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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SITES USED IN DESIGN PRECEDENTS STUDY

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Washington D.C.

Opening Date: April 1993

Architect: James Ingo Freed, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners

Mission: The museum has two main goals: education and remembrance. It is America's national institution for the documentation and study of Holocaust history and serves as the country's memorial to the millions who perished during the Holocaust. It seeks to "help visitors apply the metaphoric meaning embedded in Holocaust history to their contemporary experience as individuals and as members of society" (Weinberg & Elieli, 1995). In this way, remembrance and education—past, present, and future—are intertwined.

Design Intent: Freed's intent in the building design was not merely to create a shell to hold exhibits but rather to create an environment that played an active role in conveying the



Figure A-1. 14th Street entrance.

museum's interpretive goals. As Freed (1994, p. 448) says, "There is always the question of the container and the contained: the building is a container, but it is a container that is much more related to the contained than most other containers."

Description: Visitors enter into the Hall of Witness on the main level and proceed by elevator to the fifth floor, where the Permanent Exhibit begins. Each floor represents a chapter in the narrative, until visitors exit the Permanent Exhibit on the second floor. The Hall of Remembrance is adjacent to the final exhibit room. Educational and outreach facilities within the building include a research library and archives, two theaters, conference space, the Wexner Learning Center, and the Education Resource Center. Temporary exhibits are also displayed in various locations.



Figure A-2. Eisenhower Plaza entrance with Joel Shapiro's two-piece sculpture, Loss and Regeneration.

Oklahoma City National Memorial

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Opening Date: April 19, 2000

Designers: Hans and Torrey Butzer with Sven Berg, Berlin, Germany (selected in design competition)

Major Stakeholders: 350-member Memorial Task Force made up of blast survivors, family members of those killed in the bombing, and volunteers with expertise in areas ranging from mental health, law, and the arts to fund-raising, business, communications, and government.

Mission: The memorial was commissioned in response to the April 19, 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City that killed 168 adults and children. Its Mission Statement reads as follows: “We come here to remember those who were killed, those who survived and those changed forever. May all who leave here know the impact of violence. May this memorial offer comfort, strength, peace, hope, and serenity.”

Description: The complex consists of three elements: the memorial (built on the footprint of the destroyed Murrah Building), a 3,000-square-foot museum and visitor center that walks visitors through a timeline of the explosion and the long months of clean-up and rebuilding, and the Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism and Violence. The memorial itself consists of a landscape of symbolic elements flanking a rectangular reflecting pool. This pool is, in turn, on axis with the Gates of Time that mark the entry/exit points onto

the site. Also part of the memorial are the Field of Empty Chairs (each engraved with the name of an individual killed in the blast), a Rescuers Orchard, and a Children’s Area. The site also incorporates several of the impromptu memorials that sprung up during the rescue and recovery operations. These include the Survivor Tree (so named because it was the only tree on the site to survive the blast) and spray-painted messages left on the pock-marked walls of the adjacent *Journal Record* building by rescue workers.



Figure A-3. Memorial landscape with Field of Chairs in foreground. Beyond the Reflecting Pool is the Survivor Tree and the Journal Record building, which now houses the museum and visitor center. One of the Gates of Time is visible at the far right.

Vietnam Veterans Memorial

Washington D.C.

Opening Date: November 13, 1982

Architect: Maya Lin, Yale architectural student
(selected in design competition)

Mission: The monument is intended to serve as a testament to the sacrifice of American military personnel during one of this nation's least popular wars. The instructions for the design competition stated that the memorial was to take no political or ethical position on the war itself but to remember those Americans who sacrificed their lives for their country.

Design Intent: Lin, who developed her design for the Vietnam Memorial in response to an assignment in her funerary memorials studio class, explained her overall intention as follows: "I thought about what death is, what a loss is. A sharp pain that lessens with time, but can never quite heal over. A scar. The idea occurred to me there on the site. Take a knife and cut open the earth, and with time the grass would heal it. As if you cut open the rock and polished it" (Campbell, 1983, p. 151).

Description: The monument is simple in form: a 440-foot-long black granite wall engraved with the names of the almost 59,000 dead and missing in chronological order of their death. The wall is V-shaped, with its eastern leg pointing to the Washington Monument and its western leg to the Lincoln Memorial. A path for visitors runs along side. The wall serves as a retaining wall, with its top flush with the lawn behind it. As visitors enter the memorial from either end, they



Figure A-4. View of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial looking into the apex of the V.

gently descend below the elevation of the lawn until reaching the corner of the V, where the wall reaches a height of 10 feet.

An American flag and a statue of three American soldiers were later added along the periphery of the memorial precinct in response to criticisms that Lin's design was too ambiguous as a war memorial.

Although Lin's precedent-setting design initially sparked a much controversy, since its opening, the Vietnam Memorial has become an emotionally charged gathering place for veterans and family members. The National Park Service, which oversees the memorial, has collected and stored the items left there over the years—from teddy bears to dogtags—in order to one day display them on site.

Follow the North Star

Conner Prairie Living History Museum
Fishers, Indiana

Tour Opening Date: 1999

Tour Designers: Michelle Evans, Program Supervisor for Interpretation, Conner Prairie, and Doug Heiwig, Conner Prairie Interpreter and Purdue University lecturer

Stakeholders: North Star underwent two years of development before it was opened to the public. During this period, the developers received extensive feedback from the Museum's Board of Directors and an African-American advisory group that included historians, researchers, and educators. Extensive historical research was also conducted with primary and secondary sources to develop interpreters' characters.

Mission: Conner Prairie, located 6 miles north of Indianapolis, is a nonprofit, open-air living history museum established by philanthropist Eli Lilly in 1934. Its main charge is to interpret life in Indiana in the 1830s. As a living history museum, Conner Prairie emphasizes a participatory approach to interpretation in all its programs.

The goal of the North Star program in particular is to make visitors more aware of the history of the Underground Railroad in Indiana and the experiences of runaway slaves through direct experience. According to the program brochure, North Star is "intended to increase participants' appreciation of the perils, challenges, and emotional pressures caused by racial prejudice and the institution of slavery in 19th century America. It is hoped that participants will gain a better understanding of some of the ramifications of slavery and some of the risks that people were willing to take in an effort to fight injustice."

Design

Intent:

The Follow the North Star tour route, storyline, and interpreter script were designed to give visitors a firsthand experience of the physical and

emotional stresses typical of a runaway slave's journey north (to the extent possible). To this end, participants are treated as slaves by the in-character interpreters they meet. Particular attention is also paid to enhancing visitors' appreciation of the difficulties of the journey through the design of the physical route. Effort was made to create a physically and psychologically stressful route through the manipulation of such elements as slope, pace, path material, and lighting levels. Interactions with the interpreters (i.e., the storyline) were designed not only for their educational content but also to maximize the effects of these landscape conditions.

Tour Description: Follow the North Star uses the existing landscape of Conner Prairie. Located on 1,400 acres, the



Figure A-5. Entry to the Conner Prairie Museum Center.

museum consists of a visitor center and five outdoor historic areas, including Prairietown (a re-created 1836 Indiana prairie town). The North Star tour takes place after dark, when the museum grounds have closed. North Star is offered periodically during the fall and spring. The 90-minute tours depart every 15 minutes between 6:30 and 8:30 p.m. with groups of up to 15 visitors. Children under 12 are not encouraged because of the emotional nature of the tour (a daytime version of the tour has been developed for school groups).

The tour begins with an orientation in the visitor center that helps participants prepare to assume their roles by explaining the context of slavery and the Underground Railroad in Indiana. Visitors are reminded that although the tour will not be pleasant, those who remain in character will benefit most from the experience. Visitors spend the next 60 minutes traveling about 1.5 miles on the museum's grounds as slaves trying to make their way north. The tour ends with a debriefing session in the visitor center where participants can ask questions or discuss their experiences.

During the outdoor portion of the tour, participants assume the role of runaway slaves. They are escorted by a museum staff member to a dark, barren prairie, where they immediately fall into the hands of rifle-carrying slave handlers



Figure A-6. By day, these 19th-century structures in the Prairietown exhibit are animated by costumed interpreters demonstrating life in an 1836 Indiana town. By night, they are incorporated into the North Star tour.

who prepare them for sale. Participants are told to keep their eyes on the ground in the presence of whites and to be silent unless spoken to. Although interpreters' use of physical force and inappropriate language are tightly controlled, they employ many of the intimidation techniques used by military drill sergeants to force compliance and reinforce proper behavior. The tour is structured as a journey through the landscape punctuated by brief pauses at interpreter stations. At each interpreter post, participants must either flee from or follow the directions of the interpreters they encounter. A slave broker, a poor Southern farmer, a Quaker family, and a freeman are some of the characters encountered. The exchange with each character educates visitors on the

attitudes of each group regarding slaves and runaways and also advances the plot line of the story. Although participants perceive their journey as a route that they themselves choose and a set of chance encounters with various characters, the tour route and storyline are, in fact, previously set, and a great deal of effort is focused on keeping participants safe and on course. Staff members posing as visitors are "planted" in each tour group while others are concealed in the woods to keep visitors on track. All staff communicate during the tours with walkie-talkies to monitor the timing and progress of each group, as well as their emotional states.

APPENDIX B: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF RUNAWAY SLAVE NARRATIVES

This Appendix details the results of the qualitative content analysis performed on seventeen narratives of runaway slaves in order to understand their experiences in and relationship to the landscape.

First, the following research questions were developed to guide the analysis of the narratives:

- What motivated slaves to run away?
- What methods of travel and navigation did they use?
How did they move through the landscape? How did the landscape itself influence their movement?
- What were the typical experiences of runaways?
- What emotional, psychological, and physical reactions were typical of a runaway slave?

With these research questions as a guide, the narratives were analyzed one-by-one, using the constant comparative method of qualitative analysis (Merriam, 1998). As information relevant to the research questions was compared among the narratives, the information was sorted into groupings or categories that were continually modified as each new narrative was analyzed. The results of this analysis are presented in table form on the following pages. The column heads present the categories that emerged from the analysis. The findings are then summarized by column heading in the last section of this appendix.

The results of this content analysis were also further synthesized to help arrive at the Guiding Design Concepts presented in Chapter 6.

RAW DATA COMPILED FOR EACH NARRATIVE

Slave Name	Source	No. in Group	Time of Year	Method of Escape	Immediate Motivation for Escape	Use of the Landscape				Spatial Character	Internal Experience	Obstacles
						Mode of Travel	Navigation Method	Hiding Places/ Shelter	Food			
Margaret Ward	Blockson, 1987, p. 100-104	2: mother and her infant son		Ran on foot with baby at night	Spontaneous: Save infant's life: Master forced her to take new-born into tobacco fields as a punishment. The heat almost killed the baby.	Walk at night; hide in daylight; stayed on margin of her plantation for possible help from fellow slaves	North Star, followed stream edge, used stream to elude dogs	Edge of a plantation; woods during day	Second night, got food from an old slave woman on her plantation	Plantation edge for help, stream edge for navigation, stream crossing for eluding pursuers, woods interior for safety	Scared her baby would be killed; scared of dogs used by slave catchers	Bloodhounds chasing her; baby's crying made her more vulnerable to discovery
Charles Peyton Lucas	Blockson, 1987, pp. 133-134	3 men	Fall			Walk at night; hide in daylight	Received directions from sympathetic Whites; followed road from forest edge	Hills, mountains to avoid farms below	Green corn from fields; milk stolen from farms	Vertical separation/wood interior for safety; edge along transportation corridor for navigation; farm edge for food	Hunger, wet from rain	Didn't know how to cross Potomac R. (in dark); dogs chasing them
Eber Pettit	Blockson, 1987, pp. 145-150	1 man		Stole master's best horse and rode all night. Left horse in woods after 1st night.	Considered: Impending separation of family unit	Horse, walk, boat over Ohio River; Wheeling family boated him across Ohio R.	Followed the road from forest edge, circling around towns and then picking up road again; had a guide for small portion	Woods in daytime; family hid him in Wheeling	Corn from fields, apples; fed by Wheeling family	Woods interior for safety, wood edge along road for navigation	Confusion, disorientation about direction of travel	Didn't know which star was the North Star
Harry Grimes	Blockson, 1987, pp. 73-75	1 man	End of August	Ran into woods during day	Spontaneous: Severe physical abuse: Master tried to shoot him			7 months in hollow poplar log in woods; cave in woods	Cornbread, corn, potatoes (source unknown)	Woods interior and enclosed spaces for safety (hollow log)	Cold, hunger, snakes	
William W. Brown (educated; personal servant, field worker, boat worker)	Winks et al., 1969, p. 1-50	2: himself and his mother		Left at 9 pm	Spontaneous: Recent separation of family unit through sale & his own impending sale.	Walk at night; hide by day; stole a skiff to cross river	Followed the road at night; hid in woods during daylight; followed North Star; farm family told them to travel by day and hide by night	Woods	Took 10 days worth of provisions; got food from family on farm	Follow transportation corridor for navigation	Exhaustion from walking; wet from rain; hunger - went up to a farmhouse to ask for food	Three slavehunters on horseback captured them and returned them of St. Louis jail

