Chapter Four: The History of History in Hillsborough

Introduction

The designation "Historic Hillsborough" is central to the identity of the town. Local government promotes the historic image of the town through placement of historic markers, support of applications to the National Register of Historic Places, and use of the phrase "Historic Hillsborough" on town stationery, accompanied by an image of one of the historic icons of the town, the town clock. Developers choose names that refer to local history for the subdivisions built on the outskirts of the town, such as Cornwallis Hills or Churton Grove.[1] The strip mall area of town is named in honor of Daniel Boone and includes a complex of antique shops that drew tourists for many years before the more recent and deliberate creation of a tourism landscape. Several social and civic groups have coalesced within the framework of the Alliance for Historic Hillsborough, and the public social activities of the town focus largely on history and heritage, as I discuss later in this chapter. In the words of one of the informants of this study, history is "at the heart of all the discussions about anything that goes on in this town."

The efforts of town leaders to brand Hillsborough as historic can be seen in the way that the Last Fridays street fairs are publicized. On the final Friday of each spring and summer month a concert is held on the Old Courthouse lawn. "Businesses, galleries, studios, restaurants, and museums and historic sites remain open and offer special events. Artists, food vendors, musicians, and craftspeople set up their wares on the sidewalks" (Alliance for Historic Hillsborough 2004). This Last Fridays event is advertised as being

[1] Most of the local place names which reference history are historically specific and place-accurate, as in the examples given above. Some are not place specific, such as the Heritage Apartments. One is place-inaccurate, Valley Forge Drive at the new industrial park, though the reference to the Revolutionary War links it to what has been considered an important era in Hillsborough's history.

"in the downtown historic district" (Alliance for Historic Hillsborough 2004), a revealing turn of phrase. The downtown area is small (one can see it in its entirety from the street corner of Churton and King) and there is no part of it that is not within the historic district. Therefore it is not necessary to use the phrase "downtown historic district" to distinguish one part of the downtown from another, as might be the case in Chicago, for example. The effect of the wording clearly emphasizes history.

The historic nature of Hillsborough is at the heart of Hillsborough's sense of place. Rapid population growth in the Piedmont region of North Carolina over the last twenty years has resulted in an explosion of placeless places, and Hillsborough's historic character and small town charm provide a contrast to the subdivisions that ring nearby Piedmont cities. The same population growth has brought new residents to Hillsborough, and these incomers have a different relationship to history than members of Hillsborough's established families, many of whom have been in Hillsborough and Orange County since before the Revolutionary War.

Places change for many reasons. A place changes with development and/or decay, and with migration of groups in or out of the community. The evaluation of the place by its people changes as the regional context changes. New ideas permeate the national consciousness, some (such as historic preservation) arise at a grass roots level, work their way up to the national or global scale and then diffuse downward to many local areas. Incomers who have had life experiences in other places that shape their attitudes toward and actions in a place. Generational changes occur as younger people with different life experiences assume power. Historical concepts also change over time. Historical knowledge expands, new interpretations develop, new paradigms are born and

old ones die. In this chapter I discuss the changing views of history that have shaped the relationship between history and place in Hillsborough and describe the processes by which Hillsborough's historic identity has been redefined. The chapter examines the question: How has a narrowly framed historic identity that traditionally has only recognized the contributions of white people and that has focused on the Colonial era been expanded to be more temporally and ethnically inclusive? This is the story of a fundamental change in the nature of a small town, and the transformation of the identity of that town.

History and Heritage

Lowenthal draws a distinction between the practice of history and the "quasi-religious cult" of heritage. "History tells all who will listen what has happened and how things came to be as they are. Heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose" (Lowenthal 1998, p. 128). Although most of the informants in this study are neither aware of nor constrained by Lowenthal's definitions,[2] these concepts provide a useful means of illuminating the roles that history and heritage play in Hillsborough's identity. For example, Hillsborough has an active Historical Society which publishes research and sponsors lectures by local amateur and academic historians, all part of the pursuit of history as Lowenthal defines it. With few exceptions,[3] however, my informants use the term "history" in a way that includes both history and heritage as defined by Lowenthal. What is important to the informants, however, is the heritage component, which confers

[2] Several of the informants of this study have graduate degrees in history, landscape architecture, historic preservation, and planning. These informants are knowledgeable about social science concepts.
[3] The exceptions were professionals involved in the management and presentation of local history or historic sites.

both "prestige and common purpose" and selects the elements of history that can accomplish this task. Ernest Dollar, director of the Orange County Historical Museum and Civil War re-enactor, finds that the way people become engaged with history is through "their personal connection to it….how their ancestor made history or changed history or fit in to history." He stated that "I think especially in this day and age everybody is still into romanticism and somehow they connect with that ancestor." Tom Magnuson, president of the Trading Path Association,[4] says that "the folks I meet in local history are…either old families that are bound and determined to guard the image of the past, or they are recent arrivals that are trying to find out something about the place or fit themselves in somehow." Both Dollar and Magnuson are describing personal heritage projects.

Magnuson, whose bachelor's and master's degrees are in history, understands the difference between history and heritage. He does not consider the urge to guard the past, or to create a personal connection to it to be "very good for history," but he does recognize the benefits that the pursuit of heritage confers upon the sense of community. He said

> Any time you look closely at anything and invest yourself in learning about it you have a tendency to value it … if you know about it and if you identify at all with the town, then it becomes part of yours. It is ours, whatever our may be.

History and heritage create an identity for Hillsborough that distinguishes it from the proliferating placeless places of North America. Relph defines placelessness as "a

[4] "The Trading Path Association is a non-profit corporation chartered by the State of North Carolina and approved by the IRS as being a 501 (C)(3), tax exempt organization. It enjoys broad-based support at the national, state and local levels of government, among related conservation NGOs, and among academics familiar with the importance of the subject. Its purpose is to preserve, promote and study the historic Trading Path of the Southeastern Piedmont" (Magnuson, 2004).

weakening of the identity of places to the point where they not only look alike but feel alike and offer the same bland possibilities for experience" (Relph 1976). Attempts by developers to counter this bland sameness are then imitated across the United States by other developers, creating even larger numbers of similar and generic American places. For example, in contrast to Hillsborough's historically specific place names, most new developments in Mebane, adjacent to Hillsborough to the west, have subdivision names that are found throughout the U.S—Millbrook and Sunset Ridge for example. Immediately adjacent to the south, a new development outside of Chapel Hill is named The Shire, a name that refers to a purely imaginary place and time.

