Modern Memories: Intersections of Religion, History, and Parks in Guilford County, North Carolina

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This study explores connections between individuals' religion, external cultural forces, and collective memory within the context of Guilford County, North Carolina. Guilford County is well known for the Revolutionary War battle that took place there in 1781, for which a National Historic Military Park was established to commemorate the event. However, the emphasis placed on this park's specific history may overshadow other significant local events and historical processes, particularly those of the religious groups in the area, including Quakers, Presbyterians, and Lutherans. What are the links between the ideologies of these religious groups and the expressions of their memories? How do these groups remember history differently? Could the historical narrative be adjusted for accuracy and inclusivity of more groups?

A series of unstructured interviews was conducted from a purposive sample of local residents over the summer of 2013, focusing on those individuals affiliated with Quakerism, Presbyterianism, or Lutheranism. The interviews were supplemented by archival documents and modern texts to better understand how the processes of history and memory unfolded over time. This research intends to further knowledge in both the fields of social memory and religion, as well as help park management to more adequately meet the needs of their surrounding communities. I draw from writings on Schema Theory and Conceptual Metaphor Theory for guidance interpreting the data, ultimately arguing that the narrative of Guilford's past should be combined under the single, cohesive template of 'A Fight for Freedom from All Oppression'.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Many factors influence the way people remember the past. Historical monuments, commemorative parks, museums, personal witness accounts, oral stories and written documents can all play vital roles in shaping collective memory. This research investigates the differences in how people have constructed and continue to construct a particular narrative of Guilford County's past. In particular, I will focus on people's different religious backgrounds as a possible means for explaining variation between certain people's memories and discrepancies with general public memory. Quakers, Lutherans, and Presbyterians all have a long historical presence in the area of Guilford, but the roles these groups have played vary. How each group is currently remembered, and how the members of the groups themselves remember the past, may illuminate how theological differences manifest themselves within the memory of the larger culture. Within any given group, it may also be seen that patterns persist along other demographic lines besides religion, such as age, sex, or ethnicity. Additionally, it could be the case that common patterns exist between the memories and narratives of all the religious groups, thus implying a more general pattern of how society remembers these type of local religious factions.

This research is part of a larger project headed by Dr. David Griffith and sponsored by the National Park Service. Dr. Griffith is conducting an ethnographic analysis of local views toward the Guilford Courthouse Military National Park. Given that my research will be a part of the larger National Park project, one of my primary historical concerns will naturally be the time surrounding the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. However, other eras and events of significance will certainly be studied in the course of both research projects. Also significant to this study is

the time leading up to the Civil War, when many citizens in Guilford opposed slavery, and the time of the Civil Rights' Movement, when Guilford County played host to notable activism. Exactly how these other events compare and contrast with the memory of the battle will be enormously important for assessing Guilford's collective memory. It may be that other historical events appear to carry equal importance, regardless of one being promoted more than the other. On the other hand, it is possible that the local community agrees with how the park is structured and how different events are memorialized. It is not only an issue of whether or not an event or person is remembered, but how they are remembered. Similar to variation between theoretical paradigms, there are differences in the way histories can be framed and which aspects are consciously and subconsciously highlighted.

There are multiple goals I hope to accomplish by writing this thesis. The first goal is to succinctly describe the current state of collective memory in Guilford County, highlighting the differences between its Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Quakers. Secondly, I will detail the parallels between the kind of collective memory found within each religion and said religion's ideology. Third, I will illustrate the role that the Guilford National Military Park plays in forming and maintaining the type of social memory that exists in Guilford County. How does the focus on the Revolutionary War battle that took place affect the style and contents of the larger historical narrative of Guilford County? I also will briefly touch on the racial tensions that have existed over time in Guilford and how they also reflect themes of the County's past seen in the memories of the area's religions.

I hypothesize that the pacifist approach employed by Quakers has had a harmful effect on the way history remembers them, because the pacifist approach does not coincide well with the patriotic, militant, heroic-soldier myth that tends to be preserved. Similarly, subversive

movements such as the Regulator movement will not be remembered on a scale comparable to other similar events. I also believe the individual memories of religious members will be noticeably different from the mainstream history preserved in monuments and museums. Religious individuals, I hypothesize, will approach remembered events through a lens that parallels their ideology. That is to say, Presbyterian memory will focus on socially solidifying acts such as the building of churches and schools, and the victories of wars, as is consistent with their Scottish heritage. Likewise, Lutheran memory will be concerned with maintaining the bonds of community and Quaker memory with acts that promote peace and equality. Ultimately, I hypothesize that it is possible for the seemingly disparate strands of Guilford history to be united together under a single theme or two that is both more accurate of the events of the past, as well as better at instilling a unifying sense of community among its residents.

The confirmation of these hypotheses will be based on the interpretation of the data gathered, unlike a more experimental design whose outcome could more easily be assessed as either supportive or unsupportive of the hypothesis. This is to be expected with this type of exploratory research where the goal is to search for patterns that arise under the guidance of certain questions, so that those patterns may be later explored in other contexts or in the same context at a later date. Using ideas based on Grounded Theory, I will let the data speak for themselves, attempting to find themes that arise out of my research, without having preconceived notions of what I should find. I believe that my findings on collective memory in Guilford County will be useful for future researchers conducting similar work in the area of history, memory, and religion

Chapter 2: Background of Guilford

This research has both practical and theoretical merit. It is related to a plethora of different disciplines and topics, thus making it important for a variety of reasons. All parks dedicated to military events, whether federally recognized or not, can gain valuable insights from this research on how exhibits express a certain type of narrative and how to attract more visitors. In addition to parks, historical museums and libraries may also find this research worthwhile as a source for understanding how cultural institutions relate to their surrounding communities. Theoretically, this project is important for the fields of anthropology, history, psychology, religious studies, and other such fields. Specifically, those interested in how the past is preserved, how the preservation of the past affects contemporary people, or how religious affiliation can affect one's understanding of the past will this research helpful.

The successful completion of this project requires thorough background knowledge in a few different areas. A competent grasp of Guilford's history, particularly the time surrounding the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, is of course needed to situate the research within its proper context. Moreover, knowledge of the individual histories of each of the religious groups being examined is necessary for cross comparison with other religious groups and for comparing how each strand of history has been maintained over time. Important for this comparison process is also the ideological knowledge of each religious group. How each group theologically contrasts with others is a central topic of my research, so the details differentiating each group must be cogently understood. This information will not come entirely from background reading, as most of the specifics of religious belief will be ascertained mainly through interviews, but it is vital to have a broader, historical context for analyzing each denomination. Finally, a review of the

theoretical precedents for analyzing how events and people are remembered, with special preference on parks, is required.

Because the focus of this research is on the nature of history itself, there are complications with how to divide sources into those used for background research and those used as bits of data. Previous background writings on Guilford County and the religions in that area qualify as both background information and pertinent, active data for the current project. Therefore, certain sources will be discussed in the background section in order to provide proper context, as well as in the findings section as pieces of data that can be analyzed for they affect the current understanding of Guilford County's past. It is important to remember how all such socio-historic studies as this do more than merely describe things as they exist in the social milieu – they add their own influence to how future people will understand the social milieu. It is a reciprocal relationship that all scholars play a part in. The words used to describe the cultural phenomena being examined will become the conceptual building blocks of future people. Did the past happen like a certain person describes it, or was it different and we simply don't have the conceptual building blocks available to construct it any differently? Therefore, one should approach the sources used for literary background with a slight degree of reservation, as these sources themselves are being examined for their effect on how history and collective memory are organized in Guilford County.

i. History of Guilford

Literary sources providing background information on this topic include both historical sources discussing the events and people of Guilford over time, as well as more recent sources that deal with aspects of the process of collective memory. The scope of this study necessitates a wide breadth of historic knowledge specifically including the early history of Guilford County,

the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, the individual histories of the different religious populations important to the region, and the beliefs of each of those religious groups. Historical data about Guilford derives from academically based books and articles such as Stoesen's *Guilford County: A Brief History* (1993). Reid's *Guilford Courthouse* (1959), and Kieron's *The Battle of Guilford Courthouse* (2005). Guilford County was officially established in 1771, with the construction of the courthouse coming three years later (Ward 1976:5). The area was first settled by Quakers, Lutherans, and Presbyterians in the mid-1700s, an early indication of the widespread religious tolerance that characterizes Guilford. Germans settled in the east, English Quakers in the west and south, and Scots in the center (Stoesen 1980:10). The main Quaker settlement was named New Garden, which eventually became the name of their college, although it would later be changed to Guilford College in 1887 (Stoesen 1993).

The Battle of Guilford Courthouse took place on March 15, 1781, after what had become a disastrous Southern Campaign on the part of the Patriots. After General Horatio Gates was badly beaten by General Cornwallis and the British at the Battle of Camden, Major-General Nathaniel Greene was appointed the Southern commander. Greene played a very tactful game of cat-and-mouse with the British, drawing them further away from their main supply base in Charleston, while waiting for reinforcements from Virginia (Reid 1959). Chosen for its seclusion and the advantageous location of the surrounding forests, the Guilford Courthouse is where the Americans decided to make their stand. Even though the American forces were forced to retreat after totaling 1,300 causalities, the British were heavily wounded as well, losing one-third of their troops (Kieron 2005). Shortly after the battle, British statesman Charles James Fox commented, "Another such victory would destroy the British Army" (Salsi 2002:33). During the battle, the Quaker meeting house was used as a hospital for both sides (Reid 1959; Salsi 2002).

Allegedly there were even some Quakers, known for their pacifism, who joined in the fray after telling their wives they were "squirrel hunting" (Stoesen 1993:6).

The strategic moves that followed changed our nation's fate forever. For a short time afterwards the British continued to follow the American forces, before finally retreating to Wilmington for supplies. As Cornwallis marched to Wilmington, General Greene continued south to South Carolina, pushing the British forces all the way back to Charleston. Once re-supplied in Wilmington, Cornwallis began his march to Yorktown, the place that would prove to be the ultimate downfall of the British. Therefore, the common view holds that even though the Battle of Guilford Courthouse was considered an American loss, it paved the way for the eventual victory at Yorktown and ending of the war. In subsequent years, the town of Greensboro was named after General Greene (Reid 1959; Salsi 2002). Despite the centrality of this battle to the outcome of the war, its memory was almost forgotten by only a century later, until David Schenck worked tirelessly to have the battleground officially commemorated beginning in the 1880s (Shepard 1904). It is largely due to Schenck that the battle is currently remembered as a stepping-stone to victory, rather than a single, insignificant loss. Indeed, Gen. Greene has since been described as leading "a masterful retreat" out of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, indicating a positive view despite the loss. (Newlin 1977:14).

Just prior to the Revolutionary War, many residents of Guilford County were involved in the Regulator Movement, which first began in 1764 as a resistance to colony tax laws (Powell). The Regulators included many members of Quaker, Moravian, Lutheran, and Presbyterian congregations, particularly those of Rev. David Caldwell's congregations. Throughout the affair Caldwell attempted to act as a peacekeeping delegate between the Regulators and the colonial government. Ultimately the movement ended after the Battle of Alamance in 1771 where the

government militia was victorious. Many members of the Regulator movement were imprisoned or killed, while another 6,409 were pardoned by Gov. William Tyron. In addition to the Regulator movement, other examples of state resistance include bouts of violence against British troops as early as 1765 and the signing of a state sanctioned Declaration of Independence that was signed a full year before July 4, 1776 (Shepard 1904). Later, North Carolina was among the states that voted against the Constitution until it contained a Bill of Rights, yet another example of Guilford fighting for individual freedoms (Salsi 2002).

In the time between the Revolutionary War and Civil War, Guilford County experienced slow, but steady growth, mostly spurred on by the coming of the railroad. Greensboro native Dolly Payne Todd Madison is remembered fondly in Guilford as the wife of James Madison, as is Andrew Jackson who spent time in Guilford reading law (Salsi 2002). As tensions across the nation grew with respect to slavery, Guilford found itself in a bind. Once again there were varying regional opinions between the Eastern farmers and lawmakers, many of whom owned slaves, and the Western farmers, of whom only ten percent owned slaves (*ibid*:24). To add to the demographic mix, Quakers were, and have always been, staunchly against slavery of any form (Stoesen 1993). Once the war began, tensions mounted between the local farmers and Confederate soldiers, who would take resources as they needed, often without asking, to the point of a small riot occurring in Greensboro in April 1865 (*ibid*). After the war, the county was forced to deal with the social realities of 4,500 newly freed slaves. In 1906, Nocho Park was established for the African American community (*ibid*).

Guilford County was again the site of social turmoil during the Civil Rights Era, when four African-American college students protested segregation by sitting in the white section of a downtown Greensboro restaurant and refusing to leave (personal notes 06/13/13). The protest

lasted or several continuous months. Thus sparked the nationwide trend in non-violent sit-in movements. Other protests occurred in Guilford throughout the Civil Rights Movement, which is important to note for gaining contextual understanding of the previous events in Guilford, though this time period is not the main focus of this research.

ii. Religious Beliefs

The Society of Friends' presence in North Carolina began in 1672 when George Smith, the English founder, and William Edmundson landed just north of the Albemarle Sound (Treadway 1990). The Quakers, a Christian denomination that split from the Church of England after the English Civil War, first came to Guilford in 1745 and established the New Garden and Cane Creek communities (Salsi 2002). Quaker ideology begins in silence. "Whatever is distinctive or unique about Quaker education is rooted there" (Keiser 1993). For Friends, silence is the context most conducive for the experiencing of the inner-divine they believe lies within everybody in all times and places. This spiritual characteristic manifests itself in various Quaker social practices, including the structure and administration of schools. Emphasis is placed on an individual's ability to gain understanding and truth, while also seeking to help the greater community with their improved knowledge. The person who obtains a true grain of understanding may burst out in a spontaneous expression of truth, having been illuminated by the Christ of their inner-selves. By far the most notable Quaker connection with Guilford education is the Guilford College, first established in 1837. It is interesting to note that Quakers do not have any kind of professional ministry that requires a type of collegiate training (Brinton 1958).

