the tour is over and are escorted back to the education center.

Back inside the education center, visitors are taken up to the memorial space on the third floor, where they are given refreshments and are invited to talk about their experiences on the tour as well as ask questions of the staff leading the discussion. If necessary, a counselor can also participate in these discussions.

The remainder of this section describes the nighttime tour in terms of the specific attitudes and approaches of the Constructivist Design Approach.

Structured But Flexible Meaning. Strictly speaking, the nighttime tour is more structured than the daytime walks, given its set route and use of interpreters as guides. In part, the objective of this additional structure is to ensure that visitors have the opportunity to experience and construct meanings from the full range of interpretation offered at the complex. Whereas visitors on daytime walks, for example, may bypass



Figure 9.19. The route of the nighttime tour through the interpretive landscape is shown in blue. Tour groups stop at each of the numbered stations shown. Some stops involve interactions with costumed interpreters other than Sam and Callie, while others are merely pauses during which the group discusses their options for moving through the landscape. These pauses are also used to give visitors a moment to catch their breath during the most physically strenuous stretches of the tour (especially Stations 2 and 9) as well as allow any participants who have fallen behind to catch up with the group.

the iron mine or another interpretive post because of the route they take, participants in the nighttime tours are certain to engage with all the interpreters, from fellow slaves to slave patrollers. In this way, the additional structure of the night tour helps ensure the educational objectives of the interpretive complex are addressed.

Like the daytime walks, the night tour is also organized in reference to the dirt loop road, which is presented to visitors as the Great Valley Road. However, the nighttime tour is less dependent on the road as a structuring device because of the presence of the interpreters traveling with each group. Ironically, while the necessity of following the loop road tends to restrict visitors' route selection in the daytime walks, it actually increases participants' sense of control in determining their own route in the night tour. If groups were not trying to follow the road, participants would be forced to merely follow the guides blindly through an enigmatic landscape, with no particular understanding of why any given route was chosen. Because of the necessity of following the road, however, participants are able to judge for themselves the appropriateness of their course and contribute to discussions within the group about which way to go.

This last point suggests that, just as in the daytime walks, the structure of the night tour ultimately enhances rather than restricts participants' opportunities to create more meaningful experiences. As visitors make suggestions about directions in which to travel or tactics to adopt, the interpreter guides give subtle feedback about their decisions. Within the context of the tour, Sam and Callie, like the participants, are unfamiliar with most of the territory covered, yet they do have years of experience as slaves to draw upon in the decision-making process. This allows them to influence participants' decisions while

strengthening the latter's perception that their own contributions to the group play an important role in the unfolding narrative of their journey.

Dislocation From the External World. Because of the high level of immersion in the runaway slave experience that the nighttime tour hopes to create, achieving a sense of separation and distance from the modern world in which visitors are rooted is especially critical. To the greatest extent possible, tour participants must forget about the everyday world for the 60 minutes they are journeying across the interpretive grounds as runaway slaves.

To help accomplish this objective, the guided tour of the education center serves as a framing experience that distances visitors from the modern world and prepares them to adopt their identities as runaway slaves. The specially focused tour familiarizes visitors with the 19th century landscape and the types of people they will likely encounter there. It also familiarizes them with the strategies runaways used to successfully navigate through the landscape, as well as the types of obstacles they typically encountered. The guide impresses on visitors that once outside, they will need to call upon the information learned in the exhibits for their survival.

In addition to providing this cognitive framework, however, the exhibit tour also encourages visitors to begin to identify with the slaves—to put aside their modern-day identities and begin to see the world from their perspective. Instead of a detached third-person account of the experiences of slaves, the guide presents the tour in second person: “Many of your fellow slaves have found ways of using the landscape to avoid the slave patrols,” or “Like you, most runaways are unfamiliar with land they fled through.”

This process of transitioning from the modern world into the role of slaves culminates at the completion of the exhibit tour, when the guide collects from all participants any items they carry that connect them to their 21st century identities. Cell phones, wallets, purses, car keys—all symbols of security and control in the modern world—are checked with the guide and left behind before exiting the education center. The guide reminds participants that most runaways left with only the clothes on their backs. Visitors are then told that they, like the three slaves they are about to meet, belong to Henry Bowyer, the owner of this mountain farmstead. From this point on, participants are treated like slaves until they return to the education center.