In many places urban redevelopment and suburbanization have resulted in the loss of historically significant structures. Spatial forms designed to accommodate mass use of automobiles often replace pedestrian friendly areas in cities and towns, diminishing interactions among neighbors. New Urbanism, an urban design model developed to counter these trends, gained popularity in the 1990's. Meadowmont, a massive new development in Chapel Hill, follows this model. The developers claim in the promotional website that it "mirrors history with its narrow, tree-lined streets and old stone walls. …In fact, front porches, neighborhood parks and sidewalks on both sides of every street encourage neighborly interaction -- it's a true community seven days a week. This isn't another cookie-cutter neighborhood" (East West Partners Management Company 2004). In truth, Meadowmont is just the latest version of a cookie-cutter neighborhood, but the cookie cutter now has the shape of the New Urbanism. The guiding principles of the New Urbanism reflect a desire for an older way of life, a village lifestyle that still exists in Hillsborough. With the single exception of mass transit, all of

the desirable features mentioned below in the mission statement of the Charter for the New Urbanism,[5] exist in Hillsborough now:

> We advocate the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles: neighborhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and mass transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice (Congress for the New Urbanism 2004).

The design features that evolved over 250 years of occupance in Hillsborough, coupled with its historic ambience, create a sense of place valued by the inhabitants. The historically significant events in Hillsborough's past confer historic authenticity and a sense of the depth of time that new suburban developments in the region lack. In Chapter 6 I analyze the specific features of the historic landscape that distinguish Hillsborough from placeless places and examine the mechanisms through which Hillsborough's citizens defend the town against the forces that remove individual distinctiveness and create placelessness.

The history of history in Hillsborough

In the early 20th century, personal interest in history was often interest in the glorified past of one's illustrious ancestors (as indeed it still is for many today). The "history industry" (museums, archaeology, historic preservation) was the province of white elites, and reflected their values and their pride not only in their ancestors but also

[5] This charter is the work of the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) "a Chicago-based non-profit organization that was founded in 1993. (CNU works) with architects, developers, planners, and others involved in the creation of cities and towns, teaching them how to implement the principles of the New Urbanism. These principles include coherent regional planning, walkable neighborhoods, and attractive, accommodating civic spaces. CNU has over 2,000 members throughout the United States and around the world. [It] sponsor[s] annual conferences, known as Congresses, for the sharing and discussion of best practices in New Urbanism" (Congress for the New Urbanism, 2004).

in the intellectual and cultural heritage of Western civilization. The focus of history was on the stirring deeds of "great white men", and the sites of their lives and deeds were the locations that were considered historically significant (Mason 2004, p. 133). Historical sites were "'meccas' where Americans could pay homage to the founders" (Lindgren 2004, p. 111). The impetus to preserve historic sites often arose from local family pride, as was the case in Charleston, where "preservation of local heritage was frequently inseparable from preservation of family history" (Weyeneth 2004, p. 275). Speaking of the historic preservation movement in the period from 1850 to 1950, historian James M. Lindgren states that "the past had a purpose, one that generally reflected the political conservatism, social boundaries, and proper tastes of preservationists. As a result, their 'past' did not generally include people of color, everyday women, and ordinary folk, unless they were acceptably cast in a traditionalist mold" (Lindgren 2004, p. 126).

In the first half of the 20th century the South was still recovering from the effects of the Civil War, and although a complete catalog of those effects is beyond the scope of this study, two effects are especially noteworthy. First, poverty preserved the historic landscape. In prosperous times people replace or remodel structures to suit their present needs. When financial resources are scarce, this happens less frequently. Second, many people were still alive whose memories included family tales about the War of Northern Aggression. Older residents can remember a time when the Civil War was still a burning topic of conversation. One of my informants, speaking of her childhood during the Depression, relates that "people were still trying over the Civil War."[6] This informant, and others of her generation, lived to see a second invasion of Yankees transform their communities in the 1980s.

[6] The informant used the term "trying over" to mean "revisiting the events of" the Civil War.

The key informant for this study, Helen Warren, moved to Hillsborough in 1949 upon marrying into a local family. Through her job as a schoolteacher she "quickly learned all the families", some of whom "had been here for centuries." At the time she arrived the town was ruled by a group that she and other informants refer to as the "Old Guard," a group of white families that dominated the civic, religious, business and social activities of the town. In her words, these were "the people you were supposed to know," and she felt fortunate that she was accepted by this group and not made to feel that she was an outsider. She believes that this acceptance arose from her kinship connections to the Caswell and Person County Warren family, noting that "Orange County used to include Caswell and Person and by that definition the Warrens are among the original settlers of Orange County" (an earlier configuration of the Orange County boundaries is shown on Map 5, p. 21). According to Warren, incomers who were kin to the original families were accepted. Over many generations some members of the Warren clan had moved to Hillsborough (and elsewhere), and she and her husband had kinfolk living in Hillsborough.

Warren defined for me the characteristics of the important people in town, the ones that "you were supposed to know." She eventually agreed with me that the characteristics she cited were based on social class, although she said "it's not p. c.[7] to say 'class'." They were the town leaders, serving on the Town Board, as mayor, as professional people (defined as doctors), and as merchants. They felt responsible for the town and were "responsible behaving" people. Although they were not necessarily wealthy, they were "well fixed." They valued the history of the town and sharing that history was important to them. Being from an old family definitely conveyed

[7] P.c. means "politically correct."

importance, but they were "not snooty." Well-educated themselves, they valued education for their children. They were welcoming to incomers, even though they did make the distinction between who was an insider and who was not. She cited as an example of their welcoming nature the fact that "if you went to their churches they would take you in no matter who you were."

The view of history from within Hillsborough in 1950 was consistent with the view in the rest of the country. The recent war had created "an almost reverential regard for the history of the United States" (Kammen 1991, p. 532). History was sanctified, the Founding Fathers and other "great white men" were revered and the contributions of women, people of color, or non-elites of any race or gender were not considered important. Because Hillsborough had been the capital in the Colonial and early Federal period, many of the "great white men" of North Carolina had lived here, and their deeds linked local history to the history of the nation. In the 1950s Hillsborough was a backwater, but it was a backwater with memories of its days as a center of power.

According to historian Michael Kammen, postwar changes in mobility and family structure "brought a pronounced sense of discontinuity between past and present" (Kammen 1991, p. 533). These changes would soon impact Hillsborough, but in 1950 the dislocations of residential mobility had not begun to erode an authentic connection to the past provided by presence of the original families (Chapter 5 includes some of their stories). Thus Warren's experiences give us a glimpse of a community which perceived a continuity of connection to the past, a view of history that would soon be altered.