Another unique trait of Quaker education is that they did not discriminate between sexes, nor did they exclude African-Americans or Native Americans (*ibid*). These types of tolerant practices caused tension over the years in Guilford County, particularly around the time of the

Civil War. Of course the most renowned trait of Quaker religion is their devout pacifism, which stands in contrast to the area's Scottish inhabitants who were traditionally much more likely to be political and social agitators (Salsi 2002).

The Scot-Irish Presbyterian population first arrived in the Guilford area in 1753 and built their first church, Buffalo Creek Presbyterian Church, in 1756, followed shortly by the Almanac Presbyterian Church. However, neither church had an official minister until David Caldwell came from Virginia in 1765 to preach to both congregations. Caldwell became instrumental to Guilford's early growth, becoming a self-taught doctor and establishing the area's first school in his own home in 1767, which would produce future Governor John Morehead (*ibid*). Presbyterians trace their theology back to Calvin and his focus on limited atonement and the uniqueness of the Word of God as revealed in the Bible. This is the most noticeable difference between them and Lutherans, who trace their history to Luther and believe in a more generalized atonement (Melton 2009). For Presbyterians, emphasis is placed on the preachers of the churches, who are expected to be highly educated. Presbyterians also generally assume a strong tie between the church and state (*ibid*).

Bordsen, in his article "Scottish Attitudes reflected in Library History of North Carolina" presents an intriguing narrative that links traditional Scottish views towards education with the beginnings of North Carolina libraries and education systems. Scottish Presbyterianism, stemming from Calvinism, places a high value on the individual's ability and obligation to learn about one's faith. This includes knowledge of the all aspects of the physical world, which should be used as a means to defend one's faith. Many of the earliest schools and libraries were associated with Presbyterian churches and actively encouraged youths to participate. Additionally, Presbyterians tend to ignore the lines that divide rich from poor, thus setting a

precedent for truly public access to educational resources. Bordsen mentions Rev. David Caldwell, among others, as an early influential person in the area's educational formative years. "It is to the Presbyterian Church that North Carolina owes the establishment of her first classical schools…education in this state is inseparably connected with that of this denomination" (Bordsen 1992:129).

As mentioned above, people of the Lutheran faith trace their heritage back to Martin Luther, the originator of the Protestant Reformation. For Luther, salvation can only be achieved by Grace through faith and the Bible is viewed as the sole authority of doctrine (Melton 2009:215). Lutherans have a unique understanding of the Eucharist, in which they believe true Christ is physically behind the guise of bread and wine, a characteristic differentiating them from Presbyterians (Melton 2009). Another difference is that Lutherans traditionally support a higher degree of separation between the church and state. The cemetery at Lutheran Friedens cemetery is the oldest in Guilford County (Salsi 2002).

iii. Collective Memory

The relationship between history and memory is a complicated one, which has provoked debate among scholars for many years. Memory is commonly viewed as "the faculty by which things are recalled or kept in the mind", while history is viewed as objective narratives about the past (Shelemay 2006:18). Beyond this sophomoric understanding lies a rich, reciprocal relationship that if projected visually, would probably resemble some multi-dimensional Venn diagram with several different overlapping loops. Since the early 20th century, various scholars have used terms such as 'collective memory' or 'social memory' to capture the interrelatedness of one's personal memory with the larger external forces of history (Olick and Robbins 1998). James Wertsch sufficiently defines 'collective memory' as "a representation of the past shared

by members of a group such as a generation or nation-state," which is precisely what I am attempting to elucidate through my research about Guilford County (2008:121). 'Collective memory' can be a loaded term, but it can also illuminate the meeting point of history\memory, psychology\culture, and individual\society (White 2004). "Cultural analysis of historical narrative and its subjectivities inevitably leads beyond the text to transit back and forth between cognitive\affective processes on the one hand and institutional\historical forces in the other" (White 2000:506). Regardless of the specific term, what is being acknowledged is the idea that a person's memory is influenced by cultural context, while at the same time historical narratives are drawn from individuals' memories. In fact, the issue of history vs. memory is an excellent microcosmic example of the ever-pervasive anthropological issue of culture vs. the individual. For a more complete discussion on the intricacies of terms concerning representations of the past, see Olick and Robbins (1998).

Another important aspect of understanding the nature of history is its close relation to mythology. Many scholars, including Geoffrey White (1997; 2004), Claude Levi-Strauss (1978), and Joseph Campbell (1949), have provided interesting insights into how the Western notion of history closely parallels mythology in other parts of the world, and fulfills many of the same functions. Both mythology and history provide a collective identity for people to understand their origins, as well as stories that help guide people morally and ethically (White 1997:65). This is important for this current study because of its religious overtones. It suggests that of our own history may carry a larger degree of existential structuring than is normally considered. As the narrative of history gets constructed over time, it is important to remember that this process is not merely one of objective recall, but a process in developing an emotional and existential background for the lives of contemporary individuals (White 2004). Whether

consciously or unconsciously, people look to the stories of history for existential guidance. The stories of our past offer us information about who we are as humans. Moreover, if history carries a heavier degree of sacrality than thought, does this mean that the importance of traditional religion has diminished in the minds of people? Such could be the case if history is more 'alive' in the lives of individuals, as it were, than the stories of religions.

Paul Shackel discusses how history can be adjusted by forgetting about or excluding an alternative past, by reinforcing patriotism, or by developing a sense of nostalgia to legitimize a certain heritage (2001a). For instance, Shackel explores the "Lost Cause" mentality that was established concerning the Confederacy's role in the Civil War as a very positive spin on a disappointing episode in American history. Such a title as the "Lost Cause" can radically alter the kind of image produced by individuals who recall the time of the Civil War. Others have in fact argued that narratives of the past often follow certain "schematic narrative templates" that can produce replicas that vary in their details but reflect a single general story line (Werstch 2008:124). An example of such a "schematic narrative template" is the theme in Russian history of: Russia peacefully minding its own business, an evil enemy attempting to conquer its land, and the heroic, last effort required by Russia to fend odd its enemy before peace ensues once more (*ibid*:131). The American version of this follows what is commonly referred to as the 'American Dream' of overcoming enormous early odds on a quest for liberty and freedom, which finally comes to fruition after much turmoil. The notion of 'Manifest Destiny' fits in here and could well describe the attitude of many American endeavors.

Another example of how historical narratives can be altered can be seen in the memory of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The *USS Arizona* memorial, also managed by the National Parks Service, began with exhibits that demonized the Japanese calling the attack " 'diabolical',

'treachery', 'stabbing in the back', and a 'sneak attack' (White 1997:68, 73)." Since these initial descriptors were used however, the narrative of Pearl Harbor has shifted slightly as the foreign relations between the US and Japan has changed. The most common feelings aroused by Pearl Harbor have shifted from "sentiments of hostility characteristic of war toward emotions of sadness and loss" (*ibid*:70). Paul Shackel also discusses various ways collective memory can be reinforced through landscapes, monuments, commemorative ceremonies, and archaeology. Socially subordinate groups are often times the ones whose past is forgotten by the collective memory (Shackel 2001a:3, 2001b:657). Even the mere designating of a battlefield as a commemorative space speaks to the values of the society (Shackel 2001a:11). He suggests that there may be no definitive method for deciding exactly what kind of past is being promoted or forgotten, but that a dialogue to discuss these discrepancies should be established (Shackel 2001a).

Audrey Horning continues this theme in her discussion of the more than 500 Appalachian families forcibly removed from the Shenandoah Valley when the Federal government was creating a national park there barely a century ago (Horning 2001). The government wanted the area to maintain its "natural setting", forgetting that Native Americans had lived in the area for 10,000 years (*ibid*:24). The families removed were described as poor, lowly, and discrepant, yet a re-examination of this argues that these people were not as behind the times nor isolated as they were made out to be. This example illustrates nicely how our concept of history is constructed and multi-faceted, not fixed and uni-linear (*ibid*:38).

In his article, "Lasting Firsts", David Griffith discusses aspects of memory that deal with the localized and individual nature of many events in the past. Focusing on two related stories of individual struggle against oppression, he states that "legacies accumulate in the bones of

everyday experience, yet find expression in a body of struggle" (Griffith 1997:1). The local, individual stories can remind us of all the countless, nameless others who will not be remembered. Should the social milieu change enough over time, people can engage in acts of 'willed forgetting' that radically alter how the past is remembered (*ibid*:2). Sometimes the events of the past may be deemed too radical or dangerous for children, and therefore the histories may be altered for the sake of protecting the youth. This article illustrates nicely how malleable the manifolds of history and memory truly are.

An important source for historical and methodological data is the book *Rethinking Urban Parks: Public Space and Cultural Diversity*, co-authored by Setha Low, Dana Taplin, and Suzanne Scheld (2005). This book provides relevant historic information about the history of National Parks and the various ways people utilize park services. Historically, parks have been created for three reasons: 1) scenery 2) scientific\environmental value and 3) historic value (*ibid*:29). Over time it is possible that different areas of a park can become identified with a single demographic group, to the exclusion of other groups. This in turn means that different areas of a park can have completely different needs. For example, one group may only think of history when thinking about a park, while another group may only think about picnicking, and not at all about history.

The book also offers theoretical insight into how different styles of park organization can facilitate a certain use of the park, while discouraging another use. These disagreements in park organization usually fall along traceable demographic lines, which can be important for comparing the data collected over the summer with prior anthropological work. Examples are given from five different parks around the country that were studied by one of the authors. One of the main conclusions drawn from these examples is the general message from localized

demographic groups about parks: “Design places that erase our history and we won’t come” (*ibid*:172). Elucidation of the techniques employed when undertaking ethnographic studies of parks are another valuable characteristic of this book, something I discuss in the next section.

For help guiding my interpretation of the data collected for this research, I will draw from the ideas put forth in Schema Theory and Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Schema Theory offers a way to bridge the gap between work that deals with psychological, individual cognitive schemas and work that deals with the socio-cultural forces that influence cognition. Schema is a term that refers to a categorical construct that is used to distinguish phenomena and make sense out of the world. The categorical schemas employed in cognitive understanding do not exist solely in the minds of individuals, but as part of a “bio-social-cultural process that is both public and private” (McVee 2005:533). Through this research, themes will be looked for that indicate the use of certain schemas by people that help re-construct and make sense out of the past. A basic example of a schema in this context would be the causal ordering of events over time. What event(s) led to which later event(s)? Important for this project is the notion that some schemas are formed through bodily interaction in a particular environment, which is something that can readily be ascertained in a place like a park or museum (McVee 2005).

Similarly, Conceptual Metaphor Theory describes how the forms of language used in various cultural settings imply certain facts about the culture itself. Metaphorical phrases such “You’re thinking straight,” or “My friend is a snake,” offer insights into how people in a certain cultural setting are conceptualizing their world using metaphors. In this case, a snake is equated to sneaky, sly behavior, and “thinking straight” is assumed to indicate rational, logical thinking in contrast to thinking in a way without discernable pattern (Danesi 2013:38). The explanatory link between the linguistic metaphors and broader cultural forms is what Danesi labels

"metaforms," which he defines as "the form that is connected semiotically to a conceptual metaphor as a consequence of the metaphor being distributed throughout the cultural network of meaning" (*ibid*:35). An example of this can be seen in the practice of giving of chocolate to loved ones. The metaphor here being built upon is "love is a sweet taste" (*ibid*). By studying the actions surrounding the preservation of the past in Guilford County, it should be possible to elucidate deeper insights about the nature of how people in Guilford structure their thoughts of the past.

Chapter 3: Elucidating the Collective Memory of Guilford

In order to elicit the clearest picture possible about the current state of collective memory in Guilford County, many various data collection methods are required. By combining interviews with key informants, thorough observations of the area, examination of archival documents, and a cultural consensus survey, a multifaceted perspective can be gained about the issue, and thus a fuller, more accurate understanding can be ascertained. Low, Taplin, and Scheld offer a collection of theoretical approaches one can take when observing and interpreting data for research on parks, which includes cognitive, observational, phenomenological, historical, ethnographic, and discourse (2005:177-181). All of these play some role in my research, but I focused most heavily on cognitive, phenomenological, and ethnographic approaches. With the cognitive approach, the researcher is concerned with the rules, ideals, and perceptions of individuals; one attempts to understand how and why people think about the park the way they do. The phenomenological approach involves complete immersion into the other person's perspective in an effort to gain a true understanding of the person's immediate realm of experience as it is constructed through place and time. Finally, the ethnographic approach focuses on cultural differences in how symbols and exhibits may be interpreted differently by different people. All of these deal with areas the mirror the intersection of history, memory, and religion, making them suitable for this project.

i. Observations

As is true for many cultural anthropologists today, my note taking style is heavily based on the approach of Clifford Geertz. Geertz, borrowing a term from philosopher Gilbert Ryle, said that "thick description" is what the ideal participant observer will aim to achieve (1973:6).

The researcher should attempt to describe not only the raw, plain events of what is happening, but the interpretive layer of meaning behind the raw act. For example, if a research witnesses a person rapidly closing their eye, they could interpret whether that action is a wink, a fake wink, an involuntary twitch, or something else (*ibid*:7). Being able to adequately interpret what the exact meaning behind something is, is how knowledge of the greater cultural fabric is gained. When taking notes for this project, I attempted to describe things as 'thickly' as possible, so that insights could be more easily made into some of the basic structures that make up Guilford County's culture of history and memory.