Slave Name	Source	No. in Group	Time of Year	Method of Escape	Immediate Motivation for Escape	Use of the Landscape				Spatial Character	Internal Experience	Obstacles
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William W. Brown (second attempt)	Winks et al., 1969, p. 1-50	1 man	Began Jan. 1	While a steward on a ship on Mississ., stole away while cargo/passengers were unloading	Calculated: Recent separation of family unit through sale.	Walk at night; hide in daylight; approached a white for help only when he was desperately ill. Received help from this Quaker.	Followed road, using North Star to decide which direction along road	Mostly in woods with tinder box to start fires; found a barn to keep from freezing	Found corn in a barn - roasted it in the woods	Farm edge for food & shelter; woods interior for safety	Hunger, frostbite, illness; refused to trust anyone; more afraid of being captured and sold back into slavery than dying on journey.	On night of escape, it was initially too cloudy to see North Star; confusion about whether he was really safe when he crossed into free territory
Joe & Rosa	Winks et al., 1969, p. 124	2 (married couple)		Ran at night and fled to woods	Considered: Impending separation of family unit	Walk in night, hide by day	Walked in woods at night following North Star		Roots in woods; at point of starvation, asked for & received food at house along route.	Wood interior for safety	Frequently got lost and confused about route; hunger	Master & a posse passed by as they hid in the woods. White man who gave them food misdirected the slave-catchers.
Wesley Harris & the Matterson Brothers	Still, 1872, p.30	4 men started out; later just Harris (others captured)		Ran off in the night	Considered: Impending sale down South	Walked (60 miles in a good 2 days)		Woods, thicket, barn of Quakers	Rarely ate; fed by Quakers before turning him in	Wood interior & enclosure of thickets for safety	Hunger, exhaustion	Betrayed by man posing as a Quaker. Hid them in his barn & then turned them in to slave hunters
John	Still, 1872, p. 95	1 man			Considered: Severe physical abuse	Rode on top of rail cars at night; hid in woods in daylight	Train	Woods		Wood interior for safety; transportation corridor for navigation		
Robert Brown (alias Thomas Jones)	Still, 1872, p. 112	1 man	Left Christmas night		Considered: Recent separation of family unit through sale.	Horse to cross Potomac R., abandoned horse after 1 night; walked					Cold, wet, rain	

Slave Name	Source	No. in Group	Time of Year	Method of Escape	Immediate Motivation for Escape	Use of the Landscape				Spatial Character	Internal Experience	Obstacles
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Barnaby Gigby (alias John Boyer), Mary Elizabeth (Barnaby's wife), Frank W. Anzer (alias Robert Scott), Emily Foster (alias	Still, 1872, p. 116	6 started out (2 unnamed slaves captured on the way)	Left Christmas night	Stole master's horse and carriage; two runaways rode along on horseback	Considered: Frank: impending sale due to master's debt. Others: long-term physical abuse.	Rode in carriage day and night along main roads				Transportation corridor for navigation	Cold, hunger, frost-bitten feet	Stopped by 6 white men and asked to show their free papers; fugitives drew guns; the two on horseback were captured while the carriage got away
William Jordon (alias William Price)	Still, 1872, p. 122	1 man		Ran to swamps	Considered: Recent separation of family unit through sale	Walk at night; hide in daylight; boat	Received help from sympathetic individuals	Cave in swamp during day; came out at night	Steal food from a nearby plantation at night or get food from another slave	Plantation edge for help; swamp interior & enclosed spaces for safety	More afraid of seeing his master than the wild animals of the swamp	
Daniel Fisher	Blockson, 1987, p. 67-70	2 men	October	Stole a horse and left in the night. Left horse in woods after first night to not draw attention to themselves.	Calculated: Recent sale into Deep South	Walk in night, hide by day; had to steal boat to get across Rappahannock (slaves not able to cross bridges without a pass)	North Star; boat to Washington; followed railroad tracks on foot from Washington to Baltimore; followed bank of Delaware [Susquehanna?] River to find bridge	Woods: dug dens in woods to hide during day		Wood interior/enclosed spaces for safety; transportation corridor for navigation	Often got lost and retraced their path unwittingly; afraid to ask Whites for help, often did not get help from fellow slaves; hunger; had to talk their way past several people; hunger	Clouds hid North Star; Crossing rivers: couldn't use bridges without pass, stole boat; man on railroad track threatened to turn them in, but convinced him they were on an errand for their master; food bundles & lighting campfire in woods made them conspicuous.

Slave Name	Source	No. in Group	Time of Year	Method of Escape	Immediate Motivation for Escape	Use of the Landscape				Spatial Character	Internal Experience	Obstacles
						Mode of Travel	Navigation Method	Hiding Places/ Shelter	Food			
Charles Bird, George Dorsey, Angeline Brown, Albert Brown, Charles Brown, & Jane Scott	Still, 1872, p. 223	6 (2 women)		Stole master's horse and wagon		Wagon, horseback, walking	Followed road for some of the way; the rest unknown	Woods		Transportation corridor for navigation		Two White men spotted them in wagon & stopped them. After a fight, the runaways escaped by horse. Horses broke down, had to walk
Charles Gilber	Still, 1872, p. 240	1 man			Considered: Impending sale	Walked & scavenged for food at night; hid in day		Large hotel's crawl space, woods, up a tree in woods; fellow slave hid him under floorboards of her wash house	Hotel garbage	Cramped spaces for safety; woods & marsh interior for safety; plantation edge for help	Repeatedly left his hiding places when he felt people got too close to him - never felt safe	Too recognized in town of 1st master & couldn't get to ship; afraid to stay w/relatives because Master knew of them
Isaac Williams, Henry Banks, & Kit Nickless	Still, 1872, p. 292	3 men (Kit joined them in mid-journey)		Ran to woods in night	Considered: Impending sale into Deep South	Walked at night; hid in daylight	North Star	Woods: dug dens in woods to hide during day (stayed for 3 mo)	Occasional pig in woods; a friend sometimes brought them food (probably Kit)	Wood interior & cramped spaces for safety; plantation margins for help		Isaac & Henry were caught, shot, & jailed early in trip but escaped to woods after a month
Alfred S. Thornton	Still, 1872, p. 471	1 man		Ran in daylight & submerged himself in a mill dam for 2 hrs to avoid capture	Spontaneous: Impending sale down South	Walked at night; hid in daylight	North Star	Woods, underwater		Wood interior & enclosure for safety	Discouraged, lost, wet, hunger	Sometimes too cloudy to see North Star

Sources: 1. Blockson, C. (1987). *The Underground Railroad: First-person narratives of escapes to freedom in the North*. New York: Prentice Hall. 2. Still, W. (1972). *Underground Railroad records*. Philadelphia: W. Still. 3. Winks, R.W., Gara, L., Pease, J.H., Pease, W.H., & Edelstein, T.G. (1969). *Four fugitive slave narratives*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The information regarding specific strategies employed by runaway slaves as well as their experiences in the landscape presented here corresponds to the column headings of the table used to record the raw data for the content analysis.

Number in Group. Men traveling alone constituted the majority of runaways according to this content analysis. In only one case did a woman appear to initiate flight, and that was for the protection of her infant. The other women present in these accounts appear to be wives of the men who initiate the escapes, as husband and wives appear to be the next most common grouping of escapees. Groups of two men were also fairly common. The largest group consisted of six men and women. One potentially important point to note is the absence of children in all but one of these accounts—even in those of husbands and wives escaping together. This absence could be indicative of the dissolution of slave family units that seemed to be fairly common in mountain slavery.

Method of Escape. Most slaves ran away on foot and headed immediately for the woods or other cover. If escape was not a spur of the moment act, slaves waited for the cover of darkness to aid their escape. Those who were able to steal a horse at the beginning of their escape typically ran it to exhaustion on the first night and then abandoned it. While the horse was an advantage for getting as much distance between the runaway and his master on the first night, after that point, it was a definite liability, as whites would find a black with a horse a curious sight and would probably question the fugitive. In the

narrative of his escape, Daniel Fisher relates that he and his companion left the horse they had stolen to make their escape in the woods after the first night's journey because "we knew what would happen to us if two slaves were seen having a horse in their possession" (Blockson, 1987, p. 67). The danger of retaining this mode of transportation for the length of the journey is seen in the narrative of Barnaby Gigby and his five companions who rode in his master's horse and wagon day and night along the main roads. Eventually, they were stopped by a group of suspicious whites and a gun fight ensued. At least two of the party were captured.

Planned or Spontaneous Escape. Escapes seemed to fall into three categories: spontaneous (no forethought or plan; a reaction to the immediate situation), considered (reacting to an immanent but not immediate threat; had to act soon, but there was time for some planning), and calculated (no specific immediate or immanent threat reported; had time to plan and wait for the right opportunity). Most of the escapes studied here were considered. Slaves were responding to immanent changes in their situation, such as being sold to a new master or being separated from their family. They had some time to prepare for their departure. Calculated escapes were most rare. The frequency of considered escapes given an immanent threat along with the rarity of long-considered escape plans with the absence of an immanent threat suggest that slaves most often chose to flee not to get away from their present situation but to avoid the immanent worsening of their lot.

Immediate Motivation for Escape. The most often cited reason for running away in these narratives related to the recent or impending separation of a family unit. Slaves ran away as

family units to avoid being split up, ran away to find family members who had been sold away, or, realizing that they would never see their wife and children again, simply felt they had nothing to lose and headed North. When Joe learns that he and his wife are to be sold South, he tells his wife Rosa they must run away: “I cannot endure the idea of seeing you sold for the Southern market, to say nothing of myself; and we shall most likely be separated, which I can’t bear. . . . If we die, let us die together!” (Winks et al., 1969, pp. 124-25). Slaves often ran when they learned of their own impending sale. Unless a slave had a horrible master, chances were that a new master meant a deterioration in his treatment and quality of life—especially if the slave were to be sold to work on a rice or sugar plantation in the Deep South. Mountain slaves often felt there was no worse fate than to endure backbreaking work in the fields in the stifling heat and humidity of the Deep South.

Mode of Travel. All but one group in the narratives studied consistently traveled under the cover of night and hid in the day. The few in these narratives, like Barnaby Gigby and his party, who traveled in daylight were caught. For most, the primary means of travel was by foot. This led to a common problem for runaways of finding a way across bodies of water. As Daniel Fisher and his companion discovered, easy passage across rivers by bridge was not an option, as most bridges were toll bridges, at which blacks were required to show either their free papers or a pass from their master. Instead, the two men had to steal a boat to cross one river in the night and snuck across another bridge with a large caravan coming through.

Navigation Method. Typically, the runaways followed linear elements in the landscape. These were either man-made

transportation corridors like roads or railroads or natural corridors such as rivers and streams. Critical, however, for this method was the presence of a forest edge along the corridor in which runaways could remain hidden and protected. The North Star was also sometimes used for navigating, but was less dependable than terrain features. The star was sometimes obscured by clouds, and many slaves were not sure which star in the nighttime sky was the North Star. Unlike the North Star, a linear element on the land was always visible and always identifiable.

Hiding Places & Shelter. Most runaways found shelter and safety in the woods interior, or in enclosed spaces like barns, caves, and even logs. Charles Gilber, for example, hid in a crawl space of a large hotel, while Daniel Fisher and his companion dug dens in the woods in which to hide.

Food Sources. Runaways were lucky to find food, but when they did, it came from several sources. Often it was scavenged from farmers’ fields and barns (as William Jordon was able to do). Sympathetic fellow slaves or whites also sometimes provided food. On fewer occasions, runaways were able to find food in the forest (such as roots or wild game). For the most part, however, runaways were dependent on the settlements along their journey as sources of food, whether freely given or commandeered. This led them to walk the tightrope between avoiding these populated areas to remain undiscovered and remaining near them to survive.

Spatial Character. Runaways used the dominant landscape forms, but in subversive ways. They exploited edges between spatial conditions, such as forest edges along transpor-

tation corridors, slipping across boundaries as needed for survival. Peripheries were also important places for slaves. They hugged the outer edges of towns and plantations in order to find food and the route north. Eber Pettit relates that he followed the road until encountering a town, which he circled the perimeter of and pick up the road again on the other side. White settlements were the locus of power in the southern landscape, but the strength of their control weakened the farther out it radiated. Runaways in many cases were able to exploit these border lands for survival.

Internal Experiences. Several experiences were common among runaways. Most were often disoriented and unsure of their route. They also had to struggle with the question of whether to trust others—white or black. As in the case of Joe and Rosa, it was usually only under the most dire circumstances that a runaway would risk asking anyone for help. All were exposed to the elements and had to brave hunger and the cold. Most mountain slaves had inadequate shoes and winter clothing, so extended travel through the mountains in the fall and

winter led to frostbitten feet and exposure.

Obstacles. Crossing bodies of water proved to be one of the biggest obstacles. Bridges were for the most part closed to the runaways, and they either had to swim or steal a boat. The danger of the river crossing was compounded by the fact that it was usually attempted in the darkness of night. Several slaves, such as William Brown, also mention that it was sometimes too cloudy to see the North Star, and Eber Pettit admitted that he was not sure which star in the sky it was.

Assistance. In nine of the seventeen narratives, runaways received assistance of some kind. In only two cases did they receive shelter from fellow slaves. In the other cases, at a point of desperation—whether from hunger or illness—fugitives chose a house along their route to approach to ask for food or other assistance. In all cases, they approached the homes with trepidation and reluctance, but their dire situation outweighed their sense of caution. In two of five cases, runaways approached whites who turned out to be hostile.

APPENDIX C: THE LANDSCAPE OF SLAVERY IN THE APPALACHIAN SOUTH

The Appalachian South has long been misunderstood in the scholarship on American slavery. Lost in general discussions about southern slavery or misrepresented with stereotyped notions of Appalachian culture and values, the true character of slavery in the Mountain South has remained unexplored. Yet the lack of unbiased and focused scholarship on slavery in the Appalachian South should not be misconstrued as an absence of material worthy of study. If we could have flown like birds over the Appalachian South in the mid 19th century, we would have seen a landscape not devoid of the signs of slavery but one animated by the daily business of economic production in a vigorous slave economy. Instead of the vast numbers of slaves toiling in the expansive cotton and sugar fields of the Deep South or the tobacco fields of the coastal regions, we would see slaves working salt ponds and iron furnaces amidst the mountain ranges of the region, waiting on the Southern gentry taking the cure at the region's resort springs, traveling the turnpikes between farms and into town on errands for their masters, and herded on foot down the Great Valley Road to the slave markets of the Deep South. Perhaps, with the keen eyesight of the bird, we could even catch the occasional glimpse of a runaway slave making for the dark hollows and forest cover of the mountains with a mounted slave patrol in pursuit. Far from inactive, we would have seen a landscape of slavery distinct from that of the Deep South, yet one just as animated.

