

An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park

Final Report

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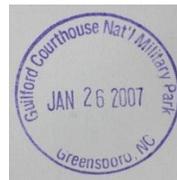
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Artist's Rendition of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse



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An Ethnographic Overview of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park

Executive Summary

The Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (hereafter, the Park), located in the northern part of Greensboro, North Carolina, was the first national military Park established in the United States commemorating an American Revolution battle site: specifically, the March 15, 1781 Battle of Guilford Courthouse. When it was established by Congress in 1917, its mission was, and still is, “to preserve for historical and professional military study one of the most remarkable battles of the Revolutionary War.”

This report constitutes the first ethnographic overview of the Park. It is based on interviews with Park personnel, Guilford County residents from various ethnic, religious, gender, professional, and other backgrounds, and observations in and around Guilford County and the Park. As such, it contains a range of comments, observations, and perceptions that in many instances may conflict with the historical record, interpretive planning materials, and actual activities undertaken by Park personnel as part of their professional duties or under their supervision and oversight. *We thus emphasize that this ethnographic overview is an account, in part, of the **perceptions** of Park visitors and observers about the Park, as well as a synthesis of materials from archives, investigator observations (which are also fallible) and other written sources.*

The Battle of Guilford Courthouse was among the more ironic of the Southern campaigns of the American Revolution. Although the American troops technically lost the battle to the British, the heavy losses suffered by the British during the battle led historians to cast the defeat as, ultimately, an American victory. This interpretation is based in part on the famous, politically-motivated quote by Charles James Fox, leader of the opposition party in the British House of Commons, who said, “Another such victory would ruin the British Army” (Baker 2005:8), which provided the title to a book, Another Such Victory, written by Thomas Baker, one of the Park’s former employees.

Although the Park was established specifically as a military park, our observations and interviews with Park personnel and Guilford County residents suggest that the Park has at least three uses. First, as a battleground, the Park serves as a place to study U.S. military history, note the battle’s role in the strategic progress of the American Revolution, and utilize the information from the Park in understanding military strategy. According to Park staff, personnel from all branches of the military except the U.S. Coast Guard have visited the Park as a site where they can learn about military engagement in a heavily forested terrain—an exercise with direct applications to contemporary guerilla warfare. Indeed, one of the Park’s interpretive signs discusses the decisive role that the forest played in the battle, at times frustrating both the American and British forces yet also providing them with certain advantages that influenced the outcome of the battle and its subsequent importance in the Revolution.

Second, as a Revolutionary War era site, the Park represents a much broader set of national sentiments and basic human values having to do with the expansion of freedom,

independence from tyrannical governments, and increasing the reach of civil and human rights. Many of its interpretive signs and other materials in its visitors' center and throughout the Park reflect its importance as a place where events led to the expansion of civil and human rights. In addition, several individuals interviewed for this report understood the Park to be a place where core values of the American Revolution—including the expansion of civil and human rights—are expressed. The Park's location in a region where several civil and human rights initiatives (e.g. the Underground Railroad, early Quaker opposition to slavery and support for women's rights, the establishment of an International Civil Rights Museum) have taken place, and will continue to take place in the future, enhances the Park's importance as a site commemorating increased personal and group freedoms.

Finally, as a well-maintained Park that adjoins the grounds of another large public park and a Colonial Heritage Center, the grounds provide daily access to an extensive system of trails for jogging, walking, dog-walking, and biking that is enhanced by a visitors' center, interpretive signs, monuments, and open and wooded spaces for enjoying wildlife and the benefits of other outdoor amenities. Park staff acknowledged, in fact, and our observations confirmed, that the majority of visitors to the Park come for its recreational opportunities. At times this causes problems. While the Park staff are not averse to recreational uses of the Park, they regard the Park as sacred ground and find some recreational uses of the Park at odds with the heritage it is attempting to convey.

These three related, yet different meanings of the Park—as a military site, a site reflecting the struggle for the expansion of human rights, and as a recreational area—have been embraced differentially across Greensboro and the surrounding region, and among different religious, ethnic, and commemorative groups and organizations, and by the Park staff. This report discusses these three meanings of the Park in terms of how different user groups consider each of them and what Park personnel have done, and can do, to address varied perceptions of the Park. For example, most of the African Americans we interviewed specifically mentioned that the military dimension of the park did not adequately represent African American contributions to the American Revolution, yet appreciated the Park's recreational opportunities and, in some cases, also appreciated its multiple messages of expanding human rights, adopting them as important to their own understanding of local and national history.

After the battle, the site was abandoned to farm land and forest until a local judge, David Schenck, established the Guilford Battleground Company and, in 1887, purchased the land for preservation. On the eve of the United States declaring war on Germany in the First World War, in 1917, the War Department took over the site as a location to study military history and strategy—so as not to repeat the battlefield mistakes of the past—and in 1933 the War Department transferred stewardship to the National Park Service, which continues managing the Park today.

This document derives from over a year of ethnographic work in and around Greensboro about how local individuals and groups have sifted the Park and its historical significance into their lives. It is based on several sources of information, including interviews and

archival research, and includes photographs of the March 15, 2013 reenactment and summaries of interviews with locals from Greensboro and surrounding communities. As a Revolutionary War site, the Battlefield not only commemorates a battle but also commemorates the American Revolution and much of what it stood for: independence from a monarch deemed tyrannical; a quest for the expansion of human rights; the creation of democratic institutions; increased economic autonomy; and the self-determination to found a new nation and explore the continent for its expansion.

Ethnography is a methodological approach developed by anthropologists that strives to more fully engage with and understand living people in places and communities where they live, work, play, socialize, memorialize, and so forth, and interpret or analyze this collected knowledge and interpretation in terms of broader socioeconomic, political, and historical processes. Originally dominated by a single technique—participant-observation, or observing people while participating in activities that are regular parts of their lives—ethnography today relies on multiple techniques of data collection and analysis, although participant-observation remains important. In their National Park Service funded Ethnohistorical study of the Kingsley Plantation Community report, Jackson and Burns (2007) note that the “ethnographic methodology involves the direct collection of data from the field via observation or interactive participation with the subject(s) under analysis.” For this report, we relied primarily on participant- and non-participant observation, interviewing, transect walks (walks through significant sites, such as cemeteries, with people who know about the sites), and archival research. An ethnographer’s goal is generally to describe a community, setting, culture, or whatever the subject of study is, drawing on both insider (emic) and outsider (etic) perspectives. However, most ethnographers understand that simple description that is completely objective, without some interpretation on the part of the ethnographer, is difficult and usually impossible. Researcher bias inevitably intervenes. The difference in the ethnographic method compared to other research methods is that researcher perspectives, influence, background, decisions, or bias are directly acknowledged as part of the process and not masked as nor presented as neutral.

The presence of the National Park Service in Greensboro constitutes a political economic process with local and more far-reaching manifestations. On the one hand, the management of the Park is done relative to the local neighborhoods, community infrastructure, and organizations that interact with the Park. Daily, visitors to the Park walk their dogs, exercise, or simply enjoy the natural resources the Park offers, some ignoring the monuments and interpretive signage altogether and others increasingly engaged by the Park’s educational, cultural, and historical resources. Regularly, schools bring classes to the Park for demonstrations of both military and civilian revolutionary era activities and events, and representatives of various branches of the U.S. military visit to learn about military history and strategy. Annually, the Country Park, adjacent to and connected to the Park, hosts a reenactment of the 1781 battle, before which the Park visitors’ center serves as a location for the mustering of women and men in period costume, most of whom are members of commemorative groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution; during the days of celebration, the Park also sponsors lectures, demonstrations of colonial life, and other activities.

On the other hand, the Park is a part of the National Park Service's vast network of public lands and cultural resources and, as such, is accountable to the Service's federal and regional offices. It is subject to changes in appropriation priorities or, worse, the occasional budget impasse in congress shutting down the U.S. government. Yet initiatives such as the call for ethnographic overviews of Parks often come from regional and federal offices, and these constitute proactive activities on the part of the Service to improve its outreach and delivery of recreational, educational, cultural, and other services to the citizens of the United States and the general public.

Some of the principal findings of the study include:

1. Several places and historical events in Greensboro and the Triad Region suggest that this region has long been associated with social movements designed to expand civil and human rights, which is in line with the Park's role, as a place commemorating independence, in promoting values associated with increasing personal and group freedoms. For example, early opposition to slavery from Quakers and others, early attention to the rights of women (particularly among Quakers), active participation in the Underground Railroad, significant participation in the civil rights movement (particularly with the sit-in at the Woolworth's lunch counter), the establishment of an International Civil Rights Museum, and its status as a welcoming city for new immigrants and refugees are all part of the region's history of engaging civil and human rights social movements. In as much as the American Revolution can be interpreted as a social movement devoted to expanding civil and human rights, the region and the Park share much of this history and vision.
2. Several other parks, historical sites, and organizations exist in the region that could be thematically linked to the Park as a revolutionary heritage corridor, with each place pointing out how the person or action it commemorates furthers the principles of the American Revolution, particularly because those principles were not achieved by the American Revolution (e.g. with the persistence of slavery) and continue to challenge the United States today (e.g. with the assaults on voting rights). These include the International Civil Rights Museum, Bruce Park, Caldwell Park, the Buffalo and Alamance Churches, Guilford College, UNCG's Center for New North Carolinians, and the Greensboro Historical Museum—to name only a few. A heritage corridor established elsewhere along the coast of North Carolina and further south, the Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor, “tells a nationally important story through its geography, its natural and cultural resources, and the traditions that have evolved within the landscape” (Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor Commission 2012:6). The Park has already taken steps to work with the City of Greensboro to link the Park to other local recreational and cultural resources, including plans for a shuttle service from the Park to its neighboring recreational areas; a heritage corridor could build on these efforts.
3. Interviews with Park visitors revealed that some recreational visitors to the Park, while visiting principally for exercise or entertainment, have developed an interest in Revolutionary War era history as a result of passing by the monuments and

interpretive signage in the Park. The visibility of these Park resources is thus helpful in initiating the educational process about the Park and what it stands for, suggesting that any new interpretive materials developed (e.g. signage about African Americans who fought in the battle) would benefit from being placed near walking/ jogging paths.

4. The archaeology of the Park, focusing primarily on locating the first, second, and third battle lines and Guilford Courthouse, also reveals that the Park has a long history as a place of recreation, although many of the artifacts that serve as evidence of this (e.g. bottles, pop-tops, pieces of sporting equipment, etc.) have been, understandably, discarded; while such items are unlikely candidates for museum exhibits, their presence in the Park's past corroborate the narratives of those who remember the Park grounds primarily as a place of recreation even prior to the stewardship of the National Park Service, when the grounds had a lake and a rail service brought people from downtown Greensboro to the Park.
5. The location of the Guilford Courthouse has still not been definitively determined by archaeologists; some archaeologists suspect that it may have been located on land that lies outside of the Park's boundaries, yet the most recent archaeological overview recommends that future archaeological work continue to search for Courthouse artifacts within the Park's boundaries. The difficulty assessing its location derives from its evident shoddy construction and constant state of disrepair, as indicated by documentary sources. More inquiry into the role of courthouses (vs., say, taverns and churches) in 18th century North American society might well place Guilford Courthouse into a broader ethnohistorical context that would cast light on its importance and relevance to the Battle.
6. Along with the Courthouse, David Schenck noted the existence of a courthouse well, whose location is also a mystery and an object of archaeological inquiry, given that locating the well might direct archaeologists to the site of the Courthouse.
7. Commemorative groups such as reenactors and the DAR, emphasizing revolutionary war history and the patriotism that the war engendered and entailed, are interested in promoting research and education in the Park about the American Revolution, especially research that results in material culture about the revolution (e.g. musket balls) and education that incorporates material culture and living history demonstrations and performances.
8. The majority of the nine African Americans we interviewed for this study believe that the Park does not do enough to profile African American contributions to the American Revolution, although they do appreciate the Park for its recreational opportunities and what that means for their health. They would appreciate information on the Underground Railroad as a part of the unfinished history of the American Revolution, which promised equality but left slavery intact. While the Park's interpretive materials have included information on the role of African Americans in the Battle and the American Revolution since 1970s, there is no monument commemorating this in the Park and, thus, it is given less emphasis than the parts that white men played in the Battle, War, and establishment of the Park. In addition, no African American reenactor group currently joins the annual

- reenactment of the Battle. An African American Ranger at the Park has had other duties that have superseded possible participation in reenactment programming.
9. Archival and historical research on African Americans in Guilford County show that the enslaved population in the county was far smaller than the enslaved populations of Eastern North Carolina, where there were larger plantations than the small farms that dominated Guilford County. Combined with the high level of religious tolerance in the region and the later strength of the Underground Railroad, it is highly likely that African American men and women played a variety of roles in the American Revolution and in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse that have yet to be well-understood. The Park currently portrays two African Americans in their video, Another Such Victory, one fighting for the British and a second, Ned Griffin, fighting for the Americans, but no African American women. Ironically, recent documentary evidence suggests that Ned Griffin enlisted in the American armed forces after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.
 10. Of the 28 monuments in the Park, 26 commemorate white men, the most prominent being the monument to General Nathanael Greene; the other two commemorate white women. One monument is to Kerenhappuch Norman Turner, a woman who rode on horseback from Maryland when she heard her son had been wounded in the battle, and who nursed not only her son back to health but other soldiers as well, developing a method of keeping wounds clean and cool by suspending pierced pots of cool water from ceiling beams and allowing the water to drip on the wounds. It was said that this helped to reduce fever as well. The second monument to a woman is to Martha Bell, a widow who took over her late husband's grist mill and trading business, traveling long distances to trade goods. On one of her trips a Tory soldier attempted to rape her and she not only resisted the attempt but took him prisoner. British General Cornwallis occupied her farm and mill after the battle and she threatened to burn it if he assaulted her or her children; Cornwallis left them alone, took all of her livestock and other supplies, but did not burn the farm or the mill.
 11. The eight Quakers we interviewed agreed that the Park emphasizes military history at the expense of those values dearer to their creed: particularly, the idea of equality among all, including women and peoples of color. Quakers are pacifists and conscientious objectors to participating in wars, and most of them refused to participate in the American Revolution as soldiers (although they participated in treating the wounded). Hence, those we interviewed argued that the Quakers in general are not strong supporters of places, monuments, museums, organizations, or other things that highlight military history, however much they support those values spawned by the American Revolution that are in line with their own. Those interviewed would also appreciate the Park including interpretive materials on the Underground Railroad, particularly because a Quaker named Levi Coffin was a key player in that institution in the region.
 12. All twenty-four members of religious groups we interviewed emphasized the settlement of the Triad region as a place where their ancestors found increased tolerance for their beliefs, and viewed this as consistent with the values of the American Revolution promoted at the Park.

13. The eleven Presbyterians we interviewed considered two churches—Buffalo and Alamance—as intimately connected to the Park and would like to see them included in Park materials as “satellite” locations. David and Rachel Caldwell—both highly active and influential Patriots—are buried in Buffalo Church’s cemetery and Arthur Forbis—one of the fallen Americans in the Battle—is buried in Alamance Church’s cemetery. These graves could be part of the heritage corridor mentioned earlier. A monument to David Caldwell stands in the Park, identifying him as a preacher, teacher, and patriot.
14. Some targeted promotion of the Park and its educational resources may be necessary to generate more interest in the Park among Lutherans, Moravians, and Native Americans. Moravians, like Quakers, however, are pacifists, and were conscientious objectors during the American Revolution.
15. Several individuals who worked at local museums saw the value in formalizing the thematic links among the Park, the International Civil Rights Museum, and the Greensboro Historical Museum. All three organizations have been involved in commemorating the expansion of human rights and could potentially benefit from closer collaboration. Again, the Park staff have been working with the City of Greensboro to link other local sites to the Park.
16. Apart from some of the interviews conducted during this research, the oral history of the Park is scanty, with brief recollection pieces in the files at the Greensboro Public Library. However, there is an extensive oral history collection at UNC Greensboro on local African Americans’ views of civil rights activities in the city, including the sit-in at Woolworth’s.

These findings are not exhaustive, but highlight some of the key points raised in the interviews and through observations, transect walks, and archival research. Thus, they derive principally from people who live in the region and interact with the Park sporadically or regularly. They cannot be said to be completely representative of any of the groups mentioned above, but they do reflect views found in the community that the Park can capitalize on to improve what is already a neighborly relationship with its neighbors.

Chapter 1:

History, Place, and the Unique Role of North Carolina in the American Revolution

The Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (hereafter, the Park) commemorates a critical battle of the American Revolution—one that the American forces lost but that, many historians agree, was at least partially responsible for the eventual surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown six months after the battle. The irony of a lost battle leading to a victory in a war is but one of many paradoxes about the battle itself; the historical, geographical, social, and cultural contexts in which the battle was fought; and the ways that interested individuals and groups have represented the battle over time. Fought on March 15, 1781, today the battle is remembered on or near its anniversary every year, when hundreds of visitors to the battleground visit, camp, and commemorate the event, including reenacting the battle on neighboring city park lands.¹ Such events attract people from the Triad Region (the region that includes Greensboro, Winston-Salem, and High Point) and from people representing commemorative groups, as well as private individuals, from around the country and world. While the events surrounding the anniversaries of the battle, along with the Park's visitor center and grounds, educate the public about the battle itself and many of the key military figures of the battle, less is known about the ways in which the battle touched the lives of people across the Triad, how it continues to engage the general public, and what potential exists for the park to engage more people in different ways in the future.

This report constitutes an attempt to link the Park to various social groups, organizations, and historical sites in and around the Triad Region. As an ethnographic overview and assessment, it is based on a variety of interviews, observations, visits to museums, churches, and other historic sites, published articles and books, reports, and archival information (see Appendix A for a discussion of the methods used). The research was conducted from August 2012 to June 2014 and will continue well into 2014 and even beyond, as its authors prepare insights from the research for publication. It is hoped that the information presented in this report will give the National Park Service opportunities to vary the exhibits and experiences of the Park in ways that more deeply engage people across the Triad Region and beyond.

The Guilford Courthouse National Military Park

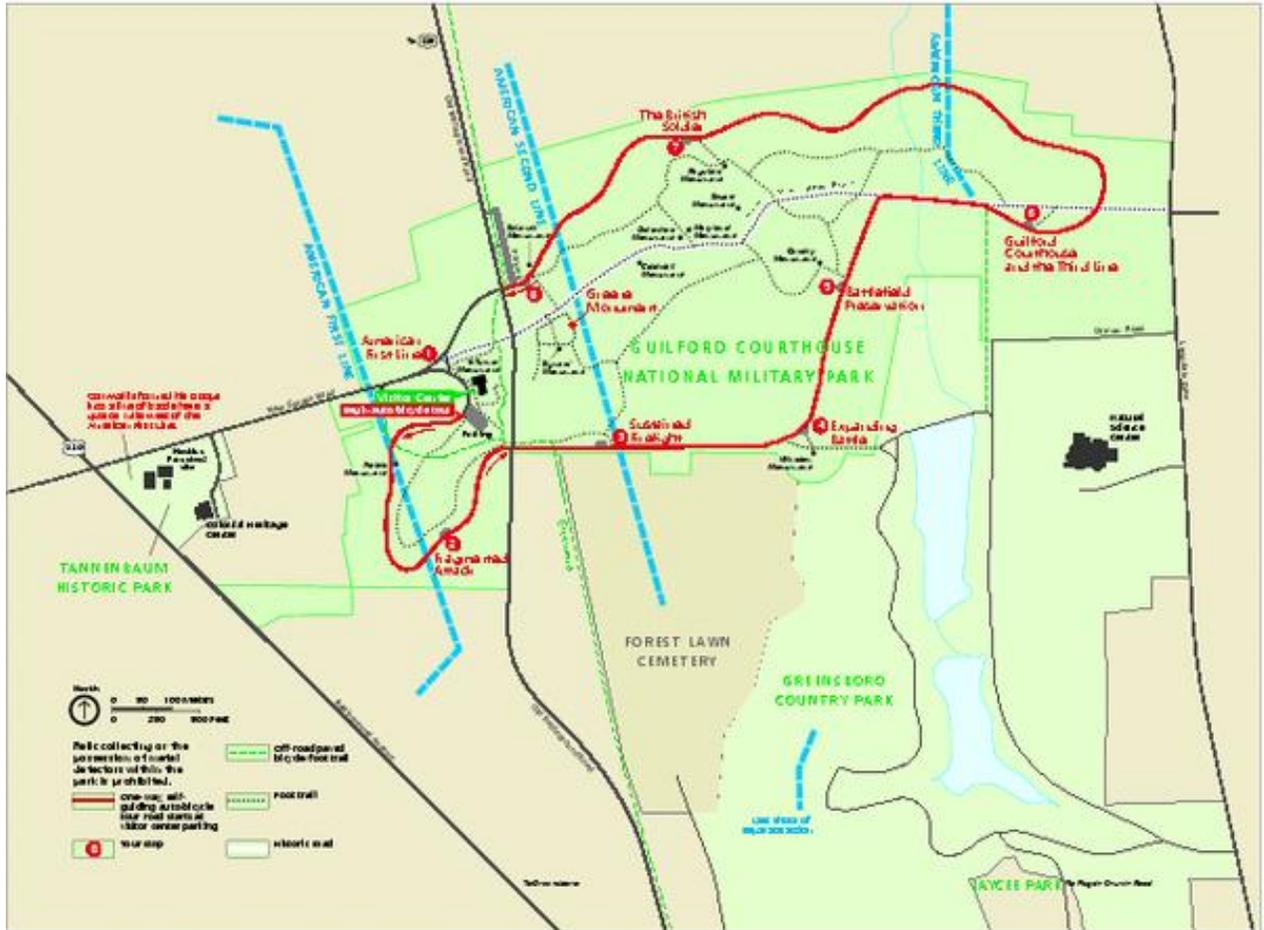
The Park itself is located in northern Greensboro, in an area of several apartment complexes and a variety of businesses that line Battleground Avenue and New Garden Road, occupying the site of at least part of the Battle. It covers around 250 acres (Nancy Stewart, personal communication).² Formerly surrounded by farms, forests, and other rural landscapes, and at one time farmed, the Park has been influenced by the northern growth of the city of Greensboro, which has gradually surrounded the Park. Historians, archaeologists, and Park staff acknowledge that some of the Battleground has been

developed for commercial or residential purposes. It was a proposal to develop a shopping center on former Battleground land that led to the 1984 resurrection of the Guilford Battleground Company—an organization dedicated to reclaiming Battleground land for the Park and supporting the Park in other ways.

As the map below shows, New Garden and Old Battleground Roads run through the Park and there are a series of walking paths and roads through the Park for visitors to view eight interpretive signs and the 28 monuments; 12 of the monuments are located on the map, as are the approximate locations of the first, second, and third American battle lines. Much of the Park is heavily wooded, as it was during the Battle, and some of the trees and other flora are labeled for park visitors. Two parking lots, a Visitors Center, and Comfort Station are also connected to the Park, and on its western edge is the Colonial Heritage Center, which also has a Visitors Center and a several log buildings similar to those that date to the 18th century, including the Hoskins Farm. The audio tour notes that Hoskins fled Pennsylvania to get away from the war there, only to locate his farm in a place that would become the site of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Also within the Park is the location of the house owned by James W. Webb and later by his son, James E. Webb, that dates to the 19th century. This house is significant in that the most recent archaeological overview of the Park introduces the hypothesis that the Webb house may have been built on or near the site of the original Guilford Courthouse. The park adjoins a large cemetery (Forest Lawn) and a large city park (Greensboro Country Park). Annually, in excess of 500,000 people visit the Park and its surrounding areas (Facilities Management Group, n.d.).

It is sacred ground; several revolutionary war soldiers and others associated with the American Revolution are buried there, including two signers of the Declaration of Independence. For this reason, Park personnel are sensitive about the use of the Park for *some* recreational purposes. Specifically, Park staff encourage people to enjoy the Park's grounds and woods as places of contemplation, reflection, and exercise, but discourage, for example, sporting activities such as using the monuments for Frisbee targets or playing soccer or football on the open spaces. For those kinds of activities, Park staff encourage visitors to move their activity to the neighboring Greensboro Country Park, which has facilities for games involving balls, and they have been working with the city to provide shuttle services between the two parks.

The Park's Visitors Center is open every day from Memorial Day to Labor Day, from 8:30 am to 5:00 pm, and from Tuesday through Saturday, with the same hours, the remainder of the year. It is free and open to the public. Rangers and docents staff the front desk. The Visitors Center includes several artifacts of the American Revolution and the Battle, along with drawings and uniformed mannequins of militia, Continental, and British Soldiers. Its film, Another Such Victory, is shown regularly throughout the day. The film, which is thirty minutes long, recounts the events leading up to the Battle, the Battle itself, and its aftermath, and adopts a narrative style that allows actors portraying British and American soldiers to answer questions from a narrator. The Center has a conference room, offices, archives, and a bookstore; across New Garden Road from the Center is a small library. Just outside the Center are silhouettes of soldiers in arms.



Map 1: Guilford Courthouse National Military Park and Surrounding Area

A free brochure about the Park is available at the Center. It includes a brief description of the Battle, an interpretation of its significance for the American Revolution, drawings depicting soldiers clashing and Generals Greene and Cornwallis, photos of some of the monuments, and guidance to some of the interpretive signs and monuments. The bookstore sells a number of histories of the Battle and the Greensboro area, souvenirs, and DVDs or CDs of the film and a walking tour. As just noted, the Park has 28 monuments. In a history of monuments in the Park, Gray (1967) notes that the Park's monuments have changed over time, with some of them predating the National Park Service's stewardship. For example, there was once a monument to the Battle of Alamance in the Park, which was moved to the Alamance Battlefield. The family of James Hunter, one of the regulators, objected to this, claiming that they paid to have the monument erected at Guilford Courthouse. Gray cites this as evidence that the monuments needed to be better understood—their origins, when they were erected, and their interpretation.

In the introduction to the monument history, Gray also notes that David Schenck was “appalled when, out of an estimated 3,000 people in Greensboro, he could not find a half dozen persons who could point out to him the scene of the battle.” He purchased the first 30 acres of park land in October 1886. March 7, 1887, the Battleground Company was

chartered, and was formally organized two months later, on May 6. Schenck was elected president and served until his death in 1902.

Despite Schenck's disappointment, the Battleground was appreciated by the public prior to the creation of the Battleground Company. Public celebrations of the battle predated the Battleground Company. The first public celebration was prior to 1815 and attended by Andrew Jackson; the next documented one occurred on July 4, 1815, to commemorate Jackson's victory at New Orleans. On the 50th anniversary of the battle, in 1811, there was also a celebration, and in 1881, the centennial. "Neither of these last two gatherings was very large" (Gray 1967: 3). The first unveiling took place on July 4, 1887, when the Arthur Forbis monument was unveiled. Two more monuments were erected over the next year.

After an initial zenith of enthusiasm for the park, it seems that interest waned. In 1890 there wasn't even a public celebration on the anniversary of the battle, and no new monument was erected in 1889. Schenck had an idea of using the site as a vast cemetery for all the South's revolutionary war heroes, but this has not occurred. The first museum was built in 1891, based mostly on battlefield artifacts. Supposedly, a granite boulder was erected on the spot where the last American shot was fired, but, "No trace of this stone has ever been found and no record mentions it after its erection" (Gray 1967:4). In 1892 they erected a dam and made Lake Wilfong, named after Schenck's wife, and the lake became "one of the most popular recreational spots in the area" (Gray 1967:4). This lake no longer exists, but the Park includes a photograph of the lake on its website, which is reproduced below.



Figure 1: Women at Lake Wilfong

The Importance of the Place of the Park

This report describes how the Park has been used over time, how individuals from different ethnic, religious, and patriotic backgrounds interviewed relate to the Park, what resources relating to the Park and its history are available in Guilford County, and how the Park and the ideals it represents have fit within the social and political context of Guilford County. One unifying finding from our research is that the *place* where the Park is located—the Triad Region—has a long history of social movements oriented toward expanding the human rights we associate with independence. This is, in short, the wider ethnographic context of the Park. As such, the battle of Guilford Courthouse represents but one instance in a long line of processes and events that commemorate the expansion of independence, freedoms, and human rights to an ever wider network of ethnic, religious, and social groups. Educational materials in the Park have emphasized not only the battle's role in this expansion, but also the underlying reasons that the battle took place where it did, who did and did not participate, and what legacies of the battle and its result persist in the region.