The first observations for this research were carried out during the re-enactment of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, March 16-17, 2013, in Greensboro. Along with the Principal Investigator Dr. David Griffith, I visited the park both of these days, taking notes on the preparations for the re-enactment, the use of park space, the interaction of citizens with park exhibits, and the supplies used to put on the re-enactment. Additionally, I spoke with three employees of the National Park Service, one of whom is the director of the park, about the special weekend, although they were conversational rather than structured interviews. I also took pictures of the various events and programs that took place over the weekend.

Beginning on May 16, 2013 and lasting until the end of July, I lived in Greensboro and made visits to the Guilford National Military Park, the Greensboro City History Museum, the Greensboro Civil Rights Museum, the High Point History Museum, Guilford College, and several old churches within Guilford County. Many places I visited several times, sometimes to conduct interviews in addition to taking notes. During my visits, I would take detailed notes on the geographic layout of the place, the exhibits, what things were highlighted compared to other possibilities, and what things appeared to be conspicuously left out. Many of my notes were

written in a phenomenological manner, which is to say that my notes describe what it is like for any person to experience the time and place where I was. Drawing from the work of Low, Taplin, and Scheld, I conducted transect walks at the Guilford National Military Park, four cemeteries, and the two History Museums, which also describe the experience of the setting from a phenomenological point of view.

Throughout the summer I also took photographs of the various places I visited for the added visual element that photographs offer. Including pictures of the places that I discuss in this thesis (see Appendix A) can assist the reader in conceptualizing the ideas that are drawn from and based on these places. Because a large portion of this work focuses on the phenomenological element of what it actual feels like for a person to experience being in these historical places, having a visual aid gives the reader the ability to better understand what its like for someone to actually be in these different places.

ii. Interviews

During my time in Greensboro, I conducted 18 one on one interviews and one group interview that included three participants. Each of the individuals interviewed had an interest or affiliation with at least one of the three denominations I was examining, the National Military Park, or the Greensboro City History Museum. All totaled, I interviewed four Quakers, six Presbyterians, five Lutherans, three City Museum employees, and six African-Americans. Two of the African-Americans were Lutherans, one African-American was a Presbyterian and none of the City Museum employees were affiliated with any of the local religions. Ten of the interviewees were male, the other eleven female. The interviews were conducted in a semi-formal manner with a set of main questions guiding the interview process (see Appendix B), yet largely leaving the conversation open-ended. The questions centered on the general topics of

Guilford's religious past, the Guilford National Military Park, and the colonial time period in Guilford County. By letting the conversations develop relatively freely, I allowed participants the chance to recall events and people of the past in a setting that more closely resembles everyday life. Doing so means that there is less of a chance of the researcher wrongfully influencing a participant's response through knowingly or unknowingly guiding a participant one direction. This approach lets the participants truly speak for themselves while remaining within the broad topic of Guilford County's past.

Participants were gathered largely through snowballing techniques, although some were the result of calling various churches to see if someone would be able and willing to help with this research. The purposive sample selected is sufficient for the goal of this study, because those persons interviewed represent a high degree of expertise in the area of Guilford County's past. Other people may have much interest in Guilford's past and therefore would not have much knowledge about local historic sites. Those interviewed could be considered 'gate-keepers', in the sense that their positions in local society make it so that other people's understanding of Guilford's past will largely come through the 'gate-keepers', either literally or figuratively. The participants for this research are likely to be directly asked by others about the area's past due to their expertise. More importantly, many of the participants occupy positions in which decisions are made about what kind of historical exhibits there should be, what artifacts to display versus which to discard, how to use the available resources to represent the past in the way that is considered best, and so on. In a way, these 'gate-keepers' act as cultural filters that help mold other people's understanding of Guilford's past.

iii. Archival\Miscellaneous documents

In addition to taking observational notes and conducting interviews, I examined local archival documents, such as newspaper articles, photographs, maps, census data, old sermons, and personal letters. These items were found at the library of the Guilford National Military Park, Guilford College, Friedens Lutheran church, Buffalo Presbyterian church, and Alamance Presbyterian church. These archival sources served multiple purposes. First, they were important for determining the accuracy of various accounts of the past collected from either interviews or other sources. Besides assisting with factuality, archives present a way to compare varying stories between sources, not for factuality per se, but to see if there appears to be any underlying reasons for why a discrepancy exists. Furthermore, archival sources were used as means for examining change over time in Guilford, not just physical or socially, but mentally. Archival documents were useful for gaining a sense of social attitudes at a given time and place.

iv. Questionnaire

In an effort to provide additional evidence to support the themes found through this research, a questionnaire was devised and distributed to 21 key Guilford residents. The majority of the participants for this survey were also interviewed, although a few other members of Grace Lutheran were also given this survey that were not available to be interviewed separately. The style of the questionnaire was based on a rudimentary type of cultural consensus analysis (Bernard 2010: 202-207). 48 statements were taken directly from interviews and participants were asked to select whether they 'agree,' 'disagree,' or were 'unsure'. The goal was to see if patterns existed among residents concerning what items of the past should be remembered and how they should be remembered. Additionally, this questionnaire would illustrate any differences between various demographics concerning their views of the past. All 48 statements used in the survey are direct quotes taken from an interview and represent the complete spectrum

of views about Guilford's past expressed by participants (see Appendix C). Such an exact basis for comparison is especially useful since the interviews were semi-structured and largely open-ended. Once collected, the 21 responses were analyzed for the raw percentages of how many respondents agreed, disagreed, or were unsure with which statements. Statements that had an 80% or greater consensus on the responses were highlighted as statements that were significant for this study. Using questionnaire adds a quantitative element to the analysis, creating a more balanced, encompassing perspective of the issues of this research.

v. Analysis Plan

In order to analyze the data collected in Guilford, I employed a mix of qualitative techniques, based largely on the ideas of grounded theory (Bernard 2010). My experimental approach was inductive, as this research was exploratory in nature, the goal being to discover possible patterns and subjects for further research in this area elsewhere. To discover possible patterns, the different types of data were treated as having equal import, the raw text being the unit of analysis. After going through interview transcriptions to find themes that arose, codes were given to each theme. A matrix of the codes was then constructed to efficiently illustrate what specific topics people were talking about related to Guilford's past. In addition to the textually based analysis, the settings of Guilford County and the specific places that were visited were considered as an inseparable aspect of the area's culture. Because the use of space within a defined parameter can speak to the values a group of people hold, the physical setting's influence was acknowledged alongside the texts that it accompanied. The themes that arose throughout the research are recognized as a type of schema, whether individual or cultural (*ibid*:316). Important for all of this analysis is the ability to accurately interpret the metaphors used in data. This skill comes from awareness of the cultural context.

Chapter 4: What was there & Who was there

In this chapter, I will present the information I collected in Guilford. The information will be arranged according to topic, with prevailing themes and patterns presented about each topic. I will discuss data I collected pertaining to the National Military Park, the three religious groups that are the focus of the study, the African-American community in Guilford, the contents of two historical museums, and general themes that arose throughout the research. The information presented in this chapter will then be dissected and analyzed more completely in the following chapter.

I. The National Military Park

The Guilford National Military Park has played host to annual battle re-enactments since the 1970s. Re-enactments draw between 10,000-20,000 people over the weekend (personal interview, Charles Cranfield). Actors who do the re-enacting add to the sacred aura of the battle by their utter devotion to the re-enactment lifestyle in Guilford and elsewhere. Many re-enactors travel to several different locations to perform various battle re-enactments; it is not only the locals who perform. The re-enactment included far more than just a mock battle. Park goers had exhaustive options of park exhibits to see and special programs that lasted all day Saturday and all day Sunday. Programs included examining a Revolutionary style camp set-up, witnessing a Colonial-era wedding, commemoration of the day at the Nathanial Greene statue, arms demonstrations, a guided battlefield walk, and colonial style dancers. The battle re-enactment itself took place on both Saturday and Sunday, in the adjacent Country Park so as not to cause damage to the actual place where the battle had taken place. "The battlefield is sacred ground," one Park employee commented.

Besides the battle re-enactment, which is the park's largest annual event, the park offers visitors several miles of walking trails throughout its 220 acres of land. As visitors walk the trails there are numerous plaques, signs, and statues that are all part of an interactive audio tour that guides visitors through the history of the park and the battle (see Appendix A). The exhibits that are a part of the interactive tour highlight specific battle tactics, the lifestyle of colonial era soldiers, and select individuals associated with the park or Guilford more generally. Such individuals that are commemorated include Gen. Nathanial Greene, whose forty-foot statue is the park's main exhibit, Rev. David Caldwell, Judge David Schneck along with the other founding members of the Guilford Battleground Association, and signers of the Declaration of Independence William Hooper and John Penn. The park also includes a Colonial Heritage Center on its grounds, though its hours are extremely limited and public access is rare. According to a park employee, the African-American presence at the park has grown over the last decade, but it is still only approximately 2% of the total visitors.

The park's visitor center is located next to the entrance gate and parking lot. It acts as both a welcome center and a museum, featuring a small walking tour through the battle's history and a short film about the battle. A small gift shop occupies the back of the visitor's center, filled with colonial era toys for kids, books, and other miscellaneous knick-knacks. Brochures and headphones are available to assist visitors along the walking trails and guided tour around the park. The museum tour, as well as the walking tour through the park, both describe how the Battle of Guilford Courthouse was strategically necessary for the eventual British surrender at Yorktown. Even though the Patriots technically lost the battle, the long pursuit undertaken by the British cost them valuable time and supplies before they turned east towards their base at Wilmington. A favorite quote that is tossed around the park to describe the situation comes from

the British political leader Charles James Fox who said of the battle, "Another such victory would destroy us."

II. Quakers

I visited three Quaker meetinghouses (the equivalent to a church) during my stay in Guilford County: New Garden, Friends, and Springfield. The New Garden Meeting House was founded in 1751, becoming the second Quaker meetinghouse established in Guilford County. While it was officially founded in 1751, certain traditions hold that Quakers had been meeting in the New Garden area on cut logs since 1740 (Hilty 1983:4). Quaker Meetinghouses are generally plain and undecorated, mirroring they're emphasis on simplicity. Only one of the three Quaker Meetinghouses I visited, Springfield, had a history room. This is in contrast to both of the Presbyterian churches and both of the Lutheran churches that I visited, all of which had history rooms. Much of the contemporary Quaker activity in Guilford County centers around the Guilford College area in the western part of Greensboro. The college began as part of the New Garden Meetinghouse and continues to maintain its Quaker ties, housing the Friends Historical Collection. The collection contains all the records of the North Carolina Friends Yearly Meetings, in addition to vast amounts of other rare Quaker archives.

A few of the participants talked about the large amount of Quakers there were in colonial North Carolina. "North Carolina was essentially a Quaker colony for a long time," according to one Guilford College professor (personal interview, Max Carter). It was the 5th largest denomination until the Revolutionary War. Since this time, they're numbers have been declining. Quakers occupied an interesting political niche during colonial times, because they are known as dissenters who take pride in living strictly in the way they feel is right, yet records show that many Quakers supported the Crown leading up to the Revolutionary War (Hilty

1983:24). In 1770, the North Carolina Friends Yearly Meeting sent a letter to Gov. Martin pledging loyalty to Britain (Dowless 1989:213). This is all the more interesting given that one of the main reasons Quakers came to North America at all is to escape religious persecution in England. In fact, most neutral religious groups like Quakers were viewed as loyalists during the Revolution (*ibid*:219).

When asked about the main tenets of Quakerism, participant responses were all the same: an emphasis on equality, pacifism, simplicity, and individual spirituality and experience. "Each and every person…has a direct and immediate access to the Divine, through what the Friends call 'inward light,' that that light within each person is form the Divine, transcendent but also immanent" (personal interview, Max Carter). There was incredible consistency with these responses, both from interviewees and from texts. "I would say that one of the teachings of Quakerism that I think is unique is the direct and immediate access that every person has to God" (personal interview, Frank Summers). Furthermore, these tenets of Quaker belief did not merely function as religious ideals, but shaped the everyday lives of Quakers past and present. Quakers were unique in this sense. They, more than the other religious groups, enjoyed openly discussing their theology and how it had governed their past and how it still does so today. That being said, there still existed a sentiment that modern Quakers did not exhibit the same zeal as their predecessors when it came to living by their beliefs. As one minister pointed out, some people don't want to examine their past because it makes them re-examine their current living:

> "If you find that your religious tradition has a history of working for equality, then do you need to look at how you're living today? If you find that your ancestors would not participate in war, does that make you look at how you're living today? And so some of it's a choice. If we don't know, then I don't have to question how I'm living today." (personal interview, Frank Summers).

Another way of stating this point is that contemporary members do not feel the same communal attachments that previous generations did, and therefore do not feel the same drive to live a certain way.

Pacifism may be the most well known of all distinguishing Quaker traits. "Peace is very important to Friends – inner peace and outer peace, justice" (personal interview, Max Carter). Naturally, the Quaker practice of pacifism conflicted with any and all military action. Before the Revolutionary War, North Carolina required men to sign up for militia duty, but in practice Quakers were allowed to be exempt. "There were those of us who felt so strongly about the Quaker peace testimony, that they could not in good conscience serve in the military, but they served in other ways" (personal interview, Eldora Terrell). Likewise, Quakers often refused to pay taxes that supported war efforts (Calhoon 1976). Of course, there was the occasional exception where a Quaker would choose to fight in combat, such as the case of William Armfield. Armfield was a member at New Garden Meetinghouse during the Battle of Guilford Courthouse and had become so angry at the soldiers marching through his farm that he allegedly took his rifle, told his wife that he was going hunting, and went to join the battle. Afterwards, when his wife asked where his game was, he replied, "I shot nothing worth keeping" (various personal interviews). Armfield was subsequently disowned, as were other Quakers who participated in violence. Nathanial Greene, originally from Rhode Island, is another Quaker who ignored his religious heritage to join the war effort. There has even been speculation that Gen. Greene's Quaker background is why George Washington chose to send him to North Carolina, given the large Quaker population.