Compared with the scholarship on the nature of slavery in the Deep South, very little research has focused on the unique conditions of slavery in Appalachia (Figure C-1). The topic of Appalachian slavery has been lost in the assumption that the character of slavery in the Deep South was the normative state

of slavery in the American South (Dunaway, 1999; Murphy, 1992) and that any deviations from these norms—such as those commonly found in the Mountain South—are simply noise in the data to be explained away rather than seriously studied. Recent scholars, however, have begun to reveal the distinct character of Appalachian slavery. As sociologist Wilma Dunaway (1999) has said, “Increasingly, we are coming to understand that there never has been a monolithic South.

Now we must also realize that there was not one monolithic slavery experience” (p. 147). Contemporary scholars are beginning to view slavery in the Appalachian South as a complex phenomenon worthy of study.

At the other extreme are those scholars who hold that

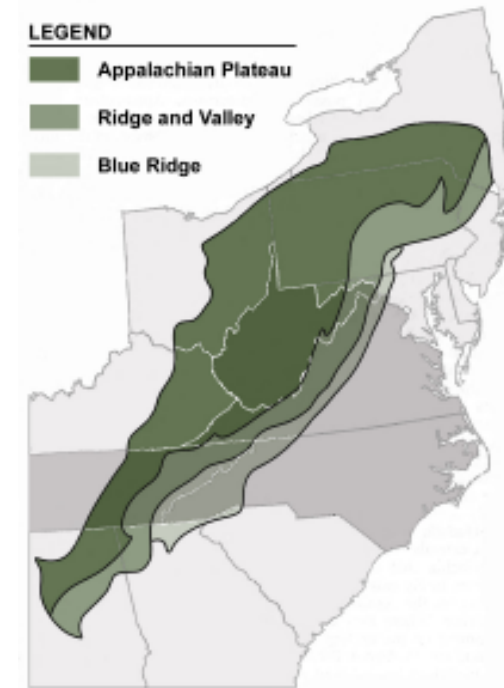


Figure C-1. Geographically, Appalachia, with its subregions, stretch from New York to Alabama (data from Raitz & Ulack, 1984). The discussion of Appalachian slavery here, however, is restricted to what is now West Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

slavery was not an integral part of the Appalachian South. As John Inscoe (1989) observed, “It has long been a common assumption that slavery played little part in the society or economy of antebellum Appalachia” (p. 59). Unfortunately, such a position often comes out of the typical stereotypes of Appalachian values and culture rather than from the historic record. The image of yeoman mountain farmers whose egalitarian Scotch-Irish roots made them balk at the patriarchal notion of slavery has colored some of the writings on Appalachian slavery (Murphy, 1992). To great measure, these notions were established in Appalachian scholarship early in the 20th century through the work of Carter Woodson, who declared that, “Actual abolition was never popular in western Virginia, but the love of the people of that section for freedom kept them estranged from the slaveholding districts of the State” (Woodson, 1985, p. 35). Influenced by Carter’s writings, many researchers have begun with the assumption that the Appalachian South was largely an uninvolved bystander in the institution of slavery. To bolster their assertions, scholars pointed to such superficial statistics as the observation that only one-third of Appalachian farmers held slaves compared with half of all farmers in the Deep South or that mountain farms with slaves tended to have fewer than 50 while planters of the Deep South often held more than 50 slaves (Dunaway, 1999). Recent scholarship, however, has begun to call into question such assumptions about the Mountain South (Dunaway, 1999; Murphy, 1992). Although fewer Appalachian farmers held slaves than their Deep South counterparts, these statistics do not take into account other types of economic activities—quite numerous in Appalachia—that did depend on slave labor. Inscoe (1989) points out that the Appalachian economy was not dependent upon agricultural slaves, saying, “Output from [mountain] farms proved insuffi-

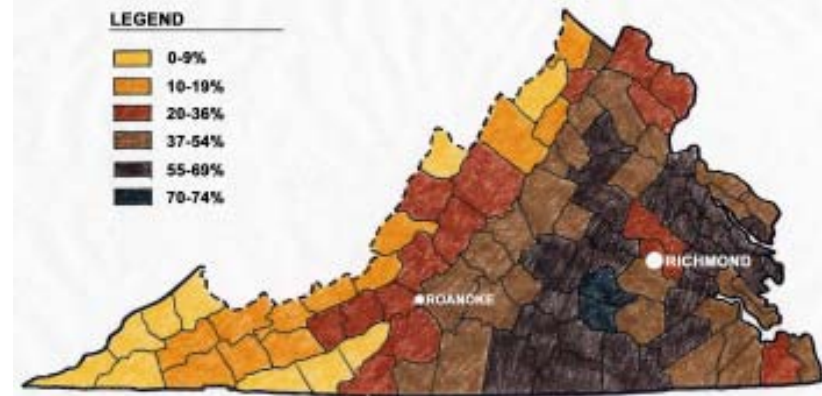


Figure C-2. Slave population of Virginia in 1860 in terms of percentage of total population per county. Categories are derived from natural breaks of 1860 Census data.

cient to support, much less earn profits from, those slaves.” But he adds that, “The characteristic that probably most distinguished mountain slaveholders from their counterparts elsewhere in the South was the diversity of their economic activity” (p. 62). Scholars who have taken into account these nonagricultural enterprises, have realized that, “Slaves made a much greater economic contribution to the Southern mountains than scholars have previously acknowledged” (Dunaway, 1999, p. 130). A comparison of Figures C-2 and C-3 shows that although slave populations in Appalachia seem low compared to the Virginia Piedmont and Tidewater regions (Figure C-2), when investigated more closely, slaves made a much greater contribution to the economic vitality of the mountain region, comprising a quarter to a half of the working population in most mountain counties (Figure C-3). Slave owners rarely relied on farming as their main source of income, but instead

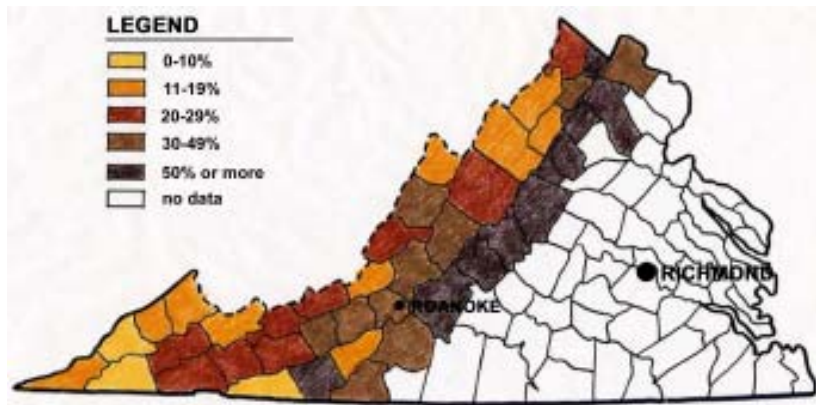


Figure C-3. Slave population of Virginia in 1860 in terms of percentage of total adult labor force. (Data from Dunaway, 1999)

pursued other money-making ventures, in which slaves often played a crucial role. Far from the stereotypical image of the poor and fiercely independent mountain farmer, the Appalachian settlers were avid entrepreneurs with “strong capitalist propensities among [the] upper classes” (Inscoc, 1989, p. 7). They pushed the economic frontier of this newly settled region as aggressively as they did the physical limits of westward expansion. Rather than isolated in their mountain homes, these entrepreneurs actively forged economic links within their own community and throughout the greater South. In this respect, the Appalachian South did indeed “participate in the Southern world view” (Murphy, 1992, p. 16) to a greater extent than many scholars have acknowledged, as Appalachian slave masters shared with the rest of their Southern counterparts the fundamental attitude that slaves were a source of economic profit. Nash Boney’s description of Southerners in general also suits Appalachians: “wheel[ing] and deal[ing] like expectant

capitalists in a credit-fueled, free-enterprise, profit-oriented economy” (Inscoc, 1989, p. 7). Although Appalachian slave holders were indeed far removed from “the planter class of the cotton-, rice-, and sugar-producing South” (Inscoc, 1989, p. 7), they were not so distant in attitude. The unsettled wilds of the mountains offered a new economic frontier as well as a physical one, and Appalachians were developing their own unique economy—one in which slavery would figure prominently.

SLAVES AS COMMODITIES: THE APPALACHIAN ECONOMY

Despite a common orientation toward profits and a tradition of slave ownership, the Appalachian economy evolved very differently from that of the rest of the South. More than any other factor, the fledgling economy of the Appalachian South was shaped by the land. Like the rest of their Southern counterparts, Appalachians looked to slaves to generate their economic prosperity, yet the agriculturally based slave economy of the Deep South proved impossible in their mountain home. The physical landscape of Appalachia is dominated by rugged sandstone mountain ridges and narrow limestone valleys. Over millions of years, the soft limestone of the valley floors dissolved with exposure to groundwater to form irregular hills and depressions (Way, 1978). The result of this karst topography, as it is called, is a landscape that necessitated small, irregularly shaped fields compared to the vast, uniform fields possible in the flat land of the Deep South. Restricted in this way by the terrain of the region, farmsteads were small, and combined with the shorter growing season of this cooler mountain region,

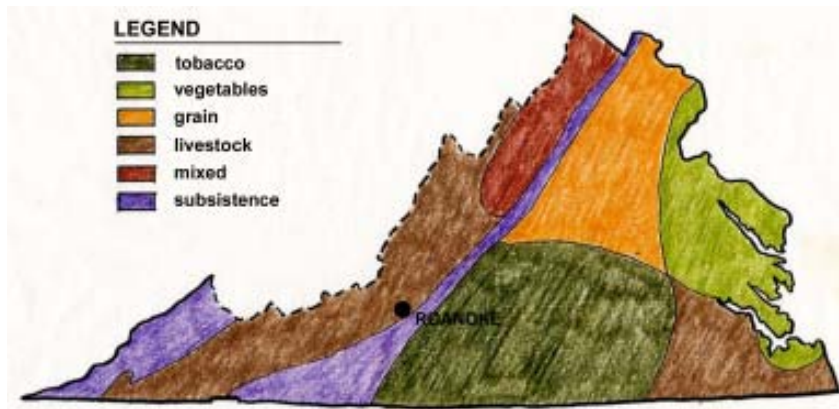


Figure C-4. Agricultural production in Appalachian Virginia was largely restricted to subsistence farming and the production of cattle and sheep that could graze on grasses or poorer quality grains. (Data from Kuennecke, Woodward, & Pontius, 1989)

agricultural production—and thus profits—were limited (Figure C-4). Crops tended to be raised for consumption on the farm, with only a small portion being sold. With such little potential for profit, it is not surprising that only a third of farmers would purchase slaves to work in the fields. The mistaken tendency for past scholars to equate a viable slave economy with agricultural production is alluded to by Inscoe (1989) when he observes, “Because of the rugged terrain and cool climate of the Southern Highlands, regional analysts have reasoned, slavery was not economically feasible, and thus there were few slaves or slaveholders in the mountains” (p. 59). But the inability to rely on agriculture as a primary source of income did not lead Appalachian capitalists to give up their slaves. Rather, it forced them to find new, more profitable uses for their bondsmen. As Inscoe (1989) says, “Prohibited by terrain and climate from

opportunities for such large-scale one-crop production, the economic and political elite of North Carolina’s mountains consisted, for the most part, of a prosperous, ambitious, and progressive middle class of business and professional men” (p. 7). Although the terrain of the region precluded agricultural profits, it also influenced the new economic base that Appalachian settlers would find.

Unable to capitalize on slaves in the same way as their counterparts in the Deep South, Appalachian masters found other ways to make their bondsmen profitable. Slaves were not in high demand as producers of agricultural commodities, but as commodities themselves, they could fetch a profit for their masters. As Dunaway (1999) explains, “By 1840, Appalachian masters found they could generate greater profits by marketing the labor of their slaves. . . . Unlike their Lower South counterparts, Appalachian masters viewed their slaves primarily as *investment commodities* and only secondarily as agricultural laborers” (Dunaway, 1999, p. 132). Mountain masters soon realized the economic gains to be made from either selling or leasing their slaves to those who needed their labor. The business dealings of Stephen S. Crockett, owner of one of Wytheville, Virginia’s first hotels, exemplify this Appalachian attitude toward slaves. Between 1851 and 1857 he made business agreements with a slave brokering firm in Richmond called Dickinson & Hill that advanced him money to purchase slaves in the Wytheville area. As he acquired the slaves he would set them to work on his farm until he had a large enough number to transport to the Richmond slave markets. The profits of the sale were split between Crockett and the brokerage house. This arrangement apparently suited Crockett, as in 1853 he also made a similar deal with another brokering firm in Richmond. Crockett estimated that six years of this trading earned him the

sizeable profit of \$10,000 (Kegley, 1989). While planters in the Deep South were using their slaves to increase their agricultural production and thereby their revenue, Appalachian masters, constrained by the topography and weather of the region, were developing other ways of capitalizing on the labor of their slaves.

Selling Slaves: Exportation for Profit

Mountain slave masters like Stephen Crockett found that the slave brokering business—buying and selling slaves for profit—was an excellent way to make a profit. Again, topography played a large role in facilitating this practice by providing a natural transportation corridor to the great slave markets of the Deep South in Natchez, Mississippi and New Orleans. The Appalachian Mountains were formed millions of years ago through the collision of two tectonic plates (large segments of the Earth’s crust). As they collided, the plates folded accordion-style, creating a parallel set of ridges and valleys running roughly north-south (Way, 1978). These parallel valleys—principally the Shenandoah and the New River valleys—have served as a natural transportation corridor along the Eastern part of the United States since the territory was inhabited by Native Americans. European settlers spreading along the eastern part of America from coastal settlements used this same corridor, which they called the Great Valley Road, and homesteads and small towns began to grow up along the road. The Great Valley Road became a primary corridor for trade and transportation by horse and stagecoach. By the mid 1850s, rail service connected the mountains of Virginia with points south as well as the markets of Tidewater Virginia, which also boosted trade (Jack, 1912; Figure C-5).