Geographers, anthropologists, and others have long argued that places are important anchors of identity and belonging, creating fertile territories for the development of social memory and portrayals of historical events and processes (Kahn 1996; Harvey 2006). Yet, ironically, places can also facilitate connections that can extend across continents, diasporas, and other geographical and social formations. Jackson's (2012) work on Kingsley plantation, for example, demonstrates that many descendants of the plantation's 19th century residents have left the region, forming a diaspora whose members continue to identify with the place the plantation occupies as a critical part of their past. Descendants of former African American residents of Sommerset Plantation in northeastern North Carolina have experienced a similar attachment to the plantation, returning every year for a reunion (Griffith 1999). Indeed, historically, both plantations had international connections in so far as their labor forces were reproduced, in part, through the transatlantic slave trade and depended on markets in the Caribbean, along the Eastern Seaboard, and elsewhere. These observations challenge the common view of the plantation as a bounded entity—or, in sociological parlance, a “total institution”³—even while they reaffirm the importance of the plantation as a place.

Residents of the Triad region are quite conscious of the fact that they live in a place where many of its original settlers settled there specifically because they could enjoy freedom from the dominance of the British Empire-supported Anglican Church, practicing alternative religious beliefs as Quakers, Presbyterians, and Lutherans, among others. Most texts outlining the settlement of these early groups mention that, along with low-cost land, the religious tolerance they found in the region (originally part of Orange County) made it attractive to them (Ayers 1981; Haworth 2009; Rankin 1934). Rankin's account of the county reported that, “Practically everybody living in the central part of Guilford before 1800 were Presbyterians. Buffalo and Alamance Churches were bounded on the east by a German settlement and on the west by the Quakers.” Three religious sects living in close proximity to one another is an indication that religious

tolerance was high in the region, as was the cooperation among religious sects in fighting in the Battle⁴ and treating the wounded.⁵

Further, Greensboro, North Carolina, has been the site of significant social movements designed to expand civil and human rights yet which experienced an extremely troubling armed confrontation between Ku Klux Klansmen and avowed communists marching through the streets in 1979. Despite setbacks like the KKK-Communist confrontation, Guilford County enjoys what could be considered a vast human rights infrastructure. First, in a city with just over 277,000 inhabitants, Greensboro has five institutions of higher learning—University of North Carolina at Greensboro, North Carolina Agricultural and Technological College, Bennett College, Guilford College, and Guilford Technical Community College—that have reached out to students from diverse backgrounds, including underrepresented groups. Two of these five institutions are historically African American, two were historically primarily for women, one was founded by Quakers, and one currently hosts a Welcoming New North Carolinians Center for the region’s new immigrants and refugees from Asia, Africa, and Latin America—all indications that they are institutions devoted to expanding civil rights. The Greensboro Historical Museum’s exhibits highlight important moments in the city’s civil rights history, including the sit-in at Woolworth’s, and the city is also home to the International Civil Rights Museum. The city of Greensboro has a Human Relations Commission whose mission is “to improve the quality of life for Greensboro residents by encouraging fair treatment and promoting mutual understanding and respect among all people” (www.greensboro-nc.gov, accessed May 14, 2014). They are dedicated to improving such things as human services, housing, education, employment opportunities, justice, and relations with new immigrants and refugees.

The Park has not been a passive participant in these activities. It has reached out to the city through the Battleground Parks District Master Plan, which is a partnership between the Park and the Greensboro Parks and Recreation Department, Guilford County, the Natural Science Center, and the Greensboro Planning Department (Facilities Management Group n.d.). Their work indicates that the Park is open to working closely with local government in the region to promote the interests of the region’s residents and those of the National Park Service. They envision that the “Battleground Parks District can be a model for North Carolina, where federal and local parks are unified to jointly leverage investment” (Facilities Management Group, n.d.:1). This is a timely initiative as considerations of new interpretive signage are introduced and discussed, with the potential to broaden the reach of the Park’s messages to more diverse audiences.

The Park’s Place in Local History

The location of the Park in geographical space is but one of the many places it occupies. As an American Revolutionary War site, the Park has played an important role in representing not only the Battle and the Revolution but also the way in which local people and local landscapes influenced or participated in the battle, its aftermath, and its lasting effects on the region. Although the Battle itself was the result of a series of maneuvers and strategic troop movements on the parts of Cornwallis and Greene,

Washington's selection of Greene to lead in the Southern campaigns derived in part from his Quaker background, which Washington believed would aid in his establishing support with the people of the region in and around Guilford Courthouse (if not militia support, then support in the form of supplies, medical attention, and sympathy for the Revolutionary cause). This proved correct, with even some of the Quakers participating in the Battle and others assisting in other ways.

However, the American Revolution was far from fully aligned with Quaker beliefs or with the idea that African Americans, Native Americans, women, and other minorities and underrepresented groups of the time should have equal rights with white property owners. While the American Revolution was a social movement designed to expand human rights, it still involved contradictory expressions of independence, advocating equal rights for all yet failing to abolish slavery, expand equal rights to women and minorities, or reduce its efforts to exterminate and dispossess Native Americans. This was particularly true in North Carolina's northern neighbor of Virginia, the colony that produced many of the Revolution's most powerful leaders and early Republic's statesmen yet remained deeply tied, economically, to slave plantation agriculture (Ellis 2001). Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, Alexander Hamilton, among other Virginians, profited from slavery.⁶ North Carolina's southern neighbors, South Carolina and Georgia, moreover, were so attached to slavery that they refused to sign the Declaration of Independence unless provisions were made to maintain the institution of slavery (Jackson 2012:26).

North Carolina, by contrast, was an early supporter of the Declaration of Independence, resolving to break from the Crown twice before July of 1776. Further, in the South, several political economic circumstances distinguished North Carolina from Virginia, South Carolina, and other colonies where slavery was practiced.⁷ As a colony and state where it was legal and economically profitable to enslave other human beings, North Carolina tolerated and depended on slavery, but the colony's economic dependence on forest products known as naval stores—tar, pitch, and turpentine primarily—created qualitatively distinct social relations between slave owners and the enslaved, with some forest owners actually paying their slaves to “box”⁸ and bleed pines, build tar kilns, render tar and pitch, and distill turpentine (Early 2001; Outland 2000; Cecelski 2000). More telling in terms of Guilford County is that its enslaved population was proportionately far smaller than those along the coastal plain, where there were larger plantations (Ready 2005).

Indeed, the distribution of the enslaved in North Carolina was quite uneven, with the heaviest concentrations of the enslaved in the Lower Cape Fear region, where rice and indigo plantations were worked by the ancestors of current Gullah Geechee people (Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor Commission 2012). This region was also home to enslaved watermen who were skilled at guiding ships around the shifting shoals at the mouth of the Cape Fear and who were so valuable to local commerce that they enjoyed broad freedom of movement (Cecelski 2001). Enslaved watermen were instrumental in conveying intelligence among other enslaved peoples and inciting resistance and insurrection.

Other areas, such as the northeast coastal plain, were also home to plantations and enslaved watermen, but further inland the farms were smaller, many of them specializing in tobacco, some varieties of which, such as burley, were more suited to small farms rather than large plantations (Griffith 2009). On the smaller farms, large numbers of enslaved residents were uncommon, with farms usually having fewer than five enslaved people if they had any at all (Merrens 1962:101-102). Merrens suggest that farmers with smaller numbers of the enslaved were more likely than large plantation owners to treat them as members of their family. While this may have been the case during parts of the year, anthropologists of paternalism argue that paternalistic relations are, nevertheless, marked by customary benevolence amidst sporadic violence and intimidation (e.g. Sider 1986), and we should be careful about romanticizing the conditions of the enslaved in households with small numbers of them.

Yet North Carolina's enslaved population was different than South Carolina's and Virginia's in other ways as well. North Carolina only briefly had a slave market like those in Norfolk or Charleston, importing slaves directly from Africa only from the 1680s to the early 18th century (Crow, Escott, and Hatley 1992). After the end of direct connection with the transatlantic slave trade, the enslaved sold in North Carolina were often the rejects of plantations to the north and south, where they were considered of "poor" quality—strong-willed, for example, independent, recalcitrant, and therefore drawn to social movements involving the expansion of personal freedoms. "No Negroes are brought directly from Guinea to North Carolina," Customs official George Burrington (1736) complained to the Commissioners of Customs, "the Planters are obliged to go into Virginia and South Carolina to purchase them where they pay a duty on each Negroe or buy the refuse distempered or refractory Negroes brought into the Country from New England and the Islands which are sold at excessive Rates."

According to Crow, Escott, and Hatley (1992:3): "With its dangerous coastline, North Carolina depended on overland trade from Virginia and South Carolina to meet its need in slaves and other commodities... A majority of the 70,000 to 75,000 slaves who entered South Carolina between 1735 and 1775 were reexported, with Georgia and North Carolina, in that order, the principal destinations."

In a more recent history, Ready (2005:68), also argues that, in North Carolina, the institutions of both slavery and servitude differed from those of their neighbors to the north and south:

"Unlike Virginia and South Carolina, colonial North Carolina did not become a slave society but rather a culture where slavery became significant but not institutionally dominant. The same factors that affected the colony's early growth and development—especially the presence of the Outer Banks, the lack of a commercial staple crop, the paucity of towns and the absence of a large port, and the relative weakness of government at all levels—also made the experience of early black North Carolinians significantly different from that of their white masters and neighbors."

Ready (2008:69) does acknowledge the growth of plantation agriculture fueled by slavery in the Lower Cape Fear region, which he characterizes as “almost a province of South Carolina,” given that prominent families from Charleston were among the most influential rice and indigo planters in that region. Like other historians, however, Ready also reports that slave-holding was uneven across the colony, with the larger plantations more restricted to the coastal plain and along some of the major rivers and the inland regions more apt to be dominated by small farms and smaller numbers of the enslaved.

In Guilford County, of the 1,188 households listed in the 1790 census (the first of the United States), 180 households (15.15%) kept fellow members of the human race in bondage. This compares to 55% in New Hanover County in the east, which lies along the Lower Cape Fear (US Bureau of the Census 1790). Of the estimated 65,000 enslaved people in North Carolina in 1775, “about 55,000 of them lived east of the fall line, where most of the plantations were located” (Ganyard 1978:3). In addition, nearly 40% of the Guilford County households who enslaved people enslaved only one, although some landowners enslaved nearly 30. Even some of the more powerful people in the county did not enslave large numbers of people. David Caldwell, for example, one of the slave-owners with a statue in the Park and the subject of story about a dispute with the Quaker Levi Coffin over the disposition of an enslaved woman, told in more detail below, was listed in the census as enslaving only eight individuals.

Just as the enslaved in North Carolina were different than those in Virginia and elsewhere, so were North Carolina’s indentured servants. During the 18th and 19th centuries, nearly half of all white immigrants came to North America as indentured servants, working for five to seven years, often in slave-like conditions, in exchange for their passage to the New World, freedom at the end of their contract period, and clothes, tools, and a small piece of land (ten acres for men, six for women) for their subsistence (Galenson 1981). Because of an abundance of land in North Carolina, much of it forested, many indentured servants escaped from their farms into the wilderness. Similarly, escaped indentured servants were drawn to North Carolina from Virginia in such numbers that, to appease their northern neighbor, the North Carolina colonial legislature passed a law against harboring them (Ready 2005:76-77).

It is quite likely that enslaved and indentured servants were sympathetic to the expansion of human rights, given that such social developments might have meant more personal freedom for them. As noted earlier, several groups targeted North Carolina as a settlement destination for religious freedom or for the promise of low-cost land in regions pressing up against the wilderness, pouring out of Pennsylvania and other northern colonies and states into North Carolina, many of them settling and establishing churches and farms in the Triad region. Their lasting influence on the region is seen today in the Guilford College, the David Caldwell Museum, the Buffalo and Alamance Churches, and other institutions scattered around the city of Greensboro and the region.

North Carolina’s reputation for attracting peoples distinct from the other colonies was not restricted to either African Americans or indentured servants. The population movements

that occurred during the 18th century propelled North Carolina from a small, lightly populated colony to one of the more populated colonies of those that became the original United States. Through the eighteenth century, North Carolina gradually filled with Highland Scots, Irish, Germans, Welsh, and other ethnic groups that the English considered uncultured, crude, and marginally capable of leadership (Watson 1996). Indeed, in his biography of the famous revolutionary sea captain John Paul Jones, Evan Thomson points out that the highly competent Jones, as a Scot, was routinely passed over for commissions that were given to less skilled Englishmen (Thomas 2003).

Further, some of the period accounts of North Carolina were vicious in their depictions of the colonists. An Anglican minister, Charles Woodmason, was anything but charitable when he wrote: “The Manners of the North Carolinians in General, are Vile and Corrupt—The whole Country is a Stage of Debauchery Disoluteness and Corruption—And how can it be otherwise? The People are compos’d of the Out Casts of all the other Colonies who take Refuge there” (Becker 1971:8).

Another clergyman, John Urmstone, expressed a similar sentiment when he informed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that, while in North Carolina, he “struggled with great inconveniences of living in such an obscure corner of the world inhabited by the dregs and gleanings of all other English Colonies and a very unhealthy Country which have driven many Clergymen out of it not being able to stay so many months as I have years and brought others to their Graves” (Becker 1971:18)

Ready (2005:50) adds to these characterizations by drawing on William Byrd’s depictions of Carolinians while surveying the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia:⁹

“Visiting the settlement [in 1728], William Byrd also registered his disgust and distain for his neighbors. They recognized no government, paid ‘no tribute, either to God or Caesar,’ and had no manners. North Carolinians tolerated his company only ‘so long as our good liquor lasted’ and then departed. To him, North Carolinians could rise no higher than country bumpkins or ‘homebred’ squires. They could never be gentlemen. The colony had neither ports, towns, good roads, nor any semblance or place of government. In fact, it hardly seemed a colony at all. North Carolina’s settlements, population, and circumstances appeared so meager and undifferentiated in the 1720s that London thought of giving it away to its richer neighbors, Virginia and South Carolina, both of whom probably would have declined the gift altogether.”

These characterizations suggest that North Carolina colonists, prior to the revolution, were viewed as more independent, hardier, and less inclined to bow down to either the crown or the Anglican church than colonists elsewhere. These differences were likely differences of degree rather than kind, but they are, nevertheless, notable, and supported by subsequent events that took place in the colony, particularly its early resistance to the British Crown. While the most common reason for moving to North Carolina was its abundance of low-cost land, the colony nevertheless developed into a center of

revolutionary unrest beginning with the 1760s and 70s Regulator movement and continuing through the American Revolution into the era of protest against taxes on distilled spirits and even into the mid-20th century civil rights movements (Hogeland 2006).

North Carolina's role in the American Revolution is interesting in that many in the colony and, later, in the state, claimed that the original declaration of independence from the British Crown was made in Mecklenburg County, approximately a year before the July 4 signing of the declaration we honor today, and a second declaration was made in Halifax County, also in North Carolina, on March 15, 1776—again, preceding the Philadelphia declaration by nearly four months. North Carolina's early revolutionary sentiments were expressed in the Triad region in the form of the early Regulator movement, led by Herman Husband, which resulted in another courthouse battle in Alamance County ten years prior to the battle at Guilford Courthouse, on May 16, 1771. Like the American Revolution, this battle was in protest of British legal actions prior to the Stamp Act, but the regulators were a few years ahead of their time. The very military officers who, on behalf of the British Crown, subdued the regulators at Alamance County Courthouse, including James Moore and Richard Caswell, just a few years later, fought against the British for many of the same principles the regulators espoused (Ganyard 1978; Rankin 1959; Watson 1996).

The claim that North Carolinians declared independence from the British prior to the 4th of July Declaration that, today, the nation officially celebrates, has been contested by historians on and off over the past two centuries, yet North Carolina's flag (see figure 1) still contains the two dates on which the two declarations of independence took place: May 20, 1775 and April 12, 1776. It is clear that revolutionary sentiments in North Carolina predated the American Revolution, manifested particularly in the Regulator movement of the 1760s, which is of particular interest to Presbyterians who worship at one of two churches where the Regulator and Revolutionary David Caldwell preached.

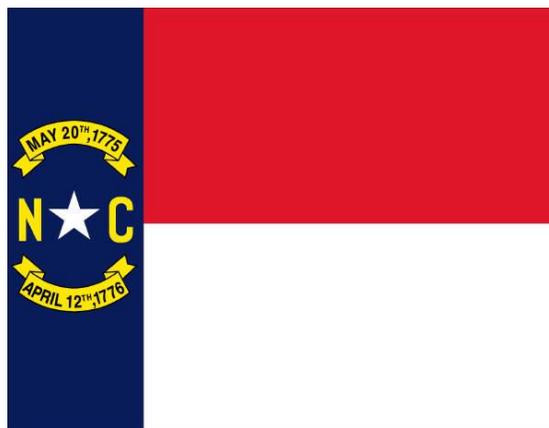


Figure 1: Flag of North Carolina Showing the Dates of its two Declarations of Independence

That North Carolina, with its state flag, continues to claim a preemptive right to declaring independence against the British Crown may constitute a small instance of contesting the

more widely accepted historical narrative (i.e. the July 4, 1776 Declaration written by Jefferson), but such displays remind us that history *is* contested—that different peoples, different government entities, and groups relate history differently. At times differences in historical accounts are minor and seemingly insignificant, but in other instances they have led to lingering ill will among peoples and very real disputes over property rights, development trajectories, and claims to social resources. Developing and relating alternative historical accounts has been a part of ethnographic work around the world for three to four generations of ethnographers, who have attempted to rescue historical accounting from the academic tradition that focuses on so-called great men, military exploits, and other events and achievements cast as decisive or monumental (e.g. Shackel 2009; Griffith 1997).

Just as history has been championed, it has also been silenced (Jackson 2012). While many voices have yet to be recovered and added to the historical record, one shadow over the Park is that the American Revolutionary campaigns of the South remain underappreciated beside the battles fought further north. As Morrill (1999: 3) argues, “The story of the American Revolutionary War in the South is a tale told mainly in half-tones and subtle images.” In the South, part of the reason for this is that several Civil War battlegrounds are in the South and these have overshadowed Revolutionary War battlegrounds.

North Carolina, for example, has 20 Civil War Battlegrounds that have been commemorated, but only two National Park Revolutionary War Battlegrounds, Moore’s Creek and Guilford Courthouse, or three if you include Kings Mountain, which is on the North Carolina-South Carolina border. While it could be argued that only two or three decisive engagements took place in North Carolina during the Revolutionary War, yet 20 Civil War engagements, Morrill (1999) argues that many smaller engagement took place across the south, including North Carolina, and Babits (2002) mentions Haw River, North Carolina as a site in his account of the Southern Campaigns.

The American Revolution and the Battle of Guilford Courthouse have both been dominated by the tradition of highlighting heroism and constructing monuments to those members of the ruling class who have been, in turn, heralded by popular historians like the plagiarist Steven Ambrose or the more accurate and balanced Gordon Wood. This report is not an attempt to steal glory from the Guilford Courthouse battle’s protagonists like Nathanael Greene or Arthur Forbis or battlefield saviors like David Schenck, but to add to the history of the battle, the revolution, the region in which it was waged, and the people it would influence for many generations to come.

Further, one of the most obvious functions of the Park has been its importance as a place of recreation. Several people we interviewed spoke of people coming to hold picnics and other activities early in the century, taking a special trip to the Park on a trolley that brought them from downtown Greensboro. Until the latter part of the 20th century, before the new visitors center was constructed in the 1970s, much of the Park was still surrounded by woods and other rural areas. With the expansion of the city north, urban growth eventually surrounded the Park and, in 1997, the Park produced a General

Management Plan and Environmental Assessment that specifically recognized the role of the Park as urban green space:

“Military parks and battlefields are being used as urban open space landscape. Visitors no longer come to these parks just to gain an understanding of the Nation’s past. Residents surrounding these parks take advantage of the open spaces these resources provide. Today, much of the use of these parks may not be associated directly with learning about and appreciating a memorable period of American history” (National Park Service 1997:1).

As a result of that study, which included input from the public and recommended working closely with the City of Greensboro, the Park became more accessible and safe for recreational users, and the maps and reference material produced during that study linked the park to several nearby city parks and other city facilities that could enhance visitors’ experiences. We recommend similar maps be created today, linking the Park to historical resources around Greensboro and Guilford County in an effort to open up the Park’s interpretation of history to more and more social groups. Yet problems with attracting recreational users to the Park remain, with the Park rangers reporting that games have been played using the monuments more like bases in a baseball game than as objects of reverence and respect. While Park staff welcome recreational users, they also view recreation as encompassing quiet and meditative activities that are more suitable to sacred ground than playing Frisbee, soccer, or other games.

Chapter 2:

Remembering the American Revolution: Social Memory and the Construction of History

“On 15 March 1781, the armies of Nathanael Greene and Lord Charles Cornwallis fought one of the bloodiest and most intense engagements of the American Revolution at Guilford Courthouse in piedmont North Carolina. Although victorious, Cornwallis’s army was so badly damaged that he was forced to retreat to Wilmington to resupply and refit. Declaring the conquest of the Carolinas to be impossible, Cornwallis made the fateful decision to march into Virginia, eventually leading his army to surrender at Yorktown, clearing the way for American Independence.” —Quote from inside the dust jacket of Long, Obstinate, and Bloody: The Battle of Guilford Courthouse (Babits and Howard 2009).

Most accounts of the battle of Guilford Courthouse begin with a quote much like the above and follow with a detailed account of troop movements before, during, and after the battle, including the supplies they secured along the way, the wagons they loaded and lost, rivers forded, the kinds of guns discharged, and, most importantly, the men who fought, died, and survived. Babits and Howard’s (2009) account, acclaimed as the most accurate, takes this tack, using maps, drawings, and highly descriptive narratives to reconstruct the sequence of events that led to the battle, the battle itself, and the consequences of the battle in the short- and long-terms. Such accounts and their artifacts, relics, memorials, statues, commemorative events, and other supporting materials, whether material or emotional, appeal to much of the public and help valorize individuals who have been remembered as American heroes—men, usually, responsible for the birth of the nation and the enlightened push toward expanding personal freedoms, destroying barriers to self-expression and individual achievement, and increasing access to available natural and social resources. At the same time, they demonize figures like General Cornwallis and Colonel Tarleton, criticizing and questioning what they fought to defend—a British monarchy that, by means of the Stamp Act, had been attempting to squeeze the American colonists, engaging in what is widely remembered as “Taxation without Representation.”¹⁰

Yet what is equally noteworthy about the battle of Guilford Courthouse is that the courthouse itself, sitting in the middle of a forest in a colony economically dependent on forests, was so slapped together that it left little impression on the landscape, causing archaeologists to argue over its location to this day. Stein and Stein (n.d.:173) report that,

“Colonial Records concerning the courthouse indicate numerous construction problems, or at least questions about the work of and payments to the builder, a gentleman named Patrick Shaw. It was apparently substantially repaired or rebuilt a few years later following the design of a Rockingham County courthouse

after a committee was assigned to compare the two courthouses and found the Guilford one lacking.”

They also report that permits for several taverns were issued shortly after the community of Martinville was founded. The shoddy condition of the courthouse leads to the question, How important were courthouses in the late colonial period? What was their relationship to churches, where disputes among citizens were often resolved, or to taverns, that often served as centers of political activity?

When the capital of Guilford County was moved from Martinville to Greensboro, following county reorganization and shifts in population, the Guilford Courthouse was either dismantled or left to deteriorate. It disappeared completely. The battleground grew over with weeds and farms and became threatened with the urban growth sprawling north out of Greensboro. It wasn't until 1887 that a judge named David Schenck and other local patrons saved the land from further neglect and development, forming the Battleground Company; in 1917 the war department took it over as the first site in the United States to commemorate a Revolutionary War battle site, and in 1933 the National Park Service assumed stewardship of the battleground as a national park. Thus, over the course of four to five decades, the Park had three different stewards, each with its own ideas about what the park should be and how it should be represented.

Yet what did the battleground company, the war department, and the National Park Service actually acquire? Archaeologists, historians, Park personnel, and Battleground Company members agree that the land that the Park occupies today covers only a part of the actual field of battle; the Battleground Company and the Park have been, however, actively trying to acquire more of the land adjacent to the Park, attempting to incorporate as much of the battlefield as possible. Incorporating it all, of course, would be difficult if not impossible, both because much of the land is privately owned and has been developed into apartment complexes and shopping centers and because the Battle itself was a culmination of a long series of exchanges between British and Revolutionary troops. These exchanges included one that took place early in the morning of March 15, 1781, near the Friends Meeting House on Old Salisbury Road (today's New Garden Road): the Battle of New Garden. Today, a commemorative monument to a "Revolutionary Oak" stands near the location of the battle, in the Friends Meeting House cemetery across from Guilford College (see Figure 2).

Occurring just hours before the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, less than five miles away, the Battle of New Garden was an engagement between an advanced guard of British troops led by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton and American Troops led by Lieutenant Colonel Lee, an officer known as "Light Horse Harry" and the father of Civil War General Robert E. Lee. While many historians refer to this as a "skirmish" rather than a battle or, in Baker's account (2009:40), merely "fighting along New Garden Road, Algie Newlin (1995) argues that it was a full-fledged battle. At the very least, it can be considered a part of the Guilford Courthouse Battle because the engagement was between the same armed forces who would meet in the afternoon near the Courthouse and because

it bought General Greene time for maneuvering into a position that would benefit his forces during the Battle.

In as much as the location of the courthouse and extent and limits of the Battle are open to at least some interpretation, what does this say about the way the battleground company, the war department, and the National Park Service—along with all those associated with the park as re-enactors, commemorative groups, neighbors, and others—have chosen to depict this battle, to represent the revolution of which it was a part, and interpret a key moment in a distinctly American past?

Social scientists have long known that the construction of history is a social process, seated in class, gender, and ethnic relations and often contested and revised as powers shift and new voices emerge. The Battle of Guilford Courthouse occurred in a region of the state of North Carolina and the South that has been distinctive for its tolerance of alternative voices since well before the American Revolution. Again, this is the wider ethnographic and ethnohistorical context in which the Park is located. Not only were North Carolinians opposed to the British as Regulators and as early declarers of independence, it was around the Triad region that religious groups dedicated to pacifism and alternatives to the British Anglican sects found refuge and flourished: Quakers, Moravians, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and others. According to local Quakers, the Triad was also a principal location of the Underground Railroad that funneled fugitive slaves north to freedom. Each of these groups has made different claims on the history of the Triad Region, and each can contribute to a reading of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, the American Revolution, and other military actions and local social movements in a number of ways.

This does not mean that history can be revised in a wholesale fashion and readily grasped as accurate; any historical account needs supporting evidence, although the kinds of evidence people present may vary considerably. During the ethnographic work for this report, people presented a variety of disparate forms of evidence to make their claims on a portion of Guilford County or Greensboro history: deeds, grave markers, books, oral traditions, stories, and oral testimony. We present these materials here not as hard facts but as windows into various groups' perceptions and representations of the American Revolution and the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.

Two individuals interviewed during this study—one a reenactor and one a former Park employee—agreed with Morrill (1993) and Babits (2002), both of whom contend that the Southern campaigns of the American Revolution have been less well documented than those that occurred in New England and the Northeast. Battlefields representing American Revolution battlefields in the South often have to overcome the additional challenge of distinguishing American Revolution from Civil War battlefields. According to the former Park employee, visitors to the Park often associate nearly any battlefield in the South with the Civil War. According to a long-time visitor to the Park, “In 1915, when they put cannons in the Park, we didn't know why, but they were Civil War cannons. You can see them in pictures from 1958, they're Civil War cannons and they were still there.”



Figure 2: Marker to the Battle of New Garden in Friends (Quaker) Cemetery

Confusing the two conflicts with one another may be a source of misunderstanding about what the Park represents, as the Civil War is associated most explicitly with Southern resistance to the Emancipation Proclamation and therefore, from the perspective of the Confederacy, with the continued restriction rather than expansion of human rights. Ironically, the neglect of the Southern campaigns has influenced the extent to which African Americans who participated in the American Revolution are remembered, with most accounts focusing on Crispus Attucks, Salem Poor, and others who fought in the North. Few accounts mention African Americans Thomas Carney, Zachariah Jacobs, Cyfax Brown, or Andrew Furguson—all of whom participated in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse (Guilford Courthouse National Military Park 2005).