The opportunity for reflection is also an important element of any constructivist site. Devoting time and physical space for individuals to reflect on their experience allows them to engage more deliberately in the process of constructing personalized meanings. In the case of the nighttime tour, an opportunity for reflection allows participants to begin to integrate and reconcile their experiences on the tour with their everyday life. At the completion of the outdoor tour, participants are led back to the education center—this time to the small memorial space on the third floor. Rather than austere, this room is comfortable and intimate, and light refreshments are offered to encourage participants to relax. After their possessions are returned to them, a staff member (and counselor if needed), encourages participants to talk about their experiences and the understandings they derived from them. This period for reflection helps to ensure that the tour experience, which occurred in this dislocated space of the interpretive center, will not remain separate from the world of daily activities but can successfully cross over to make an impact on people's daily lives.

Personalized Communication. The nighttime tour operates by personalizing the experiences of runaway slaves for participants. By adopting the role of runaways and undertaking the challenge of moving through the interpretive landscape as such, participants' learning shifts from third person to first person. Instead of asking, "What did runaways do?", the question becomes, "What should I do?". Through the outdoor tour, the experiences of slaves learned about in the education center become entwined with each individual's own experience of moving through the landscape as a runaway slave. In this way, participants have the opportunity to develop a unique understanding of the experiences of runaways and slavery—one that arises from a collaboration between their personal understandings and prior experiences and the raw material provided by the interpretive complex itself.

The process of personalization is enhanced by the use of a preestablished storyline on the tour. The path through the outdoor landscape represents not just a physical journey but also an unfolding storyline. The use of a storyline has two purposes: to serve as a vehicle for the communication of critical understandings about slavery revealed in the historiographic research and to serve as mechanism by which participants can personalize and internalize these understandings.

For example, when participants are brought to the slave cabin in back of the education center and meet Sam and Callie (husband and wife) and Sam's elderly mother, the three costumed interpreters treat the tour participants as familiar fellow slaves. The trio is engaged in an animated discussion. Master Boywer has just died, leaving his slaves to an uncertain fate. The newly married Sam and Callie worry about being permanently separated and try to decide whether they should run away. This first station on the outdoor tour confronts partici-

pants with one of the common reasons slaves chose to run away: the death of a master. Such an event typically laid bare the helplessness of slaves in controlling their own fate, as they were often sold off to pay the debts of their late master or were divided among the surviving relatives. At such times, the risk of being sold south or of slave families being permanently separated was high. In the discussion that ensues, Sam and Callie decide they would rather flee than risk separation. Tour participants will go with the couple, but Sam's mother, too feeble to make the trip, stays behind. Although participants learned in the exhibit tour of the upheaval that the death of a master could cause in a slave's life, the outdoor tour makes it come alive. They feel the anguish of Sam and Callie as they contemplate never seeing each other again, and Sam's sadness as he says good-bye to his mother for the last time, never to know her fate. On the grounds, the comfortable distance between historical figures and modern-day observers dissolves as participants become personally engaged with the storyline and characters of the tour.

Physical Landscape Influences the Internal Landscape.

Like the daytime walks, the nighttime tour is structured to provide participants with experiences that will help them understand how runaway slaves saw the landscape and how they moved through it. Since the same landscape is used in the nighttime tour and the daytime walks, the basic strategies for moving through the landscape are the same: tour groups must skirt the margins of surveilled areas created through the placement of structures and interpreters in the landscape. Just as in the daytime walks, visitors appropriate hedgerows, forests, and topographic conditions as visual screens as they navigate through dangerous territory.

However, because the night tour follows a predetermined route through the landscape, the opportunity existed to fine-tune the landscape along this route in terms of its ability to provide visitors with important understandings about runaway's experiences. In light of this opportunity, five definitive experiences of the runaway slave were selected with the objective of designing the landscape along the path to evoke these sensations. The experiences, identified through the historiographic research, are fear of discovery, physical exhaustion, disorientation, exposure to the elements, and appropriation of landscape features. The task, then, was to determine how the landscape itself could be used to evoke these experiences for visitors—in other words, how the characteristics of the physical landscape could influence the internal landscape of nighttime tour participants.