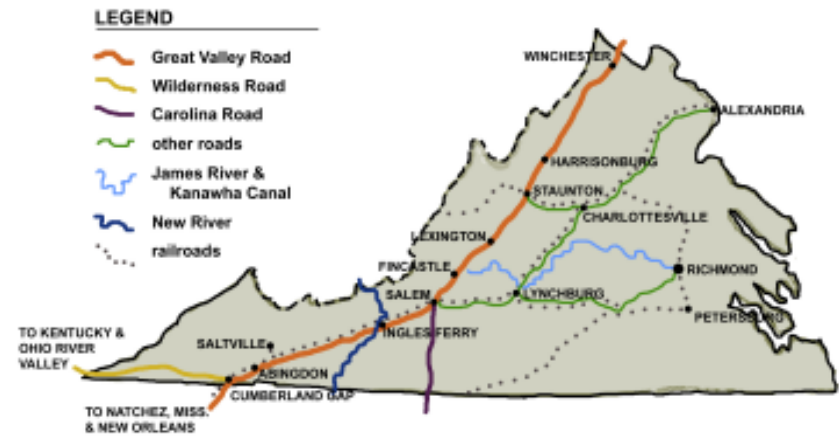


Figure C-5. Far from isolated, Mountain Virginia was connected to the markets of the Deep South as well as those of Richmond by road and rail.

The Great Road provided mountain masters with direct access to the slave markets of the Deep South (Figure C-6). As Dunaway (1999) reports, “Between 1840 and 1860, mountain owners exported through the interstate slave trade more than 60,000 slaves from the Appalachian counties of Maryland, western Virginia, Kentucky, the Carolinas, and Tennessee” (p. 133). Dunaway adds that slave owners with smaller mountain farms sold slaves about once every three years, while those with larger holdings engaged in slave trading on a yearly basis. This evidence contradicts the conclusions of Insoe (1989) that sales to speculators in the mountains of North Carolina were rare because mountain masters “saw them as both inhumane and poor business. Evidence indicates that few violated the community norm of selling slaves only locally” (p. 84). Yet Dunaway (1999) reports that in three-fifths of the slave narratives she reviewed that described the separation of a slave family, this



Figure C-7. Slave coffle heading down the Great Road south of Staunton as witnessed by the artist. (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA)

parting was caused by the transportation of slaves to the southern markets.

Just as the well-established slave markets in urban centers such as Richmond, Natchez, and New Orleans operated according to established procedures and norms, slave trading in Appalachia had its own system and rituals. Whereas urban market centers drew traders to them from miles around, the market in Appalachia depended on roving traders who traveled the Great Road and its byways, visiting mountain farms to buy and sell directly with slave owners. The roads through the mountains and valleys of Appalachia served as the ordering principal around which the slave trade was organized, as itinerant brokers or slave speculators worked their way South along the Great Road, gathering slaves to sell in the Southern markets.

The sight of such traveling traders making their way down the region's roads with coffles of shackled slaves in tow was a common sight in the landscape of the Appalachian South, especially from late fall to early spring—times that interfered least with planting and harvesting (Dunaway, 1999; Figure C-7). According to Troutman (2001), “Each week between September and April, residents of Christiansburg, Abingdon [Virginia], and other towns along the route would have seen at least one or two and perhaps as many as four slave traders’ gangs or ‘coffles’ passing through” (p. 24; Figure C-8). Troutman (2001) calculates that more than 80 slaves passed down the Great Road through southwestern Virginia each week, a figure that may have risen to as many as 200 during the speculation fervor that preceded the panic of 1837. One English

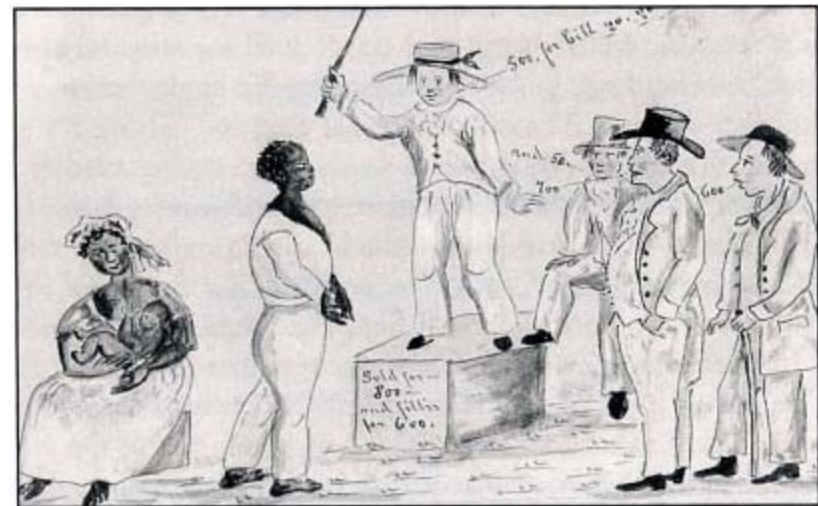


Figure C-8. Depiction of an 1853 slave auction in Christiansburg, Virginia as witnessed by the artist. (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA)

traveler (also quoted by Dunaway) described his encounter with one such coffle along the Great Road at Ingles Ferry, just west of Radford, Virginia:

Just as we reached New River, in the early grey of the morning, we came up with a singular spectacle. . . . It was a camp of negro slave-drivers, just packing up to start; they had about three hundred slaves with them, who had bivouacked the preceding night *in chains* in the woods; these they were conducting to Natchez, upon the Mississippi River, to work upon the sugar plantations in Louisiana. . . . They had a caravan of nine wagons and single-horse carriages, for the purpose of conducting the white people, and any of the blacks that should fall lame. . . . The female slaves were, some of them, sitting on logs of wood, whilst others were standing, and a great many little black children were warming themselves at the fires of the bivouac. In front of them all, and prepared for the march, stood, in double files, about two hundred male slaves, *manacled and chained to each other*. I had never seen so revolting a sight before! . . . To make this spectacle still more disgusting and hideous, some of the principal white slave-drivers, who were tolerably well dressed . . . were standing near, laughing and smoking cigars. (Featherstonhaugh, 1844, pp. 36-37, italics in original)

Such brokers worked not only the Great Road on their way to the great southern slave markets but also the road through Lynchburg to the markets in Richmond (Figure C-5). Dunaway (1999) recounts, for example, the sale of three slave children “to speculators passing through Franklin County, Virginia, to collect a coffle of slaves for resale by Richmond auction houses” (p. 138). As Troutman (2001) indicates, buyers

from the Deep South would sometimes make the trip to Richmond because they could purchase slaves more cheaply there than at the New Orleans and Natchez markets. As a result, Appalachian masters found additional markets for their slaves.

In addition to the natural transportation corridor created by favorable topography, the mountain master’s ability to sell slaves south for profit was also facilitated by the economic forces at work in the first half of the 19th century. During this period, economic dominance shifted from the Upper South to the Deep South as demand for the traditional agrarian products of the Upper South, including tobacco, grains, and livestock, dropped (Franklin & Schweninger, 1999). Instead, buyers were clamoring for more sugar and cotton from the Deep South. As greater demand sparked increased production in the fields, a slave labor shortage in the Deep South ensued. Thus, Appalachian masters found that as demand for their agricultural products dropped, demand for their slaves increased. More profit could be made from the sale of their slaves than their crops. As a result, these Appalachian entrepreneurs stepped up their export of slaves to the Deep South. As Dunaway (1999) says, “As a direct result of the world demand for cotton, the Upper South began to export surplus laborers to the Lower South. Between 1790 and 1860, nearly 1 million slaves were forcibly relocated” (p. 132). Murphy’s (1992) analysis of census records supports these findings. As he indicates, “After 1830 slave population growth all but collapsed in northern Appalachia and a huge migration occurred” (p. 15). He goes on to say that “Appalachian Virginia’s loss thus amounted to 11,541 [slaves] during the 1830-1840 census period” (p. 19). Anecdotal evidence from this period also bolsters these observations, as one farmer from the mountains of North Carolina, John Hall, exclaimed that, “Cattle, hogs, sheep, corn, oats, or small tracts of

land, they are in no demand at all—negroes are the only property that is wanted” (Inscoc, 1989, p. 81). As astute entrepreneurs, Appalachian masters were able to turn an economic downturn to their advantage by selling surplus slave labor south.

In addition to the economic benefits of the exportation of slaves to the Deep South, the practice also offered a convenient way for mountain masters to rid themselves of lazy or rebellious slaves. As Franklin & Schweninger (1999) indicate, “The domestic slave trade was fed in part by masters seeking to rid themselves of unmanageable and unruly slaves by selling them to distant markets” (p. 264). Even the threat of sale to the cotton and sugar plantations of the Deep South was sometimes enough to keep recalcitrant slaves in line. Slaves in Appalachia were accustomed to seeing speculators coming through with coffles of their fellow bondsmen and therefore knew that such a threat could be made good on with little effort.

Leasing Slaves: Feeding Local Industries

In addition to the outright sale of slaves to points farther south, Appalachian masters found another important source of profit in the temporary leasing of their slaves’ labor. As Inscoc (1989) says, “One means of insuring the flexibility and profitability of slavery in the mountains was the opportunity to purchase and sell slaves’ temporary labor” (p. 76). Dunaway (1999) reports that one-fifth to one-fourth of all Appalachian slaves were hired out on year-long contracts. These hirelings usually remained in Appalachia, satisfying the region’s demand for labor in nonagricultural jobs. Until recently, relatively little scholarship has focused on the study of slavery in nonagricul-

tural settings (Stealey, 1974), but as Figure C-9 indicates, the iron industry dominated the mountain ranges of Virginia, and the Saltville salt works was the only operation of its kind in what is now the state of Virginia. These industrial ventures relied heavily on slave labor to maintain high production rates. As with the transportation of slaves south for sale, the very nature of the Appalachian land facilitated this money-making venture—this time not in terms of its topography but its geology, as the mountains of Appalachia offered a valuable source of minerals and metals that depended on slave labor for production.

By the start of the Civil War, Virginia was the largest producer in the Confederacy of mined materials such as lead, salt, niter (used in gunpowder), and coal. It also ranked a close second to Alabama in the production of iron. Aside from the

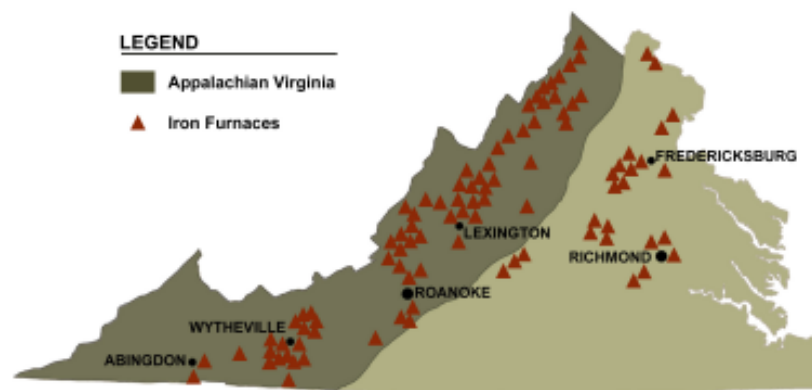


Figure C-9. As this map of the distribution of iron furnaces across the state shows, most of the iron in Virginia came from the mountainous region of the state. (Data from Kuennecke et al., 1989)

coal mining that occurred around Richmond, most of these mined resources came from the region west of the Blue Ridge. Industry in Appalachian Virginia was operating at full tilt, and such high production rates depended on the ready availability of slave labor (Whisonant, 1998).

Salt Works. Salt was one of the primary commodities produced in Appalachian Virginia before the Civil War (Stealey, 1974). Two large salt works operated in Saltville, Virginia, and at least 27 companies operated in the Kanawha River Valley in what is now West Virginia. Salt deposits were formed millions of years ago when the newly arisen Appalachian Mountains blocked the path of westerly winds carrying moisture from the saltwater ocean. As the trapped seawater evaporated, salt and gypsum were precipitated back to earth (Whisonant, 1998). These salt deposits leached into the ground water and created saline ponds, which were first boiled down by Native Americans to extract the salt. Salt manufacturing by European settlers continued in much the same fashion. The salt was extracted by boiling down large kettles of salty water or brine, which was pumped from salt wells by steam engines. Large furnaces had to be constantly fed with wood or coal in order to keep the kettles boiling. A large furnace might have 80 to 100 kettles boiling in its open shed. Workers routinely visited each kettle to remove the crystallized salts, which they drained, dried, and packed for shipment (Whisonant, 1998). Slaves were involved in every task of salt production, from running the furnaces to making the barrels in which the salt was shipped to market. James Cowey, a manager of two salt furnaces in the Kanawha Valley, testified in an 1854 deposition that the two furnaces required fourteen coal diggers, five wheelers to transport coal from the interior of the mine to its mouth, four haulers to take the coal to the furnace,

three kettle-tenders, one or two “cat-hole” cleaners to clean ash from the furnace repository, six engineers who maintained the steam engines that pumped brine from the wells, two salt lifters and wheelers, seven packers and general laborers, two blacksmiths, and a cook (Stealey, 1974). Hired slaves filled many of these jobs.

In his study of the salt industry and slavery in the Kanawha River region, Stealey (1974) found that when increased demand and a rapid growth in business led to a shortage of free white workers in the early 1800s, salt companies began acquiring slaves. From 1820 to 1830, the slave population in Kanawha, for example, increased 60%, while the white population rose only 42% (Stealey, 1974). By 1850, 3,140 slaves worked in the Kanawha Valley salt works (Murphy, 1992). Most of these were leased from more eastern points of Virginia (Stealey, 1974). Records also exist of Francis Preston, owner of one of the salt companies at Saltville, hiring slaves for his salt works from the Floyds, another prominent southwest Virginia family in the mid 1800s (Mann, 1992). Although no records have been published for Preston’s operations in Saltville, Stealey (1974) estimates that 30-45% of the slaves working in the Kanawha salt industry were leased, with this number rising as high as 90% at times. Customarily, slaves were hired by the year, from January to Christmas Day, at which time they were allowed to return to their master with a blanket and a set of winter clothing. The traditional slave holiday lasted roughly from Christmas to New Year’s Day, after which slaves would return to their hirers if their lease was renewed. Court records researched by Stealey (1974) indicate great variation among lease agreements. Whereas some were oral, most agreements were written. According to Stealey (1974), salt works owners typically agreed to treat the slave humanely, provide a certain standard of

clothing and medical attention, and pay all taxes levied. Although less is known about industrialists compliance with the terms of the contract, the shortage of labor available for hire in the area meant that those with a reputation for treating hirelings well often had an advantage when it came time to renew leases.