Archaeology of the Park

Battlefield archaeology is a field designed to recreate, as accurately as possible, events that took place in specific military engagements by means of excavating, mapping, and dating material culture on sites that are usually known, through historical accounts, to have hosted battles. All American Revolutionary events and battles are also within the purview of historical archaeology, whose practitioners seek to enhance or revise historical accounts based on excavated material culture. Most of the archaeological surveys and excavations in the Park have focused principally on determining the locations of the first, second, and third lines of British-American engagement during the battle and the location of the Guilford Courthouse.¹¹ While the former would constitute battlefield archaeology, the latter would be considered historical archaeology with some relevance to the battle in that its existence was noted on Tarleton's map of the battle and thus determining its location could aid in understanding the progress of the battle.

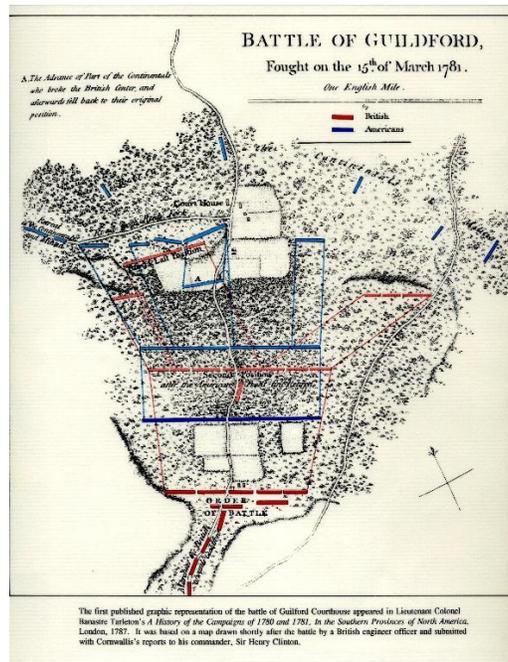


Figure 3: Tarleton’s Map of the Battle, showing Guilford Courthouse

In the process of these archaeological investigations, however, other bits of material culture uncovered at the Park also provide evidence for the general use of the Park and the land before it was either a battlefield or a National Park. An overview of metal detector surveys conducted in the Park to locate the Third American Line, for example, noted in passing that “material such as pop-tops, tin foil, beer cans, etc. were bagged in a general collection bag” and that these were “later inventories and many of the items were discarded” (Cornelison and Groh 2007: 36). Seemingly ordinary artifacts such as these in fact can tell us a great deal about the importance of the Park to local populations and how they have used the Park over time. While we do not wish to discount the historical, national, and ideological importance of the Park, it is clear that recreational uses of the Park predominate. In many of our interviews, we learned that recreational uses of the Park have been common since the 19th century and that, at one time, a trolley from Greensboro carried passengers for day-long picnics on Park lands. Some we interviewed claimed that buried trolley tracks still link the Park’s lands with Greensboro’s downtown. Here, however, we present a brief overview of the archaeology that has been conducted at the Park, including the early excavations and more recent field surveys with metal detectors and ground-penetrating radar that have accompanied archaeological interest in the Park.

Excavations Prior to the 1990s

Early archaeological excavations in the Park focused on locating the courthouse for an interpretive exhibit. The National Park Service’s Southeast Archaeological Center (SEAC) initiated excavations in 1968 under the direction of SEAC archaeologist John Walker and in response to a recommendation from a bicentennial study team; this work

revealed residues of one possible courthouse foundation, but the evidence was inconclusive (SEAC 2007: 32). Four years later, the Park contracted with Joffrey Coe¹² and Trawick Ward to excavate areas slated for the construction of a road, a visitors' center, and a parking lot. The Coe and Ward excavation uncovered evidence of other structures, but again the evidence was insufficient to suggest one was the courthouse.

Part of the problem that archaeologists have had in locating the courthouse derives from, first, the courthouse's evident poor condition, as noted earlier; second, that a small community, Martinville, grew up around it after the battle, altering the landscape in ways that may have obscured the courthouse's footprint; and, third, that Martinville was eventually abandoned as a demographic shift recommended Greensboro rather than Martinville for the county seat.¹³ Some archaeologists believe that the site of the courthouse is largely irrelevant to battlefield archaeology (Larry Babbitts, personal communication), in that its location has little to do with what the site can tell us about the battle or the Revolutionary War. Nevertheless, the courthouse is the battle's namesake and is noted in soldiers' accounts of the battle and on maps of the battle. This suggests that the courthouse was considered an important landmark at the time, however shoddily constructed it might have been. Yet no one indicated its place with a stone or marker of any kind, which suggests that, in the minds of locals in the late 18th and throughout much of the 19th century, the courthouse, and possibly the battle, were not considered places or events worth memorializing.

In any case, the courthouse's location remains to be definitively affixed, although many archaeologists who have worked in the Park and many Park staff have their own ideas about where the structure may have stood. Littering the area which was most likely Martinville are many artifacts uncovered by Walker, Coe, and Ward. Their work has revealed not only the structures noted above but evidence of a small community on lands where the Park stands today and of the historic roads that coursed through the area during the Revolutionary War era (SEAC 2007:33). This work revealed in particular the "Great Salisbury Road" used by Greene during the battle, later named New Garden Road, and the Reedy Fork Road, which Greene used during his retreat. Lined with interpretive signage—particularly information about the strategic way in which Greene is said to have retreated, confounding Cornwallis—these roads could be utilized to connect other historic sites around Greensboro and the region and serve as feeder roads to the Park.

Additional research during the 1970s revealed what Coe and Ward claimed "could be the archaeological remains of the Guilford Courthouse" (SEAC 2007:34), but this has since been contested. Other work conducted during the 1970s, due to construction projects, likewise produced no conclusive evidence for the location of the courthouse. Later archaeological work shifted away from locating the courthouse to a primary emphasis on establishing the three battle lines, in closer alignment with the goals of battlefield archaeology.

The 1990s Surveys and their Interpretation

Three times during the 1990s the Park enlisted volunteers, under the supervision of archaeologists, to use metal detectors to confirm the three lines of battle noted in written accounts. The 1995 surveys roughly confirmed the position of the Second American line but not the Third, confounding the field team. However, eventually the location of the Third Line through material cultural remains was found to differ from locations previously established by both David Schenck and two Park Rangers, Thomas Baker and Donald Long, situating the Line more or less between the two previous “traditional” locations (SEAC 2007:80).

Interpreting the material culture found through the metal detector surveys and excavations involved first cataloging and classifying the material and subsequently focusing on items most closely associated with Revolutionary War military strategy. As the Cornelison and Groh (2007) SEAC study notes, “The most informative artifacts in terms of understanding the positions of troops on the battlefields are munitions.” Thus considerable attention has been devoted to the musket balls recovered from the archaeological work, combining their information with knowledge of Revolutionary War tactics. In a telling passage, Cornelison and Groh (2007:51) provide relevant warfare tactics necessary to understand the presence of musket balls found in association with the search for the three battle lines:

“The standard linear battle formation during the Revolutionary War was a direct response to the inaccuracy of the smoothbore musket. Long lines of soldiers, brandishing muskets and standing in ranks two to three men deep, would advance toward each other, firing as many rounds into the opposing ranks as possible. This tactic ensured an extremely ample target on both sides, allowing the soldiers to concentrate more on shooting and less on aiming, as their gun would probably not fire straight anyway.”

In another passage, the same authors (2007:68) add additional depth to their analysis by bringing the battle to life; finding ratios of unfired to fired musket balls of around two to one, they write:

“Unstable battle lines produce a significantly larger number of unfired to fired bullets. Consulting with numerous combat veterans over the years of conducting this research, it is clear that soldiers under fire drop large quantities of items. It is easy to state in the comfort of an air conditioned office that two drops for every incoming is a large number until we place ourselves in the same situation. To attempt to do delicate work with your hands while large balls of lead whiz by your head added a dimension of difficulty to the task. Not to mention seeing comrades fall, smelling the smoke, and hearing the cries of the injured.... Given that a stability index [based on the ratio of unfired to fired bullets] of 2.0 or less would indicate a tactically stable line, this score [2.53] shows that this line was less than stable. This is consistent with the Colonial militia, who were unaccustomed to pitched battles, and manned the First Battle line. These numbers

indicate that much more fire was coming into the position than was going out based on two drops per each incoming round.”

Work synthesizing material culture with knowledge of battlefield strategy, conducted from the mid-1990s to well into the 21st century, resulted in questioning the long-standing, “traditional” location of the Third Battle Line as proposed by David Schenck and rangers Baker and Long. On the other hand, this work seemed to confirm the locations proposed by Schenck for the First and Second Lines. However, locating the Third Battle Line has been particularly important for military historians, commemorative groups, and Park staff in that the Third Line marked the final action of the battle, the location where Greene’s army suffered its most casualties, and the location where Greene initiated his retreat—a retreat portrayed by many historian as particularly brilliant and strategic, dovetailing with the idea that the Revolutionary defeat was actually a victory (Baker 2005; Hairr 2002).

Ground Penetrating Radar & Archaeological Survey Work

In just the past few years, Stine and Stine (n.d.) have completed a comprehensive draft of a report on the Park based on combining Ground Penetrating radar with metal detection and more traditional archaeological excavations, specifically focusing on determining the location of the Guilford Courthouse and collecting more information about the community of Martinville, particularly to determine its boundaries. This work was funded by the NPS with matching funds from the Guilford Battleground Company. The work was an occasion to introduce students to the archaeology of the Park as a field school, and Linda Stine reported that it was also an occasion to inform the public about the material culture of Martinville and the battle. During the excavations, they set up a screen with a sign reading, “Science in Progress,” which piqued the curiosity of passersby and stimulated discussion.

The work did not succeed in definitively locating the courthouse, but they did find a number of “anomalies” with the ground penetrating radar that suggested the possible locations to look for it in future excavations (Stine and Stine, n.d.: 172). Despite this somewhat disappointing development, the report produced as a result of this work does tell a great deal about the community of Martinville that grew up around the courthouse and the courthouse itself, particularly its shoddy condition, with much of this information coming from archival sources rather than archaeology. For example, they found that:

“Colonial Records concerning the courthouse indicate numerous construction problems, or at least questions about the work of and payments to the builder, a gentleman named Patrick Shaw.... In the Colonial records of 1793 the statement was made that the ‘underpinning’ and the chimney were not painted with lime as requested and that some of the wood used was not up to the requested quality. It was soon repaired or rebuilt as Shaw received funds one year later. Repairs and rebuilding continued in the government complex, for example in February 1802 town members were chosen to build the stocks near the courthouse and repair the jail” (*ibid*:173-174).

In short, it sounds as though the courthouse and associated government properties were poorly built, with the resulting structures being in constant states of disrepair. It is interesting that “town members were chosen” for some construction projects, suggesting that something resembling *corvée* labor practices¹⁴ may have been in effect in Martinville. This would be in line with other information about Martinville, which the Stines portray as a community created as “a bid for power, money, and authority by a local elite” (*ibid*:171), being purchased by several influential men in the region in late 1785 who developed it for settlement and to encourage local industry and trade. As such, the development of Martinville was consistent with the way lands adjacent to the Park have been developed more recently, with an eye more toward commercialization than commemoration. More about this is discussed in the section on the origins and work of the Battleground Companies below.

Recent Archaeological Overview

The most recent archaeological overview of the Park derives from the Southeast Regional Office and combines both summaries of past archaeology performed on the Park grounds and new interpretations of more recent data and collections (Prentice 2014).¹⁵ It was produced as a part of the Southeast Region’s Regionwide Archaeological Program (RASP), and now serves as the principal baseline from which future archaeological work can be executed. In the report, Prentice addresses the lingering questions over the location of the Guilford Courthouse and the Third American Battle Line. While the metal detector surveys conducted by Stine and Stine (n.d.) confirmed the location of the Advanced American Third Battle Line—or the “forward-most position obtained by the 1st Maryland Regiment” (2014: Management Summary pp 1-2)—Prentice reports that the “main” Third Battle Line “has yet to be confirmed.” He recommends additional metal detector surveys east of Hunting Creek to determine the Third Line.

Regarding the location of the courthouse, Prentice has a number of theories and suggests methods that may be used to identify where the courthouse stood. His work, unlike some others, argues that the courthouse is most likely within the boundaries of the Park, but offers a number of possible locations that should be tested with various archaeological and other methods. He writes that, “The preponderance of historical evidence indicates that the courthouse building should be located within the boundaries of the park on the high ground west of Lawndale Drive and north of the reconstructed New Garden/ Old Salisbury Road within the area that once held the north and west squares of the community of Martinville.” Notice that he cites *historical* rather than archaeological evidence, drawing on documentary accounts rather than ground penetrating radar or data from archaeological excavations. The area where he suggest the courthouse may be located is currently heavily wooded, which causes problems for the use of ground-penetrating radar; Prentice thus recommends coring techniques to determine not only the courthouse location but also other structures within the community of Martinville.

A second strategy he recommends derives from David Schenck’s reference to a courthouse well. Prentice argues that determining where this well was located would

constitute a substantial step toward locating the courthouse, and goes so far as to hypothesize that the well may be the same well used by James E. Webb, which has a terracotta lining, and that the James E. Webb house, located within the boundaries of the Park, may in fact have been erected on top of or near the courthouse site. Prentice recommends conducting “excavations around the old Webb house, particularly if other attempts to locate the courthouse elsewhere fail to do so” (2014: Chapter 3:3). Finally, Prentice recommends a combination of methods to confirm the network of historic roads that passed through and around the Battleground, to develop more information about the Hoskins Farm in the Colonial Heritage Center, and to conduct more archaeological survey and excavation work to determine Native American prehistoric occupation of the site.

Summary of Archaeological Work at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park

Archaeological excavations and related activities, such as the use of ground-penetrating radar, have sought to confirm the first, second, and third battle lines, to determine the location of the original Guilford Courthouse, and to unearth artifacts and information related to the city of Martinville, the Hoskins Farm, the James Webb house, and the network of roads and pathways that were present in 1781. From these activities, we have sound evidence for the first and second battle lines and some inconclusive evidence for the third American battle line, but the location of the Guilford Courthouse remains hypothetical. Again, this may be related to the shoddy condition of the courthouse when it was built and during its years of repair or to disturbances that occurred during the settlement of Martinville and, perhaps, the subsequent building of the James Webb house. While the location of the Courthouse is still a mystery, at the very least the archaeological work has been able to discredit earlier claims of where the courthouse stood and of the battle line positions.

One of the by-products of the archaeological work in the Park has been to confirm the Park’s history as a place of recreation as well, although the artifacts recovered that reflect this—pop tops from beer cans, bottles, condoms, etc.—would not, most likely, be of much interest to the general public if developed into a museum exhibit. Nevertheless, that recreation is a part of the Park’s past is important to document, especially if Park staff wish to alter the character of recreational activities that occur there, making them more in line with its sacred character. The bags of garbage collected during archaeological investigations might, for example, be documented, even if discarded, to point out to the public the ways that the Park has been soiled and abused in the past, using this information to enlighten the public on respecting the Park as a place where humans lost their lives—not merely soldiers, but also the nurses who contracted small pox from tending the wounded.

In terms of military history, locating the Guilford Courthouse is probably less important than definitively locating the battle lines and the roads and paths that the troops used, but because it is the Battle’s and the Park’s namesake, the desire among archaeologists and members of the Guilford Battleground Company to confirm its location is certainly understandable. Yet, in light of some of the interviews conducted during the research for

this report, discussed in more detail below, locating the courthouse may not be as important as work that gives a more detailed, richer, and enriched portrayal of Guilford County society during the 18th century and the ways that the social classes and ethnic groups, along with different religious groups, participated in the Battle. With the exception of the emphasis among some archaeologists in chronicling how Native Americans occupied the site, however, none of the archaeology of the Park has been overly concerned with developing materials on the different livelihoods and ethnic groups that existed in colonial and revolutionary society in Martinville and Guilford County. We know from archaeology elsewhere in North Carolina (e.g. Joyce 1998; Zawacki 1998) that it has been possible to tease out social class and ethnic distinctions from archaeological sites and that such work often results in a far more complex appreciation of life during historical times.

Chapter 3:

Park Relationships with the People of Greensboro and the Triad

Located on the northern edge of Greensboro, surrounded by apartment complexes, residential neighborhoods, and shopping centers, with walking trails linking it to The Colonial Heritage Center (formerly Tannenbaum Historic Park) and the Country Park and Greensboro Science Center, the Guilford Courthouse Park attracts hundreds of thousands of visitors per year and, on a daily basis, dozens of people for its walking trails as well as the memorials, the visitor center, and the Park's historical importance. Visitors range from those who are actively involved in organizations that directly support the Park, participate in annual reenactments, and otherwise engage the Park's historical and cultural resources to those who are just passing through the Park as joggers or dog-walkers. As this suggests, they come from a range of backgrounds with distinctly different ties to the Park and what the Park represents. Below, we discuss the ways in which the Park has been and is today used by different groups, what they see as its importance to the community, and how the Park could better conform to the activities and desires of the people of Greensboro. The discussion is based primarily on interviews (see Appendix A) with people from each of the groups along with visits to other memorial sites across the region and archival work conducted at the Park, in the Greensboro Public Library, at North Carolina A&T University, UNC Greensboro, and other locations.

Commemorative Groups

Overwhelmingly, members of commemorative groups are most interested in the military history represented at the Park, focusing primarily on the actual battle—getting it right during reenactments, commemorating ancestral ties to soldiers and others involved in the battle, and organizing in ways that support such commemorative efforts. As Zac Parker (2014) has written, much national history is remembered through a nation's military exploits, and the involvement of commemorative groups and individuals involved in commemorative activities, such as the annual reenactment, is clearly oriented toward remembering and recounting, vividly, the military exploits that took place around Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781.

People representing commemorative groups were among the most eager to participate in this study, both to reflect on the importance of the battle to the region as well as on how we remember history, recommending ways that the Park could improve visitors' experiences regarding what happened on the battleground over two centuries ago. Those interviewed who were members of commemorative groups were all white and most were in their forties, fifties, or sixties; most were also women.¹⁶ We did not, however, collect detailed demographic information on those interviewed who represented commemorative groups.

Commemorative groups include members of the Guilford Battleground Company that was reconstituted in 1984, reenactors (many of whom adopt personalities of specific soldiers for reenactments), members of different chapters of the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution, and others with direct links to the battle or the war through ancestral ties. They may be as highly organized as the Guilford Battleground Company or chapters of the DAR or as sporadically organized as reenactors who participate once or twice a year in reenactments. Of course, Park staff and volunteers take active parts in commemorative events in the Park as well, providing commemorative groups critical support, assistance, and research and educational expertise.

The Guilford Battleground Companies: Judge David Schenck and Beyond

As noted earlier, the Park owes much of its existence to the foresight of Judge David Schenck, a Greensboro man who convinced several of his friends and colleagues to contribute funds to purchase the land on which the Park sits today. They incorporated as the Guilford Battleground Company in 1887 and purchased 125 acres of what was primarily farmland. They held the land until 1917, when it was acquired by the War Department for the establishment of the military park. Schenck and the original Guilford Battleground Company have received considerable local attention in the media and at the Park, but less attention has been devoted to the reincarnation of the Guilford Battleground Company in the 1980s, when concern over the development of properties adjacent to the Park arose anew (Baker 1995).

According to members of the Guilford Battleground Company we interviewed, the reconstituted Guilford Battleground Company, like David Schenck's, is also devoted primarily to land preservation to expand and enhance the Park and, through this, also enhance the importance of the Battle itself. They recognize that the Battle took up far more space than the current Park boundaries contain, and that the space immediately beyond the boundaries remains under pressure by real estate developers; indeed, the company was formed under the threat of a large supermarket chain's desire to develop lands immediately adjacent to the Park into a shopping center. "David Schenck had this vision," one of the members said, "that unless someone saved this piece of property, it would go to commercialization, and this was sacred ground." The current Company has a similar vision and, evidently, will go to great lengths to secure lands around the Park. As the same member just quoted said later in his interview: "We have no powers of condemnation, obviously, but through some careful cultivation of the political powers we can get things rezoned. Anyone wanting to develop an apartment complex out here is going to have a heck of a time."

The company also supplements Park funding for certain events, particularly when the Park is prohibited from using funds for specific events due to federal budget constraints. "The Park can't even buy a cookie," one of the Battleground Company members said, driving home the point that their assistance is necessary for events, such as authors' readings, in which it is appropriate to have refreshments. While providing refreshments for group meetings can be important, Company members we interviewed viewed as more important other activities that they have supported, suggesting that they would like to see

increased cooperative activities between the Park's public resources and private donor funds; the Park could then use these activities as ways to improve the quality and quantity of Park visitation.

One example that several people we interviewed believed reflected what the public-private partnership could achieve was the re-interment of a Revolutionary War soldier, General Sumner, following the destruction of the grave when a car missed a curve and slammed into the stone. This grave was particularly dear to the Guilford Battleground Company because the original Battleground Company had the soldier moved to the area (from Warren County, NC) before it was a National Park. According to those who witnessed the event, the Park handled the reburial particularly carefully, reproducing its original condition as accurately as possible. First, the sandstone of the gravestone was a special sandstone that came from only a few places in the country, so they had to match this. Second, they kept the soldier's bones in a vault until they could finish the work on the gravestone, as well as his bayonet, which they preserved while it was out of the grave and then reinterred with the same dirt. "It was very touching," one of the witnesses said of this. "Then they found out he was an Episcopalian and so they brought an Episcopalian priest there to rebury him." The reburial became a well-attended event, yet members of the Battleground Company felt that this could have been an occasion for drawing yet more attention to the Park, to the Revolutionary War, and to the principles upon which the United States was founded.

Another project currently being advanced by the Battleground Company is the acquisition and placement of a "Crowned Forces Monument"—a monument to the British soldiers who died in the battle. They would like to have it placed near the first line of battle, where it is believed that many of the British soldiers died. They have been able to raise around \$8,000 of the estimated \$15,000 of the cost, hoping to acquire the remainder from the national office of the DAR, which gives grants for monuments like this. Such a monument would be similar to the National Park Service's exhibit at the USS Arizona Museum in Pearl Harbor, which now includes facts about what the war effort was like from a Japanese perspective, in the process of educating the public also memorializing the Japanese forces who died there. This takes military history to a global level, highlighting the fact that former enemies can become friends and allies over time, increasing the prospects for peace and, through peace, increasing personal and collective freedoms—expanding, that is, human rights. This kind of exhibit could also be used to introduce a conversation about when war may be unnecessary, opening room for pacifist groups, such as Quakers, to participate in Park interpretive topics.

Children of the Revolution, Reenactors, and other Commemorative Group Members

We interviewed several members of the Daughters of the American Revolution and others, like John Forbis, who traced direct links to people who fought in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, as well as several reenactors. As amateur historians, practicing living history, many reenactors participate in the reenactments of several military engagements in multiple wars—particularly, among those from the South, the Civil War—and for some, battle reenactments constitute a small part of their involvement in

teaching people about the American Revolution or U.S. military history in general. Mitchell Hunt, a long time Greensboro resident who has participated in reenactments in the Park since the 1980s, is part of the group representing the Delaware Regiment that served under Colonel Kirkwood. “We were the foot soldiers who marched with William Washington’s 3rd Continental Dragoons,” he said. “We were a light infantry division sent out to create havoc wherever we could. Today they would call those seek-and-destroy missions.”

From this connection, Mr. Hunt periodically travels to Delaware to speak, in the character of Corporal Thomas Anderson, to historical societies, civic groups, and schools, educating people near where William Penn first landed in the Americas. Among people born and raised in the U.S. South, commemorative work of this nature is part of the process of bringing information about the Southern campaigns of the American Revolution to northern venues, quite self-consciously compensating for the long domination of Revolutionary War history by the focus on the Boston Tea Party, Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill, and Washington crossing the Delaware River. Many reenactors agree with Dan Morrill (1993) that the Southern campaigns of the war have been neglected in mainstream narratives about the revolution. Mitchell Hunt attributes that to the fact that most of the highly educated, literate people alive during the American Revolution came from the urban coastal corridor of New Jersey, New York, and New England or, in the South, were clustered together in Charleston, South Carolina, Wilmington, North Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia. Scholars and historians from these regions may have known about southern engagements like the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, but many reenactors from the Greensboro area find accounts of the battle in historical accounts of the revolution to be quite thin.

Many reenactors we interviewed became involved with the reenactment through friends, family, or other network ties, leading to the idea of a *reenactment community*. Like any community, reenactors, DAR/ SAR members, and other members of commemorative groups are interested in its reproduction, and one theme that emerged from interviews with them was the involvement of family and youth in their activities. The DAR, for example, have special ceremonies where they induct new, younger members into the organization, and many reenactors characterized the reenactments as family events. Our own observations of the reenactment, described below, confirm that entire families participate in these events.

From their close attention to historical accuracy during reenactments, many reenactors read Revolutionary War history, collect military paraphernalia from the Revolutionary War period, and take care to make certain that their uniforms, muskets, bayonets, and other gear associated with soldiers of the time are accurate replicas. Material culture is central to the reenactment community, as are sites like the Park, monuments to significant individuals and groups, and the many buildings and exhibits that recall the Revolutionary War or contain insights into U.S. military history. These interests have stimulated several projects that have been important for the enrichment of the Park, such as involving students and the public in archaeological excavations, scheduling performances in other cities and states by reenactors who participate in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse

reenactment and who assume the identities of specific soldiers, and developing a Guilford Courthouse license plate. Such initiatives and activities could be tapped as a source of future enhancement of Park grounds, buildings, interpretive materials, exhibits, and living history performances.

Among the more interesting themes to emerge from our interviews with members of commemorative groups was the importance of transferring land and other property from private to public hands in the interest of preserving such property as sacred and, ultimately, inalienable. Inalienable wealth—in this case, inalienable public wealth—is usually made up of valuable property that can never be divorced from the people, groups, or events responsible for its production.¹⁷ Abraham Lincoln was referring to military engagements producing inalienable wealth when he said of Gettysburg, “We cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract.”

The conversion of private to Park lands, as noted above, has been a central activity of the Guilford Battleground Company—both the company formed in 1887 and the company formed around a century later—and reenactors and other members of commemorative groups have been instrumental in making Park property inalienable. However, the revival of the Battleground Company after nearly sixty years of dormancy suggests that vigilance against commercial encroachment on the Park requires a collective, community effort. This depends, in turn, on the reproduction of the reenactment and commemorative communities by assuring that youth and families continue to participate in the reenactments and continue to join commemorative groups. “I really worry that the kids are going to grow up and not know about our founding,” said one of the commemorators interviewed, “and how important it is. I can’t listen to the Star Spangled Banner without crying. Those things matter a lot. Our Patriotism and the way we grew up. I think that something about that immigrant experience—the closer you are the more patriotic you are.”

Research and education have been critical to this process, and this is one reason that current commemorative group members are interested in teaching youth and the general public about the Revolution in a number of ways, including through living history performances and archaeology. The Guilford Battleground Company matched the Park Service in funding recent archaeological work in the Park, which included a field school component to interest youth in battlefield archaeology and which supplied more material culture from the battle and from the town of Martinville. Research and education were themes that commemorative group members brought up again and again, emphasizing their roles in keeping the Park exhibits fresh and new. One person we interviewed, an active member of a prominent commemorative group in her sixties¹⁸, criticized the Park for not changing its exhibits often enough, saying,

“The Park doesn’t really have a vision for such things... There is a huge amount of things that could be happening, but for two reasons the Park is underutilized: we’re a small park and we’re an urban park. People use this Park for all kinds of

reasons that have nothing to do with history. We're tiny compared to Yellowstone, for example. We're not a destination. This history part of the Park system is way smaller than the land preservation part."

Cognizant of the financial problems the Park has experienced, she nevertheless went on to say that the Colonial Heritage Center is especially underutilized and lacking programs that could attract visitors interested in history to the Park:

"We would love to see the Colonial Heritage Center bustling all the time. At one time they had a quarter of a million person go through there every year. It was when the city owned it. They had programs, they had people there. It's a travesty what's happened. And mostly it got harder and harder to fund. Now it's only opened two days a week, and nobody comes. It could be a destination. They could teach weaving. They could do a lot of stuff. For example, get the DAR to beef up the genealogy stuff."

While this criticism was not a widespread sentiment, commemorators did agree that increased research and education by Park staff, in coordination with commemorative groups and their volunteers, would improve the Park's performance as a Revolutionary War destination. Two events that commemorative group members mentioned that have facilitated appreciation of the Park as an American Revolutionary site were, first, the re-interment ceremony of the revolutionary war soldier described above and, second, the hosting of swearing-in ceremonies for new naturalized citizens with the assistance of the DAR. Although we did not witness such a ceremony, the DAR woman who told us about this characterized it as a case of "The oldest Americans welcoming the newest Americans," and added that the DAR often recognizes people who are not normally recognized by the Park. Of course, the "oldest Americans" are not DAR members, but Native Americans, however much the DAR has appropriated the term "Americans" to refer to those who participated in the Revolutionary War against the British.