Physical Interaction With the Site. Each of the five experiences were translated into corresponding physical landscape characteristics that could be manipulated during the design process. In order to determine the appropriate landscape characteristics for each experience, not only the physical features of the landscape had to be considered but also the interplay between individuals and these landscape features. In other words, how the landscape characteristics engaged visitors senses, affected their perception of their own bodies moving through space, and their reaction to the spatial conditions through which they traveled. The list of characteristics for each experience came from a variety of sources: walking the tour route on the site to determine how its existing features could be incorporated into the tour experience; the qualitative research study of the Follow the North Star program, which explored the role of the physical landscape in the interpretive program and identified

several landscape features and characteristics that were critical in shaping visitor experience; and a brief review of published research regarding the physical environment's effect on the internal states of individuals. The five experiences and their corresponding landscape characteristics are listed below, followed by a brief explanation of each.:

1. Fear of Discovery
 - spheres of surveillance
2. Disorientation
 - physical obstruction of view to the road (vegetation or topography)
 - lighting level
3. Physical Exhaustion
 - steepness of slopes
 - roughness of terrain
 - rate of travel
4. Exposure to the Elements
 - wet or muddy terrain
 - rain
 - wind
 - fog
 - extremes of temperature
5. Appropriation of Landscape Features
 - using visual screens for hiding (topography, vegetation)
 - using the road for navigation
 - finding a way across a creek

1. Fear of Discovery. This is the virtually constant fear runaways felt that they would be seen by someone as they traveled through the landscape. As discussed in the daytime walks section of this chapter, spheres of surveillance defined by sight lines through the landscape as well as auditory range are used to make visitors conscious of the potential that they will be discovered.

2. Disorientation. The sense of confusion and disorientation that accompanied travel through unfamiliar territory was also a common theme in the historiographic research. In order to understand how the landscape can promote a sense of disorientation, the processes through which individuals orient themselves in space must be understood. Numerous studies by designers, geographers, psychologists, and others have focused on the human process of orientation and wayfinding. Although no consensus exists among researchers regarding the exact processes by which humans orient themselves and navigate through the landscape, landscape architects Appleyard, Lynch, and Myer (1964) provide a useful working definition of orientation as the process of “locating [a landscape’s] principle features and discovering one’s own position in relation to it” (p. 16). The importance of landmarks in the act of orientation is directly applicable to the walks on the interpretive grounds, where the loop road, which visitors are told to follow north, essentially functions as the sole recognizable, meaningful landmark for visitors in their journey. Thus, as visitors lose visual contact with the road for extended periods of time, they are more likely to feel disoriented.

The loss of visual connection with the road comes from several landscape sources, such as intervening hills or vegetation. On the nighttime tour, views of the road will also often be

obscured by darkness. Aside from the tenant farmer and iron mine stations, at which campfires burn, illumination of the road depends solely on moonlight and starlight. Visibility of the road will be further affected by cloud cover and the phases of the moon. Because of low light levels, visitors will need to be physically closer to the road to see it.

3. Physical Exhaustion. The runaway slave narratives also reveal that the physical demands of fugitives' journey not only exhausted them physically but also severely tested their psychological will to continue. Although the nighttime tour cannot push participants even close to the level of physical and emotional exhaustion experienced by runaways, it can provide a physically demanding course that gives participants a sense of the exhaustion felt by runaways. Consequently, one of the design objectives of the night tour was to choreograph participants' kinesthetic interaction with the landscape in a way that provided higher levels of physical exertion.

Although each individual's level of exhaustion will be affected by his or her own physical condition, in terms of the elements under the designer's control, three characteristics were identified as affecting the level of exhaustion: the steepness of the slopes participants travel up and down, the rate of travel, and the roughness of the terrain encountered. Interviews with Follow the North Star participants revealed that these three characteristics played a profound role in shaping their understanding of what the journey north was like for many runaways.