Throughout the first half of the 1800s, salt production in Appalachian Virginia went on at full tilt. Stealey reports that factory owners routinely ignored laws against work on the Sabbath. The 7-day workweek became so widespread that it was common practice for manufacturers to offer monetary incentives to factory slaves for Sunday work. Managers would record slaves' overtime in their books and pay the entire amount out to slaves when they completed their year's lease sometime near Christmas. This was often money they could pocket directly, without giving their owner a share. Often, salt works owners were reluctant to stop production even for the customary Christmas break, and they would pay slaves directly to work over this holiday. Aware of the continuous production at the furnaces, masters sometimes wrote into contracts clauses limiting their slave's level of production to prevent their overexertion (Stealey, 1974). Slave owners always risked the welfare of their property when hiring them away, but it was often a risk they were willing to take for profit.

Iron Furnaces. The iron industry in Appalachia also relied heavily on slaves as a more economical and readily available source of labor than free whites. At the Jane and Rebecca iron furnaces in Botetourt County, for example, 87 of the 150 employees were slaves in 1834 (Bruce, 1931). By 1858, William Weaver owned and operated two iron-making facilities in Appalachian Virginia on the James River: Buffalo Forge in Rockbridge County (where he also made his home) and Etna

Furnace in the adjoining Botetourt County. Much of the productivity of the operation was owed to his slave force, which numbered close to 70 men, women, and children. In fact, Weaver was the largest slaveholder in Rockbridge County at the time (Dew, 1994). His workforce was composed of both owned and hired slaves.

Upon taking over the forges from their previous owners in the early 1800s, Weaver quickly transitioned from a mixed workforce of slaves and free whites to one composed entirely of slave labor for non-supervisory positions. This switch was apparently spurred by bad experiences with white laborers, as Weaver wrote that, "No reliance could be placed in the free white laborers who are employed about the Iron Works in this country" (Dew, 1994, p. 22). Lacking the capital to buy these slaves outright, he began leasing them, finding success in the slave markets of Lynchburg and among planters along the Virginia/North Carolina border in the Piedmont. Eventually, slaves skilled in iron-making were purchased. Slaves with such valuable skills were too critical to operations to lease and risk losing. Ultimately, Weaver owned most of his field and forge hands, but hired most of his furnace labor.

By the 1850s, demand for leased slaves rose throughout Appalachian Virginia, and businessmen like Weaver had to work harder and search farther to secure his workforce. Booms in the railroad and canal construction and operation businesses, as well as an increased numbers of coal mines and factories put intense pressures on the market for hirelings. In 1855, Weaver sent three agents east to collect hirelings for the next year. One of these men, Henry McCormick, wrote to Weaver from Spottsylvania County with grim news: "You have no idea of the trouble there is in hiring hands here, at this day, there is all sorts of trickery and management. . . . I don't expect to be able to

hire more than thirty or forty hands, we may get fifty, but I can assure you, the prospect is very gloomy” (Dew, 1994, p. 157). McCormick came back to Etna Forge with just over 30 workers for the next year. The difficulty in finding hirelings sometimes meant that Weaver had to make due with a smaller workforce than he desired.

Fewer workers meant Weaver had to find other ways to keep production up. Like the masters at the Kanawha salt works, Weaver tried to maximize production from his furnaces by allowing slaves to earn money for overtime work. As Dew (1994) said, “Weaver turned to the overwork system in an effort to motivate and discipline his slave work force” (p. 151). Consistent with the salt industry, money earned for extra work was paid out to slaves as they left for Christmas holiday. Company books indicate that men frequently returned home with items such as cloth, shawls, or even dresses—presumably Christmas presents for their wives (Dew, 1994).

Weaver even allowed his best hirelings to buy time off with their overtime earnings so they could visit their families. Slaves able to do this would usually be gone one to two weeks (Dew, 1994). It is reasonable to assume that Weaver felt the loss of a few weeks’ work each year was more than compensated by the overtime production of the slaves. Another motivation for allowing hirelings such privileges was that in such a tight market for leased slaves, industrialists with a reputation of treating their slaves well found it easier to renegotiate with slaves owners next year. In fact, Weaver’s reputation as a good boss became endangered when one of his hirelings, Robert, apparently ran away after being assigned to mine ore—a task considered dangerous. The situation was especially delicate because Robert and another slave had been hired out under contract as wood choppers, not miners. In writing to Weaver,

the slaves’ owner, Mary C. Towles, cut to the crux of the issue for Weaver: “I had always thought you a different man and had always represented you as being one of the safest men to hire to as regards the treatment in the Vallie” (Dew, 1994, p. 160). Weaver seems to have resolved the situation to Towles’ satisfaction, as he leased slaves from her again the next year. Like the owners of the salt works, Weaver found that good business practices demanded the carrot rather than the stick.

As the shrewd businessman, however, Weaver did not suffer misbehavior on the part of his slaves. Slaves owned by Weaver that ran away or presented other discipline problems were promptly sold south. As Dew says, “It was the only way, [Weaver] clearly believed, to maintain a well-ordered community of slave workers on his estate” (p. 135). Over the years, Weaver developed a business relationship with a slave trader named Carson, who took a number of these problem slaves down the Great Road to the southern markets for sale. Lawson, one of Weaver’s unskilled coalers was turned over to Carson for sale after an unnamed offense. Even skilled workers were subject to this penalty, as Arch, described by Weaver as “a good blacksmith” (Dew, 1994, p. 135), was sold four days after being arrested for stealing. Ultimately, Weaver’s motivations were monetary, and his actions—from offering slaves overtime pay and time off to selling troublesome slaves—were taken to increase his bottom line.

Springs Resorts. In addition to the abundance of metals and minerals found in Appalachia, the region also possessed another natural asset that slaves played a large role in exploiting for their masters. At the heart of the thriving tourism industry of the mountain region, the natural springs hinged not on the country’s growing need for iron or salt but on the desire of

Southern gentry to soak in the healing waters of a warm spring while socializing with their peers at elegant resorts. And of course, the smooth running of such an enterprise depended upon the slaves who worked there.

The Virginia Appalachian region holds the largest concentration of springs, all of which lay in the Ridge and Valley province of the region (Figure C-10). The springs were created as water entered the permeable strata of rock on the upper slopes of the region. Following the contours of the rock stratum, the water flows to the lower valley elevations under hydraulic pressure. During its passage through the rock layer, it is heated to the temperature of the surrounding rock. Depending on the type of rock through which it travels, the water will take up calcium sulfate, sulfur, or other minerals. As early as the 1790s, these springs attracted visitors who believed in the medicinal properties of the mineral waters or simply wanted to summer in the cool mountain climate and avoid the warm-weather diseases that often spread through lowland plantations and cities (Raitz & Ulack, 1984).

Although not as lucrative as the salt or iron industries of the region, the springs resorts of the Mountain South were nevertheless an important part of the economic landscape. As Lewis (2001) says, “The springs resorts seem to have been economic engines in their corners of the Blue Ridge region, turning the remote place into a thriving—if only seasonal—commercial area and providing markets and workplaces for farmers and their families” (p. 38). In terms of its labor force, the springs landscape was a mix of white workers, free blacks, and both owned and hired slaves. Some slaves worked at the springs year-round, while others for only a few months in the busy tourist season. In addition, the personal slaves of the guests would move in and out of this landscape. Lewis (2001)

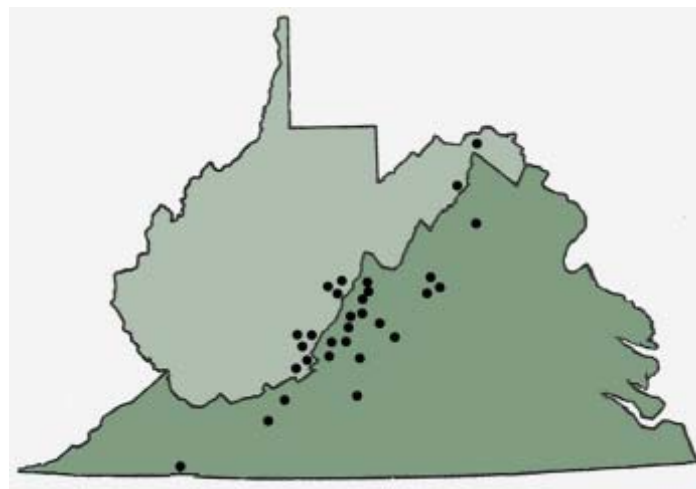


Figure C-10. Although occasionally found elsewhere in Virginia, the highest concentrations of springs and resorts (filled circles) occur in the Appalachian regions of Virginia and West Virginia. (Spring locations from Raitz & Ulack, 1984)

reports that the larger resorts “had communities made up of hundreds of black men, women, and children” (p. 43). Although the composition of the labor forces varied among the springs, it appears that these entrepreneurs, like their colleagues in the salt and iron industry, relied heavily on hirelings, who usually served as maids or waiters. Also like their colleagues, many springs proprietors found the best way to hire slaves was by establishing and maintaining contacts with other slave owners.

More than merely a place of recreation and relaxation for the elite who visited, the springs naturally evolved into business centers in their own rights. With so many of the South’s wealthy meeting at the resorts, business deals—including the sale of slaves—were often arranged among guests. For example,

Horace Hunley struck a deal to purchase three or four slaves for his brother-in law in Louisiana during his 1860 stay at Montgomery White Sulphur (Lewis, 2001). The itinerant slave traders who worked the Great Road were also attracted by the large groups of potential buyers and sellers from all over the South staying at the springs. Along with the horse traders, they traveled the springs circuit during the season, and masters were usually willing to interrupt their holiday for a good deal on a slave or a horse (Lewis, 2001). Resort guests also became a source for springs owners hoping to hire slaves for the next season. Like their counterparts in the iron and salt industries, mountain resort owners found that the best way to find hirelings for the next season was to develop genial relations with planters—in this case, their guests. Daniel Ward, superintendent of the Fauquier White Sulphur, for example, was able to secure a hireling from a planter who had recently visited the resort with the slave in question as his attendant. In this way, slave owners could see firsthand the conditions under which their slaves would be working and hirers had the opportunity to observe a potential hireling's work habits before committing to an agreement. Owing to their nature as gathering points for Southern elite, the springs of Appalachia became centers of business as well as centers of rejuvenation and socializing.

The unique character of Appalachian Virginia—in terms of its terrain, climate, geology, and hydrology—shaped the economy of the region. It also shaped the nature of slavery. Instead of toiling in the sugar and cotton fields of the Deep South or the tobacco fields of Tidewater, mountain slaves worked the iron and salt furnaces and springs resorts. They were bought and sold like stocks and hired out when the price was right. Far from eliminating slavery in the region, the mountain landscape merely gave it a new look.

THE LIFE OF A MOUNTAIN SLAVE

The Appalachian landscape not only changed the nature of slavery for slave owners but also bought a unique set of conditions to which slaves had to adapt in their everyday lives. While scholars like Inscoe (1989) have tended to paint an almost pastoral picture of Appalachian slaves toiling shoulder to shoulder with their masters in the field, the reality of slavery in Appalachia was often just as hard—if not harder—for slaves in the mountains as for their counterparts in the Deep South and coastal regions.

Hardships

Frequent Uprooting. The nature of slavery in the mountains meant that the lives of most Appalachian slaves involved frequent uprooting. As a commodity, mountain slaves were at the mercy of market forces. As profits dwindled in farming or other business arenas, slaves were shifted by their owners into more lucrative sectors, either through sale or lease. And should a master's fortunes decline, the slaves were often sold to pay off debts. Dunaway (1999) reports that census figures between 1840 and 1860 indicate that a mountain slave had a one in three chance of being sold before the age of 40. Contrary to the “greater consideration” that Inscoe (1989, p. 90) says mountain masters had for their slaves in terms of refraining from selling them away, recent scholarship has revealed that Appalachian slaves were moved around much more frequently than field hands of the Deep South. On the larger sugar and cotton plantations of the Deep South, labor requirements either remained

constant or increased each year. This fact, combined with the shortage of slaves available for purchase, led to relatively stable slave populations. Unless a slave was lazy or defiant, it was not wise for a master to rid himself of labor he could not count on replacing easily. In fact, Dunaway (1999) reports that Appalachian masters were twice as likely to sell or hire out their slaves as other masters. In the first half of the 19th century, it was common to find mountain slaves that had been passed to ten to twelve different owners over their lifetimes (Dunaway, 1999). Whether they were sent down the Great Road for sale in the slave markets of the Deep South or Richmond, or sent throughout the region each year to one of the forges, furnaces, or other businesses, mountain slaves often changed hands and were forced to relocate much more frequently than their counterparts elsewhere in the South.

Dissolution of Family Units. This frequent uprooting of mountain slaves had a profound impact on their ability to maintain stable family units. Dunaway (1999) reports that, “Nearly two of every five Appalachian slaves were separated from their families as children—two-thirds of them removed before the age of 15” (p. 135), and she cites as an example a slave named Tillie Duke who never knew her parents in Roanoke, Virginia because as an infant she was sold to a family on their way to settle in Kansas. Indeed, most slave children in Appalachia grew up without exposure to one or both of their parents. Murphy (1992) cites a study indicating that 23% of slave families in Montgomery County, Virginia had no father present.