The DAR have also constructed a monument to James Gillies, the young bugle boy who was killed by the British, in Bruce Park next to the grammar school in Summerfield, where Gillies was killed. The site of Gillies' grave is of further significance because it is located in the family cemetery of Charles Bruce, a patriot who provided munitions for the American army and assisted them in other ways (Summerfield 2014). Light Horse Harry, for example, found refuge in Bruce's house after the Battle, as he was fleeing the British. DAR members are, of course, also active participants in the Battle Anniversary weekend held in March of every year, participating especially in the wreath-laying ceremony, honoring the fallen and reaffirming the sacred character of the Park's land. Notes from the 2013 reenactment give some flavor of what that event is like.

Notes from Battle Anniversary Weekend: March 16-17, 2013¹⁹

March 15, 2013 was the 232nd anniversary of the battle, and the Park, in concert with several commemorative groups, commemorates the event on the closest weekend to the event. According to the park superintendent, they usually expect to have between 6,000

and 7,000 visitors per day for the ceremonies. The events include a lecture series as well as period demonstrations, people camped out in Revolutionary War-era tents, and the reenactment of the battle itself, which is held in Country Park rather than on the sacred ground of the military park.



Setting up Tents for the Battle Anniversary Weekend

On the day of the reenactment, they began at the visitors' center and the Colonial Heritage Center, where people began arriving between 7 and 8 in the morning to mill about in uniform, period dress, or in fine dress bedecked with ribbons, medals, and other regalia. By 9:30, when the drum and fife corps began, there were easily 1,000 or so folks around the visitors' center, the majority, it seemed, in blue uniforms of the Continental Army. The drum and fife corps (below) wore red uniforms; a later speaker/ narrator at the battle reenactment said that the musicians of each group wore the opposite color as the soldiers, and at the reenactment site the British musicians did indeed wear blue.



Scenes from the Pre-Commemoration Shape-up near the Visitors Center



Continental Drum and Fife Corps Volunteers

Along with the many men in blue uniform, there were several women in period dress, including DAR women, and a few men in the dress of frontiersmen or the militia. Some of the people in period dress were young women and young men—teens, they appeared to be—some with their families and others with people their own age, suggesting that the tradition of honoring the day is being reproduced by the youth of current reenactors and members of commemorative groups. Nor it is confined to solely to white people, although the vast majority of the visitors, spectators, reenactors, and others were white. Still, we observed people we believed to be Hmong, African Americans, and Latinos there as well—but, as in the greater Guilford County population, in the minority. Unfortunately, it is impossible to provide an accurate estimate of the ethnic breakdown of the visitors. With thousands of participants scattered over the Park’s more than 200 acres and adjacent Country Park lands, which covers a similar-sized area, and with people coming and going at different times throughout the weekend, some camping, some just passing through, and still others making a day-long event out of it, coming up with such an estimate would require aerial photography or other sophisticated methods of counting crowds.



Continental Troops before Battle

The ceremony opened with a prayer followed by the Pledge of Allegiance, a welcome from the Park superintendent, speeches, and then the honoring of the soldiers. This took place at the Nathanael Greene Monument, which had earlier been surrounded by wreaths from SAR and DAR chapters all across the state and beyond. One of the speakers—an SAR officer from the head office—talked about General Greene’s genius, mentioning that his two favorite quotes about the American Revolution were both about the Guilford Courthouse Battle: one was Cornwallis saying that he couldn’t sleep well when camped close to General Greene; the second was the one commonly quoted about the battle: “Another such victory would ruin the British Army”—attributed to a member of parliament in England after the battle.

Along with this speaker, the Park superintendent welcomed the visitors and others were introduced and honored during the ceremony. This portion of the Battle Anniversary weekend again reaffirms the fact that the Park is, ultimately, a military Park as well as sacred ground. The funeral imagery of wreaths and speeches resembling eulogies are central to conveying this sense of the Park’s significance and history.



Sons of the American Revolution Prior to the 232rd Commemoration Program

As further evidence of the military significance of the weekend, the Speaker from the SAR spoke principally of Greene and the success of the loss at Guilford Courthouse in terms of the “chain of battles” leading up to Yorktown. These speeches and prayers are occasions for conventional historical remembering—that which focuses on the founding father figures as heroes and the people who sacrificed their lives so that Americans may live freely today. This was also an occasion to glorify the military, and more than one speaker mentioned the current armed forces and several references were made to blood—how much was spilled, shed, lost, on the battlefield, what a sacrifice it was, what a stain it left. Such imagery is both gruesome and powerful, important for the character of memory being promoted here.

The events of the weekend drew people from at least as far away as Delaware, with three of the reenactors staying at Mitchell Hunt's place, but there were also license plates from Texas and New York in the reenactors' parking lot in Country Park. Later, for the reenactment, the parking lot of the Jaycee Park, which has space for around 500 cars, was completely full, as were the parking lots in the Courthouse Park and the streets of the Park itself.



Woman with the Daughters of the American Revolution

At the Colonial Heritage Center, they had several “living history” demonstrations, with weavers, a distiller, and an apothecary's shop with vials and bottles for cures. This was where some of people representing the British troops were camped, and they demonstrated the actions of the muskets. The man working the still mentioned the importance of liquor to the Revolution, which, in many places, was safer than water to drink.

The battle reenactment itself took place in a field in Country Park, attracting thousands of spectators. It was Saturday afternoon and warm and the walk from the parking lot to the battlefield, at least half of it uphill, involved some exertion, which speaks well for the event's popularity. The battle was preceded by a question-and-answer session in which a man in uniform answered questions from the crowd. The battle itself began with two riders being shot at from the woods and then the lines of confrontation forming across the battlefield. It's easy to see how difficult it must be to participate, with the quantity of gear the soldiers wear and the weight of their weapons, but they all seemed to be having great fun.

Events like these, repeated year after year, are the meat-and-potatoes of commemorative groups, providing what amount to rites of intensification—or ceremonial events that reaffirm one's connection to one's community, much as a college has a homecoming or a professional association has an annual meeting—for the reenactment community, Guilford Battleground Company members, and others who consider themselves a part of the community of amateur historians interested in the American Revolution. Similar events are held in the Park on July 4th, annually reaffirming the beginning (at least, the

beginning officially remembered) of the U.S. challenge to the British. For commemorators, these events breathe life into their participation in commemorative groups and serve as emotional attachments to ancestors and ancestors' actions, real or imagined, in the war.

At the same time, reenactments and commemorative events are also occasions to reinforce historical accounts that may highlight some groups more than others or may be used to make the historical account more comprehensive and accurate. It is clear from the commemorative event described above, for example, that ultimately the commemoration championed principally the role of white men in the battle, even though women, African Americans, and others played significant roles in the battle and in the Revolution in general. As noted earlier, there were no African American reenactor groups who participated in the commemoration, although we heard of African American Civil War reenactor groups in the Guilford County area. We discuss how the Park has included African Americans in its interpretive materials and other venues in some detail below, but here we pay some attention to the Park's attention to women.

Women

Although the Park's monuments and ceremonies tend to highlight the role of white military leaders and other white men, like David Schenck, who have been instrumental in Park history, the Park has not been completely silent on the role of women. Because the Park has two monuments erected to women, the first erected in 1902, the Park has paid some attention to the role of women in the Battle and the Revolution, including collecting archival information on women that is on-site and available for public consumption. The two women honored with monuments are Kerenhappuch Norman Turner and Martha Bell. Briefly, Turner rode on horseback south from Maryland when she heard her son, Jim, had been wounded in the battle, and set up a makeshift field hospital, developing a technique of keeping wounds cool with water dripping from pots hanging from the ceiling, which reduced fever and cleansed the wounds.²⁰

Martha Bell, a widow, was well-known as a merchant who covered a vast territory between Guilford County and eastern Virginia. She once captured and held a Loyalist man who attempted to sexually assault her. General Cornwallis took over her farm and mill after the battle and, although he confiscated her stored grain and livestock, he did not molest her or her family because she threatened to burn the mill and the grain if he did. Each of these women have a folder in the Park archives dedicated to them with newspaper and other accounts of their actions.

A third folder, entitled Women in the archives (Historical File Local history B-10, GUCO visitors center holdings), is a collection of newspaper articles about women, the first of which is entitled "Women of Guilford Were True Heroines" and discusses the women who prayed together at two homes during the battle (including Martha Bell's) and afterwards tended to the wounded. It differentiates the women of Buffalo Church (Presbyterians) from those at the Friends Meeting house by noting that the latter, as

Quakers, would care for the troops of either side, while the Presbyterians cared only for the wounded Americans.

A second account, entitled, “Secret Message from Bladen County Disclosed British Campaign Plans” tells of Cornwallis and his troops taking over Harmony Hall in Bladen County (eastern North Carolina), demanding to be fed and to have the horses well cared for, and then after dinner moving to an upstairs bedroom to discuss his plans for attacking both Guilford Courthouse and Kings Mountain. Mrs. Richardson, the owner of the house, was in the attic above with her children and, overhearing the plans, wrote a letter to her husband, who was stationed at the time with Greene in South Carolina, and gave it to Junius, her butler, to deliver. “Junius ripped the sole of his brogans loose and placed the letter there-in, fastening the sole back with new wooden shoe pegs, covering the whole with bees-wax to make it waterproof.... Thus,” the story concludes, “Mrs. Richardson aided in the defeat of Cornwallis in the South.”

One of the interesting things about this account is that it gives full credit for the intelligence to Mrs. Richardson, when Junius, the butler, who was presumably African American, should have been given equal credit for delivering the letter. Appearing in the Greensboro paper in 1952, however, it mentioned Junius only in passing, failing to note either his ethnic background or acknowledge him as also having “aided in the defeat.” In some cases, it is only by reading between the lines in accounts like this that we can establish a comprehensive social account of the Revolutionary War, including women, African Americans, and others.

The archive also has references to Dolly Madison, who was a Quaker who grew up and worshipped at the meeting house near the battle of New Garden, and several more accounts of the roles that Turner and Bell played in the Battle, including the important medical practice that Turner employed and others replicated at the battle. A 1945 article chronicles the work of a woman named Caroline Close Stuart, who also nursed the wounded after the Battle, as well as nursing the wounded after the Battle of Alamance, in which her son and husband, as Regulators, fought. This suggests, again, that, ideologically, the Regulators and the American Revolutionaries were of like mind, offering additional evidence that the revolutionary spirit swept through parts of North Carolina earlier than in other colonies.

Other articles are less directly about the Battle, instead focusing on women of the time. One, for example, reports on a woman, Elizabeth Ballinger, a Quaker, who entertained George Washington with her pewter dishware; Ballinger’s husband, John, donated the church for the Friends Meeting House on New Garden Road, which suggests the Ballingers were fairly well off. Another article unrelated to the Battle discusses the loves of George Washington, including the woman, Martha, who eventually became his wife, emphasizing traditional women’s roles of the time.

Finally, the women archive at the Park also includes a scholarly article from the North Carolina Historical Review on how women were “overlooked and underestimated” as participants in the American Revolution (Watson 1981). This suggests that the National

Park Service has been sensitive to the omission of women from military accounts and military parks for at least three decades. This has led to more inclusion of women in reenactment activities and other events, although in most cases it has been to show women in traditional dress accomplishing traditionally gendered activities (e.g. cooking, caring for children, nursing, etc.).

Two other files in the Park's archives are devoted specifically to women: one (K9-23) on the Turner Monument and a second (K1-3) to the Bell Monument. Briefly, they contain the following:

The Turner Monument file contains a transcription of the address that was read at the monument's unveiling in 1902, noting that this was the only monument erected to women for their nursing roles in battles. It mentions that Turner's first name means, "Horn of Beauty," and several references in the file tout the monument as the most beautiful in the Park. The author of the address was G.S. Bradshaw (nothing about his background is given in the file) and he opened by acknowledging women as unsung heroes, using flowery language such as: "The women, by their lonely hearthstones, surrounded by helpless children, in the pre-medieval forests, without mail or telegraph or railroad to bring them tidings of the absent loved ones—their grief, their sorrow, their suspense, their anxiety, their agony—their death born without a murmur. They died not in the exciting and exulting rush of battle..."

"Mrs. Turner was an early member of the distinguished Morehead family and the idea for a memorial to her was conceived by Major James Turner Morehead of New York City. He submitted his idea to Joseph Morehead, the president of the Battle Ground Company, and these two men were responsible for the erection of the monument. The statue wasn't added until a year or so later. She once had a towel draped over her arm, which has since fallen off, and for a while the cup in her hand disappeared. In addition to these losses, the statue has been shot at least twice and has suffered minor damage from vandals" (Gray 1967: 67).

Also included in the file, curiously, is a letter from one John Edgerton, a self-proclaimed specialist in genealogy, who traces an ancestral tie between Mrs. Turner and the famous African American heavyweight champion Mohammed Ali (Reitwisner 1982). According to the Edgerton, Turner was an ancestor of the prominent Greensboro family, the Moreheads, who were nearly as instrumental as David Schenck in establishing the Park, and that it is through the Moreheads that Turner and Mohammed Ali are allegedly related.

The Martha Bell Monument contains just a few files, two of which outline her life. She married her husband, John McGhee, but she seems to have kept her name. After her first husband died, before she married Bell, she took over her late husband's business of itinerant merchandising, traveling from Guilford County into Virginia and other locations to buy and sell goods. It was during one of these excursions that she was sexually assaulted by a Loyalist whom she ended up taking prisoner. Her role in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse was that her house was used as a gathering place for women during the battle, as they prepared to nurse the wounded, and as Cornwallis's headquarters after

the battle, when she confronted him. “Cornwallis’ Army, on its way to Wilmington, encamped for two days at the Bell Plantation,” one of the accounts reads. “Cornwallis seized her house as headquarters.”

In his history of monuments in the Park, Gray (1967) describes Bell as a “local Revolutionary heroine.” She traveled “as far as Petersburg, Virginia” as a trader. “On one of her trips she is said to have singlehandedly captured a local Tory who attempted to molest her.” She married her second husband, William Bell, in 1779 and moved to Bell’s Mill. “Her claim to fame came during the British retreat after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.” Evidently she threatened to burn the mill (and its grain) if the British molested her or her farm. Her monument was erected in line with the wishes of the Alexander Martin Chapter of the DAR in High Point, who “wanted a monument to a Revolutionary heroine.” It was unveiled in 1929, but the date on it is 1928.

The above accounts demonstrate that honoring women has been a part of the Park’s history. At the same time, reenactments and other events at the Park continue to represent a national identity for people who were and still are far from unified, separated by class, ethnic, gender, and national background, religion, and other divisive conditions or forces. As rites of intensification, such events touch and affect some people far more deeply than others, contributing to the maintenance of division even as they herald the revolutionary ideals of independence, freedom, equality, and the expansion of civil and human rights. The ways that African Americans and Quakers, profiled below, appreciate the Park and the American Revolution demonstrate that divisive forces, although less rigid and intense than in the past, remain today.

African Americans

We argued earlier that the African American populations of North Carolina were somewhat distinct from enslaved African Americans in Virginia, South Carolina, and other parts of the U.S. South, noting that several factors accounted for this (e.g. the uneven distribution of enslaved and indentured people in the state, the lack of a slave market with direct connections to the transatlantic slave trade in the state, and the state’s economic dependence on small farming and forestry). However distinctive African Americans in North Carolina may have been during the 18th century, it does not follow that African Americans in North Carolina are any different or any more alike than African Americans across the United States or the U.S. South—no more or less homogeneous, no more or less of the same social class, no more or less self-conscious of their ethnic affiliation. It is ridiculous, of course, to assume that African Americans are any more similar to or different from one another than European Americans, Asian Americans, or Latinos living in Chicago, Puerto Rico, and Los Angeles.

Nevertheless, the civil rights history and accomplishments of African Americans in Guilford County have been commendable and unique in many ways. Again, along with high profile activities like the sit-in at Woolworth’s, Guilford County has witnessed the founding of two African American institutions of higher learning and the International Civil Rights Museum. In his travel guide to African American historical sites in North

Carolina, Davis (1991) notes that six buildings on North Carolina A&T State University's campus that have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places: Noble Hall, Dudley Memorial Building, Morrison Hall, Murphy Hall, Richard B. Harrison Auditorium, and the Mattye Reed African Heritage Museum. Davis also lists among important African American historical sites in the Triad three buildings on Bennett College campus, the William Penn High School/ High Point Normal and Industrial School, the Kirby Hotel in High Point, and the Palmer Memorial Institute in Sedalia.

Two of these sites are particularly interesting for their histories of critical alliances between African Americans and other groups. The William Penn School, for example,

“founded by Quaker philanthropists, was moved from Asheboro, North Carolina to High Point in 1891, where it served the Black community of the region for thirty-three years. In 1924, when the school became part of the city's public school system, the name was changed to William Penn, reflecting the importance of the Quakers throughout its early history” (Davis 1991:70).

Similar to the active participation of Quakers in the Underground Railroad (Bates 2000: Huddle 1996), the partnerships formed between African Americans and Quakers in the context of the school are examples of the strategic use of social relationships among Guilford County ethnic and religious groups that have helped to define the region. Quakers and African Americans, in particular, have had a lengthy history of cooperation. Although many Quakers enslaved African Americans before and after the American Revolution, this became a significant moral quandary for the Society of Friends as early as the early 1700s. In 1847, in Guilford County, a Methodist minister commented: “There is much anti-slavery sentiment in this part of North Carolina than I had supposed. This is owing in great measure, to the Society of Friends. It is said the treatment of slaves is much modified by their presence; as they are numerous in this community, slavery is seen in its modest form” (Huddle 1996:1).

This was a result of over 100 years of Quaker opposition to slavery. Quakers who enslaved African Americans, unfortunately, were constrained from setting them free by a 1741 North Carolina law that “forbade the manumission of slaves except as a reward for outstanding, or meritorious, service to the state” (Huddle 1996:2). To by-pass this law, ironically, Quakers, collectively, transferred title of over 800 enslaved African Americans from individual holders to the Society itself—becoming, in the process, one of the largest holders of the enslaved in the colony and state. The Society then allowed the African Americans to work for wages, and “the proceeds from their labors went toward a fund for their care and eventual resettlement to free territories in the North and West. This short-term solution was accompanied by strenuous lobbying efforts to convince the state to reform its manumission laws” (Huddle 1996:3).

Other partnerships formed between African Americans and other groups to expand their access to freedom and other benefits of local society. For example, the Palmer Institute, a day and boarding school for African Americans, was founded by an African American

educator named Charlotte Hawkins with financial support from the first woman president of Wellesley College in Massachusetts, Alice Palmer. “Under the leadership of Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Palmer Memorial Institute acquired 350 acres, several buildings, and a solid reputation for education” (Davis 1991:74).

These alliances between African Americans and people from other disenfranchised groups—in these cases Quakers, who have been persecuted for their pacifism, and women—replicate those formed to make the Underground Railroad a success and to encourage multi-ethnic participation in Civil Rights and Women’s movements that continue today. It is likely that such alliances, too, resulted in African American participation in the American Revolution. Prior to the Revolution, as evidence of their spirit of resistance, African Americans joined English pirate ships, including Blackbeard’s, who served with five African Americans (Crow 1989:34).²¹ As the revolutionary spirit heated up in North Carolina, many enslaved African Americans joined Methodists, Baptists, and other sects outside of the state-sanctioned Anglican Church, encouraging many white preachers and members of those sects to advocate for abolishing slavery:

“Evangelical Protestantism, with its emphasis on guilt, suffering, and ecstatic release, doubtless appealed to the slaves. The Awakenings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were great social and religious happenings in which people prayed, sang, shouted, and poured out pent-up emotions together. Indeed, one wonders how much the Africans’ practice of Christianity influenced the animated revivalism and emphasis on emotional conversion experience so characteristic of evangelical Protestantism. Moreover, Methodist and Baptist services were conducted in a democratic atmosphere. Members called each other brothers and sisters, stressed fellowship, and conducted affairs on a footing of equality in stark contrast to the rank and deference of the Anglican Church. Finally, the Methodists openly espoused abolitionism in their fledgling years” (Crow 1989:50).

During the Revolution, the participation of African Americans in the fighting and in supporting roles was varied and complex, with African American men enlisting on both sides of the conflict and, one assumes, African American women assisting the troops in the same ways that other women assisted, although the information on how African American women participated in the American Revolution is far more scanty than that on African American men. Much of African American participation in the Revolution in the South, however, was channeled by the undercurrent of fear among white owners of the enslaved that the conflict presented an occasion for rebellion among the enslaved—fears that the British encouraged. Crow writes that, as the Revolutionary fervor grew, North Carolina legislators took sharp measures to prevent the enslaved from gaining access to guns and other weapons, also preventing the importation of the enslaved from the markets of Virginia and South Carolina, believing that those fresh from Africa were more prone to rebellion (1989:56-57).

In its film, Another Such Victory, the Park accurately depicts the fact that African Americans, for different reasons, participated on both sides of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. In the film interview with the African American fighting with the British, the man states that the freedom Americans are fighting is for whites rather than African Americans; Ned Griffin, the African American fighting for the Americans in the film, suggests that the fight is for freedom for all. In a brief brochure produced originally in 1998 and revised in 2005 (Guilford Courthouse National Military Park 2005), the Park discusses African American participation in the Battle. The publication lists Thomas Kearney, Zachariah Jacobs, Cyfax Brown, Andrew Ferguson, Ned Griffin, “Negro George,” and “Negro Richard Pendergrass”—all African Americans who fought for the Americans in the Battle.

In any case, Crow (1989:50) argues that the majority of African Americans fought for the British, in part because the British promised them freedom and in part because the British armed them and encouraged them toward insurrection. Given the enslaved status of most African Americans in the South, their decision to fight for the British is certainly understandable. As just noted, the African American with the British troops in the film, Another Such Victory, shown in the Park’s visitor’s center, says, when the narrator asks him if the Americans are fighting for liberty, “they don’t mean for my people.” Given that slavery lasted nearly another century in the United States after the Revolution, he appears to have been right.

Yet African American participation in the American Revolution was far more varied than simply bearing arms for one side or the other. In the South, white soldiers were promised enslaved African Americans for military service (three for three years), a proposal to which James Madison responded with characteristic sound logic, saying, “would it not be as well to liberate and make soldiers at once of the blacks themselves as to make them instruments for enlisting white Soldiers? It would certainly be more consonant to the principles of liberty which ought never to be lost sight of in a contest for liberty” (quoted in Crow 1989:69). African Americans were also conscripted for services typically assigned to the enslaved: laundry, cooking, building fortifications, keeping roads open, tending to horses, etc. “Others acted as spies or guides,” Crow writes (1989:66). “Frequently, blacks served as musicians or servants to white officers.”

In relation to the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, Nathanael Greene certainly used African American soldiers and supported the development of African American regiments. “As late as 1782 he [Greene] said that he was so ‘fully impressed with the practicability and advantage of the measure [of forming African American regiments] that I cannot help working to see it attempted.’ South Carolina and Georgia, however, absolutely refused to entertain the notion” (Crow 1989:65).

The problem with developing a history of African American participation in the American Revolution and the Battle of Guilford Courthouse is that references to African Americans tend to be incidental in the written record. Crow, for example, mentions an African American who fought in the Battle, John Toney of Halifax, North Carolina, who

is not included in the materials the Park has developed. The record is abysmally scanty when it comes to African American women.

Despite the paucity of information about African Americans in the American Revolution, particularly regarding female participation, African Americans in North Carolina have been able to draw on a rich past that, locally in Guilford County, led to the historic sit-in at the Woolworth's lunch counter in 1965 and the other achievements listed earlier in this report (e.g. the founding of African American colleges and other schools). These accomplishments, along with their participation, with Quakers, in the local Underground Railroad, are just a few of the ways that African Americans have driven the process of expanding human rights. As such, their work in the community dovetails well with the principles championed during the American Revolution and prominently displayed at the Park.

This is not to say that more work could be done in terms of highlighting African American participation in the American Revolution at the Park, perhaps beginning with including more African Americans in annual reenactment weekends. Without exception, African Americans we interviewed mentioned that the difficulty that they had connecting with the history depicted at the Park was that they perceived it as white history, of little relevance to the African American historical experience. Although the American Revolution was founded on principles that, fully adhered to, should have dealt a death blow to slavery, it took nearly another century before slavery was eventually abolished in the United States. While this may be partially responsible for the lack of connection to the Park among many African Americans, surely the Park's lack of materials championing African Americans in the battle has been responsible for any African American indifference toward the Park that may exist. One former Park employee said that:

“[T]here has always been an effort to incorporate African Americans into the Park's message, to the point of researching African Americans who actually fought in the battle, and bringing school groups that are over 50% African American, and emphasizing the African Americans who fought in the battle.... But I've never been comfortable with the idea we have been successful in saying that this is a part of your history.”

A few people we interviewed repeated a story of an African American named Ned Griffin, claiming that he fought in the battle for his owner, after the owner promised him his freedom in return, but that the owner reneged on his agreement when he returned from the battle unscathed. Griffin then took the man to court for his freedom and won. As noted earlier, Ned Griffin is featured briefly in the film Another Such Victory shown at the Park, although recently it has been determined that Griffin joined the Revolution and fought for his master after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.

Other African American legacies in the region are noted in the Greensboro Historical Museum and elsewhere across Guilford County, such as the Underground Railroad or the Woolworth's sit-in, but the Park's materials about African Americans, understandably,

are largely restricted to those related to African American participation in the American Revolution. This was not sufficient for some African Americans. For example, one of the African American men interviewed asked, “I wonder why they don’t talk about the Underground Railroad,” suggesting that funneling the enslaved toward freedom was an independence movement not unlike the American Revolution, emphasizing releasing people from the talons of tyranny. “They don’t tell you about the African Americans who died here,” this same individual said, “yet all of that is part of the history of this country, but they don’t talk about that.” He added that it was an African American named Crispus Attucks who said, “Don’t shoot until you see the whites of their eyes.” While Crispus Attucks was one of the first individuals killed in the American Revolution, at the Boston Massacre, the quote that this gentleman attributed to him has been attributed to an American officer at Bunker Hill.

There are gaps in the historical record and many stories are underrepresented or have been excluded, hidden, or not fully comprehensively represented, and a growing body of research focuses on critically addressing these gaps (Griffith 1997; Jackson 2012).²² African Americans familiar with the Park have closely scrutinized the reenactment ceremonies and other living history events for African American participants, claiming that there have been very few. One African American woman we interviewed claimed that, prior to the 1970s, there had been an active attempt by Park personnel to exclude both African Americans and women from Battlefield demonstrations. Whether or not this was indeed the case matters less than the fact that African Americans believe this to be true; further, they point to the relative lack of reference to African American contributions to the Revolution in the Park as supporting evidence such an omission.

Of course, as already noted, the Park does make reference to African Americans in its exhibits, has hired African American employees, entertained and educated African American school children, and has incorporated African Americans into living history demonstrations. Nevertheless, the perception that African Americans have not been adequately represented in Park educational and historical materials was common among African Americans interviewed for this study. Addressing this with, say, an increased emphasis on how the American Revolution set into motion greater civil rights campaigns in general, including the Underground Railroad, would facilitate African American connections to the Park.

This is important from the standpoint of African Americans being among the main Park visitors. While all African Americans we interviewed mentioned the lack of Black history, this does not mean that those interviewed appreciated nothing about the Park or avoided visiting it. On the contrary, African Americans we interviewed appreciated a great deal about the Park and visited it often. Casual observations of Park recreational visitors reveal that African Americans are nearly as common on the Park grounds as other ethnic groups. One African American woman we interviewed, who was also a nurse at a local hospital, appreciated the Park as a place to walk for exercise and sound health. In her words:

“This Park plays a big part in being healthy. Especially in my field, we see a lot of people who are obese and our work place is doing all we can to make them more healthy. At our work, we need to take care of ourselves in order to take care of our patients. We have to take care of them. This Park plays a big part in that. Quite a few people from our work actually run or walk in the Park... I see a lot a patients coming through rehabilitation. They really need this. They need exercise, once they get to that point.”

She agreed with a suggestion that the Park sponsor or cooperate with groups with walks that raise funds or awareness about certain stubborn diseases (e.g. obesity, ALS, breast cancer, cystic fibrosis, etc.), and said that this would be quite welcome in the hospital. Reflecting the Park’s status as a symbol of freedom, Park sponsored or assisted walks or runs might be cast as increasing personal freedoms by increasing one’s personal mobility and the health that allows people access to more and more activities and areas. Collectively, too, improving the health of greater numbers of people frees the country from the costs and associated burdens of caring for an unwell population.