On one of the many occasions that Warren assisted me with this study, I asked her which of the historic houses in town were still occupied by the original families. As we

drove through town to identify these houses I was bewildered by some of her comments. In a discussion of "insiders and incomers" she said "even the insiders weren't originally from here." I did not understand this until I realized that she was referring to the 1700s. The earliest incomers to Hillsborough were coastal residents, who had summer homes up here as an escape from mosquitoes and malaria. It surprised me to discover that Warren routinely thinks about this place in a temporal frame that spans two and a half centuries. Places of the greatest value date from the Colonial period.[8] On one block peppered with signs indicating that the houses had been built in the mid-1800s, she remarked "there are no significant houses here." What, I wondered, constituted a "significant" house? I discovered that she was relating to me the view of the landscape that had been transmitted to her in the days when she was a young bride. "The people you were supposed to know" had informed her which properties were the ones that mattered.

The houses that were considered significant in 1950 (see Map 7, page 75) were built by prosperous people in the late 1700s and early 1800s, and many were still in the hands of the original families. Continuous occupation by descendants conveyed significance, as did connection with famous people of the Colonial era. The most significant house in town[9] was not in the hands of the original family, but it had been occupied by a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Hillsborough's historic identity at this time was solidly anchored in the Colonial and early Federal eras. Hillsborough was the capital of North Carolina until 1792, and therefore had among its residents some of the most prominent and politically powerful families in the state. According to

[8] Informants routinely used the term "Colonial" to include both the Colonial and early Federal periods.
[9] The William Hooper House, also known as the Nash-Hooper House.

Warren, people respected the old families. "They had been here a long time, they were worthy of respect."

Some houses now identified as historic do not interest Warren. If their age or antecedents were unknown when she first arrived they lack "significance" because they do not carry the memory of history for her. A house dated 1840[10] "wasn't looked upon as one of the oldest homes." A house now known to date from 1768[11] was "not one that was respected" in 1950 and she speculated on the possible reasons for that. Either no one knew how old the house was, or the fact that it had been extensively remodeled diminished its value. To Warren, importance is conveyed by actual age, not by the appearance of a place. "The Strudwick place[12] on the corner is not as old as it was built to look." When she arrived in Hillsborough, people recognized the "true value of the old things," but the value lay in the history, not in the material object. They were proud to live "among things that had such historic value" and that value was derived from the historic significance of national and state leaders and from the continuous presence of the settler families.

(Awaiting permission to reprint map)

Map 7: Historic Features in Hillsborough (Hillsborough Historical Society, Inc., 2003) The numbers on the map indicate features that the Society considers to be of historical interest today. The features that Helen Warren was told were historically significant in 1950 are indicated in red.

Our discussion focused on houses, so some of the features shown in black on Map 7 were not relevant to our discussion (the law offices near the courthouse, No. 11 and No. 17 on the map; and Dickerson Chapel, No. 30, for example). Some of these features did

[10] Ashe House is shown as No. 27 on Map 7.
[11] William Courtney's Yellow House is shown as No. 9 on Map 7.
[12] This house is also known as Tamarind. Built in 1903, it is No. 37 on Map 7.

not exist in 1950 (the Alexander Dickson house was later moved to the site it now occupies, No. 1). Warren chuckled over the inclusion on Map 7 of several houses that were "too young" to be considered historic in 1950, including Dr. Durham's House, 1912 (No. 23) and the early 20th century cottages on Churton Street (No. 38).

Interest in Hillsborough's historically significant houses led to the creation of an annual tour of historic homes and gardens.[13] Historic activities in the 1950s were the province of Hillsborough's Garden Club, which created the Orange County Historical Museum and originated the tours. Both Ernest Dollar, director of the museum, and Cathleen Turner, executive director of the Alliance for Historic Hillsborough credit the Garden Club women with laying the foundation for all of the historical activities in town. Turner states that Hillsborough "recognized and actively promoted the existing historic cultural and natural resources of the community…for years long before the term heritage tourism ever came along" and as a result "Hillsborough is light years ahead of so many other communities."

Unusual for a small town in the 1950s, Hillsborough had a fairly well developed history infrastructure (the museum, the annual house and garden tour of historic houses) and a group of people who had created and maintained that infrastructure. There was little interest, however, in preservation of historic structures. According to one informant, this simply was not necessary because families took pride in their homes and maintained the structures.

The museum was important to the women of the Garden Club because it represented their revered ancestors. Dollar referred to them as an upper class of people

[13] Hillsborough is notable for gardens dating back to Colonial times, and for an interesting variety of trees brought up from the coast by the earliest families.

who were interested in preserving their own sense of colonial history, which for them was the history of their race and class. For example, although Dollar finds that the collection of old porcelain, one of the original collections of the museum, "has nothing to do with telling the story of Orange County…some people love it." Porcelain is an important part of entertaining and social life for middle- and upper-class families, and is an icon of Southern womanhood (Schwartz 1991). The Garden Club members who founded the museum knew that visitors would be interested in seeing old porcelain, and this assumption was founded on the belief that the visitors would share their ethnic and class values.

In the 1950s Hillsborough was still off the beaten track, too remote for commuting to anywhere other than Chapel Hill or Durham. Warren confirmed that most of the incomers from 1950 through the 1970s arrived here as a result of marriage to insiders. The incomers from this time period who I interviewed fit this pattern, and all of them moved here from other North Carolina communities. Turner believes that the post WWII "urgency to progress," the consequent loss of significant historic structures, and the arrival of incomers resulted in the growth of interest in the historic landscape. In Turner's opinion, the incomers arrived with a fresh perspective, different from the perspective of insiders who had grown up here surrounded by history as part of their taken-for-granted world. Incomers "recognized how good Hillsborough had it" and vigorously pursued historic preservation, which was a new element of our national consciousness. The focus shifted from individual houses as the homes of historically significant families or forebears to a consideration of the visual characteristics of the historic features of the town as a whole.

One of these incomers was Mary Claire Engstrom, originally from Missouri and an influential member of the Hillsborough Historical Society from the 1960s through the 1980s. Engstrom earned a Ph.D. in 18th-century English literature from the University of North Carolina. Her research put the study of history in Hillsborough on an academic footing (Ireland 1998). Her interest in history led her to activism, as she participated in a battle to preserve a local landmark, the Nash Kollock School. Turner considers this struggle the beginning of the drive for historic preservation in Hillsborough. Although Engstrom's group was not able to save the school, Turner remarks that their attempt "brought preservation into the consciousness of [the] locals, that something that important could be lost." Losses created a desire for preservation in many other places, including Charleston where "the first stirrings of the preservation impulse were stimulated by the destruction—or threatened destruction—of landmark buildings, structures closely linked with community history whose presence on the cityscape often fostered a sense of civic identity for residents" (Weyeneth 2004, p. 257).