4. Exposure to the Elements. Runaways were exposed to a myriad of weather and environmental conditions that endangered their ability to complete their journey and sometimes even endangered their lives. Although—unlike runaways—most tour

participants will be appropriately attired in hiking boots or sneakers, rain gear, or coats, they will nevertheless be exposed to the elements for an hour, with no opportunity to change clothes or dry off. Although the tours will be canceled if weather conditions are deemed too dangerous, the tour will go on in light rainfall or snowfall, muddy or foggy conditions, and in both hot and cold weather, as such conditions did not stop most runaways. Although the interpretive complex has no control over the weather, the tour route is structured to force participants to ford two streams on their own. The creeks are shallow, but finding a way across them will most certainly result in wet feet, a major problem for runaways traveling through the mountain region in the winter months.

5. Appropriation of Landscape Features. Although runaways usually found the odds stacked against them in their journeys, they also developed subtle strategies for moving through the landscape that helped increase their chances of success. Thus, the lack of control of their own destiny they generally felt throughout their journey was punctuated by moments in which they asserted some control over their environment and hence their own fate. These strategies, as they are called upon on the interpretive grounds, are the use of visual screens, such as vegetation and landforms, to conceal themselves; use of the road as a navigational guide; and the ability to find alternative routes around environmental obstacles—in this case, finding their own stream crossings when the bridges are blocked by toll collectors.

Dramatic Rhythms. With a set of landscape characteristics established for each of the five runaway experiences, the next step was to determine how these landscape characteristics could

be arranged along the tour route to most effectively evoke the corresponding experiences for tour participants. This part of the design process can be compared to the composition of a musical score. Just as a composer works with whole notes and quarter notes, allegro and adagio tempos to create the desired rhythm of a musical piece, the landscape architect works with the arrangement of landscape features to evoke a desired effect. In the case of the night tour, the dramatic rhythm for each of the five runaway experiences had to be established through the manipulation of the landscape characteristics along the tour path. For some experiences, juxtaposing landscape characteristics would accentuate their effect—alternating views of the road with obstructions of this view would make moments of disorientation more palpable—while for others, the concurrence of landscape characteristics would enhance the experience—the layering of steep slopes, rough terrain, and a fast rate of travel to increase participants’ exhaustion levels.

To more effectively design for the desired experiences, scores were developed for each runaway experience. Just as a musical score symbolically represents in written form an auditory event, the scores used to help design the nighttime tour represent on paper various aspects of the tour experience. The scores present in diagrammatic notation the tour route and the distribution of the landscape characteristics along this route for each experience. Through the use of these scores, it became possible to understand the rhythm of each experience as it would be encountered along the tour route and to modify that rhythm as necessary to provide visitors with a potentially more powerful experience. The remainder of this section presents the scores used for each of the desired experiences and briefly describes how they were used to make specific design interventions.

1. Fear of Discovery. Fear of being discovered on the journey was created through use of the spheres of surveillance. The route of the night tour skirts around the edges of these zones, changing direction and course as necessary to remain just at the margin of surveilled territory. As Figure 9.20 suggests, a considerable portion of the tour route (the light gray band) is encroached upon by surveilled areas, but there are also brief respites in between the spheres when participants are relatively safe from detection. These alternating moments of danger and safety amplify the experience of each for participants. It creates a dramatic rhythm of suspense and anticipation as visitors must constantly readjust to their changing situation.

As the score shows, at the start of the tour (lower right corner of the figure), as participants run north from the slave house, they experience a long stretch of path with no potential surveillance. This was intentionally orchestrated to allow participants to transition into the tour without an immediate threat of discovery confronting them.

After this initial period, the fear of discovery escalates to a staccato alternation of states as they travel in and out of surveillance zones along the southern edge of the route.

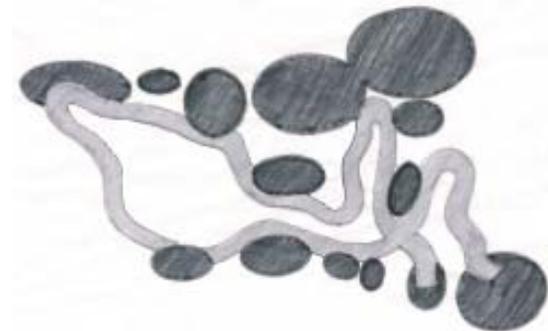


Figure 9.20. Spheres of surveillance score. The path taken by visitors is shown in light gray, while the zones of surveillance are shown in dark gray.