Using the Park for recreational purposes introduced some of the African Americans we interviewed to its interpretive signage and to the importance of the battle in the American Revolution and U.S. history. One woman remarked that walking through the Park became more enjoyable once she began paying attention to the signs, adding that learning about all that had happened on the battleground made the site more meaningful to her. “This is *my* history now,” she said of the experience.

This same woman also noted, however, that walking around downtown Greensboro likewise introduced her to the city’s role in the civil rights movement, saying, “I live in a city that means something.” She wasn’t alone among African Americans who believed the Park could benefit from closer connections between the Park and the city’s history. One African American man said: “I’ve suggested to the City Council multiple times that they should have a railroad track from downtown to the Battleground Park with a trolley. It could transport people from place to place and also expose the people to more of the city. It could be a guided tour. But I never heard much feedback on it, there’s already rail tracks laid down. And other cities have similar features.” In a similar vein, another African American woman said:

“I’ve always wanted there to be some collaboration between the Park here, the International Civil Rights museum, and the Greensboro Historical museum because we’re all trying to convey the same type of messages—civility and civil rights. Even if we are talking about different times... But I think that Greensboro is a cliquish town. There’s old money, there’s new money, there’s the haves and the have nots like me. Kind of like in the caste system, there’s still some of that in the community. The influx of people from other states and other countries has changed [the community], because we’re a [refugee] settlement city.”

In other words, despite continued attempts to expand civil and human rights in the city, including the messages forwarded at the Park and the two museums mentioned above,

there remain forces in the city that exclude more than they include and, as such, serve as barriers to the expansion of human rights. It is interesting that one of the factors this woman mentioned as working against exclusionary tendencies has been the city's growing reputation as a place where refugees and new immigrants are welcome. University of North Carolina in Greensboro has a "Center for New North Carolinians" that is modeled after a similar center at the University of Northern Iowa, in Cedar Falls, whose personnel actively attempt to facilitate the positive integration of refugees and new immigrants into North Carolina generally but particularly the Triad region. They are not alone. According to the Center's former Director, Raleigh Bailey (2005:81):

"Mainstream institutions have gradually modified their diversity initiatives in response to the region's changing demographics. The Greensboro Chamber of Commerce, which has a long history of moderating race relations, began including immigrant and Native American communities in a leadership initiative in the late 1990s. The training program, called 'Other Voices,' brings diverse community representatives together to address issues including racism."

While these programs have not been perfect, they have expanded civil and human rights among newly arrived and arriving immigrants and refugees. They have the potential to establish a foundation where African Americans and new immigrants can work together in cases where they face similar problems, particularly racism and discrimination in work places and schools, although cultural and linguistic differences, and differences arising from the perception that new immigrants sometimes take jobs away from African Americans, have undermined such solidarity. Nevertheless, the woman who mentioned the influence of new immigrants on the city's "caste system" suggests that coalitions of this kind are on the minds of Greensboro African Americans. As further evidence of this, Bailey (2005:83) notes that "minority groups have a history of competing for limited resources rather than addressing common limitations, but local African American leaders have begun seeking out areas for cooperation and noting repeated patterns of discrimination, particularly racial profiling."

Connecting the Park with the city's civil rights history, its "other voices," its role in the Underground Railroad, and other social movements oriented toward expanding human rights, were high on most African Americans' lists of priorities, yet those interviewed also mentioned nature, music, and educating school children as important ways that the Park has enhanced their own and others' experiences. One man lamented, however, that, "They used to have signs telling about all of the reptiles and other animals in the Park. They don't have those anymore."²³ Still, most of the African Americans we interviewed enjoyed the concerts that were in the Park periodically and the fact that the Park reached out to school children, black and white, to teach them about the Revolution and give them living history demonstrations.

In summary, while African Americans lamented the relative lack of attention to the many parts that African Americans played in the American Revolution, they were not unaware of the Park's importance and its potential for improvement. Those interviewed appreciated the beauty of the Park, its walks, its interpretive signage and monuments, and

its role in teaching school children. With increased attention to African American achievements and with closer connections to the International Civil Rights and the Greensboro Historical Museums, the Park could significantly enhance their experience.

Finally, to their credit, Park personnel have highlighted African American history in materials they distribute, on their website, and, as noted earlier, in the film that they show in the visitors' center. Specifically, in 2000, based on nearly 30 years of research that began around 1970, a video was made that included reference to African Americans, in particular Ned Griffin. Two Park employees at that time began working on African American history in reference to the battle and the Park as early as 1971, in preparation for the opening of the visitors' center, but it wasn't until August of 1998 that Dan Long wrote a two-page handout about African American participation in the battle. This was revised in May of 2005 with more recent references.

This was not the first inclusion of materials referencing African American participation in the American Revolution in the Park. In 1982, six years after the new visitors' center opened, there was an exhibit of paintings depicting African American soldiers in the Rhode Island regiment—an all black regiment. On the back of one of photos of the paintings, it reads, “Marquis de Chastellux and the First Rhode Island Regiment’ by David Wagner. Displayed at GUCO summer of 1982 as part of Black History Exhibit.” The visitors' center still has two photos of the paintings, one depicting African Americans on horseback, their leader saluting the Marquis, and another showing them apparently proclaiming victory in the aftermath of a battle, raising their swords, muskets, and flag.

On the Park website, they note that African Americans played a key role in the success of the American Revolution. Mullen (1973) opens his discussion of attitudes toward African Americans in the military with a discussion of Crispus Attucks, Peter Salem, Pomp Fisk, and other African Americans who died early in the Revolution. He mentions that Washington, as a Virginia planter enslaving over 100 people, did not like the idea of arming the enslaved, but was forced to recruit African Americans after Lord Dunmore, the British Governor of Virginia, in November 1775, declared that African Americans who joined the British would be freed. Mullen writes that, “Of the 300,000 soldiers who served in the Continental Army during the War of Independence, approximately five thousand were Black. Some volunteered. Others were drafted. In addition to all-Black companies, an all-Black regiment was recruited from Rhode Island.” As just noted, the Park archives have photographs of paintings about this regiment. Along with others (e.g. Lanning 1997), Mullen makes the point that African Americans fought in the American Revolution even though they would not enjoy the freedoms gained from the conflict.

Again, African American participation in the American Revolution was certainly varied and complex, including enslaved and free African Americans aiding both the Americans and the British. Although the Park has chronicled some of this, its relatively short history of African Americans related to the Park has not been sufficient to construct what Jackson (2012:31) calls a “more comprehensive representation of community history and heritage” that would include significant contributions to the American Revolutionary

history by African American men and women. Linking the Park to other civil and human rights campaigns could be a first step in developing this more comprehensive history.

Quakers

It is widely known that Quakers (The Society of Friends) have been a major spiritual, organizational, and moral force in Guilford County and across the Triad Region at least since the 18th century, their first meeting houses (Quaker churches), New Garden and Deep River, being established in the area in mid-1700s; earlier meetings of Quakers took place in open outdoor areas with people sitting on logs or in private homes. Guilford College is a Quaker College and several landmarks and organizations of Friends (the other name Quakers call themselves) are scattered about the Triad Region, including meeting houses, apartment complexes, and nursing homes. In addition, High Point has “Museum of Domestic Life” that highlights 19th century Quaker life.

The most obvious link between the Quakers and the Park lies in the fact that Nathanael Greene was born into a Quaker household, although his early interest in the military led to his asking to be separated from the Society of Friends. Quakers preached pacifism long before the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Nevertheless, Greene’s heritage and his migration from Rhode Island to North Carolina resonate with other Quaker experiences that still stir Quaker emotions today.

Both historical and oral accounts of the Quakers suggest that they migrated into the Triad region along two paths. First, streams of Quakers seeking cheap land in Carolina backcountry traveled along the well-traveled Shenandoah Valley route from Pennsylvania—the site of the first colonial Quaker settlements, organized by William Penn—through Virginia and into North Carolina. A second Quaker stream came from the coastal regions of the Carolinas, particularly around Bear River, South Carolina; these migrants were also in search of cheaper land yet, some of those interviewed believe, also fleeing what they viewed as the immorality of the lowland cotton and tobacco slave plantations. While these migrants came to settle, they nevertheless maintained social ties with their regions of origin, which enhanced their ability to attract more Quakers to the region as well as to return to northern and eastern locations when times became difficult.

One might have anticipated that the Quakers we interviewed during this study would have been, at best, ambivalent about a Park that commemorates a battle during the American Revolution, and many Quakers we interviewed did, in fact, have quite mixed feelings about the Park and what it represents. Yet some Quakers we interviewed had a more complex perspective of the battle, the battleground, and its context in the expressed expansion of freedom across the country and the world. Several young Quaker women, for example, even wished to participate in the reenactment of the battle because they knew that Quaker women had mended many of the wounded from the battle, regardless of their allegiance. One of the most widely repeated statements about this is that some of those nursing the wounded contracted small pox from the blood of the wounded for their troubles. Several Quakers we interviewed recalled that there had once been a monument to the New Garden Quakers who nursed the wounded in the Park, but that it had either been moved or removed.

However, according to Park personnel, there has never been a monument to Quakers in the Park. Those who believed there may have been a monument may have been referring to a wayside exhibit established at Tour stop 6, near the Courthouse site, which included a pen-and-ink drawing of a Quaker woman tending the wounded and a line about the New Garden Quakers tending wounded soldiers. That exhibit was there from 1975 to 2001, when new wayside exhibits were developed and references to Quakers tending the wounded were moved to interpretive exhibits and the film in the museum.

In any case, the young women just mentioned wished that the Park would add a part to the reenactment that highlighted the aftermath of the battle and the struggles that must have ensued as women drug bodies from the field and established makeshift hospitals. This is, of course, a critical part of military history—one that, in fact, has heavily influenced medical practice across the United States and around the world. In his comprehensive history of the U.S. medical profession, Paul Starr (1989) points out that battlefield medicine, particularly during the Civil War but also earlier, was instrumental in professionalizing medicine. As such, Quaker participation in the battle could have contributed to this trend.

Generally, that the Park honors the revolutionary soldiers rather than the British is also in line with Quaker philosophy, in that much of Quaker history has been what one Quaker we interviewed called a “radical movement” against manifestations of tyranny of all kinds, noting that Quakers were part of the Anabaptist movements that included Amish, Hutterites, and Mennonites who rebelled against the marriage of church and state as early as the 16th century. Friends, like American revolutionaries who followed the principles of independence, also believe in individual achievement over birthrights, insisting that adopting the Quaker faith is an adult act rather than deriving from being born into a Quaker household.

Perhaps more importantly, however, has been that Quakers believe—more so than most of the founding fathers—that all men are created equal. Indeed, had Quakers written the Declaration of Independence they would have written that all *people* were created equal, for Quakers believed in the equality of men and women long before the U.S. suffrage movement of the early 20th century. This belief comes from a more fundamental world view positing that the divine—whether God or another form of divinity—dwells in every human being. No one is any more or less directly connected with God, and no intermediaries in that relationship, no clergy, are necessary to learn truth from God.

The direct connection to God is at the basis of Quaker commitment to equality, and those Quakers who we interviewed who entertained mixed feelings about the Park simultaneously objected to the fact that the Park glorified war yet appreciated it as a site that brought to mind freedom, equality, and the expansion of human rights. “Quakers just aren’t too big on military parks,” one of those we interviewed said, adding with a note of sarcasm: “I wonder why.” He also noted that Quakers were not very enamored with monuments, that their own meeting houses were quite plain. They were part of that

radical puritan trend of the time. “There’s not much cause to erect monuments to Quaker military heroes,” he joked. “That’s a pretty short list.” He continued:

“In times of patriotic fervor, or in war, Quakers are not overly favored due to our historic stance and opposition to war. You probably saw the sign [on the meeting house] when you came in: ‘War is not the Answer.’ Quakers were fairly popular up to the Revolutionary War. We’re the fifth largest denomination in the American colonies up until the Revolutionary War. *Letters to a Farmer* was written by a Quaker. Thomas Paine’s father was a Quaker. There were many Quakers involved in the protest against the domination of the crown. Quakers are famously nonconformists, but they are also pacifists, and when they refused to support a violent overthrow of what they saw as properly constituted authority, they lost favor pretty rapidly. And then Thomas Paine turned his acidic pen against the Quakers, and others as well, because they wouldn’t fight.”

At the same time, the Quaker presence in the region has contributed to local history in ways that could easily resonate with the Park’s interpretation of historical processes. Most notably, their protest against domination and their support of equality have been manifested again and again in Quaker and local history. While prior to the Revolutionary War their opposition to the Crown and to Crown-dictated religious affiliation aligned them with the cause of independence, after the war their protests turned in another direction: toward slavery initially and eventually toward the women’s suffrage of the early 20th century and the 1950s and 1960s civil rights movements.

In terms of slavery, one of the most revered figures to emerge early in the abolitionist movement was Levi Coffin, who was not only instrumental in organizing the underground railway, but also an outspoken advocate for freedom. Huddle (1996: 3) writes:

“Probably the most legendary of the Quaker antislavery efforts was the Underground Railroad. The ‘conductor’ of the so-called railroad was Greensboro’s Levi Coffin. One ‘terminus,’ or end, of a route in North Carolina was rumored to be the New Garden Meetinghouse in Guilford County, where escaped slaves allegedly hid in the woods until they could resume travel at night to avoid detection.”

One story frequently recounted by Quakers is of an encounter between Levi Coffin and the famous revolutionary Presbyterian preacher David Caldwell, who is memorialized as a military hero in the Park and in several other locations around Greensboro (including a Caldwell museum). Caldwell was also a slave owner. When Coffin was just a young boy of 12 or 13, according to the story, and Caldwell was in his 80s and one of the most venerated figures in the region and in all of North Carolina, Coffin confronted Caldwell over his plans to break up a slave family. According to a local Quaker historian:

“Caldwell was going to ship one of his slave women as a gift to his son and his new bride in Charlotte, which would break up her family. She had a husband and

children. So they ran away from the Caldwell farm and hid out in New Garden woods, which was a famous refuge for fugitive slaves. After a few days, when they were all sick and tired and cold, they went to Coffin's farmhouse and Levi, the little boy, heard the story and couldn't believe that a man of the gospel would do such a thing. He walked the five miles to Caldwell's farm to confront David Caldwell and Caldwell relents and doesn't send the slave woman off. This is what Quakers know as speaking truth to power... Still, there are no statues to Levi Coffin here. There are plenty to David Caldwell but none to Levi Coffin. So that history [the history that reveres Caldwell] is venerated more in the community than the other [the history of Coffin or the Underground Railroad]."

According to the Quakers we interviewed, Greensboro was the southernmost point of the Underground Railroad and Coffin was one of the leading figures who enabled slaves to become free. The railway came about in part, ironically, from the fact that some Quakers did own slaves. Because they could not legally set their slaves free in the south, many of them moved north, to "free territory," principally to Indiana but also to Ohio, and then established refuges for slaves who traveled north along the Underground Railroad.

Quaker involvement in the Underground Railroad was but one of several ways in which Quakers in the region and across the nation have pressed for the expansion of human rights. They were not only against the oppression meted out by the British Crown, but against all oppression, which they claim is based, ultimately, on violence. This included objecting to taking land by force from Native Americans as well as their objections to and behavior against slavery.

Quakers also enter the historical record around the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in other ways. For example, the Battle of New Garden—a smaller battle, often referred to as a skirmish, that occurred the morning of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse—occurred at the site of today's Guilford College, and just as during the later battle, Quaker women also tended to the wounded of both armies that morning. Just behind Guilford College, according to some, there is a relic road that Cornwallis used in his march from the region, yet it has no historical marker. Finally, Dolly Madison—Revolutionary-era President James Madison's wife—was born to Quaker parents in Greensboro, and Madison's presidency forwarded many causes that conformed to Quaker ways of life.

Commemorating the battle activities in and around Guilford College, of course, would not be wise, given Quaker objections to violence in general and war in particular, but it certainly would not hurt to note the contributions of Quakers who tended to the wounded from the battle and, later, who participated in other movements to expand civil and human rights to more and more groups. And perhaps pacifism is more widely aspired to than we acknowledge: in the Revolutionary War, large numbers of men from both sides deserted battlefields at the commencement of battle, others found excuses not to participate, and still others sent slaves or others in their place to fight for them.

Presbyterians

The involvement of Presbyterians in the Park—particularly those from Buffalo and Alamance Presbyterian churches—rests principally on the patriotism, activism, medicine, education, and many other roles of the Presbyterian Minister David Caldwell. Both David Caldwell and his wife, Rachel, are buried immediately behind Buffalo Presbyterian Church and David Caldwell preached there as well as at Alamance Church. David Caldwell was not only a Revolutionary War patriot, but also participated in the earlier Regulator movement in what is today Alamance County (formerly Orange County), which expressed revolutionary sentiments prior to the revolution and resulted in the Battle of Alamance. Rachel Caldwell was also active in both social movements, assisting her husband when he was tending the wounded and offering her own inspirational messages of freedom during the conflicts. A statue of David Caldwell in the Park stands as a constant reminder to Presbyterians of their attachment to the Revolutionary War and to the Park itself, although not all the Presbyterians we interviewed visited the Park on a regular basis. Instead, most of the Presbyterians we interviewed were particularly interested in relating their roots in the area, which dated to the mid-18th century, including their links to Revolutionary War soldiers, and their family histories—particularly their families’ relationships to the land of the region and to the church itself.

The Caldwells’ importance to Presbyterians derives from several of their activities that both forwarded revolutionary ideals and that dovetailed with Presbyterian ideals, especially the importance of learning or education and a strong work ethic. Along with their patriotic contributions to the Revolution and their tending to the wounded at the battle, Presbyterians interviewed emphasized that the Caldwells also established a school and were tireless in defending the new nation. “I would like to see the Park become involved with our church more because of our history of David Caldwell,” one Buffalo Church member said. “I wish it were better known where he is buried. I don’t think most people in Greensboro know this unless they grew up here. He started the Caldwell Log College, which was a school for boys. Lots of ministers, governors, senators, and other people in government went there. It’s a beautiful cemetery too. It’s well kept. It would be worth the drive.” Another person interviewed referred to Caldwell as “the rock upon which this county was based.”

As a testament to the importance of Caldwell as a teacher and scholar, the British burned his papers when they occupied his farm. “We only have two of his sermons,” one of those we interviewed said. “At the time Caldwell had a price on his head. Cornwallis found out where Caldwell lived and so Caldwell hid out in Reedy Fork woods for several days; Caldwell had had a dream that he was going to be killed and so he hid out. Cornwallis confiscated his livestock and destroyed his house but didn’t kill his wife and children; they escaped.” Another recounted more or less the same story, adding yet another dimension:

“He was being hunted as a traitor and Cornwallis used his house as his headquarters. They burned his books and his sermons. We only have two left. He said to Cornwallis, ‘If you take the bounty off my head, I’ll treat your wounded soldiers too.’ And they did, they took the bounty off his head, and he

tended the wounded. But he wasn't looked upon favorably by the British, that's a fact. If you read the sermon that we have, basically he was telling the congregation that if you were loyal to the king you were a traitor. And a sucker, because you haven't become informed, working to secure your freedom from those who would oppress you. . . . I would say that most of them [in the congregation] . . . fought in the battle in one way or another."

The importance of Rachel Caldwell in David's life cannot be underestimated. Not only was she a devoted wife and mother of his 12 children (four of whom died in infancy), she came from a wealthy family and her family's wealth helped him establish their plantation and perform his many duties to the revolutionary movement, both during the Regulators movement and the Revolution. Seventeen years her senior, David knew Rachel when she was a little girl and fastened on her as his future wife. Of Rachel, Ayers states:

"David Caldwell married Rachel Craighead, the third daughter of Reverend Alexander Craighead who was pastor of a group of churches in Mecklenburg County. He had known her as a little girl in Pennsylvania. . . . Rachel Caldwell was a courageous and capable woman. She found time to assist her husband, her children, and neighbors and friends in time of need. In the trying days of the Revolutionary War, when her husband was away from home, she showed great courage in caring for others" (1981:3).

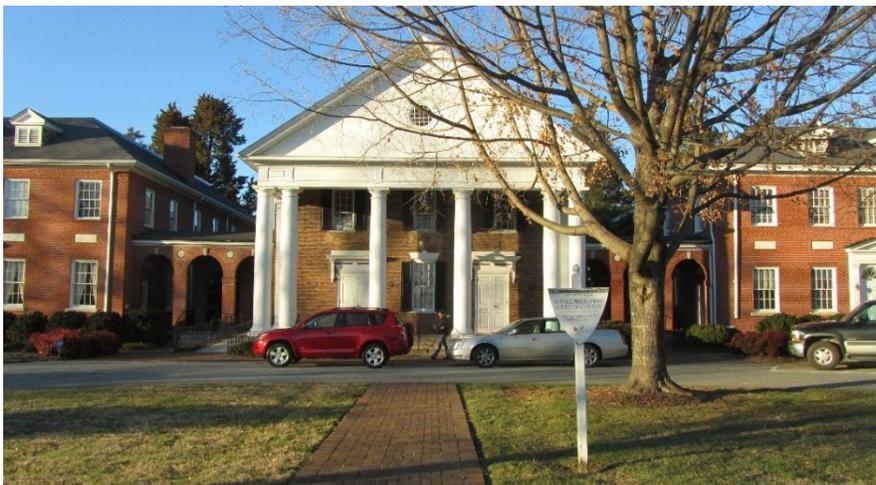
Many of the Presbyterians we interviewed could trace their ancestry back to the original group of 19 Scots-Irish families who migrated as the Nottingham Colony of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (Ayers 1981), securing leased (or indentured) land from the Earl of Granville in North Carolina. Granville was one of the original Lords Proprietors who owned North Carolina, and the only one of the eight who did not return his land to the King in the early 18th century; his land became known as the Granville District and, according to descendants of these original 19 families, was often poorly managed, allowing the Presbyterian settlers to neglect their lease payments.

Two of the direct descendants of these original 19 families, a man and his aunt, showed us a copy of the original "indenture," or the document giving his ancestor access to 640 acres of land near the current site of Buffalo Church. "I got a feeling my forefathers were supposed to pay some taxes and never did," the nephew said, referencing the mismanagement of the Granville District. Despite the possibility that they failed to pay taxes, they were able to hang onto the land until the 20th century, using it primarily to farm and raise livestock. "My father and grandfather used to run sheep on that land," the nephew said, and the aunt confirmed that the land was farmed well into the 20th century. Another Presbyterian, one of the direct descendants of William Rankin, an original member of Buffalo Church, still owns 20 acres of a land grant of 640 acres given to the Rankin in the mid-18th century. For nearly forty years he operated a landscaping company from this land.

To many of those interviewed, these ancestral ties constitute direct ties to the battle. Although a history of Buffalo Church written by Sam Rankin states that no list of church

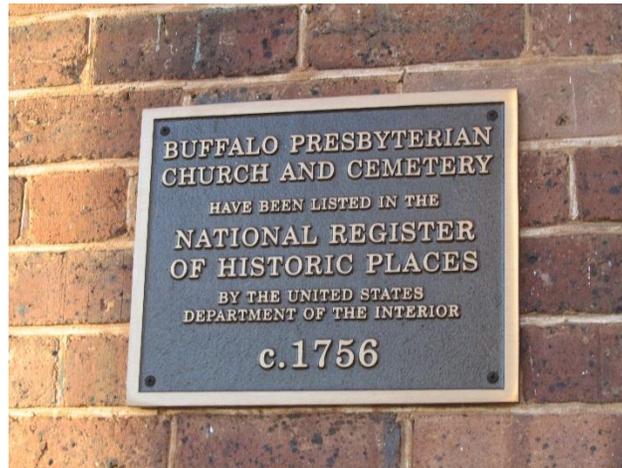
members who participated in the battle exists, he argues that, given Caldwell's sympathies, few able bodied men in the church would have refused service. Two of those whom their descendants claim participated in the battle were John and William Rankin, who owned over a thousand acres near the battlefield; around the time of the battle, their farms were occupied by Cornwallis for provisions and because the Rankins were known Whigs. Through marriage, the Rankins became related to two other prominent Presbyterian families: the McNights and the Albrights, the former among the original 19 families, whose contemporary descendants have the original land grant "indenture" mentioned above, and the latter a family of brick makers who made the bricks for the building of Buffalo Church's third and most enduring building, which still stands today (see photo below). One of the interesting facts about the bricks that were used to build the church is that one, used on the eastern wall of the church, has a visible paw print of one of the Albrights' dogs.

Nearly as dear to the hearts of Buffalo Church Presbyterians as their link to David and Rachel Caldwell is the church itself, including its cemetery and grounds, founded in 1756 and now listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The structure that stands there today is, as just noted, the third. The first was a log cabin in the corner of what is today the cemetery and the second was a two-story wooden structure with a gallery for slaves and African American congregants. Both of these structures burned prior to the building of the current church. Most of the congregants we interviewed believed that the church's proximity to the Park (just four miles away), its impressive architecture and grounds, the importance of the Caldwells, their graves, and the other church members who fought in the battle, combined, make the church an ideal candidate for deepening its relationship with the Park. Although the specific mechanisms of this were not well fleshed out, some suggested that reference to the church could be included in Park interpretive signage, giving its location, or that programs at the church—specifically the readings of Caldwell's sermons on the Sunday of the reenactment ceremonies and on the 4th of July—be included in the programs of activities.



Buffalo Church

In addition to the church proper, the church has a library with several books devoted to the revolutionary period, a church historian, and a wing named after Rachel Caldwell. The library constitutes a possible source of more detailed information about the original 19 families and their role in the American Revolution. A book by Samuel Rankin is a particularly good reference about the church, its origins, and its evolution through time, including the role its congregants played in the American Revolution.



Plaque on Outer Wall of Buffalo Church & David and Rachel Caldwell's Graves

Presbyterians from Alamance Church were just as proud of the fact that David Caldwell was their first preacher and, through Caldwell, were attached to the values of the American Revolution. The two churches also shared their second preacher: Eli Carruthers, who not only preached at both churches but was instrumental in chronicling the life of David Caldwell and Caldwell's role in the Revolutionary War. Carruthers served both churches from 1820 to 1846 and, from 1846 to 1861, was pastor only at Alamance Church. In 1861, according to one church historian, "Carruthers was kicked out because of his opposition to slavery." He died four years later and was buried in Alamance Cemetery.

This little bit of information may be useful to Park personnel as they develop interpretive materials for the Park, particularly if those materials link the Park to these two Presbyterian Churches. Specifically, the relationship between Caldwell and Carruthers, both educated at Princeton, is a subject that, developed as historical narrative, could potentially be an instance of one man's fight for equality during the American Revolution was only fully realized a generation later, when his protégé Carruthers took up the fight for the expansion of human rights by opposing slavery. Such a narrative could include the exchange between Levi Coffin and Caldwell over the breaking up of a slave family, which resulted in the elderly Caldwell taking the young Coffin's advice. Despite the fact that Caldwell was a slave owner, Eli Carruthers's opposition to slavery certainly could have originated in his association with Caldwell and Caldwell's revolutionary ideals during his early years as a pastor.

Like the church historian at Buffalo Church, the two church historians we interviewed at Alamance Church related the migrations of Scots-Irish from Pennsylvania, along the eastern ridge of the Appalachians and likely through the Shenandoah Valley, into the Greensboro region in the mid-18th century. They have a great deal of material culture associated with church history, collected in a kind of small museum, and, again like Buffalo congregants, take great pride in the ways that church structure has evolved over time, from its origins in 1762 to what one congregant, during a transect walk, characterized as a "maze of rooms."

Alamance Church members also agreed that their members were sympathetic to the American Revolution and claim that there are several Revolutionary War soldiers buried in the church's cemetery. One of the more famous soldiers buried in their cemetery is Arthur Forbis, the man whom his descendants credit with firing the first shot in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse and with being the best shot on the Battlefield. We relate a story about Arthur Forbis, told by one of his descendants, John Forbis, later in this report. Whether or not he fired the first shot or was the best shot on the Battlefield (his descendants may have been somewhat biased in terms of their famous ancestor), Arthur Forbis did participate in the Battle and was among those who died from his battle wounds.