Many such losses were occurring around the country as a result of the postwar economic boom which created new commercial structures and led to the rapid growth of suburbs. Hillsborough's relatively isolated location spared the town much of this growth, but national ideas about loss and preservation had begun to diffuse into Hillsborough. Concern during the 1960s and 1970s about the deterioration of "the visual quality of the American landscape" was widespread, and was addressed by the 1964 Conference of Mayors and a White House conference on Natural Beauty held in 1965 (Zube 1986, p. 4).[14] The Conference of Mayors identified "'a feeling of rootlessness' associated with the

[14] The White House conference on Natural Beauty held in 1965 defined "natural beauty" to include such human features as "townscapes, water and water fronts, highway design, roadside control, landscape

postwar building boom and a high mobility rate" (Datel 1985, p. 125). The mayors commended the historic preservation movement for its attempts to create 'a sense of orientation' by using 'structures and objects of the past to establish values of time and place'" (quoted in Datel 1985, p. 125). The report from the Conference of Mayors was influential in the creation of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966.

Although Turner credits incomers such as Engstrom with the fresh perspective that brought historic preservation to the attention of all Hillsborough residents, she believes that it was both incomers and insiders who were responsible for the creation of Hillsborough's historic preservation district in 1972, the first in North Carolina. This corresponds with Datel's findings from a survey of groups involved in early efforts towards historic preservation.

> In many small communities preservationists were active in local historical societies and organizations supporting local museums. The emphasis of these groups was more commemorative and genealogical than environmental and visual. … However, the historical societies tended to have an asset that was absent from inner-city groups—members who had lived in the place all or most of their lives and whose family had preceded them as residents. This characteristic gave the efforts of historical-society members an emotional involvement that short-term residents of a place could not bring to a cause" (Datel 1985, p. 136).

The creation of the historic district resulted from a shift in point of view from single houses to the landscape, and created a shift in control from individual owners to a publicly appointed board, the Historic District Commission, which regulates the appearance of property in the district. (See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the role of the Historic District Commission). Throughout the United States the preservation movement began to broaden the definition of historic to include "previously neglected vernacular

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reclamation, …utilities, auto junk yards, and suburbia…" Zube, E. H. (1986). 1: Landscape Values: History, Concepts, and Applications. Foundations for Visual Project Analysis. J. F. P. Richard C. Smardon, and John P. Fellerman. New York, John Wiley**:** 3-19. p. 12.

structures and Victorian homes as historically valuable" (Greenfield 2004, p. 180). Eventually the expansion of the definition of what was historically significant would encompass ethnic groups other than white, but in Hillsborough that was still decades in the future.

Published work by Engstrom provides an excellent example of the selective vision common in the 1970s that excluded people of color from the landscapes of the past. Engstrom wrote about M.A. Burwell, founder of the Burwell School.[15] The article, written in 1976 at the time that the Burwell School was restored,[16] extols the virtues of Burwell and describes her heroic efforts to run the school while bearing and rearing 12 children.

> Without any formal education of any kind (so far as is known); with a pregnancy every other year and an increasing number of small children to care for; without adequate space; with a minister's wife's duties to attend to in a small town; meals to plan; clothes to mend; a house to supervise; classes to teach; papers to grade; parents to interview; a constant influx of relatives and visitors to cope with -- how did "M.A. Burwell" do it? (Engstrom 1976).

We now know that Burwell performed these feats with the help of slaves.[17] However there is no mention of those slaves (or even the euphemistic "servants") in Engstrom's article. The invisible presence of slaves is implied in the article: "meals to plan" (there is no mention of Burwell actually doing the cooking); "a house to supervise" (but again no mention of who she was supervising). It is clear that Engstrom, who by all accounts was a meticulous researcher (Ireland 1998), knew the slaves were there, but chose not to mention them.

[15] The Burwell School operated as a Female School from 1837 to 1857.
[16] The Burwell School has been administered by the Historic Hillsborough Commission since 1965.
[17] The current website for the Burwell School acknowledges the presence of the slaves.

By the 1980s the pace of change was accelerating at the local, state, and national levels. North Carolina's improving economy began to attract more migrants from other regions, and incomers from this time forward were increasingly drawn from states north of the Mason-Dixon line. None of the informants of this study felt any resentment for changes wrought by incomers from other Carolina locations in the 1960s and 1970s, but their opinions altered when the discussion turned to the most recent incomers. More than one person expressed sentiments similar to this one: "A lot of damn Yankees come in, and decided we didn't know how to run our town, so they'd run it for us." A few of the "damn Yankees," myself included, followed the earlier pattern of arriving as a result of marriage to a local person, but most arrived without any family or kin connections. The new arrivals are perceived by the insiders to be affluent, well-educated people who live in Hillsborough but work elsewhere in the Research Triangle region.[18] And indeed, the incomers who are active in local affairs do fit this profile.

Two of the informants drew parallels between Hillsborough and the nearby town of Carrboro (see Map 5, page 21) which experienced this shift in population a decade or so before Hillsborough did. Carrboro's location immediately adjacent to the university town of Chapel Hill means that it has long had an influx of incomers. Its former identity as a textile mill town is now completely altered. The mill is now a mall, and Carrboro bills itself (tongue firmly in cheek) as "Paris of the Piedmont."[19] Laura Oakes[20] said "in

[18] The Triangle region is shown on Map 5, page 21. The Triangle is defined with Raleigh, Durham and Chapel Hill as the points and with Research Triangle Park as the center. The surrounding towns including Hillsborough are commonly referred to as part of the Triangle region.
[19] This claim is not based on architecture, history, or population, but on the quality of bread and cheese available in the town.
[20] Laura Oakes is one of the informants of this study. She is originally from Reidsville, another North Carolina Piedmont town.

many respects it [Hillsborough] reminds me of Carrboro, in terms of the things it has to confront now." She described:

> the burgeoning population, especially incomers, especially fairly well-to-do, well-educated incomers taking up space and wanting to become part of the old stuff, but by their presence fixing it so that the old stuff doesn't work no more. … I think Hillsborough in a way has had so far an easier time than Carrboro, which kind of got overrun before it realized what had hit. And but has grown, really turned out nicely, although I think there are a lot of disaffected old-timers. Not necessarily old people, but people who grew up there and that feel they've been kind of overrun. And I think Hillsborough's about to find that out.