The National Military Park held little interest for Quakers, given its emphasis on military violence. All participants had heard of it, and knew about its history, but none particularly

favored it. Showing a humorous amount of sarcasm, one participant said, "And Quakers for some reason just aren't real big about military parks or the veneration of war" (personal interview, Max Carter). That being said, there apparently used to be a monument dedicated to the women of New Garden for their medical assistance during the battle, where they nursed both Patriot and British troops. However, it no longer exists and no one could tell me exactly what happened to it.

Equality was another major distinguishing aspect of Quakerism throughout the past. This attitude extended to all minority groups, including African-Americans, Native Americans, and women. "Women have always been able to minister, preach, prophecy, lead from the very beginnings and that's the 1640s and 50s during the English Civil War" (personal interview, Max Carter). The North Carolina Friends Yearly Meeting issued an official statement in 1780, agreeing that Friends should not own any slaves (Weeks 1968:217). The Quakers in the Guilford area played a large role in the Underground Railroad during the time leading up to the Civil War. During this time, many Quaker families from the area moved to Indiana and Ohio, creating a direct line from the South to the North. Indeed the slavery issue was one main reason that so many North Carolina Quakers left the area (*ibid*:309). Most notably, there was a young boy named Levi Coffin, who confronted David Caldwell (the famed Presbyterian minister) about his attempting to sell one of his slaves, and thus separate the slave family (Browning 1998). After a full night of swapping scripture, young Levi convinced Rev. Caldwell to not sell the slave. Later, Levi became known as the "Father of the Underground Railroad" for his continued work to help African-Americans. According to Levi Coffin, "The dictates of humanity came in opposition to the law of the land, and we ignored the law" (Hilty 1983:32). Furthermore, Levi and Vestal Coffin briefly conducted a school for slaves in the summer of 1821, but local slave

owners got mad (Hilty 1983:29, Weeks 1968:231). Levi's prominence in the Quaker past prompted one participant to inquire emphatically as to why Guilford County lacked widespread acknowledgment of Levi, but highlighted the accomplishments of someone like David Caldwell who was a slave owner (personal interview, Max Carter). Guilford College also more recently took in displaced Japanese Americans and assisted Jews trying to get out of Germany during World War II. This is yet another example of the Quaker emphasis on ultimate equality.

Tied to the belief in ultimate equality, Quakers traditionally did not have any professional ministry, another aspect distinguishing them from other religious groups (Hilty 1983). Instead, they practiced a silent worship, sitting quietly until someone felt moved to speak on behalf of the Divine. This practice in particular, as well as a few others, has slowly begun to change with some meetinghouses now having fulltime, paid ministers. Currently there are meetinghouses ranging from those that continue to practice silent worship, to those that sometimes do, but sometimes do not, to those that have a full-time paid minister. According to Eldora Terrell, for the Springfield Meetinghouse "it was not too long ago when they began to have ministers" (personal interview). The change stems from a desire to keep membership numbers high, and to ease people's transitions from other denominations if they convert. Like most religious groups in contemporary America, Quakers are struggling to both keep members and retain their tradition. This change is an example of one way that some of the Quakers of Guilford County are attempting to adjust their notion of community.

Many sources, textually and in-person, spoke directly about the Quaker emphasis on personal, inward spiritual transformations as opposed to outward symbols of faith like baptism and confession (Morris 1953:549). Quakers reject "all outward rituals, in favor of the inward spiritual transformation" (personal interview, Max Carter). The idea, a sort of extreme

Protestantism, is that every individual should develop their own personal relationship to the Almighty, rather than having it mediated through objects or rituals. This lack of outward representations of faith is understood as one possible reason why Quaker history as a whole is not remembered as vibrantly as other groups' histories.

Generally speaking, Quaker history is not widely circulated in Guilford outside of specific Quaker circles. There appears to be a juxtaposition of 'mainstream' Guilford history and Quaker Guilford history. Sometimes even within Quaker circles there is not much knowledge about the past, because people do not always enjoy looking to the past achievements if it makes them reflect to heavily on the way they are living currently. Levi Coffin's lack of acknowledgment has already been discussed. Something else that is largely only remembered within Quaker groups are the two skirmishes that took place in Guilford County just prior to the Battle of Guilford Courthouse during the Revolutionary War: The Battle of Lindley's Mill and the Battle of New Garden (Newlin 1975;1977). Each of these battles occurred in areas heavily populated by Quakers and thus affected Quakers more than other people. Besides the religious idea that outward forms of faith should not be emphasized, there is another reason why Quaker history is not widely recognized. As one participant said, "Sometimes people don't want to look at their past, because it makes them reflect on their own current lives" (David interview). Past Quaker figures set the bar of social and personal justice mighty high and their examples may be intimidating for contemporary Quakers living in the modern world.

III. Presbyterians

I visited two Presbyterian churches were for this research: Buffalo Creek Presbyterian Church and Alamance Presbyterian Church. These are the two oldest Presbyterian churches in Guilford County, Buffalo Creek being founded in 1756 and Alamance shortly after in 1762.

Early on, Scottish immigrants carved out frontier lands more than other ethnic groups and made the best use of the long rifle technology for hunting (Wright 2002: 67). Occupying the central region of present-day Guilford County, Presbyterians pursued various brands of agriculture and industry. Research revealed that the three most discussed themes among Presbyterian participants were education, deceased soldiers, and David Caldwell.

Rev. David Caldwell is considered the founder of both Buffalo Creek and Alamance Presbyterian churches, although each had prior ministers for very short periods. Rev. Caldwell served at each church for almost sixty years, reaching almost 100 years of age (Jobe 2008). As a beginning minister, Caldwell was faced with the task of dealing with two congregations with very different religious tints. Buffalo Creek was conservative and Alamance was more evangelical, believing in revivals as a soul saving technique. Alamance still continues their tradition of revivals by hosting an annual 'Big Meeting,' an enormous regional Presbyterian celebration (personal interview, Linda Aydelette). The young Caldwell was successful in merging the two congregations into a blended form of conservative evangelicalism (*ibid*:4). Every summer on the anniversary of its founding, Buffalo Creek hosts a service in honor of David Caldwell in which an old sermon is read and certain church members wear colonial era garbs. Both Alamance and Buffalo Creek contain stone engravings dedicated to the memory of Rev. Caldwell and his wife Rachael.

David Caldwell is not only remembered as an important minister, but also an educator, doctor, and statesmen. One participant noted, "you hear the name Caldwell all over the place in Greensboro. Parks are named after him, schools" (personal interview, Barbara Keeler). In 1767, a year before he was officially named pastor at both churches, he started his first classical school inside his own two-story log cabin, having received his own degree from Princeton (Jobe 2008:6;

Ayers 1981:3). He also ran a medical practice out of his home for the surrounding community. Additionally, Caldwell was instrumental in rousing Patriot sentiment in Guilford during the Revolution era. He was not alone in his views as Rev. Harold Dudley notes "a Tory among the Scotch-Irish was as rare as snow in August" (1964). Many of Caldwell's sermons at the time warned against human subjugation and discussed liberty as a religiously valued ideal (Calhoon 1976: 7). He was such a major Patriot proponent that the British Gen. Cornwallis offered 200 pounds for his arrest (Jobe 2008:7). Indeed he was a vocal proponent of the Regulator Movement before the Revolutionary War began, once visiting with the Governor to discuss a possible settlement. Before his death in 1824 he was offered the position as President of the University of North Carolina, but declined it due to his old age and medically afflicted children at home (*ibid*:9). Both David and Rachael are buried behind Buffalo Creek Church, as all Presbyterian participants made sure to point out.

The National Military Park contains a statue of the late Rev. Caldwell with the four words preacher, patriot, educator, and doctor inscribed on it. Moreover, there is a street in Greensboro named after him, a park that is named after him, a building at the City Historical Museum that is dedicated to his wife Rachael, and a small museum made out of part of one of his old houses.

When asked, participants gave varying response as to what the central religious focus of Presbyterianism was. The two consistent responses gathered from participants were pre-destination and an emphasis on community service. "They always said that the Presbyterians were the chosen, they thought they were the chosen ones" (personal interview, Linda Aydelette). All four Presbyterian participants said that their church's involvement with community service was one of the main reasons for their joining the church, such as Barbara Keeler who stated, "We

do mission work in Central America, South America, Mexico, let's see. We do a lot of things in Mexico, a lot of things in Peru. I've done two or three Katrina missions to New Orleans" (personal interview). However, the topic theology was not one of interest to any of the participants, as they do not say much about it and quickly changed the subject. Interestingly, the textual sources consulted were similarly short on the denomination's distinguishing theological traits, choosing to concentrate instead on Presbyterian's interest in social activism, especially education (Ayers 1981; Caruthers 1842; Jobe 2008).

Another item that all four Presbyterian informants agreed about is their love and appreciation of the Guilford National Military Park. When asked, each participant happily described how he or she enjoyed visiting the park for both historical and recreational reasons. One participant said of the park, "I like the new museum they set up. And I think they try hard to educate people and the book store is great I think, a great selection of stuff" (personal interview, Brandt Bechtold). All four had also been to at least one of the annual battle re-enactments, one person having participated in various Revolutionary and Civil War re-enactments including the one in Guilford. None of them had any advice to offer the park, already feeling like it is good the way it is.

Buffalo Creek and Alamance each also contained a history room dedicated to preserving the church's past. Each was built around the same time, Buffalo Creek's coming in the mid 1960s and Alamance's coming in 1966. Each church had designated a small group of members to curate and look after the history room, it was not a full time job for anyone. The history room in each place could generally be described as a storage closet with cabinets of old papers, sermons, and deeds, and random knickknacks donated by church members. Both church's history room had a memorial to the soldiers who had served in different wars who were

connected to the church. Indeed two participants explicitly mentioned their respective church's history as one reason they became members, such as Barbara Keeler who exclaimed, "I've got such an interest in history that I've always been interested in this church" (personal interview).

As was mentioned previously, "The greatest cultural contribution of the Scots was in the dogged insistence upon the necessity of a classical education…in their equating of godliness with a knowledge of Latin & Greek" (Wright 2002: 70). This sentiment has not been lost over time as all of the Presbyterians interviewed spoke of educational achievements as important cornerstones of Presbyterian practice. Both churches had historically maintained a school through the church, although neither still existed. However, both did continue to offer several variations of Sunday School and a daycare. It was also already noted that the famed David Caldwell began a school in his home, naming it the David Caldwell Log College (Jobe 2008). The loss of Presbyterian church based schools was lamented by three of the four Presbyterian participants, partly because of the educational aspect and partly because it signified a loss of community.

IV. Lutherans

I visited two Lutheran churches for this research: Friedens Lutheran and Grace Lutheran. Friedens Church is the oldest Lutheran church in Guilford and Grace Lutheran is the oldest Lutheran Church in Greensboro. The German immigrants who came to the Guilford area settled quite haphazardly, although there was a strong contingent in the Eastern part of the county. While the Germans arrived early in the Piedmont, their presence appears to be small. In a 1769 letter, North Carolina Governor Tryon said that only Presbyterians and Quakers "are tolerated sectaries under any order or regulation, every other are enemies to society and a scandal to common sense" (Saunders 1886:15). Adding to the disparate nature of the German immigrants

is the fact that there was a mishmash of faiths from Germany, unlike the Scots who were essentially all Presbyterian or the British who were essentially all Quaker (Rouse 1995:53). Religiously the German immigrants were not just Lutherans, but also Reformed and Moravian, creating a melting pot type atmosphere for many Germans.

The first Friedens Lutheran Church was built in 1745, making it the first official church located within modern day Guilford County. While this date is the most common one given, others have argued against it, stating that since there are no records until the late 1700s, it is more likely that the church actually began in 1771 (Howerton 1977). A counterpoint to this viewpoint is that the oldest stone in the cemetery, which is still there, is form 1750. The oldest deed on record is from 1791 and the first official Lutheran minister did not arrive until 1773 (*ibid*). Records are unclear, but the most likely first minister was Rev. Sameul Suther, who was a Patriot that advocated fighting against the British (Apple 11).

Now in its 5th incarnation, the church building is located in the same place it has always been, on the southeastern outskirts of the county in what remains a rural area. The immigrants who settled in this area and founded Friedens were German and indeed kept church records in German until the 1830s. Many of the first immigrants came to the Guilford area by way of Philadelphia and the Great Wagon Road. Originally the church may have been more of a mingling of a variety of German-based faiths, including Calvinists, Reformed and Moravians, as well as Lutherans (Apple, Calhoon 1976: 30). Indeed, a Calvinist portion of members broke off from the church in 1857, "due to differences with the pastor and began the Peace Church down the road" (Howerton 1977; personal interview, Bill Zima). Across the road from the church building is a small wooden chapel that was constructed in 1961 with logs from the original sanctuary that had previously burned down. There is also the oldest cemetery in Guilford on the

other side of the road from the church, containing members of the church, as well as deceased soldiers and unnamed slaves.

Throughout texts and among contemporary members, there are numerous mentions of the story of a Friedens local named Shoemaker. Accounts differ on whose side Shoemaker was on, whether the British or the American, but the story goes that Shoemaker exchanged heated words with soldiers of the opposing side travelling through his land who eventually took Shoemaker to the door and the church and killed him. According to three different interviews, Shoemaker was a Patriot who was shot and killed by Tories. "It was the British soldiers that killed the man right in front of the church" (personal interview, Frank Teague). However, texts state that Shoemaker was a Tory himself and was shot by Patriot soldiers (Apple; Howerton 1977). All versions do agree that Shoemaker was not only shot in front of the church, but was also carried on its front door to his burial. Interestingly, the Shoemaker family was central to the church's origins and until the 1857 split the church was actually named Shoemaker's (Howerton 1977).