Lutherans

We were able to conduct interviews with only five Lutherans, none of whom were terribly enthusiastic about the Park or the study, being far more interested in the role Lutherans had played in community civil rights. Zac Parker's (2014) account of Lutherans depicts their principal concerns regarding their role in the community. Briefly, the Lutherans we interviewed believed they were instrumental in supporting the civil rights movements of the 1960s and, hence, have an interest in the expansion of human rights. In particular, they raised funds, marched in protest marches, and provided meals and other support for those arrested in the struggle.

According to some of those interviewed, their concern with human and civil rights derives from a long history of the Lutheran faith in the South, dating to the mid-18th

century, when Lutherans from the northern colonies came to the South as missionaries, not only recruiting individuals to the faith but also attempting to alleviate their suffering from slavery, poverty, and other social problems. Combined with this has also been a long interest in extending education to the less advantaged, including African Americans. At one time, they claimed, nearly every African American child attended Immanuel Lutheran School, and at one time Lutherans had a house for student gatherings on the North Carolina A&T campus.

These concerns, it seems, dovetail well with the theme of the expansion of human rights, and the Park could reach out to Lutherans on these grounds.

Others²⁴

As noted earlier, the Park attracts visitors from a broad range of backgrounds and with different attachments to the history that the Park represents with its memorials, media, interpretive signage, and other dimensions. We interviewed people with little interest in the Park beyond its attractiveness as a place to walk or picnic, but also several individuals with general interest in the history of Guilford County and the Revolutionary War era. These individuals offered a wide variety of perspectives that were unrelated to religious or ethnic affiliation but are, nonetheless, important in terms of providing alternative perspectives about and narratives about the Park, the battle, the Revolutionary War, and the expansion of human rights.

One story related by John Forbis had to do with his great-great-great grandfather, Arthur Forbis. According to the oral history in his family:

“The Continental Army was as good an army as there was, but they always used local militia as volunteers to fire the first rounds at the enemy and then get out of the way. My great-great-great grandfather was one of these guys. He fought in six or seven battles across the Carolinas, so he wasn’t just a volunteer recruited to this battle. He lived in McClellansville, which is between Burlington and here [Greensboro]. He was a farmer and he was the best shot of the unit. About twelve to fifteen of them instead of firing a shot and then high-tailing it out of there, they stayed and fought. He was one who stayed and fought.

He got shot in the side and the leg and he lay on the battlefield for the better part of a week. A fellow by the name of Shoemaker, who was sympathetic to the King, came by and ran his bayonet through his wounds. They finally got him off the battlefield and they were carrying him home. They ran into his wife, who had been looking for him, and she didn’t even recognize him, he had been wounded so badly.

But they found that guy Shoemaker and they killed him and nailed him to the door of the Alamance Church. As the name would indicate, I understand he was a cobbler. But anyways, Dr. David Caldwell treated him [Arthur Forbis] and told him that if he would allow him to amputate his leg he would live, but he said he

wanted to die in one piece and he did, about three weeks after the battle. Where he fell there is a marker at the Park.... He's buried in Alamance Presbyterian Church cemetery.”

The Forbis family owns several funeral homes in the Greensboro area and they were involved in the re-internment of General Sumner, noted earlier in this report, indicating their family's long attachment to the Park and to its monuments; they have been involved in local politics as well and have shown their support to the community of Greensboro and to the Park in many ways, including as repositories of oral history. The story he told is important in that it indicates how publicly opposed to the British the Presbyterians in the region must have been, displaying their disdain for Loyalists by, essentially, crucifying the Loyalist who tortured one of their congregants. To have nailed Shoemaker to the door of the church after a British victory in the region couldn't have been anything less than a bold statement and one which lends credence to the idea that this battle was, in fact, an American victory.

Another long-time supporter of the Park whom we interviewed was one of its former employees, a man now in his late eighties, whom I call by the pseudonym Dale. Dale related a lengthy history of the Park, starting with a time prior to 1933, when the Park lands were controlled by the War Department and, he claimed, WWI soldiers trained here. This was in line with the idea that the area be used as an educational center for military strategy, similar to the goals of battlefield archaeology, and that it eventually be opened up to the public, as a Park, for this same purpose. After the Park Service acquired the Park in 1933, however, another bit of its history was that it was the site of a Work Projects Administration road-building and infrastructure development during the Great Depression, thus contributing to the employment of locals during these difficult economic times and, through this practice, providing them increased opportunity and stimulating the local economy. Dale's uncle was the water boy for the WPA when they were working in the Park. Again, these activities are related to the expansion of human rights that the Park can become known for.

Dale also related the historical continuity of the Park as a recreational site, predating 1933, when a train would bring families from Greensboro on the 4th of July and other holidays to camp and picnic. The train was also used to haul granite from Mt. Airy for construction of some of the walkways. He watched the city grow up around the Park, to the point, he said, that “most people didn't know the difference between the city's park and the National Park.” He said there used to be a drive-in theater where the bathrooms are now, but in 1973 the Park Service bought that land and expanded the Park. He also related a story of vandalism, returning from a vacation to find parts of the statues and monuments in the woods and the granite spray-painted with graffiti. “It made you sick to see that,” he said.

As Dale related the various chapters in the Park's history, characterizing them as an ongoing process of tearing down and building up, using buildings for different uses as they aged, his narrative assumed the form of a cultural biography of the Park (Kopytoff 1986). Specifically, he related the use, maintenance, reproduction, and changes that have

occurred in terms of their relations with Park visitors, staff, and, in his case, family, as his grandfather, father, and uncle also worked in the Park. In line with the Battleground Company's desire that the Park continually change its exhibits to keep visitors interested, Dale's narrative reminds us that change is a part of the Park's history.

We also interviewed several people involved with the museums of the region, including the International Civil Rights Museum and the Greensboro Historical Museum. Without exception, these individuals were quite interested in creating stronger links between the Park and the local museums. Those at the International Civil Rights Museum, although echoing African Americans' concerns about the relative absence of African American history at the Park, nevertheless saw the relationship between the ideals of the American Revolution and the ideals the museum attempts to promote and uphold—equality for all, the spread of freedom, and the expansion of civil and human rights.

People at the Greensboro Historical Museum have always attempted to tell American history from the perspective of the Greensboro experience, shoring up the use of the first person with local material culture. One of their initiatives most relevant to the Park's attempt to increase its significance for more diverse audiences has been its Greensboro Voices exhibit, which profiles the different ethnic influences on the city. "Greensboro is an ordinary city with extraordinary stories," one of those interviewed said of this effort. "We wanted to tell the extraordinary story in the ordinary object. There's a pleasure in seeing just the objects; they can connect to the Guilford Courthouse story or the sit-ins or just the wow factor—there's plenty of that." To accomplish this, they consulted scholars all over the country and they held workshops from other museums and historical collections around the state and region. "What we thought the exhibit was going to end up being, at first, we were using the concept of crossroads, and then we evolved to voices." They hired the same group who helped to set up the International Civil Rights Museum.

The museums of the region are also important sites for lectures and educational programs, often packaged in innovative ways. For example, the Greensboro Historical Museum every year adapts five O'Henry short stories for the stage and puts on plays, and has been doing this for over a quarter of a century. "Lately we've done more interpreter programs, where someone is in the character of a historical figure, to give people a different kind of experience. It's also a way to work with young people, who are the interpreters." Clearly, this kind of approach would work well with reenactors like Mitchell Hunt, who adopts the character of a revolutionary war soldier for educational and entertainment purposes.

Concluding Remarks

Greensboro and the region in which it sits are, indeed, ordinary places with extraordinary stories to tell. Its remarkable historical record of expanding human rights predates the American Revolution with the religious tolerance witnessed in the region and the Regulator Movement, yet also coincides with the Revolutionary War era and extends through the 19th and 20th centuries with the Underground Railroad, religious opposition to

slavery, the local participation in the U.S. civil rights movement, and its growing reputation as a welcoming settlement city for new immigrants and refugees. The region's many colleges, universities, museums, memorial sites, green spaces, and other local historical resources make it an ideal location for the National Park Service to test its abilities to bring in new voices and new perspectives on the American Revolution and what the values it promoted could mean to a more diverse population. There is no doubt that the Park has a long history of successful and productive interaction with the city of Greensboro, its educational institutions, and various community groups, hosting school children, providing recreational and historical services, organizing reenactment ceremonies and other events, and generally being a good neighbor.

Yet there remain many people from diverse backgrounds who have yet to fully experience all the Park has to offer. The lack of interest or unwillingness of Moravians and Native Americans in participating in this study, for example, was troubling, suggesting that their own ideas of American history conflict with those promoted through the Park. While it is impossible to reach out to everyone, the comments and recommendations of those interviewed and profiled above offer possible ways of increasing the quality and quantity of Park visitation—of changing the character of visitation from a majority who are merely there to recreate to a substantial number who take home the Park's messages and significance for national unity. The following chapter discusses these recommendations in slightly more detail.

Chapter 4:

Potential Enhancement of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park: Suggestions for Interpretive Topics and Community Engagement

We introduce this chapter with the caveat that the Park has been providing a valuable and historically significant benefit to the people of Greensboro since 1933. Its current staff are receptive to innovation and new ideas and have been highly engaged in the practice of educating the public about the Battle and its role in the American Revolution, providing a safe, pleasant environment for recreational activities that are enhanced by interpretive signs and exhibits, breathing new life into patriotism annually with reenactments and other ceremonies, and educating school children from diverse ethnic, religious, and geographic backgrounds. Change has always been a part of the Park's history, from the administrative changes of the early 20th century to the infrastructural and interpretive signage changes later on, and we can expect that the Park will continue to change to better meet the needs of its neighbors while maintaining the integrity of the Park's status as a revolutionary war site and a military park (Hiatt 2003; National Park Service 1997; Baker 1995).

The suggestions that follow ultimately derive from the people of Greensboro as well as reflect the interpretations of the anthropologists and others responsible for this study. They have been developed in response to two directives in the Scope of Work under which this report has been produced: “produce a list of potential interpretive topics;” and “identify park neighbors that are not making use of the park due to cultural reasons in order to assist the park in developing appropriate and culturally informed procedures for reaching out to these communities and groups”—or what we refer to here as community engagement (Piedmont-South Atlantic Cooperative Ecosystems Study Unit 2012). Each interpretive topic that follows includes information about how it might be used to address the issue of reaching out to people who may not utilized the Park as fully as they could. We are not suggesting how Park personnel might package or present material associated with the interpretive topics, given that they, and the National Park Service in general, have the expertise in museum studies and exhibits far beyond the skills of the author of this report. However, we do note that the Park has developed a variety of venues for exhibiting interpretive topics, including the following:

1. The Park website (www.nps.gov/guco/)
2. Books, brochures, posters, and other published materials about the Battle, the Park, and its significance in Guilford County and in regional and U.S. history.
3. CDs and DVDs that accompany tours of the Park and the visitor's center.
4. Wayside stops.
5. Additional sites (e.g. the Park Library, the Colonial Heritage Center).
6. Targeted educational events to school children and young adults.
7. Special events (e.g. Battle Anniversary Weekend).

8. Monuments.

Which of these is appropriate for the interpretive topics discussed below will, of course, be based in part on funding issues and in part on the exhibit expertise of Park personnel and the substantial museum resources in the National Park Service. As one of the Park's former employees said, "Nobody does interpretation like the National Park Service." It has been our experience, based on tours of the Park and other National Park Service sites, that this is indeed the case.

Interpretive Topics and Related Community Engagement Issues

Interpretive Topic # 1: The Park as occupying a significant place in the Guilford County history of civil and human rights social movements

Based on the ethnographic, ethnohistorical, archival, and other work that produced this report, it is clear that the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park is located in an area of several civil and human rights social movements, highlighting the importance of democracy, equality, economic and educational opportunity, and other values that emphasize individual and group freedoms. While founding a new nation, the American Revolution also constituted a monumental social movement to expand human rights. We recognize that some historians and others, of course, might object to calling the American Revolution a social movement, viewing war and military engagements in general as political in nature, but the word *social* includes political activities and all of the ancillary activities that lead people into war and sustain the war to its conclusion: the development of sentiments of discontent and aggression; social support in the forms of food, munitions, intelligence, and labor; public outcries for and against the aggression; economic relations that fund the war; etc. Using the word social also links the American Revolution to other social movements that have been successful without a call to arms or bloodshed on the scale of the American Revolution, including the suffrage movement of the early 20th century and the civil rights and women's movements of the 1960s and 1970s and the gay and immigrants' rights movements today.

Although it was not entirely successful, the revolution did begin a process of the expansion of civil and human rights that continues today, spreading more and more rights to an ever more diverse populace. Materials developed for the Park could chronicle, for example, how key local revolutionary figures like David Caldwell remained a slave owner yet softened his position on slavery due to his interaction with Levi Coffin and may have stimulated Eli Carruthers to adopt an anti-slavery stance at the beginning of the Civil War. Among its central themes could be that the process of expanding human rights is often slow and painstaking, but is worth its weight in moral value.

The Park's location is one of its key assets in developing this theme, given the region's history of religious tolerance, local social movements (e.g. Regulators and the Woolworth's sit-in), and its contemporary educational, museum, and recreational resources. The university, archival, and museum resources available in the Triad Region are substantial in terms of chronicling local civil and human rights movements. Among

other resources, UNC Greensboro has an extensive collection of oral history by local individuals associated with the 1960s civil rights movement in the area.

Interpretive Topic #2: A Revolutionary Era Heritage Corridor

Several individuals we interviewed either mentioned places in and around Greensboro and the region that were related to the Revolutionary War era or expressed themes similar to those expressed by the American Revolution. These include churches, museums, monuments, and cemeteries, among other sites, and could perhaps be linked to the park as a multi-site, multi-organizational heritage corridor. The following table lists some of the sites mentioned, by whom, and their importance:

Table 1: Potential Sites/ Organizations with Thematic Ties to Guilford Courthouse Military Park

| Site | Recommended By | Relationship to Park |
|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| Bruce Park | DAR | Monument to the Bugle Boy killed by the British during the engagement. |
| Caldwell Museum | Presbyterians/ DAR | Museum chronicling the life of patriot, physician, and teacher David Caldwell |
| Greensboro Historical Museum | Local historians | Places the Battle and the Revolutionary War period on a broader local temporal context. |
| International Civil Rights Museum in Greensboro | Local African Americans & Historians | Enhances the importance of the Revolutionary War’s role in expanding civil rights with displays dedicated to the continued struggle for civil and human rights. |
| Buffalo & Alamance Churches | Presbyterians | Site of the graves of David and Rachel Caldwell. |
| Alamance Church | Presbyterians | Site of the grave of Arthur Forbis and other significant revolutionary war dead; site of Shoemaker’s symbolic crucifixion. |
| Guilford College | Quakers | Historical marker denoting the contributions of Levi Coffin to the expansion of human rights. |

This list is not exhaustive, of course, but rather exemplary. These and other sites could be included in a heritage corridor that extends across Greensboro and the surrounding region, at each site noting the themes that it shares with other sites across the corridor and how it adds its own unique perspective on those themes. If the Park were to focus on the theme of the expansion of human rights, for example, a stop at Bruce Park could point out the need to extend human rights to youth—a particularly valuable lesson in light of the terrifying practices across the globe, including in the United States, of human trafficking of youth for prostitution, pornography, and other crimes, the use of child labor, and, in war efforts supported by the United States, the conscription of children for

warfare. At the same time, the heritage corridor could engage more and more neighbors and other community members who visit these sites, increasing the Park's ability to educate a wider clientele.

Interpretive Topic #3: African American Participation in the Battle and in the Revolution in General.

We noted above that more than one African American, complaining about the lack of references to African Americans in the Park, mentioned the story of the soldier-slave named Ned Griffin who fought in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, ostensibly for a promise of freedom that was his master did not grant but that ultimately, through his own perseverance, he was able to secure through the courts. New evidence suggests that Ned Griffin enlisted after the Battle, but there have been other materials developed on African American participation which could be expanded upon and enhanced with more research. Most African Americans we interviewed would appreciate seeing African American stories developed and highlighted in the Park, particularly if they became stops on the tour.

Currently, as noted earlier, the Park does highlight the role of African Americans in the Battle, even asking, on its webpage, "Did you know that African American soldiers served in both the American and British armies during the Battle of Guilford Courthouse?" Park personnel have also conducted research and developed materials profiling African American soldiers who fought for the Americans and the British. Nevertheless, more could be done to reach out to the African American residents of Guilford County, particularly because much of African American history during the American Revolution is an uncharted terrain, offering a challenge to Park historians and volunteers. This is particularly true of the role of African American women in the American Revolution.

African Americans were instrumental in Revolutionary War engagements across North Carolina and the South, as well as the North, and these could build on the promise of equality of the Revolution while initiating a conversation about why the new nation failed to live up to its principles of equality and abolish slavery. African American stories would resonate with this contradictory history particularly effectively, showing that the ideals of the American Revolution may not have been achieved immediately, but that they set in motion a process that, with perseverance, eventually was able to see slavery abolished and the expansion of civil rights to African Americans through the 20th century. Such interpretive materials might also point out that the struggle to extend equal rights to African Americans is uneven, incomplete, and ongoing, and that one of the Park's roles is to assure that U.S. citizens remain vigilant in their pursuit of the ideals upon which the United States was founded.

This effort could benefit by establishing a closer connection among the Park, the International Civil Rights Museum, and the Greensboro Historical Museum. This was also suggested by some of the African Americans we interviewed. During Black History Month, for example, the Park could coordinate programs and events that celebrate

African American history with reference to African American roles in the American Revolution.

Interpretive topic #3: The Underground Railroad, Levi Coffin, and Civil Disobedience

Like the American Revolution, Underground Railroad was a vast exercise in civil disobedience that was oriented toward providing increased personal freedom to those enslaved persons who were able to take advantage of it. Both Quakers and African Americans, as well as some historians (e.g. Huddle 1996), have noted that Greensboro was a central location in the Underground Railroad, with Quakers specifically mentioning the active role of Levi Coffin. In addition to being consistent with the ideals of equality promoted by the American Revolution, the Underground Railroad was itself revolutionary, comprised of people in both the North and South challenging established law and authority to secure the rights of individuals.

Developing information about the Underground Railroad, in addition to being consistent with principles forwarded by the American Revolution, would also facilitate increased participation in Park interpretive materials by Quakers and African Americans. By highlighting the role of Levi Coffin in the Underground Railroad, Park personnel would be reaching out to Quakers, who, as pacifists, currently have problems with the Park due to its emphasis on military history. At the same time, developing interpretive materials on the Underground Railroad could emphasize the relationships between Quakers and African Americans, pointing out that partnerships in causes like this are often what it takes for civil disobedience to be successful.

Interpretive topic # 4: When is war not the answer?

As a way of reaching out to groups who currently do not use the Park because of its status as a military park and the perception—not unfounded—that the Park glorifies war, one interpretive topic that the Park could consider is some reflection on the pros and cons of waging war. Given prolonged wars in Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan that have been questioned by large segments of the U.S. general public, perhaps the Park could take a leading role in showing parts of military history where war has been averted due to the diplomatic initiatives of military personnel. Certainly, Quakers and Moravians could participate in the development of such interpretive materials, given their long positions as pacifists and as people who reflect deeply about the drawbacks of war. This might help in drawing them into the Park's resources more generally.

Interpretive #5: The Park, the International Civil Rights Museum, and the Greensboro Historical Museum.

Several of those interviewed believed that the Park and these two museums shared a great deal of content in their exhibits, suggesting that jointly developed programs, lecture series, and other events could benefit from a more formal relationship among the three organizations. Again, this is in line with the idea that the Park is interested in reaching out to a more diverse audience with the message that the Revolutionary War was about

increasing freedom from oppression. Clearly, many of the exhibits of the Civil Rights Museum are oriented toward championing social movements that resulted in increased civil rights for black and Jews, and the Greensboro Historical Museum's Voices project speaks to the issue of diversity in particularly creative ways.

Interpretive topic #6: The Park as a Welcoming Center for New Immigrants and Refugees.

The idea of Greensboro as a welcoming settlement community for new immigrants and refugees is consistent with the idea of expanding human rights. Already, the Park hosts naturalization ceremonies which emphasize the expansion of civil rights by becoming citizens of the United States. Reaching out to new immigrants and refugees—particularly amidst so much anti-immigrant sentiment that is aimed at *constricting* rather than expanding their rights—seems like an important step for a national park to take. This is also consistent with the fact that crafting immigration policy is a federal prerogative, yet one which has local implications.

Interpretive topic #7: Embrace the Recreational Value of the Park and the role of Recreation and Exercise in Expanding Personal Freedom

While the Park personnel acknowledge that the principal use of the Park has been recreational, it has not promoted itself so much as a recreational destination as an educational and commemorative destination. Yet it has been through recreation that many visitors to the Park have come to learn about the Guilford Courthouse Battle and its importance in U.S. military history. Some have even come to adopt that history as their own from exercising in the Park. Sponsoring runs or walks through the Park in partnership with organizations that raise funds to combat social problems—violence against women, particularly widespread or stubborn disease, etc.—could help raise awareness that the Park has a role to play in the community's health and, through this, improving the health and personal freedoms that improved health brings to individuals and communities.

Interpretive topic #8: Archaeological Work in the Park to locate roadways important in the Battle that link up with other locations in Greensboro, the Triad, and Beyond.

Archaeologists working in the Park have located several roads that were used before, during, and after the battle and link up with roads still in existence today. Given the many ways that Park enthusiasts view themselves as part of larger geographical networks—the families of Presbyterians, for example, relating their ancestors travel along the Shenandoah Valley, or Mitchell Hunt's connections to the Delaware regiment—linking these roadways to existing roads, through interpretive signage, could direct travelers from a wider geographical space to the Park.

Concluding Remarks

The above recommendations, again, are made in the interests of enhancing an already highly popular and richly educational Park. The specific mechanisms by which they could be implemented may be beyond current budget constraints, but they would, we believe, result in greater visitation and a higher quality experience for some groups that currently feel less fully represented than others in the Park. Implementing one or more of them would also fall in line with those Battlefield Company members who wish to see the Park continually changing, keeping the messages and values of the American Revolution fresh, interesting, and, above all, memorable.

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APPENDIX A:

METHODS USED IN THE STUDY

This study combined a variety of ethnographic field research methods with archival research and the study of existing historical and contemporary published work about the Guilford Courthouse Battle, the American Revolution, U.S. military history, different religious and ethnic groups in Greensboro and the surrounding area, and other relevant subjects, including work that addresses how national parks, monuments, cemeteries, and other tangible features of our surroundings influence historical narratives and collective memory. The field work was conducted by the author of the study and the research assistants listed on the cover page, one of whom developed a MA thesis in anthropology based on his field work. We accomplished the following tasks for this study:

Recruitment, Training, and Monitoring of MA Anthropology Student and local Research Assistants

This was accomplished early in the study, recruiting Zachary Parker as the MA student at ECU and then accompanying him to the Park for the March 2013 reenactment ceremonies. He spent the summer in Greensboro, collecting data for his thesis, a copy of which has been provided to the Park. We also recruited the three park volunteers listed as Research Assistants on the title page for this work. They assisted in arranging interviews, conducting interviews, and assembling background material, and were interviewed about their relationships to the Park.

Visits to and Observations of the Park

In order to assess contemporary uses of the Park and casually interview visitors, all of the project staff made visits and made observations of the Park, always during regular Park hours, although in some cases Griffith arrived before the Park was officially open, in the dark, but witnessed only several deer during those times. Some of these visits coincided with significant events sponsored by the Park, such as reenactment weekend or school trips by area schools, but most of the visits were during times of the year that the Park was just being visited for its educational and historical resources or for recreational purposes.

Casual and formal interviewing

In all, we interviewed, formally, fifty-seven individuals in the Greensboro area with knowledge of the Park or some attachment to the Battle of Guilford Courthouse (e.g. a descendant of one of the soldiers), and conducted another twenty to thirty casual interviews with park visitors and others around Greensboro and the Triad region. In order to locate study participants who had been associated with the Park and who were knowledgeable about its cultural resources, we sampled from the wider community through a variety of mechanisms. None of the individuals for the formal interviews were

randomly selected. First, we relied on recommendations by Park staff and members of specific groups profiled (such as the DAR); some of these individuals mentioned others who we subsequently recruited to the study. Second, we identified other participants in the study by visiting historical and educational sites around Greensboro. Archaeologists, for example, were identified by visiting the anthropology department at UNC Greensboro, while some African Americans were located through connections with the International Civil Rights Museum, North Carolina A&T University, or Bennett College. Most members of religious groups were recruited via churches or institutions, such as Guilford College, affiliated with a religious group. Third, we also took time to interview individuals who worked at area museums, libraries, and other educational and historical venues, selecting people who had been in their positions for several years. Finally, some individuals were intercepted at the Park and asked if they would agree to an interview.

Interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants, at the Park, or at locations that participants believed were related to the Battle, such as cemeteries with memorials of the soldiers or a church with a significant relation to the revolutionary cause.

What we call the formal interviews, which ranged over the participant’s personal ties to the Park to their understanding of local history to their suggestions for improving the Park, lasted between 20 minutes and 2 hours; 32 of the 57 were recorded and notes were taken from the other 25. Unfortunately, the transcription service said that two of the transcripts—one a focus group at a Lutheran Church and the other of an African American man—were too faint to transcribe. Thus, we ended up with 30 transcribed interviews and have notes on some of the other interviews that either were not recorded (usually because the informant did not wish to be recorded) or were too faint to transcribe. The transcribed interviews will be housed in the Park archives.

Table A1 shows some of the sample’s characteristics; again, this table does not include multiple people we interviewed more casually (e.g. visitors to the Park, museum staff around Greensboro, librarians, etc.). While we did not specifically collect demographic information, those interviewed ranged in age from the early 20s to over 80; 47% were men and 53% were women. With the exception of the African Americans, all but two were white; two of the Lutherans interviewed were African Americans.

Table A1: Formal Interviews

| Group | Number Interviewed | Percent |
|-------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| African Americans | 9 | 16 |
| Lutherans | 5 | 8 |
| Park Personnel | 7 | 13 |
| Commemorators* | 6 | 11 |
| Presbyterians | 11 | 19 |
| Quakers | 8 | 14 |
| Other** | 11 | 19 |
| Total | 57 | 100 |

*For example, re-enactors, members of the Battlefield Company, members of Daughters of the American Republic. **For example, local historians, archaeologists, and librarians, curators of museums, and Park visitors.

For the individuals listed in Table A1, we had no set interview protocol beyond asking informants what had been their experiences with the Park and about their knowledge of and their relationship to the American Revolution.

Transect Walks

Transect walks are walks through sites that people we interviewed considered significant. These involved, for example, walking through cemeteries with people knowledgeable about the significance of the graves to the Battle and walking through museums with people (not docents or museum personnel) who have unique perspective on the museum exhibits (e.g. with African Americans in the Civil Rights Museum). We conducted transect walks through several cemeteries, through the Civil Rights Museum with a local African American born in 1951, and through local churches and the Park.

Archival Research

This was conducted in several locations: the Park's library; the Greensboro Public Library; the Buffalo Church Library; the Guilford College Library's Friends Collection; the North Carolina Department of Archives and History; and the North Carolina Collection at East Carolina University's Joyner Library. In general, these sources provided background information about the battle and about the founding and the development of the Park, with references to Park archaeology, important commemorative events, and occasional stories about individuals who served in the battle or provided assistance to the troops.

Cultural Consensus Analysis

For his thesis, Zac Parker constructed a cultural consensus test that he administered to 21 individuals. Cultural consensus testing is a way of assessing how much people from different groups or backgrounds agree or disagree about specific cultural domains (e.g. the role of religion in the American Revolution). The tests are developed from narratives, from which quotes are converted into statements that informants are asked to agree with or disagree with. Results of the test are in Parker's thesis.

Analysis

The analysis consisted primarily of synthesizing the information gathered from the various sources above and organizing them into thematic areas related to the Park's three principal guises: as a military park, as a Revolutionary War site, and as a recreational area. For each of the groups, however, I reviewed the interviews with the assistance of a table with the following 5 column headings: Themes; Relationship to the Park;

Relationship to the American Revolution; Relationship to the Expansion of Human Rights; Quotes.

Appendix B:

Guilford Courthouse National Military Park:

Annotated Bibliography & Information about Local and Regional Archives and other Resources

This document includes sources and information related to the Battle of Guilford Courthouse as well as the groups of people in and around Guilford County, including historical, ethnographic, and general works and oral history accounts in the area. It should be noted that there have been no ethnographic accounts of the Park produced prior to this work, nor have there been projects to elicit oral history about the Park independent of this work. Some of the sources listed below, however, can be considered ethnographic, in that they describe the customs and beliefs of different social and cultural groups in and around Guilford County (e.g. Hiram Hilty's work on the Quakers), and other works, such as those in local public archives, can be considered oral history about the area or the Park.