Ernest Dollar, who was quite new in his job as museum director when I interviewed him, was not prepared to discuss the importance of history to Hillsborough's sense of place, but expected to find it similar to the state of affairs in Carrboro. He said that in Carrboro "people coming in are excited about history and they're really the ones that are preserving it." He described himself as "perplexed" by the fact that incomers to Hillsborough are more active than insiders at the local historic sites. "I was surprised to find that most of the people who were into saving history…are transplants. Very few local people I found get excited about history. I'm not sure if it was [the fact that] they have always grown up around these things, it doesn't seem anything really special. People coming in to this area look at something and say 'wow, that's really exciting.'" (In Chapter 5, I discuss the differences in outlook between incomers and insiders.)

Transformation of the Burwell School building from a private residence to an historic site expanded the temporal boundaries of what was considered "historically significant" from Colonial to antebellum. The temporal boundaries continued to be expanded throughout the 1980s as more incomers arrived in town. Houses built from mid-1800s through the early 1900s began to be considered "historic." As incomers purchased some of these houses, they had the opportunity to participate in the growing

national pastime of historic preservation. As standards changed, vernacular landscapes created by less wealthy and privileged groups were beginning to be "considered worthy of being preserved" (Datel 1985, p. 129). In my conversations with Warren, she laughed about a group of modest houses, saying "all the new people moved into them." These houses dated from a later period that had not been considered historically significant when Warren arrived in 1949.

As the temporal boundaries of that history considered to be significant moved closer to the present time, events were also underway that would eventually move the boundaries of "historic significance" back into the distant past and incorporate additional ethnic groups. A series of archaeological excavations in Hillsborough from 1938 to 1941 had revealed the presence of Native Americans at what was then thought to be a village visited by explorer John Lawson in 1701 (Davis, et. al. 2003). Later interpretation of this site (the Wall site) concluded that it predated the contact era. Excavations were resumed in 1983 and produced evidence of contact between Indians and Europeans at a nearby site, confirming the possibility that Hillsborough was the location for the Lawson visit.

Also early in the 1980s Forest Hazel, a UNC graduate student with Native American ancestry, began to investigate a local community which reminded him of his father's people (the Nanticoke in Maryland). The story of the re-emergence of Native American identity that resulted is told in Chapter 7. As members of the Occaneechi community learned more about their history and heritage, some of them pursued projects which gave the tribe visibility. John Blackfeather Jeffries began a program of community outreach in which he appeared at Hog Day[21] and gave presentations at local schools in Indian regalia. In 1984 the tribe held its first powwow in nearby Pleasant Grove,

[21] Hog Day is a community fair held every year in June. It brings thousands of visitors to Hillsborough.

territorial center of the Occaneechi people. Later powwow venues included downtown Hillsborough. Occaneechi powwows added Native American ethnicity to the mix of heritage tourism events. Town and county governments contributed money for the development of a park on the floodplain of the Eno River, and the creation of a replica Indian village in the park added another site for heritage tourism. The replica village was carefully modeled on the characteristics of the nearby village site excavated by UNC archaeologists.

By the late 1980s the incomers were numerous enough to change the balance of power in the town. Long time mayor Fred Cates, a descendant of one of the earliest settler families lost the 1989 race to Horace Johnson. Johnson, an African-American incomer who arrived in 1952 upon marriage into a local family, was perceived by many insiders to be the candidate supported by a group of influential incomers, and Cates' loss to Johnson was resented by the insiders for this reason. No election between candidates of different races can be completely free of racial overtones, but this election was notable for the fact that race did not appear to be a major issue. The incomers viewed Cates as a "good ole boy" whose governmental practices were based on cronyism, and the insiders viewed Johnson as a pawn of the incomers. More than one informant viewed this election to be a turning point. One insider related that "the biggest change came when Fred Cates lost the election for mayor. That's when all of us felt we had been kicked out."

Professionalization of history

Local organizations with a focus on history had proliferated in Hillsborough during the 1950s and 1960s as personal conflicts and differences over purpose and

mission within groups led to the formation of splinter groups. The result of this was "five or six archival collections" (according to Ernest Dollar) and a rather large number of historic groups for so small a town, each with a distinctive mission. In 1994 the Alliance for Historic Hillsborough was created as an umbrella group composed of seven organizations.[22] According to the executive director of the Alliance, Cathleen Turner, "the Alliance for Historic Hillsborough was created to get all of these parties together at one table…to facilitate communication, to prevent duplication of efforts because in such a small town you have very limited human and financial resources. It was a way to get everybody together to pool these resources, to facilitate communication. Even though a lot of these organizations shared board members, sometimes there still wasn't a complete enough awareness of activities."

Hillsborough's Garden Club, once the driving force behind activities relating to history and an important part of the town's power structure, is not part of the Alliance. The Garden Club suffered the fate of many other clubs, civic organizations, and service societies throughout the United States, that of declining membership and a rising median age for members. Political scientist Robert D. Putnam has chronicled the decline of civic involvement in the United States beginning in the 1960s (Putnam 2000). Putnam found that older members have remained in many community organizations, but groups have difficulty recruiting newer and younger members. By 1997 there were only two members

[22] The Alliance for Historic Hillsborough includes the Historic District Commission, a town appointed board; the Historic Hillsborough Commission, a state appointed commission which owns and operates the Burwell School historic site; the Preservation Fund of Hillsborough which is a local revolving fund; the Orange County Historical Museum; the Orange County Historical Society; the Hillsborough/Orange County Chamber of Commerce; and the Hillsborough Arts Council. The county's Economic Development Commission director has an ex-officio position on the board.

under retirement age in the Garden Club. The club has revived, but most of the current members are incomers, and the group's focus is now limited to gardening.

As membership in community organizations declined nationwide, some groups created paid positions for professional managers who fulfilled functions formerly performed by volunteers (Putnam 2000). The Alliance followed this model, hiring Cathleen Turner as its first executive director, as did the Orange County Historical Museum, with Ernest Dollar as museum director. Both Turner and Dollar have graduate degrees and professional experience in history enterprises in other locations. History has become professionalized in Hillsborough, and its leaders are people who see Hillsborough's various historic enterprises in their local, regional, and national context.