Grace Lutheran Church was founded in 1893 as part of an expansion project by the Missouri Lutheran Synodical Conference that aimed to develop Lutheran churches in poorer areas throughout the country. Interestingly, there is a 1st Lutheran Church in Greensboro that was not built until 30 years after Grace had already been established. "It was…Grace Memorial that was first in 1893, and First Lutheran Church came after that time period" (focus group, Grace Memorial). The reason for this misleading naming is because Grace Lutheran is a predominately African-American church, while 1st Lutheran is predominately White. "There's a tradition in the South that the white churches were first, and that there was a first white church and also a first black church, which is a huge turn" (focus group, Grace Memorial).

For members of Grace Lutheran, racial issues were of more importance than other theological or social ones, including those connected to the National Military Park. The most famous and respected pastor in Grace Lutheran's history was considered to be Pastor Illick who served from 1961-1968 during the heart of the Civil Rights Movement. Pastor Illick was instrumental in organizing protests and raising money to bail associated people out of jail. Grace's location near the North Carolina A&T campus, a historically black college, adds to the feeling community established around the Civil Rights Movement. Racial topics of the past were of more interest to participants than the colonial era discussed at the National Military Park, which one person said "is kind of silly" (Grace focus group).

Both churches discussed the presence of a strong sense of community among its members, as indicated by one participant who said that at the church or "really felt like a family here" (Grace focus group). This strong communal feeling stemmed from geographical closeness, the existence of schools at both churches for long periods of time, extracurricular social programs such as Boy Scouts or Vacation Bible School that took place at the church, and other similar projects that can unite a group of people. Many of the remaining members at the churches have roots all the way back to the church's founding, reflecting its close nature. Both Lutheran churches had long histories of educating children within their own schools that were part of the church for a long time, though no loner at either church. At one point, "half the black children in the city (Greensboro) came to school" at Immanuel College, the school attached to Grace Lutheran (Grace focus group). Immanuel Lutheran College was for a while one of only two black high schools in Greensboro.

Theologically, the main facet of Lutheranism is grace, or "The unmerited love of God, which we don't earn, but which is given" (personal interview, Bill Zima). Compared to Friedens

however, Grace is more conservative theologically. One man who was raised Quaker, but converted to Lutheranism after marriage claimed that the differences in worship style were quite minor (personal interview, Frank Teague). Similar to the Presbyterians, discussing the details of theology took a backseat to discussions of service and community.

Members at both churches were generally uninterested in the National Military Park, though for differing reasons. People at Friedens claimed that they would like to know more about the historical aspect of the park, but that is was too far away to easily visit. It was suggested that perhaps if there were more advertisements in their area, more people would visit. Additionally, if there were exhibits specifically geared towards Lutherans, people may be more motivated, "because people like to see their own stuff – so yes, it would draw them" (personal interview, Bill Zima). A suggestion offered by Grace Lutheran members was that the park could offer more exhibits featuring African-American people and events.

V. Park Visitors

In addition to interviewing members of the defined religious organizations, four interviews were conducted with individuals who were regular visitors to the National Military Park, but may or may not be affiliated with a local religious group. Each of the four participants interviewed were African-Americans who were asked by a Park Ranger if they would participate research for the Park. All of them stated that when they first visited the park, the history was interesting and engaging, but now that they came regularly to the park the historic aspect was not their focus. However, one woman did express feelings of enormous pride about Guilford's history whenever she is in the park, "because you know its part of my history now" (personal interview, Joyce Leake). Yet, each of these participants thought that the park should include more information about people of color, something which I delve deeper into later. "The park

doesn't represent anyone of color; any color at all" (personal interview, Bobbe Wright). Exhibits featuring information of slaves or on African-Americans who served in battle was the most popular suggestion. There were also other suggestions about the park offered by these participants. One man said the park could collaborate with the city of Greensboro to combine historical sites so that is was easier for people to experience all of them (*ibid*). In fact, this man said that he had personally written city officials suggesting that they use an old trolley rail that connects the City Museum to the National Military Park to unite the exhibits into a single attraction. According to him, the trolley rail already exists and is not in use by any other entity so it would make great infrastructural sense. Another suggestion made is that the park could include exhibits about its natural environment, which they allegedly used to have. "Matter of fact back here at the park, at the parking, there used to be a big sign that told you about the reptiles in here" (personal interview, Pete Williams).

VI. City Museum

Another key historic site at which observational notes were taken was the Greensboro City History Museum, located downtown. Originally the 1st Presbyterian Church of Greensboro, the building now housed a free museum dedicated to preserving the City of Greensboro's history. In addition to the current special exhibit on Dolly Madison, a Quaker from New Garden, the museum contains two floors of permanent exhibits that lead visitors through a chronological history of Greensboro. In the first room there a plaques dedicated to the "Early Settlers" of the Greensboro area, which included one plaque for each of the following groups: Native Americans, Quakers, Presbyterians, and Lutherans. Each group was described in generic, basic fashion, focusing on when they came to the area and where they came from. In the adjacent room to this, visitors are greeted with a life-sized image of a slave named Ede. The importance

of Ede is that she was a slave of Rev. David Caldwell and is famous for almost being sold, which would have separated her from her family, but was saved thanks to the deeds of a young Quaker boy named Levi Coffin who convinced Caldwell to not sell his slave. The rest of the museum was dedicated to later eras and other aspects of Greensboro's past that are not central to this research, although it is important to note that included in this was a large display commemorating the Civil Rights Activism that took place within Greensboro.

Two interviews were also conducted with staff members of the Greensboro Historical Museum, one of whom was the director of the museum. Both discussed how many individuals do not readily place historical events into a larger context on their own; they need museums and exhibits to frame the story. Therefore, the way places like museums and parks tell the story of history readily affects the way other people understand it. For most individuals, history is comprised of a few large names and dates. The people in positions to make decisions about how the story of history is told could be described as 'gatekeepers' of historical information.

VII. The High Point Museum

The city of High Point is located in the southern part of Guilford County and is the second most populace city in the county behind Greensboro. It has a free city Historical Museum that focuses specifically on the High Point region (see Appendix A for pictures). The museum is noticeably smaller than the Greensboro city History Museum, corresponding to the comparative sizes of the cities. It is located along an old colonial era trail that reportedly ran "from the Great Lakes to Georgia" and was the "most heavily travelled Early American road by English, Scotch-Irish, and German settlers" (Appendix A, High Point pictures). There were two main rooms, one that contained a walk through tour along the chronology of High Point with key figures and events, and the other contained a special collection of High Point furniture for which

it is famous. Outside of the museum is a small park containing the oldest building in High Point, a house that exemplifies a pre-Revolutionary living situation. One exhibit explains that the first settlers to the area were English, Scotch-Irish, and German, each with their respective geographic niches. The Quaker communities of Deep River and Springfield are specifically mentioned as important to the history of High Point (High Point pictures). There is also a sign dedicated to the Regulator Movement; something not present at the Greensboro City History Museum. One other notable figure mentioned only in the High Point museum was jazz musician John Coltrane who spent most of his childhood there.

VIII. People of Color

While it is not my main focus, it is necessary to include data gathered about the African-American demographic as an important separate demographic for understanding the state of collective memory in Guilford County. Regardless of religious affiliation, African-Americans were more concerned about racial issues than religious ones, as has already been noted with Grace Lutheran Church. Greensboro is a center for Civil Rights activism, being home to the first sit-it during the movement, two Historically Black Colleges, and loads of other protesting. Prior to the Civil Rights Movement, Greensboro was also a major hub for Underground Railroad traffic. Currently there is a Civil Rights Museum housed in the old Woolworth's store where the first sit-in took place, and which features the Greensboro 4 of that sit-in prominently. Beyond the Greensboro 4 though, the focus is on national Civil Rights events rather than other local happenings. These monumental events of the past have not been forgotten, but they are discussed as a distinctively separate part of Guilford County's past. More will be said about this topic in the 'Discussion' section below.

Likewise, the only sources I found that specifically describe the Native Americans who lived in Guilford prior to European settlers were the High Point museum and a 1983 book on the New Garden Quakers (Hilty). The two tribes that occupied the area before Europeans were Saura and Keyawee, both classified as Eastern Sioux (*ibid*:2). Due to the earlier Tuscarora Wars, there were only 2 or 3 Native families in the region by the time the Quakers got there (*ibid*:2). That being said, Quakers were the only people who proactively discussed the Native Americans. According to one Guilford College professor, Quakers actually wound up in the Piedmont because they would not settle where Natives already were. Indeed, the Great Wagon Road that connected the Carolinas to Philadelphia used to be an Iroquois Path, called the Old Warrior Path, which is not usually mentioned (Rouse 1995:VII).

IX. Gen. Greene presence

At this point, it would be helpful to point out a few observational connections that involve Gen. Greene in the National Military Park and in the city of Greensboro. It would be helpful to do so, because the presence of Gen. Greene in the area is quite noticeable. The first and most obvious tie between Gen. Greene and the Guilford area is that the name of the city of Greensboro comes from the General's name. The city was officially founded in 1808, after Gen. Greene had already gained renown for his actions during the Revolutionary War. As stated previously, the main exhibit at the National Military Park is a forty-foot statue of Gen. Greene atop a horse, prominently featured in a large field near the entrance to the park. There is also another large statue of Gen. Greene in the middle of a roundabout in downtown Greensboro. One of the streets that run through the downtown part of the city is named after the general. Finally, there is now a brewing company located in Greensboro whose name, Natty Greene's, is

yet another connection to the Revolutionary War general. It is accurate to say that Guilford County as a whole considers Gen. Greene as a hero-figure.

X. The Regulator Movement

One last subject to touch on is the Regulator Movement, a protest effort by farmers of the North Carolina Piedmont that took place in the early 1770s. At the time most of the state's legislative power came from the eastern region where there was more people and more money. In fact, in the early 1770s there were 67 legislators from the Eastern part of the state and only 14 from the West (Saunders 1886: VI). This imbalance of power led eventually to a number of laws and taxes that western farmers deemed unfair and vied to protest. Much of the backcountry of North Carolina joined in this protest. Consider the following statistics: prior to the Revolutionary War, the North Carolina piedmont had approximately 60,000 people living in it, and during the Regulator Movement there were 50,000 protestors from the piedmont alone (Ceyborn 1962; Saunders 1886:XXXII). If these statistics are even close to correct, then an incredible percentage of piedmont settlers protested the state government at this time. It is normally said that Henry Husbands, a man of Quaker origins, was the leader of the Regulators (Saunders 1886:XXIV). The first aggressive action taken by the Regulators was by Herman Husband who led approximately 150 men in the storming of the courthouse in Hillsboro (Dowless 1989:210). The final violence took place in 1771 only miles from the Alamance Presbyterian Church where government troops effectively put down 6,409 Regulators from the Piedmont during what became known as the Battle of Alamance. The battle proved to be the single bloodiest contest amongst colonists prior to the Declaration of Independence (Jobe 2008:7). Yet all was not lost for the Regulators as 13 new sections requested by the Regulators were adopted in the state constitution in 1776 (Saunders 1886:XIV).

Interestingly, textual sources on the Regulators were generally negative towards their actions. For a long time afterwards, the Regulators were viewed as unruly, nefarious characters, largely because the sources discussing such matters came from judges and clerks who disagreed with the Regulators' agenda (*ibid*). Among those participants interviewed, only three had heard of anything having to do with the Regulators, two of who were employees at the Greensboro Historical Museum. The only mention of this event elsewhere was on one sign on a side trail within the National Military Park and on an exhibit in the High Point Museum. It is interesting that this action against the provincial state government is considered unruly rebellion, whereas the action only a few years later against the British Crown is considered patriotic. This would appear to be something that would be highlighted in North Carolina, particularly Guilford County, history, but that is not the case

XI. Questionnaire

I drew 48 statements from the interviews and used these to construct a questionnaire, which was completed by 21 respondents. Respondents were asked to select whether they 'agreed' or disagreed' with each statement, or whether they were 'unsure'. Appendix D contains a matrix of the responses with those responses that exhibited at least 80% agreement among participants highlighted. Overall, the questionnaire's responses corroborate the patterns that have been found through other methods, but do not offer in new insights. For example, the two responses that all participants agreed on were 'There are others (besides soldiers) who should be honored' and 'People like stuff connected to their own past.' All but one respondent agreed that 'A lot of wars were started for religious reasons.' The questionnaire offers support to the ideas that David Caldwell is considered a heroic man (80% agreed), that many people in North Carolina did not want to fight in the Civil War (85% agreed), that education is connected to

religion, historically (80% agreed), and that churches should work to maintain their history (80% agreed). Unfortunately, there were no obvious demographic differences, age, gender, or religious, that could be ascertained through questionnaire responses.

XII. Overall themes

There are a few overall themes that were discovered through this research, which would be helpful to list in a cohesive fashion, before delving into them in a more detailed fashion in the next chapter. All three denominations expressed various way of claiming that they were actually the first people in the area. Textually, sources vary on this point and there does not appear to be any definitive way of knowing for sure, but its worth noting that the idea of being first in the area is an attractive idea for all groups of people. All three denominations also lamented the loss of community. All three expressed disappointment at how their early churches were the center of a strong community, but now they were struggling to maintain membership. In order to retain members, all denominations were making changes they hoped would attract more people.