As the previous statistic suggests, it was often the young male slaves—those that could perform the harder labor at the salt furnaces and iron plantations—that were taken from their

families. Their movement between owners “seriously distorted sex ratios and disrupted the structure of slave families” (Murphy, 1992, p. 15) in Appalachia. Again, the uprooting of male slaves appears to have been more profound in Appalachia than farther south. As Dunaway (1999) reports, “Husbands were present in Lower South slave families twice as often as they were in mountain slave households. . . . Women head[ed] households nearly four times more often in the Mountain South than they did in the Lower South” (p. 139). Although many of these transfers of male slaves were leaseings rather than sales, Dunaway (1999) reports that only about 25% of all slave family separations were temporary. She adds that it was most often the male slaves that were hired out in Appalachia. In such situations, families could hope to be reunited only one or two times per year. In addition, if a female slave died and left children, the slave father had virtually no chance of retaining his children, as it was customary in the Mountain South for their white mistress to care for the children (Dunaway, 1999). Slave fathers were often the first to be sent away and the last to be recognized as family heads—practices that helped to destabilize mountain slave families to a greater extent than those in the rest of the South.

If any “greater consideration” as Insoe calls it did occur on the part of mountain masters, it was most likely motivated by a desire to protect their investment rather than out of genuine affection or concern for their slaves. William Weaver, owner of the Buffalo and Etna furnaces, seems to be an excellent example of such an approach. Unlike many other mountain entrepreneurs, Weaver often purchased not only the skilled workers he needed to run his furnaces but also their families. Rather than a compassionate streak, however, Weaver appears to have purchased family units as part of a farsighted, shrewd

business plan. Because of the stiff competition for hirelings in the first half of the 1800s, it was in Weaver's best interest to ensure a stable slave population, especially among his more skilled bondsmen. Workers living with their families were less likely to run away. Indeed, some of his slaves had worked at his forges for over 20 years. Combined with the monetary incentives he offered slaves for working overtime, keeping family units intact helped ensure a stable population of motivated workers. According to Dew (1994), runaways at Weaver's businesses were rare. In essence, Weaver was building a self-perpetuating pool of slave labor by encouraging the formation of a stable slave community (Dew, 1994). Although the slave population at the Kanawha Valley salt furnaces was roughly three-quarters male, it appears that some family units also existed there. Stealey (1974) reports that census records indicate that adult women and children under 15 also resided at some salt factories. While the records do not directly indicate whether these individuals were part of intact family units, the limited usefulness of women or young children at the hard labor of salt production suggests that they were likely the dependents of the male labor force. In addition to helping to stabilize the population of male slaves, these family members handled light chores at the iron plantations such as cooking and cleaning.

Reproductive Bondage. Not only did Weaver help ensure his prized slaves would remain at the forge if their families were there, but the male children of these workers offered future labor and the female children promised future offspring. Most masters throughout the South did not recognize slave marriages, and preferred to arrange unions, believing, as one mountain master said, "It was cheaper to raise slaves than it was to buy them" (Dunaway, 1999, p. 143). If slaves in Appalachia

were considered commodities, then a female slave's greatest asset in the eyes of her owner was her ability to replenish that commodity. Indeed, Thomas Jefferson believed that, "A child raised every 2 years [was] of more profit than the crop of the best laboring man" (Dunaway, 1999, p. 143-44). A slave woman's value as a breeder may have been even more important in Appalachia than in the Deep South. Recent evidence has revealed that women were more productive in the plantation fields—especially picking cotton—than were males (Dunaway, 1999), but in the small, low-yield fields of mountain farms, this trait would have had little value compared to her ability to bear children. Dunaway's (1999) comparison of slave birth statistics in Appalachia and the rest of the South evidence the importance of a woman's reproductive abilities in the Mountain South. Dunaway found that while the average age for slave mothers across the South to deliver their first child was 21, Appalachian slave women had become first-time mothers by the age of 17. As compared with 6 live births for the average slave, Appalachian slave mothers, on average, gave birth to 11 children over their reproductive lifespan. Such statistics suggest that in addition to whatever value they had as laborers, female slaves' reproductive abilities were more valued—and were exploited to a greater extent—than those of their counterparts elsewhere in the South.

Potential Advantages

Earning Extra Wages. Yet slavery in the Mountain South also offered some relative advantages for Appalachian slaves, especially those working in the region's salt and iron industries.

The separation of a leased slave was, at least in theory, a temporary one. Slaves working in industry had a greater chance of returning to their families than those who were sold outright to speculators or other owners. In addition, because of their bosses' determination to keep the forges and furnaces at high production, slaves also had the opportunity to earn money beyond what they were required to pay their masters. Such money could be used to eventually buy their freedom if their master was willing, or simply to make their everyday existence more comfortable. Indeed, many of William Weaver's slaves took advantage of the incentives he offered to improve the quality of their lives. Sam Williams Jr., a master refiner at Buffalo Forge, was one such example. On a day-to-day basis, Williams probably lived better than many of the poor whites in the area. He frequently earned extra money for himself by working overtime at the forge or performing odd jobs like basket weaving. Over his many years at the forge, Williams became a husband, father of four daughters, and a member of the Lexington Baptist Church. Through his overtime earnings, he provided his family with fabrics for clothing, bedspreads for the girls, various pieces of furniture for their cabin including chairs and even a looking glass, and repeatedly bought gifts of flour, sugar, and coffee for his parents. The family further supplemented their forge earnings by growing their own garden and raising chickens and hogs. They even sold their surplus back to Weaver. The family prospered to the point that Williams and his wife each had their own savings accounts at a Lexington bank, which by 1856 totaled more than \$150. Interestingly, the Williams seem to have made no attempt to purchase their freedom. Instead of building his savings, Williams kept a steady balance of \$100 in the account and routinely drew off the yearly interest payment to spend. This pattern may reflect William's

understanding that he could provide better for his family as a slave on Weaver's iron plantation than as a free black.

Greater Autonomy. Inarguably, one of the factors that allowed Williams to prosper to such a degree in slavery was his status as a highly skilled worker. Over the years, Williams had become a master refiner and "the most valued slave hand on [Weaver's] place" (Dew, 1994, p. 11). Whereas slaves engaged in unskilled manual labor were interchangeable, many of the slaves who worked the forges and furnaces had months to years of training and experience. Such skilled workers were too valuable to sell for anything but the gravest offence. As such, they held some leverage over their owners or bosses. As Dew (1994) points out regarding Williams' situation, "In making himself indispensable to Weaver's ironmaking operations, he would be gaining a significant amount of influence over his own fate" (p. 175). Many skilled slaves took advantage of their position in order to improve the conditions of their servitude. For example, in 1859, the price for Weaver's iron skyrocketed in Lynchburg and Richmond, and Weaver worked his slaves to the limit in order to maximize his production. After several months of this breakneck pace in the sweltering summer, his skilled forge men apparently decided they needed a break and began to play sick several days out of each week. Although this cost Weaver money, it was apparently not enough to make the sale of these slaves worthwhile. As Dew (1994) said, "Sometimes the masters had to acquiesce in the slaves' decision not to work at all" (p. 262). In what could be compared to the "mental health days" that modern workers sometimes take, Tooler, a skilled hammerman at Weaver's operation, occasionally missed work because of a "sick head ache" (Dew, 1994, p. 247). Although only a small percentage of slaves were so skilled as to

assert some control over their labor and living conditions, for those that could, this ability made a dramatic difference in their experience of slavery.

Like skilled slaves, leased slaves often inhabited the gray area between freedom and slavery, enjoying a level of autonomy not available to other slaves. As Franklin and Schweninger (1999) say, leased slaves “were often the most valuable, profitable, and trusted slaves” (p. 140). They traveled to and from their place of employment and their owners’ residences unaccompanied, “rented houses, managed their own affairs, came and went as they pleased, and secured a large measure of control over their lives” (Franklin & Schweninger, 1999, p. 140). Bethany Veney, a leased slave along the Blue Ridge raising her infant son, represents the level of independence some leased slaves achieved. Veney had been leased to two gentlemen from the North who were testing the quality of a copper mine in the Blue Ridge. When the two businessmen were forced to abandon the venture, Veney was left apparently to her own devices until another team of Northerners came to reopen the mine. As Veney says, “I was enjoying a good degree of freedom there. I could go out and come in as I pleased; and for a good distance about the country, with Master McCoy’s pass in my bosom, I was safe to a certain extent.” She apparently had enough autonomy at this point to have some say in who she was hired out to, as she agreed to work for the new entrepreneurs on a temporary basis only to see if the conditions were acceptable to her (Veney, 1889). Although such autonomy for leased slaves was prohibited by law, Franklin and Schweninger (1999) found that this “practice of permitting slaves to hire their own time was widespread,” and slaves were often able to “seek out an employer, negotiate wages and working conditions, and pay the owner an agreed-upon sum” (p. 134).

Hired slaves in the Virginia Springs also appear to have lived better than many of their counterparts. As Lewis (2001) said, joining the black communities of the resorts “presented the plantation slave with new opportunities” (p. 43). These opportunities came on several fronts. As cosmopolitan centers, hirelings at the resorts had the opportunity to meet both other slaves as well as free blacks from other parts of the South. Not only did such communication give them a greater understanding of the world beyond the one they directly experienced, it also expanded “their ties outside of their locality” (Lewis, 2001, p. 45). Like Veney and most other hirelings, slaves hired at resorts “possessed more freedom of movement and less white supervision than plantation slaves” (Lewis, 2001, p. 43). They were allowed to roam about the large estates freely, and even run errands or accompany guests out of the springs. In the holiday atmosphere of the resorts, slaves often enjoyed a social life that mirrored that of the white guests. Some resorts had separate springs for slaves to “assemble and drink in imitation of their masters” (Lewis, 2001, p. 197), whereas at other springs, slaves walked the same paths and enjoyed the same landscapes as the guests they served. Indeed, one unidentified spring guest wrote a letter printed in the Charleston Daily Courier in 1858 complaining of the common practice of allowing slaves to frequent the same resort spaces as the guests. The lovely scenery of the resort grounds, he bemoaned, was “marred when high-dressed maids are permitted to frequent those spots, which to such should be inviolate! And negro men are allowed to fill the air, which should be pregnant only with the odor of flowers, with the fumes of bad segars!” (Lewis, 2001, p. 198). As his comments suggest, slaves at the resorts often mirrored the social activities and conventions of whites by holding their own dinner parties, drinking champagne, and strolling the grounds in their

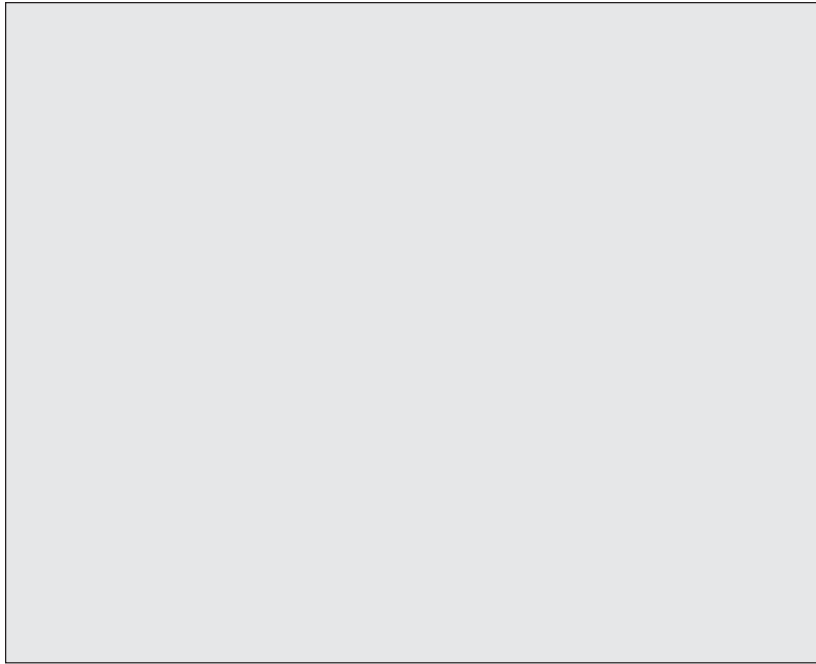


Figure C-11. An 1838 painting by Christian Mayr entitled, *Kitchen Ball at White Sulphur Springs*. (North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh)

finest clothes (Figure C-11). As Lewis (2001) concludes, “Clearly, resort slaves believed that they possessed certain rights even in the presence of rich white men and women” (p. 197).

The increased level of freedom at the resorts encouraged some slaves to convince their masters to hire them out repeatedly at the springs. Lewis (2001) reports that one enterprising slave, Charles White, approached his master with a rather bold proposition. White, who had been hired out as a blacksmith to Hot Springs, suggested that rather than hiring him out again, he

would make more money for his master if the planter would allow him to stay at the springs and open his own blacksmith shop, sending a portion of his profits back to his owner. Even Jeremiah Morton, manager of White Sulphur Springs cautioned his sister-in-law not to lease one of her slaves to the resort because such work would be “very corrupting.” He added that “few [slaves] are well satisfied afterwards” with any other work (Lewis, 2001, p. 42). Slaves and masters alike often understood that resort hirelings enjoyed a better quality of life than many other slaves.

Not all leased slaves were quite as fortunate as Veney and the resort slaves, however, in this respect. As Stealey (1974) observes, the work quotas imposed on slaves leased to industry often kept them bound to the mines and furnaces for the majority of the day. Such quotas not only increased their bosses’ profits but also severely limited the slave’s free time. In addition, some hirelings ran away when forced to work in dangerous conditions, as the correspondence between Weaver and Mary C. Towles described earlier indicated. Even in Veney’s case, her sense of freedom was ultimately only an illusion, as her fate was still in the hands of her master. Soon after beginning work for the two new mine owners, she learned that her master’s property—including herself—was to be sold to pay off his debts: “The question was like a sword cutting me in two, or like a sudden flash of lightening striking me to the ground. I know well there was trouble ahead, and that, for McCoy’s debts, I might at any moment be sold away from my boy, as I had been before from my girl.” Veney’s narrative embodies the typical experiences of mountain slaves. Although she enjoyed a surprising degree of freedom in her daily life as a leased slave, she remained at the mercy of her master—her family twice before torn apart with her separation from her husband and her

daughter, and still under constant threat. Although the mountain environment brought slaves certain freedoms, the institution of slavery proved as fickle a master as it did elsewhere.