This bibliography was compiled from several sources, including the library at the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, collections at the Greensboro Public Library and the libraries of Bennett College, Guilford College, North Carolina A&T University, UNC Greensboro, East Carolina University's North Carolina Collection, and the Division of Archives and History in Raleigh, NC.

General Sources

Babits, Lawrence. 2002. *The Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. National Park Service, American History Series, Eastern National.

An inventory of several Revolutionary War battles fought in the South from the perspective of historical archaeology. Well-written and concise.

Babits, Lawrence and Joshua Howard. 2009. *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody: The Battle of Guilford Courthouse*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

A detailed historical account of the battle, based on archaeological and historical accounts; well-written, well-documented, and considered one of the most accurate accounts.

Bailey, Raleigh. 2005. "New Immigrant Communities in the North Carolina Piedmont Triad: Integration Issues and Challenges." In Elzbieta Gozdzia and Susan Martin, eds., *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing America*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. Pp. 57-86.

Part of a collection of articles about immigrants in new destinations in the United States. The author was the director of the Welcoming New North Carolinians Center at UNC Greensboro.

Baker, Thomas E. 1995. Redeemed from Oblivion: An Administrative History of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park. Greensboro, NC: Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Library.

A history of legal and administrative issues facing the park over its history.

Baker, Thomas E. 1981. Another Such Victory: The Story of the American Defeat at Guilford Courthouse that Helped Win the War for Independence. Fort Washington, PA: Eastern National.

Baker wrote this pamphlet while still an employee at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, and it stands as one of the principal texts chronicling the Battle. He finished it in time for the 200 year anniversary of the battle.

Bates, Doris McLean. 2000. The Quakers and their War of Resistance. Tar Heel Junior Historian 40:1. Reprinted by the North Carolina Museum of History, 2011.

Bates discusses the ways that Quakers opposed the Civil War in North Carolina, as well as other forms that their pacifism took.

Becker, Donald. 1971. North Carolina, 1754-1763. PhD Dissertation, History, UNC Chapel Hill.

This is a comprehensive description of North Carolina society in the decade before the development of revolutionary sentiments.

Burrington, George. 1736. Report to the Commissioner of Customs. Raleigh: Division of Archives and History.

A record of customs business during the early 18th century, with reference to the quality of enslaved people available for sale in North Carolina.

Conkin, Paul. 1955. The Church Establishment in North Carolina, 1765-1776. North Carolina Historical Review. Jan 1955, Vol. 32 Issue 1, p1-30.

Overview of religious groups operating in colonial North Carolina and their significance for the colony.

Carbone, Gerald. 2008. Nathanael Greene: A Biography of the American Revolution. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

One of the more recent biographies of the general.

Cornelison, John E. Jr. and Lou Groh. 2007. Battle Lines and Courthouses: Archaeological Survey and Testing at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, Greensboro, North Carolina: The 1995, 1997, and 1998 Field Projects. Tallahassee, FL: National Park Service, Southeast Archaeological Center.

An overview of the archaeological work conducted in the Park, much of it by the well-known North Carolina archaeologist Coe, prior to the more recent work of Prentice and Stein and Stein.

Early, Lawrence. 2004. *Looking for Longleaf: the Rise and Fall of an American Forest*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press.

This is a history of the naval stores industry based on the longleaf pine forest, which was devastated in the wake of the ips beetle after planters made the trees less resistant to the beetle by bleeding them of oleoresin for turpentine, tar, and pitch. Reference is made to contemporary attempts to preserve longleaf pine forests, distill turpentine, and recover old timber products from the riverbeds.

Ellis, Joseph. 2001. *Founding Brothers: the Revolutionary Generation*. New York: Alfred Knopf.

A popular account of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, Adams, and other Revolutionary War leaders. It opens with the duel between Burr and Hamilton and discusses Franklin's objections to slavery.

Facilities Management Group. N.d. *Battleground District Master Plan*. www.greensboro-nc.gov.

A report outlining the joining of 400 acres of land around the Battleground into a cooperative and interconnected recreational, educational, and cultural area.

Foulke, Patricia and Robert Foulke. 2009. *A Visitor's Guide to the Colonial and Revolutionary South*. Woodstock, VT: The Countryman Press.

A tourist guide to American Revolutionary war sites and other historical sites dating to the time of the Revolution around the South. A section on North Carolina includes information about the Park and the Greensboro Historical Museum.

Griffith, David. 2009. The Moral Economy of Tobacco. *American Anthropologist* 111 (4):432-442.

An article arguing that tobacco farmers in North Carolina consider their production of tobacco morally proper and appropriate in that, although deadly, it has been responsible in the production of quality human beings.

Griffith, David. 1997. Lasting Firsts. *American Anthropologist*. 99 (1): 23-29.

An essay that compares the 1980s killing of two Mayan farmworkers in the fields of North Carolina by a farm labor contractor to the killing of Stephen Long, an early 20th century teacher and advocate for African American orphan youth who was stabbed to death in Maryland by a farmer when he rescued two African American boys from a farmer who would not let them attend school.

Hairr, John. 2002. *Guilford Courthouse: Nathanael Greene's Victory in Defeat, March 15, 1781*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press.

A brief account of the battle that champions the view that the battle led directly to Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown.

Morrill, Dan. 1993. *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. Mount Pleasant, South Carolina: Nautical and Aviation Publishing Company of America.

A critical overview of the Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution, beginning with the battle at Moores Creek and including a chapter on the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Morrill argues that the Southern Campaigns have not been appreciated by historians of the American Revolution as much as those in New England and the North in general.

National Park Service. 1997. *General Management Plan, Environmental Assessment, Guilford Courthouse National Military Park*. Atlanta, Georgia: Southeast Regional Office.

An environmental plan developed partially in response to the knowledge that the Park had become a major destination for recreation and an important urban green space.

Outland, Robert B. III. 2004. *Tapping the Pines: The Naval Stores Industry in the American South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Outland describes the industry that produced tar, pitch, and turpentine during the 18th and 19th centuries and that was a critical part of North Carolina's history and economy.

Shackel, Paul. 2009. *The Archaeology of American Labor and Working Class Life*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Shackel traces the rise of the American working class through the material culture associated with working people across the United States.

Stine, Roy and Linda Stine. n.d. *The Landscape of Guilford Courthouse: Archaeological and Geophysical Research at Guildford Courthouse National Military Park, Greensboro, NC*. Manuscript, UNCG Department of Anthropology.

Their work combines ground-penetrating radar analysis with archaeological analysis to determine battle lines and the location of the courthouse, as well as to find out more about the community of Martinville.

African American Sources

Bishir, Catherine W. 2009. *Lost and Found: Searching for Artifacts of New Bern's African American Artisans*. *The Palace*, Fall 2009, Vol. 10 Issue 1, p6-7, 12

One of the few archaeological accounts of African American artisans in North Carolina.

Crow, Jeffrey J. 1992. *Liberty to Slaves: The Black Response*. *Tar Heel Junior Historian*. Fall 1992, Vol. 32 Issue 1, p18-22

Crow has written extensively on African American history in North Carolina (see references below), and this article is accessible to younger reader and, thus, helpful for

developing exhibits or interpretive materials for visiting school children.

Crow, Jeffrey. 1989. *The Black Experience in Revolutionary North Carolina*. Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

A small book that discusses the problems that whites had with African Americans as revolutionary sentiments spread across the colony, enacting ever stricter rules to control the movements of both enslaved and free blacks so that the revolutionary fervor did not expand to include Emancipation.

Crow, Jeffery, Paul Escott, and Flora J. Hatley. 1992. *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*. Raleigh: North Carolina Archives and History.

An overview of the circumstances facing African Americans in North Carolina from the early colonial period, when Spanish explorers brought 500 women and men from the West Indies to settle along the Cape Fear River, with many enslaved people, to the 1960s civil rights movement. African American accomplishments are richly chronicled, with many prominent individuals profiled.

Department of Defense, U.S. 1990. *Black Americans in Defense of Our Nation*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

A pictorial documentary of African Americans in the military, it devotes about two pages to the American Revolution, featuring Crispus Attucks in the Boston Massacre and Peter Salem at Bunker Hill.

Gehrke, William Herman. 1937. *Negro Slavery among the Germans in North Carolina*. *North Carolina Historical Review*. Oct 1937, Vol. 14 Issue 4, p307-324

A review of relationships among Germans who settled in North Carolina and the people they enslaved, pointing out that Germans preferred free labor to enslaved labor and that, when they did use African Americans, were more likely to hire them than purchase them. Gehrke relates this to a powerful work ethic among Germans, which resulted in a belief in the dignity of labor, and that forced labor was undignified. Despite such sentiments, Germans' use of enslaved African Americans increased through 18th century and into the 19th.

Kay, Marvin L. Michael; Cary, Lorin Lee. 1986. *Slave Runaways in Colonial North Carolina, 1748-1775*. *North Carolina Historical Review*, Jan 1986, Vol. 63 Issue 1, p1-39

Kay and Cary make an argument for slave runaways as a form of resistance that was deeply interwoven with a variety of recalcitrant behaviors among the North Carolina enslaved. They suggest that opportunities to form maroon communities were not as prevalent in North Carolina as they were in South Carolina, in part because there were fewer enslaved persons as a proportion of the total population.

King, Emma. 1924. *Some Aspects of the Work of the Society of Friends for Negro*

Education in North Carolina. *North Carolina Historical Review*, Oct 1924, Vol. 1 Issue 4, p403-411

Another instance of the partnerships that formed between Quakers and African Americans around the subject of education.

Lanning, Michael Lee. 1997. *The African American Soldier: From Crispus Attucks to Colin Powell*. Secaucus, NJ: Birch Lane Press.

The book opens with 18 pages devoted to the American Revolution, but confines his discussion primarily to the Northern campaign, citing the South only as a place where African Americans were particularly marginalized from the gains of the American Revolution.

Mullen, Robert W. 1973. *Blacks in America's Wars: The Shift in Attitudes from the Revolutionary War to Vietnam*. New York: Anchor Foundation.

Written during the Vietnam War, this book, available in the Archives Division of North Carolina A&T Bluford Library, early on discusses the massacre of Crispus Attucks with three whites on March 5, 1770, listing him as a runaway slave, along with other African Americans who distinguished themselves in the Revolutionary War. He discusses the links among the abolitionist movement, military service among African Americans, and American Independence. Mullen's book, however, pays much more attention to the role of African Americans in the Civil War than in the American Revolution.

Murray, Gene. 2004. *Covering Sex, Race, and Gender in the American Military Services*. Lewiston, Wales: Edwin Mellen Press.

General information, and the results of a survey, about the treatment of African Americans in the military.

Reef, Catherine. 2010. *African Americans in the Military*. New York: Facts on File/ Infobase Publishing.

Among the nine African Americans profiled who fought in the American Revolution, none fought in the Southern campaigns, reflecting the bias toward historical coverage of the North. Eight of the nine fought for the Americans; one, Tye, fought for the British.

Watson, Alan. 2005. *African Americans in Early North Carolina: A Documentary History*. Raleigh, NC: Division of Archives and History.

A collection of period newspaper articles and other materials that provides a look at African American lives, trials, and tribulations during the early formation of the colony.

Wright, Donald R. 1990. *African Americans in the Colonial Era*. Arlington Heights, Ill: Harlan Davidson.

This is a general portrait of the lives and livelihoods of African Americans during Colonial times, including their circumstances immediately before the American Revolution.

Quaker Sources

Probably the best source for information on the Quakers is the Guilford College Library, which has a Friends Historical Collection.

Graham-Voelker, Graham. 1998. Four Denominations of the Colonial Era: Anglicans, Quakers, Presbyterians, and Moravians. Tar Heel Junior Historian (NoCar F 251 T3x), Spring 1998, Vol. 37 Issue 2, p7,10-11, il

Comparative work on how the Quakers compare to other religious groups.

Griffin, Hazel. 1963. Minutes from Jack Swamp Quaker Meeting House. North Carolina Folklore Journal (NoCar GR 110 N8 N6), July 1963, Vol. 11 Issue 1, p14.

Haworth, Cecil. 2009. Deep River Friends: A Valiant People. North Carolina Friends Historical Society.

An account of Quakers in and around Guilford County.

Henderson-James, Nancy. 2001. First Among Friends. Our State (NoCar F 251 S77), July 2001, Vol. 69 Issue 2, p26,28-29

Hilty, Hiram. 2001. New Garden Friends Meeting: The Christian People Called the Quakers. Greensboro: North Carolina Friends Historical Society.

An account of Quakers in and around Guilford County.

Lawrence, R.C. 1940. Early Churches of Carolina. The State (NoCar F 251 S77), July 1940, Vol. 8 Issue 8, p9, 22

Lawrence, R.C. 1942. Pioneer Preachers of Carolina. The State (NoCar F 251 S77), Dec 1942, Vol. 10 Issue 28, p2, 19

These two articles by Lawrence profile North Carolina as a place of religious tolerance.

Silcox-Jarrett, Diane. 1999. Freedom Bound. Our State (NoCar F 251 S77), Feb 1999, Vol. 66 Issue 9, p38,40,42-43, por, il.

Soderbergh, Peter A. 1969. Charles A. Beard, the Quaker Spirit, and North Carolina. North Carolina Historical Review (NoCar F251 .N892), Jan 1969, Vol. 46 Issue 1, p19-32

Thorne, Dorothy Gilbert. 1961. North Carolina Friends and the Revolution. North Carolina Historical Review (NoCar F251 .N892), July 1961, Vol. 38 Issue 3, p323-340.

Another article about the resistance of Quakers to serving in the American or British militaries as conscientious objectors.

Wheeler, Vince. 1986. They Remember "The Other South". The State (NoCar F 251 S77), Sept 1986, Vol. 54 Issue 4, p22-23.

Moore, Floyd. 1997. Friends in the Carolinas. Greensboro, NC: Tercentenary Celebration Steering Committee, NC Friends Historical Society, NC Yearly Meeting of Friends.

An chronology of the growth of the Friends communities across North Carolina.

Newland, Algie. 1995. The Battle of New Garden: the little known story of one of the most important 'minor battles' of the Revolutionary War in North Carolina. Greensboro, NC: North Carolina Friends Historical Society.

This small book chronicles the battle that took place early in the morning of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, arguing that it was not, as other historians have depicted it, merely a skirmish. Instead, Newland depicts it as a battle that had strategic consequences for the larger military engagement later that day, enabling Greene to have additional time to position his troops.

Opper, Peter Kent. 1975. North Carolina Quakers: Reluctant Slaveholders. North Carolina Historical Review (NoCar F251 .N892), Jan 1975, Vol. 52 Issue 1, p37-58, por, il, map, f

An account of how the Society of Friends purchased slaves of individual Quakers to get around a 1741 law outlawing manumission.

Seiling, Erin. 2006. Time Before Tinsel: Quaker Influence in Colonial America. Coastwatch (NoCar QH 91 A1 N62x), Holiday 2006, Issue , p22-25, il

General information about the role of Quakers in early American history.

Presbyterian Sources

Ayers, Moir M. 1981. Buffalo Presbyterian Church: Greensboro, North Carolina. Greensboro: Thomas Printing Company.

A coffee table book that profiles preachers at the Buffalo Church, beginning with David Caldwell. The book has many large photographs of the church, the cemetery, and the pastors, and the biographical statements are brief, usually no more than a half of a page.

Moravian Sources

Bivins, Jr., John. The Moravian Potters in North Carolina. Winston-Salem: Old Salem, 1972. (NK 4025.N8 B5)

This book is concerned with the tradition Moravian earthenware pottery produced in Bethabara, Bethania and Salem, including its techniques, materials, and tools.

Crews, C. Daniel. *Through Fiery Trials: The Revolutionary War and the Moravians*. Winston-Salem: Moravian Archives, 1996. (F 265.M7)

This booklet explains how the Moravian congregations in Wachovia were harassed by both the American and British armies, and the fear Moravians experiences as both armies passed through on the way to the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.

Fries, Adelaide L. *The Road to Salem*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944. (F 265.M8 F83)

The Road to Salem tells the story of the settlement of the 98,985 acre Wachovia Tract in present-day Forsyth County by members of the Moravian Church. Based upon the autobiography of Anna Catharina Ernst (1726-1816), a Moravian woman who emigrated to Wachovia from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The Wachovia tract was purchased by the Moravian Church for its North Carolina settlement; later, in 1766, construction of the "central town" of Salem began. The old Moravian villages of Bethabara and Bethania still exist, as do the country congregations of Friedberg, Friedland, and Hope.

Fries, Adelaide L., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Vol. I: 1752-1771). Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1922. (F 265.M7 F75 v. I)

This volume (~500 pages) includes the records of Wachovia, Bethabara, Bethania, and Salem pertaining to the 1752-1771.

Fries, Adelaide L., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Vol. II: 1752-1775). Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1925. (F 265.M7 F75 v. II)

This volume (~400 pages) includes land surveys, historical sketches, letters, and other documents pertaining to the 1752-1773 period.

Fries, Adelaide L., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Vol. III: 1776-1779). Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1926. (F 265.M7 F75 v. III)

This volume (~500 pages) includes records and historical sketches of the Revolutionary War and its buildup in the year 1776-1779, increasing strain between Continentals and Loyalists.

Fries, Adelaide, L., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Vol. IV: 1780-1783). Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1930. (F 265.M7 F75 v. IV)

This volume (~500 pages) explores records concerning the quartering of American troops in American towns, the passing of English army under Lord Cornwallis, and memories of the war as it touched Wachovia.

Fries, Adelaide L., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Vol. V: 1784-1792). Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1941. (F 265.M7 F75 v. V)

This volume (~450 pages) contains Moravian travel diaries, and recollections of the years 1784-1792, including the building of the Brothers & Sister homes, marriage by lot, drought, whooping cough, construction of the church at Bethabara, and the visit of George Washington in 1791.

Fries, Adelaide L., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Vol. VI: 1793-1808). Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1943. (F 265.M7 F75 v. VI)

This volume (~500 pages) contains the account of the “rise and progress of the United Brethren’s settlement in North Carolina, 1749-1794. Also included are diaries and recollections from the 1793-1808 period, with topics including migrations to Tennessee and Kentucky, the funeral of a Negro member, and the enlargement of the Salem tract.

Fries, Adelaide L., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Vol. VII: 1809-1822). Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1947. (F 265.M7 F75 v. VII)

This volume (~550 pages) contains records concerning the history of Salem, North Carolina, 1766-1816. Also includes diaries and memories of the 1809-1822 period, involving Cherokee and Creek missions, the War of 1812 & how it affected Wachovia, and slavery in Salem.

Fries, Adelaide L., and Douglas LeTell Rights, eds. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Vol. VIII: 1823-1837). Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1954. (F 265.M7 F75 v. VIII)

This volume (~650 pages) contains records concerning the records of Wachovia between 1823-1837. Includes memories of the “new Negro church”, visit of the Quakers from Guilford County in 1829, among others.

Hamilton, Kenneth G., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, (Vol. XI: 1852-1879). Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1969. (F 265.M7 F75 v. XI)

This volume (~550 pages) contains minutes from the annual “Wachovia Provinzial Conferenz” in Salem from 1852-1879, along with other congregation records from the period.

Griffin, Frances, ed. *The Three Forks of Muddy Creek, Volume XIII*. Winston-Salem: Old Salem, 1988. (F 265.M7 T45). Contents include:

- “An Important Matter for Us: Wachovia Moravians, Surry County, and the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina” by Dr. J. Edwin Hendricks (p. 1)

- *“High Prices and Bad Money: How Salem Coped During the Revolution”* by Dr. Donald E. Frey (p. 13)
- *“For Lack of a Quorum”* by Frances Griffin (p. 18—winter 1781 in Wachovia, including Guilford Courthouse; also deals with 1781 General Assembly meeting in Salem)
- *“Oases in the Middle of the Desert”* by Ramona Rodgers Snavely (p. 24—birds in Wachovia)
- *“The Salem Congregation”* by Johanna Miller Lewis (p. 39—construction of Salem community mill from 1770-1772, as well as its later history)

Griffin, Frances, ed. *The Three Forks of Muddy Creek, Volume IX*. Winston-Salem: Old Salem, 1983. (F 265.M7 T45)

- *“A Family of Bakers”* by Frances Griffin (p. 1—Winkler family of bakers, arrived in 1807)
- *“A Mill for Salem: by John Larson* (p. 12—Construction of a new Salem mill, 1819-1821; also deals with its later history)
- *“Emma Lehman...A Singular Life”* by Alicia (Nancy) Stephens (p. 21—biography of Emma Lehman, who taught at Salem Academy and College from 1864-1915)
- *“The Weavers of Salem”* by Peggy Scholley (p. 28—logistics and decline of weaving in Salem from 1760s until 1830s)
- *“George Washington’s Visit—1791”* by Adelaide L. Fries (p. 36—An overview of George Washington’s May 1791 visit to Salem, includes mention of Washington’s next stop—Guilford Battle Ground.)
- *“‘George Washington’s Visit’—1932”* by Frances Griffin (p. 45—Overview of Salem’s celebration of the 200th anniversary of George Washington’s birth, May 28, 1932.)

Griffin, Frances, ed. *The Three Forks of Muddy Creek, Volume III*. Winston-Salem: Old Salem, 1976. (F 265.M7 T45)

- *“The Long, Muddy Road to Muddy Creek”* by John Thom Spach (p. 1—Overview of the first Moravian expedition from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania to Wachovia, using the “Great Wagon Road.”)
- *Friedberg: The Early Years”* by Hunter James (p. 11—An account of the early years in Friedberg, a Moravian settlement in the extreme south of the Wachovia Tract.)
- *“Woman of Wachovia”* by Belinda B. Riggsbee (p. 25—Biography of the thrice-married Sister Rosina Biefel Bachof Schmidt, one of the first women to come to the Wachovia Tract. Article states that her story is emblematic of the experience of Moravian women in eighteenth-century America.)
- *“‘Friends to the Government’ ”* by Larry E. Tise (p. 37—An account of the Moravians’ attempts to remain neutral during the American Revolution. Article claims that “Moravian neutrality” was never as confused as in the years 1780-1781.)

- “*Where the Water Shall Spring*” by Hunter James (p. 41—Overview of the construction of sophisticated waterworks in the town of Salem during the years 1777-8.)
- “*Master and Apprentice*” by Isabel Veazie (p. 49—Brief biography of John Henry Leinbach, Salem shoemaker, and his apprentice, George Henry Ruede, who ran away in 1832.)

James, Hunter. *The Quiet People of the Land: A Story of the North Carolina Moravians in Revolutionary Times*. Winston-Salem: Old Salem, 1976. (BX 8567.N8 J35)

This book recounts the details of Moravian life during the American Revolution. The Moravians were mistrusted by both Tories and Patriots alike. Though the communities of Wachovia suffered when armies came through, they ultimately survived without losing their land. The author also discusses post-Revolution changes in the Moravian way of life.

Murtagh, William J. *Moravian Architecture and Town Planning: Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Other Eighteenth-Century American Settlements*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967. (E 159.J6)

This book contains information on the development of the Moravian church in Europe, and its migration to North America. Moravian architectural style and village development are also discussed; sites in North Carolina include Wachovia, Bethabara, Bethania, Friedberg, Friedland, Hope, and Salem.

Niven, Penelope. *Old Salem: The Official Guidebook*. Winston-Salem: Old Salem. (F 264.S32 N 58)

This book contains information about Old Salem today, as well as information about the town’s settlement and history.

Parker, Mattie Erma. *Tar Heel Tales*. Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1961. (Reissue.) (F 266)

“The Moravian Doctor” (p. 13—A brief account of the life of Hans Martin Kalberlahn, the Moravian doctor whom Anna Catharina Antes—of *The Road to Salem*—married. Tells of their brief marriage, his sickness and death.)

Sommer, Elisabeth W. *Serving Two Masters: Moravian Brethren in Germany and North Carolina, 1727-1801*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000.

This book explores the stresses and generational conflict that the Moravian village of Salem, North Carolina endured as its younger members came to think of themselves as Americans. These young members wished for more and greater freedoms in the wake of the American Revolution

Spencer, Darrell. *The Gardens of Salem: The Landscape History of a Moravian Town in North Carolina*. Winston-Salem: Old Salem, 1997. (SB466.U65 S247)

This book explores the restoration of Old Salem's landscape from a mid-20th century aesthetic back to the original era of Moravian Salem, from 1768-1856. Contains information on historical plant and landscape records, as well as some early history.

Women

In the archival materials at the Park, there is one folder on women (Historical File Local History B-10). It includes the following newspaper articles about women who were involved in the Battle:

n.d. "Women of Guilford Were True Heroines" Xerox of a newspaper article.

It discusses how women met at the homes Robert Rankin (of Buffalo Church) and Martha McGee Bell to pray during the battle, within earshot of the fighting, and the following day went to the battlefield to tend to the wounded and bury the dead, working with David Caldwell to give them Christian burials. It mentions that "nearly every house was turned into an emergency hospital, to which Lord Cornwallis refers in his report of the battle..." However, he had to take his wounded to the Friends Meeting House, because they would care for the British—implying the others would not. It mentions also that Rachel Caldwell was displaced from her house by the British and forced to live in the smokehouse with her children, subsisting off of dried peaches for days. Much of the article, however, champions David Caldwell's work as a physician.

1952. "Secret Message from Bladen County Disclosed British Campaign Plans" Greensboro Daily News, July 20.

This article tells of Cornwallis and his troops taking over Harmony Hall in Bladen County, demanding to be fed and to have the horses well cared for, and then after dinner moving to an upstairs bedroom to discuss his plans for attacking both Guilford Courthouse and Kings Mountain. Mrs. Richardson, the owner of the house, was in the attic above with her children and, overhearing the plans, wrote a letter to her husband, who was stationed at the time with Greene in South Carolina, and gave it to Junius, her butler (who was presumably African American), to deliver. "Junius ripped the sole of his brogans loose and placed the letter there-in fastening the sole back with new wooden shoe pegs, covering the whole with bees-wax to make it waterproof.... Thus," the story concludes, "Mrs. Richardson aided in the defeat of Cornwallis in the South."

Taylor, Raleigh. n.d. "Dolly Madison and the Battle of Guilford Courthouse." 3-page typed document on thin paper. *It discusses the battle of New Garden, simply mentioning that this was near where Dolly Madison grew up and worshipped.*

1979 "Roots" Carnation (a journal published by the Carnation company) Summer. P 20.

This article profiles the American revolutionary employees of the Carnation company, one of whom, Jim Hackl, was the great, great, great, great, great grandson of Kerenhappuch Norman Turner (whose monument is in the park). She rode on horseback south from Maryland when she heard her son, Jim, had been wounded in the battle, and set up a field hospital. "She hung tubs of cool water from the rafters with holes to allow water to drip on the wounds. This allayed fever, acting much like and ice pack."

Smith, Ben. "The Story of Kerenhappuch Norman Tucker." James and Kerenhappuch Norman Tucker Genealogy Project. (www.ronulrich.com/rfuged/fam03130.htm).

n.d. "Martha Bell Monument." One page typed manuscript on Martha Bell, who threatened to burn her own mill if Cornwallis didn't protect her and her property. Also mentions that she once took prisoner a Tory who "attempted to insult her."

n.d. "Sketch of the Life of Elizabeth Ballinger/ Elizabeth B and her Pewter." *She entertained George Washington with her pewter. Her husband John donated the church for the Friends Meeting House on New Garden Road.*

Swanson, Julia Rankin. 1945. Caroline Close Stuart. The State Magazine. *Yet another nurse to the wounded of the battle. Her husband and sons fought in the Battle of Alamance ten years earlier, as Regulators.*

Watson, Alan D. 1981. "Women in Colonial North Carolina: Overlooked and Underestimated." *The North Carolina Historical Review*. 1-22.

An account of women in early North Carolina that focuses primarily on their roles as wives and indentured servants, many of whom had children with enslaved African Americans.

Hagist, Don. 1994, 1995, 2002. "The Women of the British Army in America." The Brigade Dispatch.

An quantitative analysis of the importance of women to the British troops in the American Revolution.

Risser, John. N.d. "George Washington Seeks a Wife." Reprint.

Discusses the loves of GW up to and including Martha.

Historical File Individual Monuments K-29-33. K-29 is the file on K.N. Turner Monuement. It includes the Ben Smith Article referenced above, a letter to someone in Dallas describing the monument and its inscription and adding, "The monument is said to be the only monument to a woman ever erected on a battlefield for her service in nursing the wounded."