There were also themes that were common across all sources, except for the Quakers. This includes the desire that everyone but the Quakers had, to view their own ancestral past as being as highly American and Patriotic as possible. Participants enjoyed discussing ancestors, friends, or people associated with their church who were soldiers or diplomats for the American side during wartime. This overwhelming trend goes against the picture that other sources portray, which is a complex melting pot of political stances, sometimes for the government, sometimes against it, and often times somewhere in the middle. For example, we know that there were colonists during the Revolutionary War that were British supporters or who were neutral on the issue of war. Yet this fact is overlooked by many people who like to think that everyone socially connected to themselves were righteous Patriots. Quakers, being traditional

dissenters, did not maintain this view, but instead saw themselves as separate from the rest of the cultural milieu.

Finally, there was an enormous emphasis by all participants on cemeteries. This includes focusing on cemeteries as the resting place of important deceased individuals, focusing on cemeteries as green spaces, and focusing on cemeteries as historically valuable in and of themselves. Such a view of cemeteries is a relatively new one culturally and warrants further research (French 1974). This paper is not intended to remark on this trend specifically, but it is of interest as it illustrates another layer of stepping back from our past and the things we remember. That is to say, remembering a cemetery is akin to remembering our memory of the past. It speaks to a certain dynamic that exists between our views of the dead and the living. Cemeteries are no longer merely locations where dead bodies are dispersed of, but have become institutions worthy of preservation themselves. They are attractions for tourists. It may mean that the narrative of the past we choose to distribute in our culture is more important than ever because more and more of the past is being preserved and 'lives' with us today.

Chapter 5: Unifying Guilford's Past

In this chapter, I will offer my own interpretations of the data collected, including how the data is connected and why it is important. I will also offer practical suggestions to the Guilford National Military Park for ways they may improve the style of how they represent the past, as well as attract more visitors. My understanding and interpretation of the data is shaped by the ideas put forth in Schema Theory and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (McVee 2005; Danesi 2013). Both of these theoretical frameworks help explain how cultural categorical constructs are formed through a dynamic interaction between individuals and larger socio-cultural forces, specifically focusing on language as the mediating tool. These linguistic constructs form the basis of individuals' understanding of cultural operations. Yet it must be remembered that these constructs are malleable and fluid and change over time, across locations. The themes gathered through interviews, observations, and texts correspond to the cultural and cognitive constructs used within Guilford County. After discussing several main themes that arose through this research, particularly within the religious groups, I ultimately argue that the narrative of Guilford County's past can take several separate strands of already existing historical memory and combine them into a single, cohesive narrative that follows the template of 'A Fight for Freedom from All Oppression'.

I. Quakers

Quakers were by far the most outspoken of the three religious groups about their theological views. For Quakers, their theological background was vitally important as something worthy of remembering, as well as for instructing contemporary members on how to live. The connection between ideology and behavior was not distant or sparse, but direct and intentional.

When it came to how Quakers were remembered however, there are aspects of their theology, which appear to inhibit their ability to be well remembered. First, Quakers are adamant about not performing any sort of outward rituals or outward signs of faith. For them, the importance of relationships with the Almighty was based on the inward changes of individuals. This means that there are no crucifixes or baptismal baths that adorn their meetinghouses. It also means that Quakers are wary of constructing monuments to or about themselves. "One, Quakers don't build monuments themselves, I mean we're…Quakers are part of that pretty radical Puritan, almost iconicism…our Meeting House is very plain" (personal interview, Max Carter). To do so may be considered placing too high a priority on outward gratification. The situation is also complicated due to the Quaker emphasis on simplicity, which goes against the notion of celebrating people or events with ornate statues or exhibits.

Secondly, Quakers also have an extensive history of disowning and even excommunicating people. Normally this happens when a Quaker decides to join in military action, such as the case with Nathanial Greene and Henry Husbands, the leader of the Regulators. "Daniel Boone is another disowned Quaker" (*ibid*). While this may or may not be an appropriate stance to take on disobedient members, it does not bode well for being widely remembered, because the number of people to be remembered is greatly lessened. Furthermore, the fact that most people who were disowned due to participating in military action is in stark contrast to the mainstream view, which not only remembers, but praises military actions. Therefore, it becomes difficult to for there to be historical support for those who disown the individuals who are then praised for the same actions they were disowned for. This is an example of people having varying cognitive constructs about what people and what actions are important: Quakers think that peace and peaceful actions are important, while the more

mainstream view is that steadfast military action is important. If it were possible to unite the narrative of Guilford's past under the template of 'A Fight for Freedom from All Oppression,' then the pacifist ideals of the Quakers and the military actions of others could happily co-exist.

II. Presbyterians and Lutherans

Presbyterians and Lutherans were not as forthcoming as Quakers with discussions about their theology. Of the all Presbyterian and Lutheran participants, only one minister spoke in depth about his and his church's theology. Nobody else would broach the topic on their own despite talking about many other aspects of their church and its history. When prompted, participants would only say a minimal amount on the topic before changing the subject. This indicates that theology is not the central focus for either Presbyterians or Lutherans, but rather social activism and community-oriented programs, as expected. Three of the four Presbyterians interviewed said that mission work, locally and abroad, is a big focus. "We do a lot of mission work in Central America, South America, Mexico, let's see. We do a lot of things in Mexico, a lot of things in Peru, I've done two or three Katrina missions to New Orleans" (personal interview, Barbara Keeler). Connections between their church and groups such as the Scouts, Lions Club, daycare, local youth sports teams, and even the local firefighters were mentioned. "Our fellowship hall we use a lot. The Scouts use it, Boys and Girls Scouts. The local sports teams, everybody uses it" (personal interview, Linda Aydelette). Moreover, Presbyterians were all very supportive of past military service, equating military service to social service. All of these are examples are the Presbyterian focus on social activism.

The Lutherans interviewed considered community to be the major factor of their worship. For members of Friedens, this meant discussing family heritage that stretched back sometimes to the early 1700s. Focus on community also is evident at Friedens by how early congregations

were a mix of German denominations, before eventually becoming solely Lutheran. This indicates that people in the congregation were more concerned with the community it offered rather than the theology being propagated. At Grace, community has always been important because of the solidity it offered to an area lacking in strong organized social institutions. It had been the site of a prominent inner city school and a center of support of Civil Rights activists, both of which deal less with theology and more with the interaction of nearby people. Emphasis on social activities and community affects what things are remembered from the past and how, because more focus will be given to events or people associated with social activism or community oriented projects than to those associated with theology or beliefs. I mention social activity and community together because of their close relation to one another. Given the relatively small sample size for this research, it is quite possible that there are other reasons why Presbyterians focused on social activities and Lutherans on community, but this offers support for the idea that one's religious affiliation can influence how the perceive the past.

With Presbyterians and Lutherans especially, there also remains an active problem of how to reconcile the violence and tragedy of war with Christian ideals, and each religion does it slightly differently. Participants beyond just the Presbyterian and Lutheran ones expressed this same sentiment. All Christian groups have an ideal based in scripture of peaceful living, which then must be reconciled in the midst of violent action and this is true when dealing with how the past is remembered as well. For Presbyterians and Lutherans who are fond of remembering military related items when considering the past, this becomes a problem. This same problem has existed for thousands of years however, usually with people viewing military action as necessary, sometimes even divinely ordained, in certain circumstances. One example of such a discrepancy in Guilford comes from Alamance Presbyterian Church. Their second official

minister, Eli Caruthers, after serving forty years from 1821-1861, was eventually asked by slave owning members of the church to leave because of his anti-slave stance in the wake of the Civil War (personal interview, Barbara Keeler; Jobe 2008: 13). Many members supported the Confederacy and Caruthers supported an anti-slave stance, and even 40 years of prior service did not keep him from being asked to resign. The issue of how to reconcile religion with violence has been around for ages, and it is just as pervasive in Guilford County, past and present, as anywhere. As one participant commented, "And we can't seem to separate war and religion today either. You know…the religious war, it's still going on" (personal interview, Carol Moore).

III. Patriotism

Patriotism is an ideal that carries a lot of importance in the memories of Guilford County. In this case, patriotism refers to attitudes and actions that are assumed to be supportive of the United Sates of America, as it exists today. This definition of course allows for changing understandings of it over time. For example, people claimed to feel strong bonds of attachment towards individuals of the past that fought against British rule during the Revolution. A more complex example is the great reverence given to soldiers of the Civil War, whether for the North or South, since the soldier was fighting for what they thought was right. This is all the more complex given Guilford's location below the Mason-Dixon line, yet quite close to the North. Various sources lend support to troops, whether for the North or South, for their perceived Patriotism. This support does not extend to operations dealing with the Underground Railroad, even though Guilford residents played a large role throughout the Underground Railroad. Such a discrepancy between the support given to troops by historical sources compared to the lack of support given to those involved with the Underground Railroad is something that can be

changed. Earlier, I described a few of the noteworthy activities of the Quaker boy Levi Coffin, who confronted the Rev. David Caldwell about the selling of one of his slaves, and was later instrumental in the Underground Railroad effort. He is a prime example of someone who could be memorialized in Guilford for a more well rounded, integrative narrative of the past. He could have a presence in the National Military Park, the Greensboro Historical Museum, near Guilford College, or elsewhere throughout the county.

Another widespread theme that arose through interviews, Quakers exempted, was people's desire to have their personal and collective past be one that was as patriotic as possible. This means that people were proud of ancestors and previous church members who had fought against the British, fought in the Civil War, as long as they did not appear pro-slavery, or served as a political delegate in an effort to support those or other military causes. Conversely, people were dismissive of those who did not fight the British, did not fight in the Civil War, or did not devote their lives to politics. The efforts of war are equated to patriotism. One thing this means is that there has arisen a skewed vision of the social atmosphere that existed at the time of the Revolutionary War. People like to think that their ancestors and everyone else they are associated with was a staunch Patriot, when that simply wasn't the case. There were British sympathizers throughout the colonies and many people who did not support either side, but did not want to go to war. Plenty of textual sources support this idea (Calhoon 1976; Dowless 1989; Morris 1953; Newlin 1975, 1977; Stoesen 1993). The Civil War is not the only war that should be considered a 'war between brothers'. The Revolutionary War was not just American vs. British, it was Patriot vs. Tory. And often times those who remained neutral were viewed as being for whoever the other side was. This fact is especially true in battles smaller than Guilford Courthouse, such as the Battle of New Garden or the Battle of Lindley's Mill, during

which the war became a true brother vs. brother conflict (Newlin 1975:12; 1977). Interestingly enough, one source claims that the Tories maintained the upper hand in Piedmont region, until the ultimate British surrender (Newlin 1975:17).

Such is this case with the story of the Lutheran man from Friedens named Shoemaker who was shot by soldiers passing through and buried on the church doors. In all four of the interviews in which this story is discussed, Shoemaker is a Patriot who is shot by Tories. "It was the British soldiers who shot the man right in front of the church" (personal interview, Frank Teague). But the textual sources make clear that Shoemaker was in fact a Tory who was shot by a Patriot (Apple; Newlin 1975). This means that there was certainly a British sympathizer who was a member at Friedens church. It also means that a small group of Patriot soldiers committed a tragic atrocity. On both accounts, the desired view of patriotism is not supported. This example speaks volumes about how our narrative of the past, in this case one that emphasizes a certain brand of patriotism, can greatly affect how individuals conceptualize of the past. It is particularly poignant point for the National Military Park since it is designed to memorialize the battle that took there, even though those involved may not represent the locals from that time. Two participants both asserted the notion that sometimes people do not want to look at their own history when it is not the most glamorous.

IV. Local Hero Figures

Both Gen. Nathanial Greene and Rev. David Caldwell are lauded as heroic figures in Guilford County. The enormous forty-foot statue of Gen. Greene that is the centerpiece of the National Military Park speaks loud and clear that the Revolutionary War leader is 'larger than life'. Participants were all familiar with Gen. Greene's story and his presence throughout the city of Greensboro is immense. His image has come to exemplify what it means to be a good

American patriot, similar to seeing the image of George Washington crossing the Delaware. By this time, his fame and image outstrip the accuracy of his life, as he is remembered by most as only a hero, not as a disowned Quaker who in fact lost the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Residents of Greensboro are reminded daily of the general since the city is named after him. Gen. Greene's statues at the National Military Park and in downtown Greensboro, as well as his depicted image on the bottles and cans of Natty Greene's beer are masculine, steadfast, and prideful. His image has grown to true mythological proportions, as modern people know less about him as an individual and more about him as a symbol; the things he represents to people.

Likewise, Rev. David Caldwell has attained the status of a local hero, especially among Presbyterians. Caldwell also has a prominent statue in the National Military Park, a street in Greensboro named after him, a park, that incudes a small museum, dedicated to his memory, and a special side exhibit at the Greensboro City Museum dedicated to his wife Rachael. At Buffalo Presbyterian Church, there is annual service celebrating the life and work of Rev. Caldwell. Every participant from one of the three religious groups was familiar with Rev. Caldwell. Like Gen. Greene, Caldwell's memory has reached mythological proportions, having now become a symbol of what it means to be an honorable American. As the statue at the National Military Park states, Caldwell is remembered for being a minister, educator, doctor, and patriot. The enormous degree of praise given to both Caldwell and Gen. Greene speaks to trends in how people organize their collective memories. Emphasis is placed on larger-than-life heroic figures that dominate the narrative of the past. These are the type of figures who are understood to be the real movers and shapers of the past.

Opposite the memory of Gen. Greene and Rev. Caldwell is the memory of Regulator Movement, which is to say almost nonexistent. Of the 19 total interviews conducted, only 3

participants had ever heard of the Regulator Movement, two of them being employees at the Greensboro Historical Museum. The lack of knowledge about the Regulator Movement is interesting given how many people it affected in Guilford County specifically and North Carolina as a whole. It supports my hypothesis that rebellious activities that did not lead to the current power structures coming into their positions of authority will not be remembered fondly, if at all. My point here is not to assert that people's understanding of the past is wrong for emphasizing Gen. Greene or Rev. Caldwell or forgetting the Regulator Movement, but to illustrate how people play an active role in determining what things get remembered and how. It is important to know that there is a plentitude of other options for how the past is remembered.