Again, at the western edge, they experience the relative relief of being in a remote, unseen location, only to have the potential for discovery escalate again as they travel along the northern portions of the route. The final, southbound, stretch of the route lengthens the time between spheres, and helps calm participants in preparation for the end of the tour. This overall rhythm helps build tension and momentum, and helps make the transition from one state to the next more pronounced.

2. *Disorientation.* As Figure 9.21 shows, the periods of time when participants can see and therefore orient themselves to the road (light gray) and when they cannot (dark gray) are long. Rather than the quick juxtapositions seen in the previous score, visitors travel for prolonged periods in sight of the road, and then must search for the road for equally long periods. This slower tempo in terms of the dramatic rhythm of this experience allows for a more profound experience of disorientation. Rather than losing sight of the road for a brief moment, participants have the sense of wandering in the countryside for prolonged periods. This also provides opportunities for Sam and Callie, the two interpreters leading each group, to engage visitors in

discussions about which way the group should head. This gives participants further opportunities to think through and employ some of the strategies they learned about in the interpretive center. It

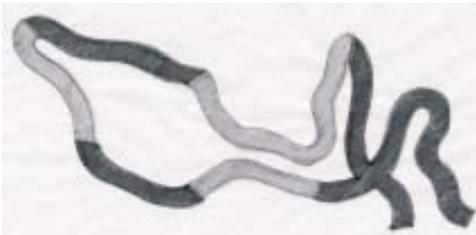


Figure 9.21. Score of physical obstructions to views of the road. Areas in which views are blocked are shown in dark gray.

also increases visitors' sense that they are playing an active role in determining the course of the group, rather than merely being led through the landscape by Sam and Callie. In this way, the slower rhythm of disorientation that visitors experience helps to immerse them more deeply into their roles as runaway slaves.

3. *Physical Exhaustion.* Unlike the previous two experiences, which rely on the juxtaposition of landscape characteristics to create the desired impact, the experience of physical exhaustion depends heavily on the concurrence or layering of characteristics. Like the musical composer who layers different musical instruments into his composition to achieve a richer effect, the experience of exhaustion relies on the layering of steep slopes, rough terrain, and a fast rate of travel. In order to understand the combined effect of each of the landscape characteristics, the individual scores for each characteristic were overlain to form a composite score for physical exhaustion (Figure 9.22). In each individual score, the areas of the tour route that require greater exertion (i.e., steeper slopes, rougher terrain, and faster rates of travel) are assigned darker shades of gray. The interpreter stations, at which visitors are stationary for extended periods of time and thus do not exert themselves to any degree, are shaded red in the scores. Like a cymbal clash in a sym-



Figure 9.22. The composite score for exhaustion. Interpreter stations are indicated in red.

phony, the interpreter stations were considered to be in such stark contrast to the rest of the tour experience that they required special notation in the scores. As the overall dark color of this composite score indicates, the tour route is relatively demanding. This is especially true on the initial leg of the tour (between Stations 1 and 3), where steep slopes, fast travel, and rough terrain are purposefully layered to encourage people to focus on the physical sensations of their own body as a way of heightening their initial immersion in the tour experience and also to make visitors aware of the demanding nature of the tour (any participants who feel after this first leg that they cannot continue have the option of remaining at Station 3 with the absentee slave, who will return them to the education center once the rest of the group has continued on).

Although the experience of physical exhaustion depends heavily on the layering of the three landscape characteristics, juxtaposition also plays an important role. The red interpreter stations serve as moments of contrast for tour participants, as they no longer have to worry about their footing or keeping up their quick rate of travel. In terms of the overall rhythm of the tour, then, these stations play an important role in drawing participants' attention to their level of exertion. On a more practical level, the interpreter stations also provide a brief but necessary rest on the demanding route to help ensure that participants are able to complete the tour. Because of the strenuousness of the tour indicated in the composite score, several additional stations were added to the original tour (Stations 2, 9, and 11 on Figure 9.19). These new stations are positioned after particularly demanding stretches of the route (as indicated by the darkest gray) to allow participants a brief rest.