REALITIES OF THE MOUNTAIN ENVIRONMENT

The mountain environment of Appalachia left its imprint on many other aspects of a slave's day-to-day existence, including the basic necessities of life. The cold mountain winters endured by slaves, for example, were often made more difficult by a lack of adequate clothing. In an effort to reduce overhead expenses, many mountain masters supplied their slaves with a minimal amount of clothing. Dunaway (1999) reports that even in Appalachia, it was rare for slave children to have shoes or any clothing warmer than a cotton shirt, even in the dead of winter. Baily Cunningham, an Appalachian slave, "never had a hat or shoes until [he] was twenty" (Dunaway, 1999, p. 140).

In addition, the low productivity of most Appalachian farms also meant that slaves often went hungry. Dunaway's (1999) analysis of the 1860 Census of Agriculture, along with evidence from slave narratives, suggests that "Appalachian slaveholders produced corn and swine at levels that would have permitted adult slaves only two-thirds of the needed caloric intake and even less of the needed protein" (p. 140). In fact, mountain ex-slaves were more than twice as likely to report that their masters maintained them at near-starvation levels than other Southern slaves (36% versus 17%, respectively; Dunaway, 1999). As a result, mountain slaves were twice as

likely as other slaves to be required to supplement their food rations through their own devices. Perhaps as a result, food stealing by slaves was reported three times more often in Appalachia than in the rest of the South (Dunaway, 1999).

These harsher conditions experienced by Appalachian slaves likely contributed to the higher mortality rates among mountain slaves as compared to slaves in the rest of the South. Dunaway reports that in 1850, a slave in Appalachia was 1.4 times more likely to die than a slave elsewhere in the United States, and 60% of mountain slave children died before they reached the age of 10, as compared to less than 50% mortality for slave children elsewhere.

Those slaves leased to the salt and lead industry may have fared better in their living conditions. Stealey (1974) reports that industrial slaves were both better dressed and better fed than other area slaves. Typical clothing rations consisted of a summer and winter set of pants and shirt, a blanket, hat, one winter coat, socks and three to six pairs of shoes. Stealey (1974) reports that one furnace operator, Thomas Friend, "tried to give his slaves what they would eat as 'they labored very hard' " (p. 124). He gave them up to 1¼ pounds of bacon and 1½ pounds of pig shoulder per day. This better treatment for industrial slaves seems to cut across regions, as daily meals consisted of pork, cabbage, turnips, corn bread, and molasses at the Tredager Iron Works in Richmond, Virginia (Stealey, 1974). Again, the difficulty in securing hirelings in the region as well as industrialists' desires to keep their furnaces operating at full capacity ultimately benefited their slaves in terms of meeting the basic necessities of life. The mountain environment and economic forces combined to shape the nature of slavery in the Appalachian South.

SLAVE RESISTANCE: THE CONTESTED LANDSCAPE

No discussion of the landscape of slavery, however, is complete without examining the issue of slave resistance—slaves actively subverting the conditions of slave life imposed on them by their masters in order to make their personal existence more comfortable. The means of resistance were numerous, and in most cases, depended a great deal on the imagination and ingenuity of the slaves themselves, as demonstrated by Charles White's proposition to his master to open his own blacksmith shop or by Weaver's forge men feigning illness when they needed a rest from their labor. As much as the landscape of Appalachian slavery was animated by the slaves toiling in the iron or salt furnaces of the mountains or the slave traders and their chattels, it also came alive through slaves' attempts at resistance and the measures their mountain masters went to in order to foil these attempts.

The landscape figured prominently in these power struggles between slaves and slave owners. Skirmishes over autonomy and control took a variety of forms—from subtle to dramatic, from momentary to permanent. As the physical expression of social status in the South, the landscape itself provided the vocabulary of the conflict. Not only the battleground, the land was itself a weapon as each group staked claims to their territory through their use and manipulation of the land and its features. A slave stealing corn from his master's field or a chicken from the coup . . . springs resort slaves strolling the paths designed for wealthy Southern whites . . . slave patrols searching slave cabins at will. . . . The boundaries between the physical—and social—domains of master and slave

were under constant assault and repair.

Daily Transgressions

At the level of daily living, slaves often transgressed the physical boundaries and domains that the Southern whites had so carefully constructed as expressions of their privileged position. Manicured garden plots, carefully constructed walkways and fence lines, formal lawns, turnpikes—these symbols of white power and control were habitually walked through, jumped over, or otherwise appropriated by slaves going about their daily lives. As Vlach (1993) explains, "Slaves used subtle behavioral means to structure alternative landscapes with different spatial imperatives. They would simply ignore the ritual obeisance of a plantation's carefully marked 'processional landscape' and move across its fields, gardens, and grounds more or less as they pleased. They took shortcuts across lawns and through gardens and entered parlors and bedrooms without always asking permission. . . . They eventually used this level of access to inscribe plantations with their own meanings and associations" (p. 231). Like skilled guerilla warriors, slaves routinely slipped passed enemy lines into the world of wealth and high status of their Southern masters. Although in some cases such behavior was consciously undertaken by slaves as acts of defiance or civil disobedience, slaves' appropriation of their masters' landscape often sprung from their sense of ownership and familiarity with a landscape they helped create with their own labor.

Although many of these small incursions went on without any notice by the landed gentry of the South, the threats these acts posed were sometimes recognized. Certainly, the Letter to

the Editor regarding resort springs slaves using a landscape intended for wealthy guests was an indication of the uneasiness that sometimes gripped the white upperclass. In this case, it was not only the fact that slaves occupied the physical domain of the planters that the writer objected to but also their insistence on dressing up and behaving in a manner that paralleled their white masters. It was not a question of slaves mocking their masters but of the physical and social boundaries between the two groups blurring that seems particularly worrisome to the letter's author. As Vlach (1993) says, "Acts of landscape appropriation constituted an important means of day-to-day resistance with far-reaching consequences" (p. 236).

The White Response

These consequences included a collection of legal restrictions on slaves and the raising of policing groups to enforce them. As early as 1680, Virginians attempted to restrict the movements of slaves by passing a law requiring slaves to carry passes from their masters when not on their owner's lands. Such passes were to state the date, destination, and duration of the trip, as well as contain the master's signature. Any white could stop a slave and ask for his pass. If caught without a pass, a slave risked a whipping or other punishment and would be returned to his master (Hadden, 2001). Towns throughout the South also imposed curfews to limit free movement of urban slaves. In order to try to prevent slaves from assembling after dark, Abingdon, Virginia, for example, established a 10 p.m. curfew and created a slave patrol of local citizens to enforce it. A slave discovered on the streets by patrols after curfew could be given up to 15 lashes (Hadden, 2001). In addition to regulat-

ing the times that slaves could be out, Southerners also attempted to prohibit large gatherings of slaves. Throughout the duration of slavery, various laws were passed in Virginia to prohibit large slave gatherings not supervised by whites. Even Weaver's relatively stable, peaceful community of slaves was no exception to such laws. In 1859, the day after John Brown was executed for leading a slave revolt that briefly captured the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, a double slave wedding at Buffalo Forge was interrupted by a wary slave patrol. Although they left, allowing the ceremony to continue, they returned the next day and beat one of Weaver's skilled forge men so severely that he could not work for eleven days (Dew, 1994). Perhaps Henry Towles made an untimely remark in front of the patrol, or perhaps he was randomly selected for a whipping as a means of delivering a message to the slaves. In any case, the Rockbridge County patrol, like other slave patrols, believed in prevention through intimidation.

In most areas of Virginia, slave patrols were entrusted with the daily activity of enforcing laws restricting slave movement. Limited patrols began in Virginia as early as 1727 when the state legislature sanctioned their use only during times of greatest threat, such as holidays when slaves might congregate (Hadden, 2001). Gradually, however, their duties expanded, and roving bands of patrollers on horseback became a common sight in the Southern landscape. Appalachian Virginia was no exception. Wythe County, for example, operated patrols from at least 1851 through August of 1863 (Kegley, 1989). Patrols were initially comprised of local male citizens—both poor and wealthy. After the turn of the 19th century, however, many municipalities, responding to complaints that patrols often were delinquent in their duties, began hiring individuals for the express purpose of patrolling (Hadden, 2001). This was the

case in Abingdon, Virginia, which transitioned from patrols staffed by local residents to one consisting of hired professionals (Hadden, 2001).

Patrols' duties were intended to minimize slave disruptions, and the daily battles between slaves and patrols were again often played out as incursions into each side's territory. Much of the patrols' authority—as well as their psychological impact—came from their refusal to recognize and respect a slave's territory. Patrols routinely entered slaves' quarters to search for weapons, books or papers that indicated a slave might be learning to read, or occupants that did not belong (Hadden, 2001). Additionally, they patrolled the roads, stopping slaves and forcing them to produce their passes. Patrols in Wythe County were directed to visit all slave quarters at least once a week as well as “all other places suspected of having unlawful assemblies” and arrest any slave found “strolling from one plantation to another” (Kegley, 1989, p. 171).

The duties given to patrols indicate that Southern whites understood that the existence of discrete slave territories, such as slave quarters, represented a threat to white authority. Although Vlach (1993) explains that, “Because discrete slave domains were, for the most part, established beyond the slave holder's immediate sight and in a way that did not obviously rearrange their hierarchical schemes, such places could be easily and reassuringly dismissed,” he goes on to qualify this with the caveat, “But only in theory” (p. 231). Indeed, it seemed exactly these areas “beyond the slave holder's immediate sight” that often worried them most. This can be seen most dramatically in the repeated petitioning of the town of Charlottesville, Virginia to the state to expand its city limits. The stated objective of the expansion of the town's boundary was to give slave patrols the authority to enter the small homes and cabins that continually

sprung up just beyond town limits (Hadden, 2001). It was exactly such marginal territories—just beyond the reach of their authority—that worried whites.

Yet despite Southern whites' efforts, slaves developed ways of appropriating and moving through the landscape in order to thwart the patrols and maintain some control over their own lives. Vlach (1993) calls these methods “the weapons of the weak,” which allowed slaves to win “small skirmishes within the larger battles of class conflict” (p. 236). Slaves consistently found ways to outwit patrols. Often, when holding church meetings or other gatherings they posted lookouts or retreated into dense forests or swamps where they knew the patrol's horses would have difficulty maneuvering. Sometimes the first slave to arrive for such a meeting in the forest would “break boughs from trees and bend them in the direction of the meeting point” (Hadden, 2001, p. 108). Slaves also found ways of dealing with the paddyrollers, as they called them, that patrolled the main roads. Hadden (2001) reports that in the narratives of many former slaves, they “remembered taking shortcuts and altering their behavior to cope with patrollers who manned the main roads” (p. 63). There are even reports of slaves swinging from the vines in trees lining the roads to knock patrollers off their horses (Hadden, 2001). In a few extreme cases, groups of slaves ambushed and injured or killed patrollers. In fact, slaves became so skilled at avoiding patrols along the main roads that patrollers began to devise ways to beat them at their own subterfuge. As Charles Ball, a slave who escaped North through the Carolinas and Virginia said, “These people [patrollers] sometimes moved directly along the roads, but more frequently lay in wait near the side of the road, ready to pounce upon any runaway slave that might chance to pass” (Hadden, 2001, p. 128). The battle for control in the slave South was expressed in

the appropriation and manipulation of the environment.

It must be kept in mind, however, in this discussion of the everyday skirmishes between slaves and their masters that although the Southern upperclass enacted laws and established policing units designed to keep slaves' movements in check, enforcement was at best inconsistent and at worst nonexistent. Clearly, Southern whites recognized a legitimate threat from slaves, yet at the level of their daily activities, they often seem to have chosen to ignore the presence of that threat. Whether it was the frequency of slaves' transgressions in the daily operations of their homesteads, the ineffectiveness of punishments administered, or even an overriding confidence in their own superiority, the Southern gentry, to paraphrase Vlach's earlier quote, often operated under the assumption that if they did not see it (or chose to notice it), it was not going on. Slaves often walked through the towns and along the turnpikes of Appalachian Virginia as well as the rest of the South without being stopped by any Whites and asked to produce a pass. Patrols were often cited for their "shameful neglect" as one grand jury called it, of their duties (Hadden, 2001, p. 62). Whether overconfident or overwhelmed, it was often not until news of a slave uprising elsewhere reached a locale that slave laws would be aggressively enforced and patrollers would increase the frequency and thoroughness of their rounds. The patrollers' who visited the slave wedding at Buffalo Forge, for example, certainly had the previous day's execution of John Brown on their minds. Indeed, in the month between Brown's conviction in November 1859 and his execution, rumors of slave uprisings and "abolitionist plots to kidnap prominent citizens and members of their families and hold them as hostages for Brown's release" (Dew, 1994, p. 265) ran high throughout the South. Lexington Virginia's *Gazette* urged citizens to organize "as

patrols and guards, and as volunteer videttes" (Dew, 1994, p. 265), and by 1860, the town of Lynchburg, Virginia had nine neighborhood patrols in addition to its regular militia patrols (Hadden, 2001). As much as Southern whites tried to ignore the threat posed by their economic and social system, events often conspired to bring to the surface their fears of a backlash from those they enslaved. Ultimately, the small transgressions that masters turned a blind eye toward fed their sense of fear of the unknown.