An address by GS Bradshaw in 1902 at the unveiling.

This discusses, generally, the role of women as one of sacrifice without reward or medals or promotions... "The women, by their lonely heathstones, surrounded by helpless

children, in the pre-medieval forests, without mail or telegraph or railroad to bring them tidings of the absent loved ones—their griefs, their sorrow, their suspense, their anxiety, their agond—their death born without a murmur. They died not in the exciting and exulting rush of battle...” And so on. He then describes Turner as one whose “sons and grandsons were with General Greene in the battle.” He also discusses her connection to the Moreheads, who got the monument erected. Major Joseph M. Morehead, president of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, had the idea to erect the monument. “Her long ride, her gentle touch, her tact, her skill, and her heroic service, saved the life of her son.”

Her first name means “Horn of Beauty.”

There is a letter in the file, dated April 8, 1982, that argues that Muhammed Ali was related to the Turner woman through the Moreheads. John Egerton wrote the letter.

Historical File, Individual Monuments K1-3. K-3 is the Martha Bell Monument file. It contains just a few files, two of which outline her life. She married her husband, John McGhee, but she seems to have kept her name. “Cornwallis’ Army, on its way to Wilmington, encamped for two days at the Bell Plantation. Cornwallis seized her house as headquarters.” One report is reprinted from: *Revolutionary Incidents and sketches of Characters Chiefly in the Old North State* by Rev. EW Caruthers, pp. 305-340.

Monuments:

Gray, William. 1967. *The Monuments at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park.*

This is a history of the Battleground Company and David Schenck’s role in its establishment; there is also a story of transferring a monument (the Colonial or Alamance) to the Alamance battlefield. The family of James Hunter, one of the regulators, objected to this, claiming that they paid to have the monument erected at Guilford Courthouse. The author gives this as evidence that the monuments needed to be better understood—their origins, when they were erected, and their interpretation. Some of the monuments have no history...

History of the Park: Schenck was “appalled when, out of an estimated 3,000 people in Greensboro, ‘he could not find a half dozen persons who could point out to him the scene of the battle.’” He purchased the first 30 acres of park land in October 1886. March 7, 1887, the Battleground Company was chartered, and was formally organized two months later, on May 6. Schenck was elected president and served until his death in 1902.

Public celebrations of the battle predated the Battleground Company. The first public celebration was prior to 1815 and attended by Andrew Jackson; the next documented one occurred on July 4, 1815, to commemorate Jackson’s victory at New Orleans. On the 50th anniversary of the battle, in 1811, there was also a celebration, and in 1881, the centennial. “Neither of these last two gatherings was very large.” (p. 3). The first unveiling took place on July 4, 1887, when the Arthur Forbis monument was unveiled. Two more monuments were erected over the next year.

After an initial zenith of enthusiasm for the park, it seems that interest waned. In 1890 there wasn't even a public celebration, and no new monument was erected in 1889. Schenck had an idea of using the site as a vast cemetery for all the South's revolutionary war heroes... The first museum was built in 1891, based mostly on battlefield relics. Supposedly, a granite boulder was erected on the spot where the last American shot was fired... However, "No trace of this stone has ever been found and no record mentions it after its erection." In 1892 they erected a dam and made Lake Wilfong, named after Schenck's wife, and the lake became "one of the most popular recreational spots in the area.

32 monuments have been erected on the Guilford Courthouse battlefield. He notes that the historical spelling of the Courthouse was two words "Court House," and wonders why, "they did not use the historical spelling" when they founded the park.

The Bell Monument. He describes her as a "local Revolutionary heroine." She was married to a "farmer and trader" but it seems the trading was the larger business. She traveled "as far as Petersburg, Virginia" as a trader. "On one of her trips she is said to have singlehandedly captured a local Tory who attempted to molest her." She married her second husband, William Bell, in 1779 and moved to Bell's Mill. "Her claim to fame came during the British retreat after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse." Evidently she threatened to burn the mill (and its grain) if the British molested her or her farm.

Her monument was erected in line with the wishes of the Alexander Martin Chapter of the DAR in High Point, who "wanted a monument to a Revolutionary heroine." Interestingly, there already was a monument to K. Turner, erected 26 years earlier. It was unveiled in 1929, but the date on it is 1928.

The Turner Monument. The brief bio sketch has her born in 1733 and the name the Biblical one for Horn of Beauty... It tells of her ride (both here and on the monument) and the tubs suspended from the ceiling. "Tradition also says that Mrs. Turner started her journey from Maryland with a baby in her arms. Along the way it died and Mrs. Turner buried it alongside the trail and continued her journey. He also calls the Turner Monument "perhaps the loveliest in the Park."

"Mrs. Turner was an early member of the distinguished Morehead family and the idea for a memorial to her was conceived by Major James Turner Morehead of New York City. He submitted his idea to Joseph Morehead, the president of the Battle Ground Company, and these two men were responsible for the erection of the monument." The statue wasn't added until a year or so later. She once had a towel draped over her arm, which has since fallen off, and for a while the cup in her hand disappeared. "In addition to these losses, the statue has been shot at least twice and has suffered minor damage from vandals."

Guilford Park Library Holdings: Notes

The collection includes works on several of the religious groups associated with Revolutionary War period history: Quakers, Moravians, Presbyterians, etc. Yet it also has books about coins, the flag, and other things that relate to the park more or less tangentially... What we have to consider is, first, how the holdings reflect the Park's relationship with Greensboro and the different groups in question, and how the holdings interpret history in ways that may misrepresent the participation of various groups in the revolutionary war era...

Minutes of the Buffalo Presbyterian Church: E263.N8...

Difficult to read, but they consist of testimonies and accusations: for example, one man accuses another of malice; a few people testify that a child was already dead when the Widow X arrived... They seem to suggest that the church was like a court of law, or at least a court perhaps of legitimacy. In this sense, the religious groups of the region, during the Revolution, must have played multiple roles...

The Papers of General Nathan Greene: Volume VII: December 1780-March 1781.

Among other things, he is quite concerned about "subsistence" for his men. He says that the Brits "foraged so well" that they left little for them...In one of the letters, they discuss Wiley's Mill (also known as "Weitzel's or Wetzell's Mill, and a footnote says that both sides may have been there to obtain cornmeal. [p.408] In his account of the battle to Samuel Huntington, President of the Continental Congress, he notes that, "The greater part of this Country here is a Wilderness, with a few cleared fields interspersed here and there. The Army was drawn up upon a large Hill of ground surrounded by other Hills, the greater part of which was covered with Timber and thick underbrush. The front line was posted with two field pieces just in the edge of the Woods, and the back of a fence which ran parallel to the line, with an open field directly in their front..." [p.434].

Archaeology of the Site: E 241 area of the stacks.

Coe, Joffre and Trawick Ward. 1976 Archaeological Excavations at the Site of the Guilford Courthouse. The Research Laboratories of Anthropology, UNC Chapel Hill. *In the abstract, they state that the precise location of the Courthouse cannot be determined from the historical record, hence the archaeology... "Structural remains which reflect the character of the courthouse as described by the historical record were uncovered."*

In the introduction, they mention that the site of the courthouse, one of the first public buildings constructed in the county (which was formed in 1771), was a settlement called Martinville. Courthouse moved in 1809, to Greensboro. This proved to be a death blow to Martinville, which was all but abandoned by 1849, until David Schenck founded the military park in 1887. The report describes what they believe the courthouse may have looked like, but suggest that it was always, throughout its entire existence, a work in progress, always being added onto or altered in some way. From Coe's description, it does not appear to have been a particularly solid or imposing piece of architecture, never having achieved, he says, "architectural stasis." In fact, the constant state of

disrepair of the courthouse, he says, was “given as one of the reasons for constructing the new courthouse in Greensboro.”

The report is inconclusive about whether or not they actually found the courthouse, although they do say, “The low density of artifacts, especially nails and glass, also supports the conclusion that the courthouse was dismantled and salvaged for use elsewhere.” [29].

“Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the material was the considerable Moravian influence. Although it was obvious in the ceramic medium (the pottery and pipes), probably many of the other items were also the results of Moravian skills. The brick, nails, horseshoes, glass, and harness could have been produced in Salem and its proximity to Martinville would have made their procurement there convenient.” [60].

In the same file (BATTLE of GUILFORD COURTHOUSE MAPS) there is a three-page document entitled: Key Points RE: Archaeology at GUCO... It suggests, at the end, that the interpretations so far have been wrong:

“Conclusions: A. Seem totally wedded to traditional interpretations; B. Seem to feel modern research findings irrelevant. C. Unwilling to consider effects of post-battle land use and activities of Guilford Battle Ground Co. which have affected interpretation and even distribution of artifacts. D. Don’t seem to see logical extension of their own research findings at MOCR and GUCO.”

Cornelison, John E. Jr. and Lou Groh. 2007. Battle Lines and Courthouses: Archaeological Survey and Testing at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park: The 1995, 1997, and 1998 Field Projects. National Park Service, Southeast Archaeological Center, Tallahassee, FL.

This was a survey of 34 acres of the park, which established the First, Second, and Third Battle Lines, as well as questioned “the location currently interpreted as the Guilford Courthouse,” saying it is “incorrect.”

Report available at www.cr.nps.gov/seac/seac.htm

Abbott, Jr., Lawrence E. Archaeological Investigations at the Hoskins House. Nov. 12, 1984. E241.G9.

This report covers an archaeological dig begun in May 1984 by the Archaeology Laboratories of the Museum of Man (Wake Forest) at the request of the GBC. The purpose of the dig was to try to determine if the mass graves of the British are located within the property of Tannenbaum Park, as Eli Caruthers had stated that the graves were located near the Hoskins House. The report concludes that it is unlikely that the mass graves are located within the immediate area of the park, although they could be near it.

Coe, Joffre L. Preliminary Archaeological Tests, Guilford Courthouse. 1972? E241.

These tests were undertaken at the beginning of an extensive development project in the 1970s (development that includes the current visitor center and parking lots). The tests were largely surface surveys rather than excavations, most particularly around what is termed the "traditional" courthouse location (now near stop 6). Most of the proposed construction sites were free from historical remains, but the project did find historical remains like ceramics and nails near a structure dated between 1790 and 1820. The park decided to relocate the parking lot in this area so that construction would not affect these historic remains. Because of the material that the project found, the project concludes that "the best possibility for the location of Revolutionary War period structures" is between a "well and the courthouse tree" (47). These structures were perhaps buried deep enough to avoid disturbance by plowing.

Cornelison, Jr., John E. and Tammy D. Cooper. Ground Penetrating Radar Survey of Selected Areas in Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (draft). Oct. 2000. E241.

A ground penetrating radar survey covering a linear distance of about 335 yards was conducted in January 2000. The project wanted to determine whether historic New Garden Road could be found under the existing road; it ended up finding the best evidence for the old road near the Greene Monument. The project also tried to find the location of excavations previously conducted by UNC-CH near the interpreted Guilford Courthouse site. It hoped to re-establish the grid system used by Chapel Hill, but it did not end up finding any pattern that matched the known excavations.

Cornelison, Jr. John E. and Lou Groh. Battle Lines and Courthouses: Archaeological Survey and Testing at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park: The 1995, 1997, and 1998 Field Projects. 2007. E241.

This report covers field projects conducted from 1995-1998 before work was begun to build new park trails. These projects aimed to reconsider the position of the three battle lines. The authors claim that these digs "have conclusively located" the three lines of battle such that "the location currently interpreted as the site of Guilford Courthouse is incorrect" (2). Instead, the authors believe that the courthouse may have sat outside of the current park boundaries, to the northeast of the intersection of New Garden and Lawndale.

Hatch, Jr., Charles E. Guilford Courthouse and its Environs. Dec. 1970. E241.G9 H3.

Chapter 7, "Archaeology and the Courthouse Site" (55-59) offers some preliminary observations about further archaeological work that could help establish the courthouse's location. These observations are based on primary source accounts that give clues about the courthouse's location, like the fact that the Tarleton map shows the courthouse sitting about 250-300 feet away from the road intersection.

Monroe, Elizabeth (William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research). Limited Archaeological Assessment of Potential Courthouse Site. Oct. 12, 2004. E241.

This limited assessment was designed primarily to explore a ground penetrating radar anomaly found at a possible courthouse location. It was also intended to find the location of the ordinary/tavern that sat south of the courthouse. Ultimately the

assessment did not find any intact remains for either the courthouse or the ordinary/tavern, but it did find an eighteenth-century presence in the area that may mean the buildings sat in the vicinity of the surveyed area. The author suggests that if evidence for the courthouse is found, it will most likely be in the form of construction materials, period ceramics, and wine bottle glass, and the highest density of this material will most likely be located near the building's doorway. Furthermore, the author states that because the courthouse may have been built directly into the ground, there might not be any foundation remains present today.

Stine, Linda France (UNCG). Results of 2004 Archaeological Testing at Tannenbaum Historic Park. May 31, 2005. E241.

In May-June 2004, archaeologists performed shovel testing and excavation of two 5x5 units in Tannenbaum Park, a continuation of work done in 1999 and in 2002. These excavations found domestic artifacts (ceramics, glass, and some nails) that dated from the late 18th-20th centuries, as well as some prehistoric materials (small flakes that indicate someone was sharpening or manufacturing a tool). Ultimately, these results are consistent with earlier research at the site. The project calls for shovel testing or small unit testing along the northern section of the site in order to help find additional areas of human activity.

Stine, Linda France and Kristen Selikoff. Landscape Archaeology at Tannenbaum Park. Feb. 25, 2000. E241.

As part of a larger project looking at historic documents, archaeology, and architectural preservation at Tannenbaum Park, this archaeological project aimed to 1) initiate a research design and context for interpreting the archaeological resources available at Tannenbaum by looking at previous research 2) determine where exactly the Wake Forest archaeologists had tested (Abbott 1984) 3) create a pilot archaeological project at Tannenbaum and 4) create a system for dealing with archaeological artifacts for Tannenbaum staff (3-4). This pilot archaeological project was different from the 1984 project in that it aimed to look more specifically at the log structures and how 20th century work may have altered earlier 18-19th century features (67). The archaeologists concluded that recent activity "has not destroyed all below ground evidence of past human occupations," that prehistoric people used this land, and that site inhabitants used both refined and coarse wares (104-105). The project did not help to determine whether the existing log cabin is the original structure from the time of the battle.

Stine, Linda F. and Roy S. (UNCG). Archaeological and Geophysical Research at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park. Feb. 4, 2013.

The most recent archaeological excavation was undertaken in the summer of 2011. Using geophysical techniques as well as air photo interpretations and metal detecting, the project covered the area north of Stop 6. In the end, the project discovered the remains of what appear to be four new foundations, although only one of these foundations was excavated. It also found a trash pit; a structure most likely related to the Webb house (a mid-19th century house); and a gully or an old road. The highest number of anomalies was found in the field and lighter woods in the immediate area of Stop 6.

Ward, Trawick, and Joffre L. Coe. Archaeological Excavations at the Site of Guilford Courthouse. 1976. E241.

Building upon the excavations of 1972 that found some remnants of the town of Martinville, this dig aimed to find the location of the retreat road and to determine the exact location of the courthouse. The dig was substantially larger than the work completed in 1972, uncovering over 100,000 specimens. While the dig could not verify the location of the retreat road, it did reveal postholes and brick rubble remnants of a chimney. As this material was consistent with documentary evidence that the courthouse was a "dilapidated, insubstantial, and unstable" building, the report claims that the project had found the courthouse. The report also comments on the heavy Moravian influence found in the remains, particularly the ceramic artifacts.

Vertical File, Greensboro Public Library: This consists of two files, under Parks (P) in the file cabinet. An insert says, “Also see History—Revolution” see also: “Martinville in Town File”

Note: this entire vertical file is devoted to Guilford County History, so there are sections on the sit-ins and the rallies and such. Lots of newspaper clippings and historical work. Below is a sample of what is available in the file, with the purpose of showing a representative overview of what the file contains rather than an entire inventory.

First File: Has an index of the whole file: this file is mostly newspaper clippings, many repeating information about the battle and its protagonists.

“Part played by North Carolinians in Battle of Guilford Courthouse.” Greensboro Daily News, July 1, 1931. [Much of this issue seems devoted to the battle]

The article discusses a number of North Carolina military men, including Col. James Moore, who assisted in different battles, including Guildford. There is a tally of the men under different commands:

*Colonel Read.....200
Major Joseph Winston...100
Major Armstrong.....100
Captain Forbis100
Calvary.....40*

“One thousand North Carolina militia joined Greene in two brigades March 11, under command of Generals John Butler and Thomas Eaton.”

The article also discusses the Virginia forces. The total tally comes to 5,668, mentioning “Watkins Dragoons...” It also notes, “The Battle of Guilford Courthouse was the only pitched battle of any magnitude fought between the American and British forces in North Carolina. The fatal wound to royal authority, from which it lingered, and lingering died on the 19th day of October, 1781, was given at the Guilford Courthouse on this 15th day of March 1781.”

General Butler was part of the battle of Alamance (May, 1771). It notes that part of the reason that it became a National Military Park was that Wilson was occupied with calling for peace in 1917. Senators Simmons and Overman and Representative Stedman were the principal sponsors of the bill to make it a park.

“The July 1931 issue of the *Cosmopolitan Magazine* carried a short article by an authority of American flags, in which the statement was made that the only flag carried during the Revolutionary war was borne by the North Carolina militia in the battle of Guilford Courthouse.” The article then traces the history of movement of this flag.

The article ends: “We are the owners and beneficiaries of the project to possess and restore the detailed setting of one of the most decisive engagements of the Revolutionary war—Guilford Courthouse battle, which made Yorktown possible. The philosophy of history shows their dependence, and that the lesser event was father to the greater.”

“Giving Guilford Battle its Proper Credit.” Greensboro Daily News, Sunday, November 5, 1933.

This article pictures the flag carried at the battle, which is red white and blue but with red and blue stripes, 13 large stars set against a white background. It also discusses the land acquisitions that led to the park.

“Colonel Arthur Forbis: Guilford’s Acknowledged Hero.” July 1, 1931.

This article describes not only the wounds he suffered but also the tory who stabbed him with a sword when he was nearly dead. A woman discovered him after he had been on the battlefield 30 hours... On his way home he saw his wife but she didn’t recognize him for his wounds...

This is similar to the story his great great great grandson, John Forbis, told me...

“Peter Francisco, a Virginia Giant, Killed 11 Men with his Sword at Famous Battle.” July 1, 1931.

“Guilford’s Sons Displayed Bravery, as Incident Shows.” Same issue as above. The article describes a British soldier showing up at the Buffalo neighborhood after the battle, insulting the whigs and praising loyalists. He started to pull a gun and was shot. The killers were tried and exonerated at Buffalo Church.

“A Noose Drops on the Battleground.” Sunday, December 1, 1974.

With some alarm, the article discusses the growth taking place around the battlefield, causing “some concern... to the point that long-range plans are in the making to expand the park.” They note that the renovated Hoskins farm house (“vital point in the battle”) is outside the park. “...as well as an unmarked mass grave of Scottish Highlanders killed during the battle.”

A Guilford County historian named Col. James G.W. MacLamroc is quoted as saying, “The [battlefield] company lacked substantial resources in the hard times following the War for Southern Independence and did not have the power of eminent domain.”

“Excavations uncover a debate.” July 11, 1997.

Article about archaeological work at the park, “but the excavations have failed to clear up some nagging scholarly disputes about the Revolutionary War battle that was fought there.” The excavations focused on the location of the “third American battle line”

seven sons and grandsons were with General Greene in this engagement. One of her sons was gravely wounded and the brave mother came to him, riding horseback all the way from her home in Maryland, and nursed him back to life and continued service.”

“Placing him upon the floor of a log cabin, she suspended above him from the rafters, a tub in which she bored holes and kept filled with cool water from the Bloody Run closeby. The constant dripping upon the wounds allayed the fever and thus she improvised a treatment as efficacious as the ice-pack of modern science.”

On the same page, further down, she discusses Gillies, the 15-year old bugle boy who was captured unarmed and hacked to death by Tarleton’s Dragoons. Following this she describes the life and stature of Peter Francisco, about whom other stories (see above, file 1) have been written. He was the son of nobility but evidently his father was beheaded and he was put in a sack and carried to a ship bound for America. He was put ashore on the James River in Virginia, cast about for a while, and eventually grew to be six feet eight and weighing 260. He was considered a giant, so large that Washington had a special sword made for him. The park has a monument in his honor.

She speaks of new threats to the park in the form of vandals, but ends on a positive note:

“A beautiful peace seems to linger over the hallowed ground of our Park. In spite of a rush of traffic at times on a nearby road, a reverence for the memory of brave men long since dust, seems to brood over this spot.

And if the ghosts of the Red-coats who were slain here walk, at least with the passing of almost two centuries, they have become kindly spirits, utterly benevolent, for they too died for what they thought was right, and do not, in their integrity, disturb the lovely acres made holy ground through the blood of their long-sleeping brothers, by whose deeds and arms our country was made free we believe and hope forever.”

.....
.....

Col. Banistre Tarlton: this clipping profiles the ruthless colonel.

.....
.....

Clipping: Davidson Arch Dismantled after 30 years, August 1937, to be transferred to Davidson College. They say it has become a traffic hazard.

.....
.....

Second File: Has a program of the July 4, 1931 Celebration: lots of pamphlets, programs, reprints of articles, etc./ fewer newspaper clippings than the other file.

Opens with a program for a the Battleground Sequi-Centennial Celebration on July 4, 1931, that has a picture of the General Greene statue on the front and an ad for Camel

cigarettes on the back, touting their new Humidor pack (the introduction, it seems, to the cellophane packaging).

There is a schedule of events, including a parade in Greensboro and a Re-enactment at the Park, and a brief account of the battle.

.....
Oration of General HV Boynton, GCBG, 4th of July 1900: Among other things, he says, “It is an exceptional privilege, as well as high honor, to so participate in this Commonwealth of North Carolina, upon whose soil the first battle against unjust taxation was fought in the Colonial Era, where the first Declaration of Independence was issued, and especially upon this memorable battleground—the high water mark of foreign invasion—from which that tide ebbed swiftly away to British surrender at Yorktown.”
.....

An Appeal to the Descendants of General Nathaniel Greene for his Remains and Congress for a Monument over these at Guilford Battleground, North Carolina. Joseph M. Morehead, April 1902. Morehead was one of the heads of the Battleground Company. He was president after Schenck, and he has many similar pamphlets in the file.

Summary: Much of the file consists of coverage of the park receiving funds or being established, the processes that took place to secure and then expand the park, as well as articles about what threatens the park today. There are also many, many profiles of soldiers who fought in the battle, on both sides.

Oral History Resources

UNC Greensboro maintains an oral history collection that includes interviews with locals involved in civil rights activities. Its nine collections can be accessed at the following web address.

<http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/OralHisCo>

Notes

¹ Park officials do not allow the reenactment to take place on the grounds of the park itself because the park is hallowed ground, containing graves of those who participated in the battle.

² Hiatt (2003), in 2003, said the Park covered 220.25 acres, but the Park has acquired land since then.

³ Total institutions are places where people can spend their entire lives, or a good part of their lives, without ever leaving the boundaries of the institution. Prisons, for example, are classic total institutions, and some sociologists and anthropologists have considered plantations, haciendas, and other land-labor institutions total institutions as well. However, this conceptualization often masks the complex ties that plantations had to the rest of the world.

⁴ Some Quakers, although pacifists, participated in the Battle and were later asked to leave the Friends church because of it. One told his wife he was going squirrel hunting and, after participating in the Battle, when he returned home, was questioned by his wife about why he had no squirrels. “I shot nothing worth keeping,” he said (Parker 2014).

⁵ Although many accounts tell of the Quakers’ work tending to the wounded, it is clear from other accounts that the tending to the wounded of the Battle was a joint effort of women and men from many backgrounds (Greensboro Daily News n.d.). The Turner statue commemorates a woman, for example, who was not a Quaker but who tended the wounded, including her own son, with a technique of dripping cool water on wounds.

⁶ The word “profited” here is used somewhat loosely, in that some of Virginia’s planters—notably Jefferson—were notoriously poor money managers. It is meant to suggest that slavery was part of these individuals’ attempts to forge viable livelihoods.

⁷ Slavery was not restricted to the Southern colonies or states; at the time of the revolution, for example, New Jersey had one of the largest slave populations (Ellis 2011).

⁸ “Boxing” was the term used for cutting a wedge in the bottom of the pine to collect sap or oleoresin, which dripped from downward-pointing scars along the pine’s face and which would then be transferred to distilleries for making turpentine.

⁹ Byrd’s account is not only historically significant as a portrait of 18th century life in North Carolina’s interior, but also amusing because he wrote two accounts in tandem with one another: one was a serious account of the journey meant for publication and the second was more of a diary-like account meant to share with friends. The latter account is far more frank in its depiction of Carolinians, whom he refers to by somewhat derogatory names, and of the exploits of the surveying team, who were not adverse to heavy drinking, sexual exploits, and general horseplay.

¹⁰ The Stamp Act was a tax on all items that were made available for trade and was designed to generate revenue to repay war debts that the British incurred, in their view, defending the colonists during the French and Indian War.

¹¹ Some archaeologists care little about the location of the courthouse, which they believe was a ramshackle structure that would have left little footprint and that the true significance of archaeology of the battle lies in determining where it was fought and assisting, with those data, in reconstructing the progression of the battle itself. Where the courthouse stood in relation to the troops, in this view, is irrelevant.

¹² Coe was one of the more influential North Carolina archaeologists of his day and trained a number of archaeologists who still work in the state today.

¹³ The complete abandonment of Martinville, to my thinking, is a historical process that warrants additional research and could be a potential source of information about the Battle’s changing significance over time, for the battleground was also abandoned for nearly 100 years before a local judge, David Schenck, assembled a group of investors into the Battleground Company and purchased the land for protection. Was the land considered haunted? Sacred? Were Revolutionary War sites less revered during the early part of the nation’s history than later? The Martinville abandonment could shed light on such questions.

¹⁴ Historically, *corvée* labor was the labor that feudal lords extracted from serfs for construction projects that would benefit an entire estate’s population, such as digging an irrigation canal, but the term has been used for all kinds of communal labor relations that utilize unpaid or low-paid community labor, usually to construct something that will serve the entire community.

¹⁵ Park service personnel provided Griffith with this report in electronic form; page numbers for the quotes are approximate.

¹⁶ We were not able to locate any non-white members of commemorative groups; Park personnel and others interviewed mentioned that there were African American Civil War reenactors in the region but not African American Revolutionary War reenactors.

¹⁷ The classic example of inalienable wealth is a painting by an artist of the caliber of Van Gogh or Picasso. Works of art by such artists can never be separated from the artist who created it—that artist’s personality and life are and always will be a part of their work

¹⁸ We are being intentionally vague here, as the person interviewed was criticizing the Park.

¹⁹ David Griffith took these notes during the reenactment weekend and edited them later to include in this report.

²⁰ One of the curious questions about this account is that it is said that when she left she was carrying an infant, but that the infant apparently died during the journey; it would be interesting to know whether or not the child was a girl, given that she undertook the journey to save her son.

²¹ Marcus Reddiker, in his book, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, argues that pirate ships were run far more democratically than naval ships, which were characterized by authoritarian leadership, summary justice, and dictatorial powers of the captain; he considers piracy a form of class struggle, where lower class crew took control of ships formerly controlled by upper class Captains and Merchants.

²² During his work for the National Park Service in Maryland, Griffith encountered several African Americans who claimed that African American history had been “hidden,” meaning that it was buried in obscure accounts rather than part of mainstream texts and narratives. In her work, Jackson (2012) speaks of “the construction of more comprehensive representations of community history and heritage” by both rethinking and revising the ways in which historical narratives have been written and adding new information to those narratives. Uncovering more information about African American participation in the American Revolution would constitute bringing that “hidden” history out of hiding.

²³ Park personnel said that no such signs ever existed in the Park. This person must have been thinking of a different park.

²⁴ In addition to the groups profiled in some detail, we attempted to contact Native Americans and Moravians without luck. The single Native American organization in Guilford County was closed every time we visited but once, and that time the person staffing the desk would not be interviewed and would not give the contact information of the executive director. When we visited the Moravian historical park, Bethabara, in Winston-Salem, staff we spoke with there said they had no relation to the Park or the Battle and were not interested in participating in the study, as they had been pacifists during the revolution and felt that they were persecuted by both sides.