V. Suggestions for the Park

One of the goals for this project was to come up with suggestions that the National Military Park might use to better utilize their resources, create a fuller, richer narrative of the past, and of course, attract more visitors. Some suggestions were offered by participants and others are of my own accord based of the data gathered. When considering how the Park might go about making alterations, it would be good to remember how the founding of the Park itself played a major role on how the Battle of Guilford Courthouse has been remembered. It was noted earlier that Judge David Schneck, the key person responsible for the park's founding, also contributed key interpretive ideas about how the battle, which was lost by the Patriots, was actually vitally important from a strategic standpoint, for achieving ultimate victory. This is important to keep in mind because it shows, not only how history in general can be changed, but how the National Military Park specifically has been a part of altering our understanding of the historical record. Given this precedent, it should not be out of the question to make additional changes that once again change our understanding of the past. Furthermore, the Park cannot

force people to become interested in Revolutionary War history and therefore must compromise in some ways if they are to attract more visitors.

If the Park included a wider, more varied selection of the past, then more people, from more different groups will be inclined to come learn about the site. Many people shared this sentiment including Lutherans, Quakers, and African-Americans. What was included about different groups would not have to be specific, but could perhaps discuss early German immigrants for the Lutherans, or early acts of peace by North Carolinian Quakers. For African-Americans, more could be included about the slaves of the time who participated in the Revolutionary War battle. In fact, there was one story told about a slave, whose owner had promised him freedom if he fought in his owner's stead during the Revolutionary War. Yet, once the slave had completed his service, the owner still did not grant his freedom. This is a perfect example of someone the Park could dedicate an exhibit to. Including a wider selection of the past would develop naturally into a greater degree of cross-cultural awareness and appreciation. As Low, Taplin, and Scheld point out in their book, the idea that most people have about parks is "Design places that erase our history and we won't come" (2005:47). And as one participant noted, "The park doesn't represent anyone of color; any color at all" (personal interview, Bobbe Wright). Including a wider selection groups in various representations of the past will create a positive feedback loop in which more information is shared across cultural lines.

It was also mentioned several times by different people that the Park could do a better job of advertising exactly what it is, for people who do not know or do not live nearby. Since Greensboro has so many parks, the National Military Park may have a difficult time standing out if its just for recreational purposes and could therefore make more of an effort to advertise their

uniqueness. Emphasizing the historical park sets it above the other parks in the area. Another way to separate itself from other nearby parks and to attract more visitors it to sponsor fund raising events such the Walk for Cancer. Such events may attract visitors who would otherwise not come to the park, who could then be acquainted with its historical aspects.

Going off this point, it was also suggested that the Park could work more collaboratively with the Greensboro Historical Museum, the Civil Rights museum, or other historical institutions. At the very least, each establishment could mutually benefit from there being advertisements at other historically important locations. The various locations could work to offer an all-inclusive tour of the historical sites in Guilford. As mentioned earlier, one participant claimed that there were already trolley tracks linking the National Military Park and the Greensboro Historical Museum, which could be used to transport interested visitors from one site to the other (personal interview, Bobbe Wright). This type of collaboration would work to give residents a cohesive narrative of the past, rather than one that only deals with certain time periods or events. Like employees of the Greensboro Historical Museum pointed out, most people only learn the raw specifics of the past, but do not link the complete story together.

After examining all of the collected data, it is my assertion that the National Military Park can actively work to re-brand the narrative of Guilford's past into a more unified, cohesive understanding that unites all groups of people associated with Guilford. This can combine people who were involved with the Revolutionary War battle fighting for their freedom, the Quakers of past and present who fight to maintain their own views and practices of freedom, those involved with the Underground Railroad, those who served during the Civil War for either side, and those were active in fighting for Civil Rights in the 20th Century. As one participant put it, "There are others (besides soldiers) who should be remembered" (personal interview,

Eldora Terrell). Working towards this end would mean including exhibits about other people and times besides only the Revolutionary War battle, though it could still be the main attraction. It would also mean adjusting pamphlets, sings, and books that describe the Park so that their description would parallel the theme of "A Fight for Freedom from All Oppression". Increased involvement with the city of Greensboro or other historical institutions would only be beneficial to creating a more unified, inclusive narrative of the past.

As Wertsch discusses in his article on the narrative organization of memory, people's memories are structured along large social frameworks that he dubs 'schematic narrative templates' (2008). Currently, the Guilford County collective memory, and indeed most of the United States' collective memory, could be categorized as one structured around military conflict. The historical narrative is divided into segments that begin and end based on major wars. This is not wrong, nor is it something that can readily be changed. However, it is possible to emphasize a different aspect of fighting, which is not concerned with victory, but with the will to earn freedom. What this does is change the accounts of war from and strictly 'us vs. them' scenario wherein one side is good and the other bad, to a more complex, multi-faceted account of multiple parties vying for what they believe is right. An example of something like this that is already in place are the positive views some people maintain towards both the Union and Confederate sides of the Civil War. People in Guilford can agree that slavery is a harmful, bad enterprise, while still feeling support for the Confederate cause, because at the time they felt it was the same kind of fight for freedom as the Patriots fighting against he British. Similar views can be cultivated about the Quakers, past and present, the Regulators, the people involved with the Underground Railroad, and those involved with Civil Rights movements. While different

views will exist, the thing that is important to highlight is a group of people's desire to remain free from any felt oppression.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The goal of this research was to catalogue and analyze the current status of collective memory and history in Guilford County. Particular interest was paid to the Guilford National Military Park that commemorates the Revolutionary War Battle of Guilford Courthouse and to the three religious denominations that first settled the region: Presbyterianism, Lutheranism, and Quakerism. It was determined that military events form the framework of the narrative of Guilford's past, that Gen. Nathanial Greene and Rev. David Caldwell are lauded as local heroes, that the Quaker past is largely overlooked by those outside the Quakers, and that African-American history is kept separate from other areas of history. A noticeable connection between religious ideology and the way people remember the past was not seen. The research has theoretical merit, as well as practical merit. Scholars and other individuals can use this information to better understand and address trends of how the past is preserved in other areas of the world. The Guilford National Military Park can use the suggestions presented here to present a fuller, more integrated account of Guilford's past, as well as attract more visitors. "A Fight for Freedom from All Oppression" can become a banner under which multiple stands of Guilford's past are united, but it will take active effort the part of the National Military Park and other historical institutions. My goal is not to suggest that the current narrative of the past is wrong or inaccurate, only that it is malleable and can change.

As a society, we need to become aware that the historical narrative is indeed malleable; we create it to a large extent. Of course we should still strive for the highest degree of accuracy possible, but we must accept our role in creating certain narratives. Furthermore, we must become aware that our narrative of the past does guide some of the personal and collective

decisions we make, which is more reason to actively work to create a narrative that embodies the values we wish to maintain. The narratives we propagate become the myths that guide our collective lives, just as the image we preserve of the past becomes a part of the image we maintain of ourselves. Currently, war efforts and individual sacrifice are highly praised. As I suggest, we could change that to an emphasis of uniqueness, cooperation, and multiculturalism.

Anthropologically, the issue of history vs. memory is an excellent microcosmic example of the ever-pervasive issue of culture vs. the individual. How exactly is the narrative and understanding of the past determined? What aspects are influenced by individuals and what aspects are influenced by larger socio-cultural forces? In this thesis, I have attempted to approach the issue from a middle ground point of view, treating the preservation of the past as a dynamically created process that continuously takes place between individuals and their culture.

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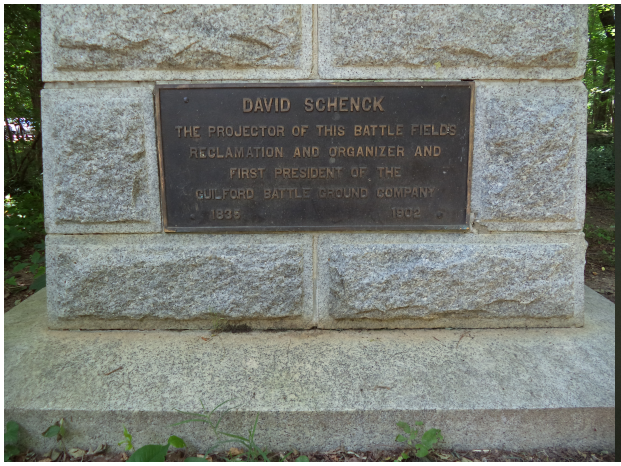
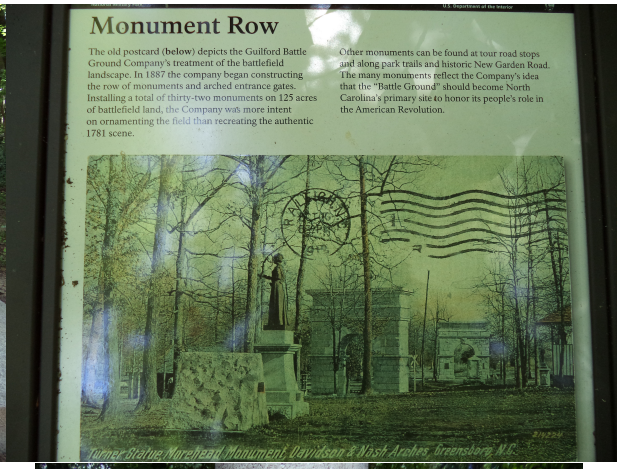
Appendix A: Pictures

Guilford National Military Park










GUILFORD
COURT HOUSE


D. DAVID CALDWELL
BORN 1724
DIED 1824
PREACHER


First Line Trail
Recalling the attack against the first American line, British sergeant Roger Lamb reported that the North Carolina militia "had their arms presented, and resting on a rail fence." These militiamen, Lamb added, "were taking aim with the nicest precision."
The sight of a thousand leveled musket barrels unnerved the British professionals, stopping them in their tracks. During this pause, both sides "surveyed each other with the most anxious suspense." But British discipline prevailed, and the redcoats soon resumed their advance.
After an exchange of fire, the British charged with fixed bayonets, scattering most of the militiamen. This trail leads to the ground defended by Brig. Gen. John Butler's brigade of North Carolina militia.
North Carolina militiaman


Legend vs. Reality
According to the Guilford Battle Ground Company, the British Guards emerged from the woods, crossed this open field, and clashed on the right with the American third line. In the 1880s this version of the battle seemed to agree with the historical research of Company founder David Schenck. Convinced that the third line action occurred here within the original boundaries of the park, he placed the American Cavalry obelisk on this hill.
Benefiting from historical information that has come to light since Schenck's time, park historians now have a different picture of what happened here. In 1781 the cleared area was significantly larger, extending toward the courthouse. Taking advantage of the terrain, the American third line was actually a ridgeline ½ mile east near Tour Stop 6. By focusing on historically accurate terrain, you can better follow the chaotic battle action and its implications.
Lt. Col. William Washington, cousin of George Washington, led American cavalry charges that proved to be a critical moment in the battle. The Third Line Trail from Tour Stop 6 leads to the actual site of the dragoons' charge.
I killed four of the enemy in the presence of Col. Washington...
Peter Francisco
The discrepancy between legend and reality applies to some of the battle's heroes. The Cavalry Monument also honors the American "giant" Peter Francisco with an inscription claiming he killed eleven of the enemy. Francisco's own report says that he killed four.
You Are Here





Guilford College\New Garden Meeting House









Alamance Presbyterian Church


ALAMANCE
PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH
Organized 1764


J 32
ALAMANCE CHURCH
Presbyterian, organized about 1764. Synod of North Carolina formed here, 1813. The present building erected 1955.


SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
DAVID COLDWELL, D. D.
BORN IN PA. 1724,
DIED IN N.C. 1824.
For SIXTY years he was PASTOR
Of the Churches
of ALLAMANCE & BUFFALOE,
Which were founded by his labours.
In our REVOLUTIONARY struggle,
He was the ardent friend, of
LIBERTY & HIS COUNTRY,
For whose interest
He cheerfully sacrificed his own.
AS AN AMIABLE MAN,
A PROFOUND SCHOLAR,
And
A PIOUS DIVINE:
He has left in the remembrance
Of his virtues
A monument
More lasting than this
Which his Congregation has erected
To his memory.
Also Of
Rachel Coldwell,
His Wife
Who died 1825,
Noted as an Amiable,
Pious, and Prudent Wife,
MOTHER & NEIGHBOUR.
DAVIDSON, Fecit.