The money to fund these positions has come from a meals tax, a 1% tax on prepared food purchased in the town's restaurants (including fast food establishments at the highway interchange). The meals tax was created at the same time and initiated by some of the same people who worked to create the Alliance. Approved by the state legislature in 1995, the meals tax now generates approximately $150,000 a year. This tax was created to generate money for tourism projects and to improve and expand historic sites in a bid to bring more heritage tourism dollars into town. Money is allocated through grants "to go into funding of programs and projects that attract tourists to Hillsborough", and to support the "historic preservation bricks and mortar projects to keep those properties up and running to facilitate more visitors" according to Turner. Money from the meals tax is used for other activities of the Alliance and also funds heritage tourism sites such as the Visitor's Center (housed in an historic building), the Orange County Historical Museum, and the Burwell School site. Turner and other

leaders stress the interactions between the historic resources of Hillsborough and the quality of life for the residents. Turner describes the improvements funded by the meals tax as "a residence amenity. Generally what's good for heritage tourists is good for the community."

Tourism in Hillsborough began long before the term "heritage tourism" was coined. Former downtown business owners described buses arriving with members of church, civic or student groups from other North Carolina locations as far back as the 1960s. According to one store owner "they came for the history." These tourists strolled through town, ate lunch at the Colonial Inn,[23] and shopped at the antique stores. Heritage tourism is now a growth industry, both in the larger region and nationwide. At a conference on Southern heritage tourism held in Chapel Hill in 1997, speakers stressed the benefits of heritage tourism, which exploits existing resources to generate income, builds pride in place and enhances place image (Wise 1997). Turner believes that Hillsborough's early involvement with history-based tourism has made the town a leader in North Carolina in its recognition of the importance of the elements of heritage tourism, which she defined as the "existing historic cultural and natural resources of a community."

In the past twenty years town government and business leaders in Hillsborough have actively promoted the development of a landscape of heritage tourism. They identified the historic character of the town as a marketable asset and once looked to tourism as an important source of income. Although tourism has not proved to be the panacea for the town's economic problems, an emerging landscape of heritage tourism

[23] The Colonial Inn was one of Hillsborough's premiere historic attractions. Now closed, the sad story of its current condition is told in Chapter 6.

draws visitors who spend money at restaurants, specialty shops in the historic downtown area, and antique shops both downtown and in the Daniel Boone strip mall area. The Colonial Guides Company provides costumed guides for walking tours of the historic district. The improvements that the town has made with the express purpose of supporting heritage tourism, such as streetscape improvements and additional cultural events, also improve quality of life for the residents of the town and help to reinforce the historic character of the place. The number of historic sites open to the public has expanded over time, with two of the most significant additions being the replica Occaneechi village[24] on the floodplain of the Eno River, and the opening of the grounds of Ayr Mount, a plantation home built in 1815. The businesses that promote and profit from heritage tourism are just part of the picture however. The milieu that attracts those tourists also includes historic churches and public buildings, in addition to the streetscapes of privately-owned residences in the historic district.

The relationship between the arts and history provides examples of the interactions between heritage tourism and quality of life for residents. The "intangible folkways [of] kinship, language, poetry, music" that are part of the current definition of "heritage" (Lowenthal 2004, p. 300) receive funding through the Hillsborough Tourism Board's administration of meals tax revenues (among other sources). Not surprisingly, the arts activities listed on the Arts Council web page all have historic connotations (Hillsborough 2004). Parlor concerts are held in historic homes. The late Billy Strayhorn,[25] who spent part of his childhood in Hillsborough, is celebrated with a jazz festival, honoring contemporary African-American history. A summer outdoor concert

[24] The relationship of the Occaneechi tribe to Hillsborough's historic landscape is discussed in Chapter 7.
[25] Strayhorn was the pianist in Duke Ellington's band, and a prolific composer whose works include "Take the A Train."

series with music reflecting "the cultural influences of community heritage and historic roots" (Hillsborough 2004) is titled "Hangin' with the Regulators," named for a group of colonial era tax protestors who were executed by hanging. One of the insiders who expressed resentment about the "Yankees" who have taken power also gave the incomers credit for enhancing the quality of life here.

> I have a lot of pride in where I live, Hillsborough. … I think this Last Friday is one of the neatest events that I have heard of any town conjuring up. … And that has to do with new folks in town. And that makes me pleased to see those kinds of people.

A more ethnically-inclusive history

The national growth of heritage tourism, with its focus on the development of existing natural and cultural resources, coincided with the growth of interest in developing a more ethnically-inclusive history. In Hillsborough both ethnic and temporal boundaries of history have been expanded. Some of this can be attributed to the actions of the incomers who now dominate Hillsborough's history enterprises. Incomers are not descended from Hillsborough's white settler families and therefore are not invested in the picture of a white Colonial era past.

Tom Magnuson, founder and president of the Trading Path Association, is one of the incomers who has expanded the view of the past. He created the Trading Path Association as a means to fund a public history project through revenues derived from heritage tourism. He has recruited a cadre of volunteers who conduct the fieldwork necessary to identify and document portions of the network of Contact-era trading paths that connected the Chesapeake region with the Carolinas and Georgia. Guided tours create one revenue stream for the project. Other income comes from grants, including

grants that fund research projects at specific local sites. Magnuson's goal is to reveal the history of the Piedmont prior to the arrival of large numbers of European settlers. It is his belief that European, African and Indian people lived in relative harmony prior to the disruptions caused by mass migration of colonists to the region. In his view the "great white men" revered as the founding fathers of the town were actually scoundrels who expropriated property from people who were already living on the land. He views his work as "radical" because, in his opinion, historians have not been willing to discuss the positive race relations that existed in this early period. Magnuson is not interested in a heritage tourism that presents a tidy view of the past (like the Museum of American Frontier Culture in Staunton, Virginia), but in a heritage tourism that explores the edges of what is known. His goal is to "stretch the idea of 'us', make 'we' a bigger idea than it has been in the past." His work has not only incorporated the stories of people of color into the narratives of history in Hillsborough, it has also challenged the sanctification of Hillsborough's white founding fathers. By drawing attention to the period of time immediately preceding the mass migration of white settlers into the region, Magnuson's believes that he can illustrate the fact that the wealth of the revered founders came at the expense of a multi-ethnic population already in place.

Creation of the Alliance for Historic Hillsborough and the consequent professionalization of the management of history enterprises also played a role in this expansion. Laura Oakes feels that Cathleen Turner (executive director of the Alliance) has helped to bring this about. Oakes says that Turner is "a big champion of total history. I think that she has seen to it that things about Hillsborough are worded so that you'd know, even though you may start out coming to see the colonial stuff, you become aware

that there is more to it." Oakes defines "total history" to include industrial history and history of black, white and Native American groups.

Cathleen Turner sees this expanded vision of the past revealed in the present landscape.