4. Exposure to the Elements. Because manipulation of the landscape would have little effect on Exposure to the Elements and because weather conditions would vary considerable among tours, this experience was not scored.

5. Appropriation of Landscape Features. Participants' acts of appropriating landscape features to assist their journey represent moments when runaways felt some sense of control over their environment as well as their fate. These moments, however, were fleeting. The score for this experience (Figure 9.23) shows that participants' use of visual screens (thick black bands) tend to be juxtaposed with moments of exposure in a quick staccato fashion that helps to convey a sense of the brevity of these moments of control. In contrast, participants experience longer periods of control (thin arrows) in terms of their ability to appropriate the road as a navigational device. Finding ways across the creeks (three dots) are highlights in terms of participants' sense of mastery of their environment.



Figure 9.23. Appropriation of landscape features score. This score combines three landscape conditions: the three dots indicate finding creek crossings, the arrows indicate the use of the road as a navigational aid, and the thick black bands indicate the use landscape features as visual screens to avoid detection.

ADDITIONAL PROGRAMMING

The education center, daytime walks, and nighttime tour represent the major emphases of the interpretive complex. However, to supplement the permanent interpretive programs and to best take advantage of the unique educational opportunities that the complex offers, a series of temporary programs and features could also be offered to shed light on other aspects of the Appalachian landscape of slavery and its legacy for future generations. For example, the upper floor of the education center would house temporary exhibits on various themes, such as the role of religion in slave life, the experiences of free blacks in the region, how emancipation affected farming and manufacturing practices in the region, or the efforts made in the region to educate former slaves and their children.

In addition, the interpretive landscape itself offers numerous opportunities for special programs. For example, when the corn or other crops are ready to be harvested in the fields, the public could be invited to witness antebellum harvesting practices, with the work being done by costumed interpreters. Similar programs could be offered for other activities typically performed by slaves in Appalachia. A guided walk offered during the holiday season would highlight the different ways

Appalachians celebrated Christmas, from slaves, to poor whites, to wealthy farmers and entrepreneurs.

The interpretive complex also holds great potential for augmenting classroom instruction for school children. All of the tours or walks could be easily modified to address the needs of school groups. In addition, with a growing body of historical research on the experiences and living conditions of enslaved children in Appalachia, exhibits, tours, and supporting classroom materials could be developed that focus on this aspect of slavery. Indoor exhibits would emphasize a hands-on approach to interpretation. For example, children would be encouraged to feel or even put on the rough hemp shirts that slave children wore even during the mountain winters or sample the types of foods that slave children were traditionally fed. In the interpretive grounds they could learn about the chores slaves too young for hard labor were given, such as feeding the livestock or mending fences.

Finally, as an extension of the goals of the complex to support further scholarship on Appalachian slavery and its legacy, a yearly conference could be held with published conference proceedings. In time, the complex could also support its own scholarly journal. Such special programs would further take advantage of the unique opportunities the Appalachian slavery interpretive center can provide.

THE NEXT STEP IN THE DESIGN PROCESS

This chapter has described the basic plan for the design of the Appalachian slavery interpretive complex. But true to the Constructivist Design Approach, this plan represents the beginning of the design process, rather than its end.

The collaboration characteristic of a constructivist site begins well before the gates to the complex officially open to visitors. It is also a critical part of the design process itself and encompasses a wide array of experts, stakeholder groups, and local community members. The design of the interpretive grounds and education center exhibits as well as the refinement of programmatic elements requires the collaboration of a wide array of individuals, including historians specializing in Appalachian slavery, architectural historians, agriculturalists, educa-

tors, psychologists, members of the local Fincastle Historical Society, the local chapter of the NAACP as well as other interested African-American groups, and interested members of the local community. All of these groups can make important contributions to the quality of the interpretive experience offered at the site.

One of the most important aspects of the collaborative design process is the running of test groups through the daytime walks and nighttime tour before the complex is open to the general public. These volunteer groups provide valuable feedback about the design of these experiences, from the level of physical exertion required to the effectiveness of the road as an organizing principle. The test groups can be asked specifically for feedback about the effectiveness of the use of the landscape features and the dramatic rhythm they create as outlined in the scoring for the nighttime walk.