Buffalo Presbyterian Church



Friedens Lutheran Church

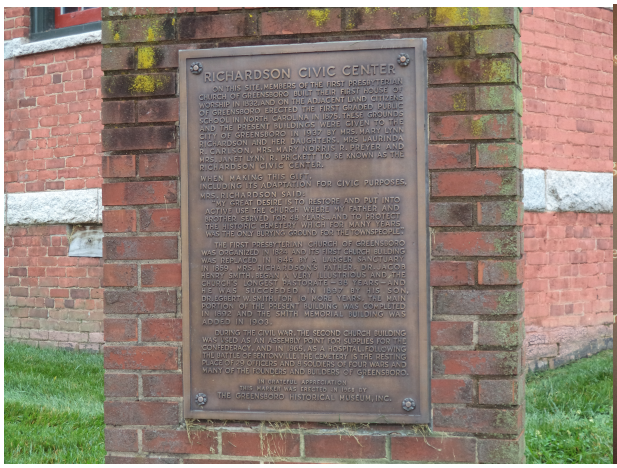




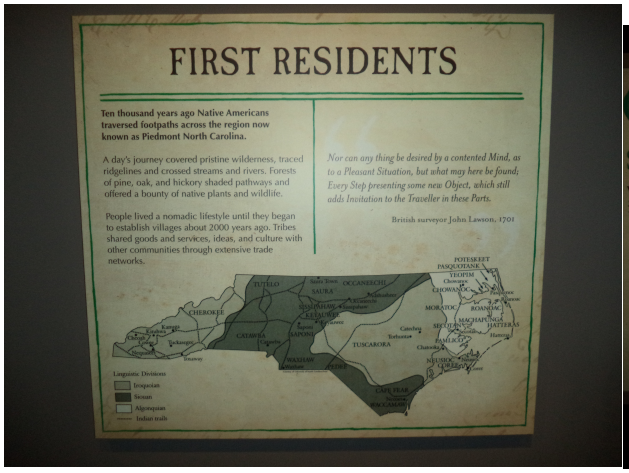


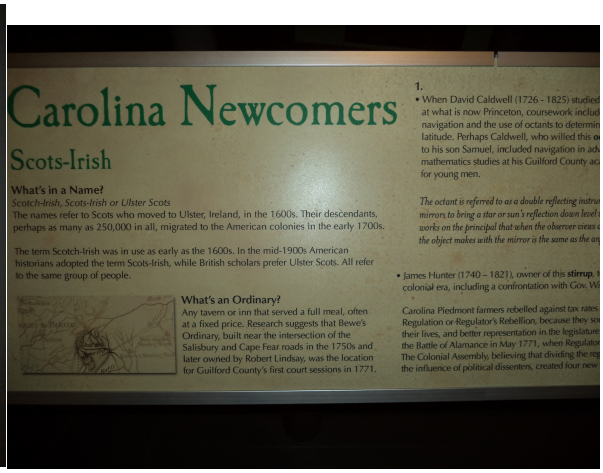


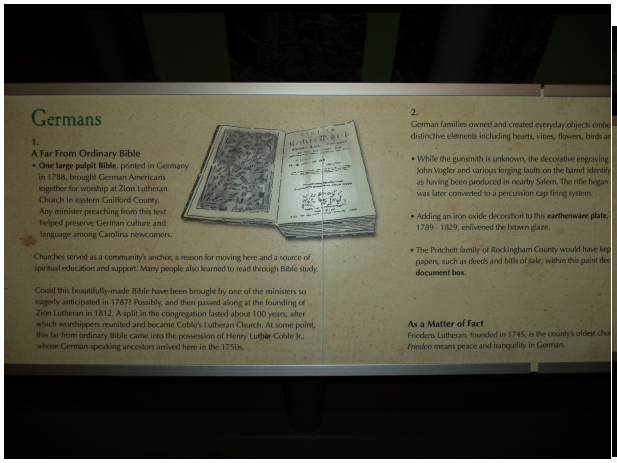
Greensboro City History Museum

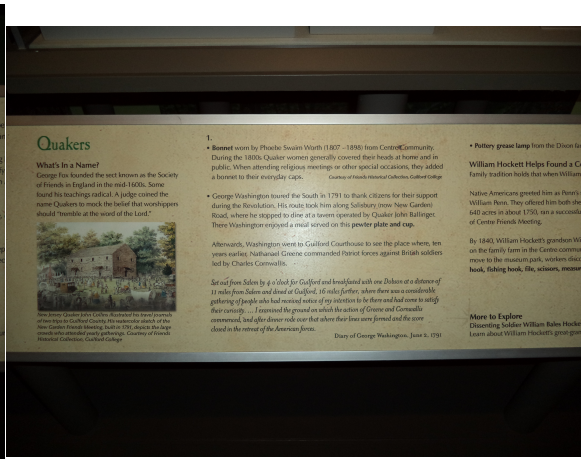














Jamestown Friends Meeting House





Springfield Friends Meeting House





Grace Lutheran Church

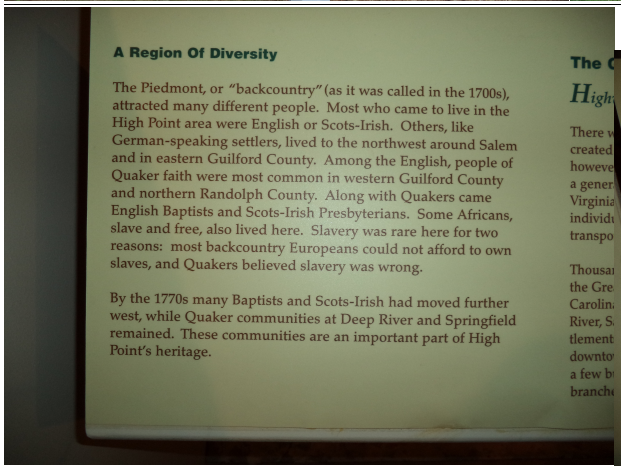


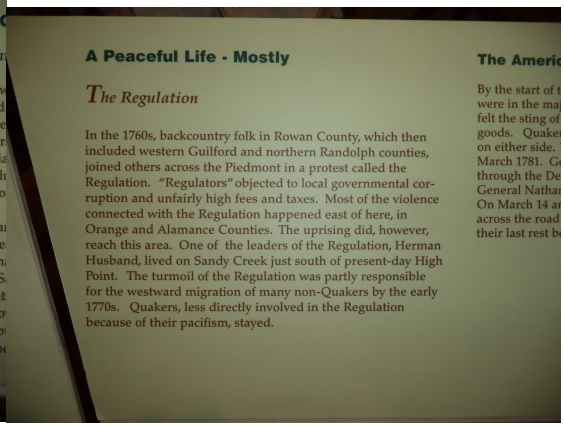


High Point Museum









Appendix B: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

1) How long have you lived in Guilford County? When did your family first come here?
2) What comes to mind first when you think of Guilford's history?
3) Are you affiliated with any religious group in the area?
4) If so, can you tell me about your participation in (religious group)? How often do you go to services? Does your family have a history with this religion?
5) How would you describe (religious group's) beliefs?
6) How are these different than other religious groups in the area?
7) What do you know about (religious group's) history in this area?
8) Do you feel that (religious group) is adequately represented in the county's history?
9) How often do you visit the Guilford National Military Park?
10) Do you think there is a connection between (religious group's) history and the Park? Do you think there should be?
11) Do you think you use the park more for recreation or for its history?
12) Is there anything you would like to see changed in the park or in the county in general, concerning the history of the area?
13) Have you ever come to see the Guilford Courthouse Battle Re-enactment? If so, what did you think of it?
14) What do you think is the most memorable event in Guilford history?
15) What would you say your main source of knowledge is about the area's history?

Appendix C: Questionnaire

Date: **Gender:** **Church (if applicable):**

Age: **Ethnicity:**

Please circle 'agree', 'disagree', or 'unsure' for the following statements.

1) "There are others who should also be honored by history (besides soldiers)."
Agree Disagree Unsure

2) "Every person has an immediate connection to the Divine."
Agree Disagree Unsure

3) "It's seen as unpatriotic if we don't support our troops."
Agree Disagree Unsure

4) "North Carolina was essentially a Quaker colony (to begin with)."
Agree Disagree Unsure

5) "There were a couple skirmishes on New Garden Road before the Battle of Guilford Courthouse."
Agree Disagree Unsure

6) "People like to see stuff that is connected to themselves or their own past."
Agree Disagree Unsure

7) "History lumps deceased slaves into a single group rather than identifying them as individuals like they should try to do."
Agree Disagree Unsure

8) "Our church members feel a strong sense of history."
Agree Disagree Unsure

9) "I'm not really into the history side of the Guilford National Military Park, just the recreation."
Agree Disagree Unsure

10) "More African-American exhibits would attract more people to the Guilford National Military Park."
Agree Disagree Unsure

11) “The religious focus for Lutherans is Grace – the unmerited love of God.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

12) “Presbyterians have been very involved in the area’s education.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

13) “Some Greensboro churches played an active role in the Civil Rights Movement.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

14) “More exhibits about Nature would attract more people to the Guilford National Military Park.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

15) “Old churches are important for remembering the area’s history.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

16) “My family history is the main reason I go to church where I do.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

17) “The Guilford National Military Park should include more information about people of color.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

18) “The focus for Presbyterians is on serving people.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

19) “I would like there to be a trolley connecting downtown to the Guilford National Military Park (there are already tracks).”
Agree Disagree Unsure

20) “The Revolutionary War was a war between brothers too; a war between neighbors.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

21) “The main difference with Quakers is that they have, or used to have, silent worship without a pastor.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

22) “There is a very strong tie between our church and the community.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

23) “Quakers don’t tend to be big into military parks.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

24) “Our church should continue to work to maintain its history.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

25) “The history of the area fills me with pride.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

26) “Signs or more advertising would help attract more people to the museum at the Guilford National Military Park.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

27) “North Carolina was a good place for all religions to come establish a home in the colonial days.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

28) “I don’t know anything about the Regulator Movement in North Carolina.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

29) “I’m not that into the Battle Re-enactments at the Guilford National Military Park.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

30) “In many ways, education is connected to religion, historically.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

31) “The Guilford National Park should include information about other skirmishes that happened in the area.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

32) “Quakers were instrumental in the underground railroad.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

33) “Examining history can be scary, because it makes you re-examine how you’re living now.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

34) “There were British sympathizers during the Revolution that were destructive and harmed civilian Patriots.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

35) “David Caldwell really was an amazing person.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

36) “It’s difficult for me to understand how religion could be so connected to military things.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

37) “A lot of wars are started because of religious reasons.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

38) “A lot of arguments between groups of people were brought over from Europe and continued in America.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

39) “For some people in the South, the Civil War was a continuation of the Revolutionary War. It was a fight against oppression.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

40) “Churches used to be the only place people could go to school.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

41) “Politics affect churches just as much as anything else.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

42) “I love old cemeteries.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

43) “Presbyterian’s main focus is missions and community.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

44) “We have to bring the church into the 21st century or we will die.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

45) “The battleground (of Battle of Guilford Courthouse) is sacred ground.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

46) “Religious men and military men are one in the same.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

47) “Lots of people didn’t support the North in the Civil War, but also didn’t want to go to war.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

48) “People in earlier times were more religious.”
Agree Disagree Unsure

Appendix D: Questionnaire Response Matrix

		Total AGREE	Total DISAGF	Total UNSUR	Total MISSING		
Quote 1		21	0	0	0	There are others who should be honored	100%
	2	10	3	8	0		
	3	13	3	3	2		
	4	6	5	10	0		
	5	8	0	11	1		
	6	21	0	0	0	People like stuff connected to their own past	100%
	7	14	2	5	0		
	8	18	1	2	0	Our church members feel strong sense of history	85%
	9	3	16	2	0		
	10	13	1	7	0		
	11	13	0	8	0		
	12	14	1	6	0		
	13	12	2	7	0		
	14	14	3	3	1		
	15	15	2	4	0		
	16	15	5	0	1		
	17	16	1	3	1		
	18	14	0	7	0		
	19	12	6	3	0		
	20	14	1	5	1		
	21	7	2	11	1		
	22	12	8	0	1		
	23	13	0	7	1		
	24	17	0	3	1	Our church should continue to work to maintain ints	80%
	25	10	1	10	0		
	26	17	0	4	0	More advertising would increase visiters to the park	80%
	27	11	1	8	1		
	28	15	5	0	1		
	29	8	12	1	0		
	30	17	0	4	0	Education is connected to religion, historically	80%
	31	8	0	13	0		
	32	16	1	3	1		
	33	15	2	4	0		
	34	10	1	10	0		
	35	17	2	2	0	David Caldwell was an amazing person	80%
	36	8	7	6	0		
	37	20	0	1	0	A lot of wars were strated for religious reasons	95%
	38	15	5	1	0		
	39	7	7	5	2		
	40	14	3	4	0		
	41	18	0	3	0	Politics affect churches just as much as anything else	85%
	42	16	3	2	0		
	43	6	0	14	1		
	44	9	7	4	1		
	45	7	10	4	0		
	46	3	14	3	1		
	47	18	0	3	0	Lots of people in NC simply didn't want to fight in Civ	85%
	48	11	5	4	1		

Appendix E: IRB Approval

EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY
University & Medical Center Institutional Review Board Office
4N-70 Brody Medical Sciences Building· Mail Stop 682
600 Moye Boulevard · Greenville, NC 27834
Office **252-744-2914** · Fax **252-744-2284** · **www.ecu.edu/irb**

Notification of Initial Approval: Expedited

From:	Social/Behavioral IRB
To:	Zachary Parker
CC:	David Griffith
Date:	4/19/2013
Re:	UMCIRB 13-000658 Modern Memories: Religious Differences in the Memory of Guilford County

I am pleased to inform you that your Expedited Application was approved. Approval of the study and any consent form(s) is for the period of 4/15/2013 to 4/14/2014. The research study is eligible for review under expedited category #6, 7. The Chairperson (or designee) deemed this study no more than minimal risk.

Changes to this approved research may not be initiated without UMCIRB review except when necessary to eliminate an apparent immediate hazard to the participant. All unanticipated problems involving risks to participants and others must be promptly reported to the UMCIRB. The investigator must submit a continuing review/closure application to the UMCIRB prior to the date of study expiration. The Investigator must adhere to all reporting requirements for this study.

The approval includes the following items:

Name	Description
Draft of Interview Questions.docx | History	Interview/Focus Group Scripts/Questions
Informed%20Consent%20Template-No%20More%20Than%20Minimal%20Risk.doc | History	Consent Forms
Thesis abstract.doc | History	Study Protocol or Grant Application

The Chairperson (or designee) does not have a potential for conflict of interest on this study.

IRB00000705 East Carolina U IRB #1 (Biomedical) IORG0000418
IRB00003781 East Carolina U IRB #2 (Behavioral/SS) IORG0000418