> The long standing tradition that Hillsborough started centuries ago is hanging on to those aspects of our built and natural environment that communicate our history. That doesn't just mean the white column collections of dead white men because as we know communities are made up of more than just them. Communities are made up of women and men of different colors and different ages and different socioeconomic backgrounds. We know that a lot of men and women who made this town function were not written about, yet they lived and they lived valuable lives and we're grateful for everything they did in this community. And what they left behind to commemorate their presence here are some of their houses and outbuildings and how they're arranged tells us how they lived.

Although history and heritage in Hillsborough are increasingly defined in multiethnic ways, it is still primarily white people who are defining the history of African-Americans, and most of those creating the new definitions are incomers. Museum director Ernest Dollar is one of the white people in the history community who find this troubling. Dollar lamented the lack of participation by African-Americans in history enterprises. For example, during Dollar's graduate student days, he had a job in which he represented a black slave potter at an historic site in Charleston. Not surprisingly, the site was unable to recruit African-Americans who were willing to portray themselves as slaves. He reports that very few African-Americans visit Hillsborough's museum. Part of the problem according to Dollar, is that the Garden Club founders of the museum were not interested in African-American artifacts, thus few are displayed. He also has been unable to interest Hillsborough's African-American community in serving as museum volunteers, or in providing artifacts for the exhibits.

Dollar believes that the role of a museum is to present the history of all of the people of a place, including "how black people made this community, whether they were doing most of the building, founding of the churches, what role did they play in the Revolution here?" He described his efforts to "color the museum a little bit." He attempts to do this in a way that integrates the experiences of all members of the community. For example, he described one museum exhibit that was arranged chronologically, but included the experiences of African-Americans in separate locations along the timeline, as an unconscious form of segregation. It is this approach that he is trying to replace. To achieve this he has to overcome "the 'Tara' aspect …the grand houses. When I got here the museum was a temple to dead white men." He feels that "the coming of civil rights [should] break down those barriers" and he cited as significant the fact that he was born in 1970 and therefore grew up in a more integrated South. As a member of one of the first age cohorts born in the era of civil rights, he attended integrated schools. His experiences as a young Southerner were dramatically different from the experiences of earlier cohorts. In speaking of the re-created slave auctions at Williamsburg, he said "I think it is so important for us to start approaching these topics." He warns that "once you forget history you tend to start repeating it" and that is the reason that "we don't tear down Belsen or Dachau in Germany, people need to learn to live with these and not forget about them."

Dollar expressed opinions about the causes for African-American community's disengagement with history, and found reasons to be optimistic about the future.

> Once you look at the history, if you start looking at lynching photos, you can really see how vivid that is in the mind of a lot of the black community. Do they want to remember history? Do they have such bad memories of that time?

Dollar believes that the situation will change

> once the past gets a little distance from it. Every day you see people, middle-aged black folks, who could have been in Selma getting bit by dogs. I think once the generation moves away from that, people [will] want to take a look at the civil rights struggle. I think time will sort of cure them.

Lauri Michel, incomer, African-American, and former investment banker in New York City, drew a similar contrast between "what you hear from Jewish groups, which is "never forget, always remember'" and the disengagement with history that she has observed within her own family. Among earlier generations she saw a reluctance to discuss the past, and as a result she "knew nothing" about her grandmother. "If you asked her [Michel's grandmother] questions about her past, her family, she would just say 'You don't need to know about that stuff. It was bad. You don't need to know about that'." Michel is somewhat optimistic that this is "a generational thing" and that with a growth in interest in genealogy and "the whole Roots thing revisited" that more African-Americans will become engaged with history.

Michel and her husband bought one of Hillsborough's most significant historic properties[26] and for several years operated a bed-and-breakfast there. Michel was enthusiastically embraced by the history community and was recruited to serve on several boards, including the most prestigious board in town, that of the Burwell School.[27] By seeking Michel's participation and soliciting her opinions, this board demonstrated its interest in creating a more ethnically diverse representation of the Burwell School's past. Two events have placed the Burwell School in the forefront of African-American history in Hillsborough: a Civil War re-enactment which depicted slavery, and the placement of a

[26] The property once known as "Bellevue" and as "the Webb House", was called "The Hillsborough House Inn" during its incarnation as a bed-and-breakfast. It is now known as "Bellevue" once again.
[27] Membership on this board is by gubernatorial appointment.

new historic marker commemorating Elizabeth Keckly, who was at one time a slave and later a confidant of Mary Todd Lincoln.

A controversial Civil War re-enactment at the Burwell School marked the first time that a heritage tourism event in Hillsborough addressed the issue of slavery. Ernest Dollar related a synopsis of this re-enactment, which took place during the Christmas Candlelight Tour of 2001:

> It was Christmas 1863. We had three different classes of people and how they would have celebrated Christmas. We had the upper class family, who I guess were distraught about the war, we had the refugees who were also distraught about the war by having fled, and we had the slaves who were having a slave wedding and they weren't concerned with the war, they were having a good time.

Dollar heard rumors that some of Hillsborough's black residents were unhappy about the depiction of slavery in that re-enactment.

> And just the idea of happy slaves is sobering in general, approaching it in any form is not really taboo, [but] it needs to be handled very carefully. And I think some people got upset at the image of the happy slave. [Slavery] is something that Hillsborough has sort of turned a blind eye to.

According to Lowenthal, "we constantly reform historical scenes, as we do our memories, to fit present stereotypes. Features … that reflect shame may be ignored or expunged from the landscape" (Lowenthal 1975, p. 30). The historic landscape was reformed in the early 1990s when a sign reading "Old Slave Cemetery" was replaced with one reading "Margaret Lane Cemetery." The reference to slavery was acceptable in a time when the views of the African-American community were not considered, but later became an embarrassment to be erased from the landscape. Opinions have changed once again, however. Hillsborough cannot embrace a more ethnically diverse past and at the same time ignore the fact that the past includes the shame of slavery.

Town government's willingness to embrace diversity is demonstrated by the logo adopted for the 250th anniversary of Orange County. The new logo reads "Hillsborough, Celebrating Our Diverse Heritage, Established 1754" and includes an image of the clock on the Old Courthouse. However, the town history, after a brief mention of the Native American presence from AD 1000 to 1710, still focuses on the deeds of great white men. If your only source of information about Hillsborough was the homepage and history page at the official website, you would imagine the town to be populated entirely by white people. At the "250th Anniversary" page there is a calendar of events that includes a powwow, but that is the only clue to the presence of living (as opposed to archaeological) Native Americans in the town. And there is no reference, however faint, however oblique, to the presence of African-Americans, either in the past or in the present. Historic preservationist Ned Kaufman notes, "it is one thing to welcome diverse adherents to your cause, another to craft a cause that is broadly inclusive of diverse needs and values. The former requires only goodwill; the latter also demands willingness to bend and enlarge one's thinking, to move beyond professional discourse and embrace the full scope of what communities enjoy and expect in places" (Kaufman 2004).