Rebellion in the Air

Like the covert incursions of slaves into white domains, the wilds of the Appalachian Mountains were an unknown mystery and a source of worry and fear for slave masters. They feared the mountains as the stage for more dramatic threats to their authority. Like the Dismal Swamp along the eastern border of Virginia and North Carolina, the mountains of Appalachia were long feared by whites as a potential hiding place for recalcitrant slaves. The mountains held innumerable caves, small draws, and dense forests in which slaves could hide. Hadden (2001) observes that the local slave patrols "loathed searching swamps and mountains, for fear that traps and hidden ambushes could be arranged, hostile Native Americans might appear, or the fugitives would simply melt into the unmapped tracts of wilderness" (p. 129). Slave owners' fears were not all together unfounded. Even as early as 1729, reports exist of a group of slaves from a James River plantation who fled with clothes, tools, and provisions in an attempt to reach the Blue Ridge Mountains, where they could establish a settlement in secret. Although the group was captured before reaching their destina-

tion, incidents such as this contributed to the feeling among slave owners that should they ever run away, slaves might attempt to loose themselves in the wilds of the mountain regions (Hadden, 2001). Feeding this worry was knowledge of successful and long-lived maroon colonies in the hills of Jamaica and other Caribbean islands. Slaves' knowledge of these stable settlements, whites feared, "threaten[ed] the stability of slavery . . . by providing refuge and models to those still enslaved" (Hadden, 2001, p. 141). As Virginia's Lieutenant Governor William Gooch said of the James River group's plan to settle in the mountains, such a colony "would very soon be encreas'd by the accession of other Runaways and prove dangerous Neighbours to our frontier inhabitants" (Hadden, 2001, p. 142). Some basis seems to have existed for slave owners' fears of the power of such mountain maroon colonies should they ever become established, as Franklin and Schweninger (1999) list "living near areas where runaways congregated" (p. 27) as one of the factors motivating slaves to run away. They add that despite the efforts of the militia and local patrols to root out such encampments, "runaways continued to congregate deep in the woods or swamps" (p. 27) for varying amounts of time. Later, the Appalachians' importance as a strategically valuable stronghold for runaway slaves hit home in a most dramatic way with John Brown's 1859 attempt to capture the arsenal at Harper's Ferry. Although captured before he could get out of the arsenal with the weapons that would assist his plan, Brown's ultimate intention was to set up a maroon colony of fugitive slaves in the Appalachians that would serve as a base for operations to run off slaves from the South to safety in the North (Hadden, 2001). As Brown himself said, these mountains were "intended by the Almighty for a refuge for the slave and a defense against the oppressor" (Inscoc, 1997, p. 207).

The notion of the mountains as an attractive hiding spot for fleeing slaves seems to have been shared by the itinerant slave traders working the Great Road. Numerous accounts exist that indicate these speculators were often on alert as they passed through the mountains. As Troutman (2001) says, "The accounts written by slave buyers, observers, and slaves alike agree that the mountain journeys provided potential opportunities for escape" (p. 24). In his travel account of the slave coffle crossing the New River in Appalachian Virginia, Featherstonhaugh (1844) explains that, "There was much method and vigilance observed, for this was one of the situations where the gangs—always watchful to obtain their liberty—often show a disposition to mutiny, knowing that if one or two of them could wrench their manacles off, they could soon free the rest, and either disperse themselves or overpower and slay their sordid keepers, and fly to the Free States. The slave-drivers, aware of this disposition in the unfortunate negroes, endeavour to mitigate their discontent by feeding them well on the march, and by encouraging them to sing 'Old Virginia never tire', to the banjo" (p. 37). Troutman (2001) also cites a former slave's account of his march through Appalachia with his master and fellow slaves: "Two or three times during the night, when we were encamped and fast asleep, one of the overseers would call our names over, every one being obliged to wake up and answer. My master was afraid of some of us escaping, so uncertain are the owners of their possession of the slaves" (p. 36). Despite such vigilance on the part of coffle leaders, however, such escape attempts en route were not unheard of even in much smaller parties than the 300-slave coffle described by Featherstonhaugh. Court records from Botetourt County, for example, described the 1810 trial of seven slaves accused of murdering their two masters in the

mountains of Virginia en route to Nashville plantations. After a trial in Fincastle, five of the slaves were hanged, and two were found innocent (Sponaugle, 1937a). Although the record does not indicate where the party started their journey or whether the seven slaves were newly purchased by the Nashville planters, the incident does indicate that the threat of revolt during transport through the mountains was real for slave brokers and sometimes had dire consequences—for all parties involved. As Franklin and Schweninger (1999) summarize, “Any attempt to seek liberty at this point would be dealt with harshly, as the men who conducted the inter-regional transfer of slaves were intent on delivering their human cargo in good condition and at the designated time” (p. 55).

Although the mountains of Appalachia offered the prospect of haven to some runaway slaves, the environment was far from tame, and flight into or even through this landscape held unique challenges for fugitive slaves. As Troutman (2001) reports, the Blue Ridge and Allegheny Mountains often figured in the later writings of fugitives as both physical and emotional barriers to be overcome in their journeys north. Although an account not of his escape from slavery but rather of his forced migration with his master’s family from Fauquier County, Virginia to Kentucky in the 1820s, Francis Fedric’s description of the mountain region of Virginia reveals what may have been many runaways’ experience of the mountain terrain:

My master, by the use of his glass, had told us two or three days before that the mountains were near. They now became visible, looming in the distance something like blue sky. After a while we approached them, and began to pass over them through what appeared to be a long, winding valley. On every side, huge, blue-looking rocks seemed impending. I thought,

if let loose, they would fall upon us and crush us. . . . Our journey was, I may say almost interrupted every now and then, by immense droves of pigs, which are bred in Kentucky, and were proceeding from thence to Baltimore, and other places in Virginia. These droves contained very often 700 or 800 pigs. . . . Our drink was water from the surrounding rills running down the mountainsides. In fact, torrents of water, arising from the ice and melting snow were rushing down in hundreds of directions. The scenery was what I may term hard and wild, the tops of the mountains being hid by the clouds, in many places rolling far beneath. . . . The howling of the wolves, and other wild animals, broke the solemn stillness [of the night] which reigned widely around us. (Troutman, 2001, p. 36)

In addition to those slaves passing through the Mountain South in their attempts to reach the North, the mountains were more likely to be made use of by local slaves hoping to hide out and elude their masters for anywhere from a few days to a few weeks. Not truly runaways, this group is more accurately termed absentees, for their intention was not to run North but to take time out from their masters—whether to escape punishment, get out of work, attend religious meetings, or to visit relatives. As Franklin and Schweninger (1999) explain, “The most common form of absconding was not actually running away at all, but what might be termed ‘truancy,’ ‘absenteeism,’ and in some cases, ‘lying out’ Generally . . . those who left for short periods stayed in the vicinity of the plantation and returned on their own accord” (p. 90). They add that, “Only a small portion of runaways remained out for indefinite periods” (p. 101), a fact that is equally true for mountain slaves. As Insoe (1989) says, “Runaways were not uncommon among

mountain slaves, though the flights of many, if not most, were only temporary ventures from which they voluntarily returned” (p. 99). The frequency of such temporary absenteeism seems to be born out by the number of days the average slave owner waited before actively searching or advertising for an absent slave. As Franklin and Schweninger (1999) summarize, “The delay between the time when slaves set out and when advertisements were placed indicates that a significant proportion of overseers, managers, and owners spent the first few weeks hunting outlyers themselves or waiting for them to return of their own accord” (p. 239).

Whether slaves were hoping to find their way to the North, lose themselves permanently in the wilds of Appalachia, or get a few days relief from their labor, they all appropriated the landscape for self-preservation in ways that defied the authority and control of white masters. Living off the land was not easy for runaways and absentees in the Mountain South. As Franklin and Schweninger (1999) say, “Living conditions could be harsh, with inadequate food, water, shelter, clothing. Often the weather—stifling heat, incessant rains, and in the border states, frigid cold—could be as much a problem as finding food” (p. 101). Given the difficulties of surviving in the mountain wilds even for a few weeks, most absentee slaves remained on the periphery of their master’s lands or haunted the edges of other plantations and farmsteads. From the periphery, they could either avail themselves of a planter’s crops during the night or receive food from sympathetic slaves (Franklin & Schweninger, 1999). As Franklin and Schweninger (1999) indicate, “Those who remained in the vicinity of their old plantation often kept in close contact with fellow slaves, who provided them with supplies from the master’s storehouse. . . . Runaways took cattle, hogs, sheep, livestock, rice, cotton, corn, whiskey,

poultry, grains, meats, even baskets, brooms, and farm tools. . . . They also traded with free blacks and white merchants who were willing to take such risks for a profit” (p. 90). Runaways traveling greater distances also sought out large farmsteads or plantations on which slaves worked. As Franklin and Schweninger (1999) explain, “Plantation slaves harbored runaways from other plantations, protected, clothed, and fed them and offered them information about routes of travel” (p. 292). Others, choosing to hide in plain sight, fled to cities and towns with large slave and free Black populations in order to find assistance and “seek the anonymity of the city” (Franklin & Schweninger, 1999, p. 123). Sometimes, those slaves lying out or passing through were able to tap into “the clandestine slave economy” (Franklin & Schweninger, 1999, p. 90) to increase their chances of survival. Eluding patrols and overseers and flouting the Virginia statute that prohibited slaves from engaging in commerce (Franklin & Schweninger, 1999), slaves managed to trade. In this way, slaves appropriated the landscape of the plantation (as well as the city), adapting its rarely surveilled margins, as well as its fields and outbuildings. In this way, the activities that upper class whites turned a blind eye toward proved to be the seedbed of the most dramatic threats to their authority.

The springs resort, the farmstead and plantation, the iron and salt furnaces belching smoke, the transportation and trade infrastructure—all of these were expressions of the authority of the Mountain South’s elite. Yet they were also the settings in which slaves lived and labored. The landscape of the master and that of the slave were inextricable—not just layered one atop the other but interwoven and interdependent. Within every scene of Southern wealth, the prospect of slave resistance or rebellion crouched in the shadows. Like the Appalachian Moun-

tains themselves, the threat of insurrection loomed on the horizon. Much of the landscape of the Appalachian South declared the authority of the white gentry, but slaves also found ways to make the land speak for them. Despite the laws and patrols designed to restrict them, slaves adapted the landscape in ways that served them, whether bending a branch to show the way to a secret meeting, cutting through the forest to avoid the patrols, or hiding out in a mountain hollow for a day or two. In this way, the landscape of the Appalachian South became contested ground—a weapon in the struggles between masters and slaves.

Whether through violent confrontations, subtle acts of appropriation, or merely business as usual, slavery animated the landscape of the Appalachian South. Scholars attuned to the conditions of slavery elsewhere in the South have long overlooked or mistaken the unique character of slavery in the Mountain South. Yet the differences in the physical landscape of this region led to a different economic configuration and thus to a different expression of slavery. Slaves were a vital element of the economy of Appalachia. But unlike their primary role as a means of production in the rest of the South, mountain slaves were often themselves the products, with owners buying and selling their bodies or merely their time for profit. In the landscape of the Appalachian South, the grand plantations of the Tidewater and Deep South with their enormous crop production were replaced by the iron furnaces, salt works, and springs resorts. Itinerant slave traders with their coffles in tow served the role of the slave markets typical throughout the rest of the

South. Yet, it was not merely the appearance of slavery that differed in the Mountain South, however, but also the conditions and circumstances experienced by slaves themselves. As commodities to be traded as market forces dictated, Appalachian slaves changed hands more frequently and thus found themselves separated from their families more often. Slave mothers, called upon to bear more children than their peers elsewhere in the South also saw the majority of those children sold away. Even when slave families managed to stay intact, they had to weather the harsh conditions of Appalachian winters with insufficient clothing and food. But despite its harshness, Appalachian slavery held some potential advantages for those slaves who were lucky and proactive enough to turn the economic realities of the region to their favor. This was especially true for slaves skilled in trades that were in high demand as well as for many hirelings who often lived in environments more loosely supervised than their masters' homes. To be sure, Appalachian slaves had many of the same experiences as their comrades elsewhere in the South. Slaves everywhere, for example, ran away or hid out for a time. But mountain slaves concealed themselves and learned to survive in a different landscape. As the narratives of some of the slaves traveling through the region reveal, the harshness of the mountain environment was often seen as an experience to be endured and overcome. These differences in Appalachian slaves' experiences are just as important as the similarities. Certainly, no scholar would say that the landscape of Appalachia looks the same as or is less worthy of investigation than that of the rest of the South. It is now time that the landscape of Appalachian slavery be similarly acknowledged.

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EDUCATION

Master of Landscape Architecture, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, Blacksburg, Virginia (2002)
Bachelor of Arts in English Literature, anthropology minor, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia (1990)

HONORS

Certificate of Merit for Excellence in the Study of Landscape Architecture, ASLA Virginia Chapter (2002)
Sigma Lambda Alpha Honor Society (inducted May 2001)
Phi Kappa Phi, multidisciplinary honor society (inducted November 2002)

WORK EXPERIENCE

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

Landscape Architect Assistant, Blue Ridge Parkway, National Park Service, Asheville, North Carolina (May 2001–July 2001)

- Conducted viewshed mapping for scenic resource assessment and management
- Developed conceptual design and planting plan for Peaks of Otter Lodge, Blue Ridge Parkway, Virginia
- Assisted in measured survey of existing structures and landscape features for cultural inventory of Doughton Park, Blue Ridge Parkway, North Carolina

Graduate Teaching Assistant, Landscape Architecture Department, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University (August 2000-May 2002)

- Classes included Scholarship in Landscape Architecture, Human Systems, Hydrology
- Tasks included grading student papers, providing feedback in undergraduate studio class, suggesting course reading material, conducting preliminary literature review for professor's research

EDITING & PUBLISHING

Manager of Editorial Services, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (July 1998–August 1999)

Manager of Editorial Services, Stackig Advertising & Public Relations (September 1996–July 1998)

Technical/Production Editor, American Psychological Association (July 1994–April 1996)

Head Copy Editor, American Geophysical Union (September 1991–July 1994)

- Scheduled department workflow and worked with various departments to establish and maintain publication schedules
- Guided in-house and external clients through the publications process
- Established departmental procedures and style guidelines
- Trained and supervised editors
- Performed substantive editing, copyediting, and proofreading on a variety of peer-reviewed journals, newsletters, public relations materials, contract proposals, corporate annual reports, and other publications

COMPUTER KNOWLEDGE

Proficient in ArcView, PageMaker, Photoshop, MS Word, MS Excell; working knowledge of AutoCAD

WORKSHOPS ATTENDED

Collaborative Conflict Resolution (1998)

How to Give and Receive Feedback (1998)

Improving Managerial Skills of the New or Perspective Manager (1998)

Interpersonal Communication Skills (1997)