In contrast to African-American history, which continues to be defined primarily by white people, the Occaneechi have taken control of their own history and have successfully incorporated it into the larger history of the region.[28] The tribe has taken advantage of the revenue generating opportunities provided by tourism events, and has also regarded these events as a way to educate people and to raise their awareness of the tribe. Tribal powwows, which have a heritage tourism function as well as tribal and

[28] The story of how the tribe began the movement to define its own identity in the face of considerable opposition is told in Chapter 7.

inter-tribal solidarity functions,[29] have been held both in downtown Hillsborough and in the tribe's home community of Pleasant Grove. The tribe participates in several other enterprises within the history community. At a recent symposium that explored Occaneechi history, the opening speakers were members of the tribe, which gave them the opportunity to frame the presentations by later speakers from the UNC Research Laboratories of Archaeology and the Trading Path Association. The tribe is responsible for the creation of a major change to Hillsborough's historic landscape, a replica village that duplicates the spatial form of the village excavated by archeologists. The presence of this village in the heart of Hillsborough's downtown pushes the temporal boundaries of Hillsborough's visible history back a thousand years.

Conclusion

Changes in Hillsborough are representative of wider changes throughout the region and the nation. Author Michael Malone[30] summarized the effects of some of these changes in the South for a U.K. interviewer:[31]

> The South has changed enormously; when I was growing up, almost all the people in North Carolina were natives of the state. The population of the South is now on the one hand much more heterogeneous (Yankees everywhere, as the locals say), and on the other, much less isolated from the rest of the country. That loss of particularity (everyone in America has the same television-derived accent, information, even materialist desires; every town has the same strip mall, eats the same junk food, gossips about the same celebrity scandals) is lamented by [Malone's fictional characters] the romantic traditionalist Justin and embraced by the ironically modernist Cuddy. But the South remains different from the North. … The South is very self-conscious. It defines itself constantly, mythically, historically, and traditionally. Past-haunted and romantic about its virtues and its violence, it creates and sustains itself out of its own fictions. The Old South openly gloried in its indefensible past; the New South is embarrassed by or at

[29] Members of other tribes regularly attend Occaneechi powwows.
[30] One of Malone's residences is in Hillsborough.
[31] Malone was interviewed by Bob Cornwell for the website "Tangled Web", a United Kingdom site devoted to mystery fiction.

> least ambivalent about it. The Old South was rural or industrial in a nineteenth-century way; society was almost feudal: aristocrats and workers. The old factories and farms are mostly gone; New South builds a circle of suburbia around a pretense of a city and fills it with the props of the middle class. (Cornwell 2003)

One of the impacts of the New South in Hillsborough is the blurring of the lines between Yankee and Southerner.[32] Some of the incomers believed by my insider informants to be Yankees are actually people who were born in the South to Southern families, but who lack a regional accent. Others are folks who moved to the South as children and therefore have grown up here. Southerners might not identify this second group as "Southern", but neither is it correct to identify them as Yankees. It is not only incomers who have contributed to the attitudinal changes that redefine the South as the New South. More than one white Southern informant expressed regional pride in the erosion of racial barriers that followed the Civil Rights era.

The Old Guard families representative of the Old South who formed an entrenched white power structure are still here and many of their members are still important. Descendants of these families still run family businesses, work as attorneys, serve on boards of church and civic organizations, and are elected to public office. Power in Hillsborough is, however, no longer under the exclusive control of the Old Guard families. The influx of incomers and the advent of civil rights have broadened the base from which influential people arise. Black families who were powerful and influential in their own ethnic community prior to civil rights now have younger members who are powerful in the wider community. Incomers of many ethnicities participate in civic life, sometimes in leadership positions. The current mayor and one member of the Town Board of Commissioners are insiders, but the other four

[32] To many Southerners, anyone not born in the South is defined as a Yankee. A Native American friend of mine from Oklahoma was once very startled to hear a Southerner refer to him as a Yankee.

commissioners are incomers. None of the current members of the Historic District Commission are insiders.

The erosion of the Old South's isolation from the rest of the country has changed the scale at which Hillsborough is connected with other places. Incomers did arrive in the 1950s, but most of them were Southerners from relatively nearby places. Residents interested in history viewed Hillsborough as a site of national importance, and local history provided a view of national history in which "the country was born here." The time-space convergence of the later 20th century has resulted in incomers from a far-flung world. They are more culturally different from the Old Guard than earlier incomers from Raleigh or Maxton were, and they have a different worldviews.

Key informant Helen Warren commented on this change in scale in engagement with other places when she discussed "high society" in Hillsborough. When she arrived in 1949 the social scene was dominated by local families, many of whom had close ties with other branches of their family in Edenton, Raleigh, and Wilmington, all in North Carolina. She was unaware of connections to any other state, even Virginia.[33] Hillsborough's "high society" still includes members of the Old Guard families, but she says it has become "artsy" (including Hillsborough's writers colony), and national in scale.[34] According to Warren, this new social order has arisen in the last ten years.

Warren also charted the change in the attitude toward history, which has shifted from a genuine pride in Hillsborough's relationship to important historic events towards a more materialistic attitude in which pride is now invested in the material things from the

[33] Hillsborough in Orange County is close to the Virginia border, with only one county separating Orange County from Virginia.
[34] A fictionalized depiction of this social set is included in Doug Marlette's book The Bridge. His representation was taken seriously by some members of that set and this provoked great controversy.

past. She calls this current attitude "trendy" and "a fad." People now buy old homes as a status symbol. In the past, buying an old home did not make a person more important. History has been commodified in Hillsborough; "cashing in on tourism" is now an important aspect of history. We are now consumers of a history packaged and marketed for our consumption.

The story of Hillsborough's history was once a story of Hillsborough's Colonial past, told by white elites for other white elites. The ethnic and temporal boundaries of this story have expanded over time. The elite class is now more ethnically inclusive and includes incomers. The new elite are interested in a wider time span of history, since many of their ancestors were not in power here in Colonial times. The civil rights era produced a change in the national and regional point of view, and the "total history" of everyone's experiences are now considered historically significant. These changes have interrupted the "continuity of…meanings from generation to generation" that create "the individual distinctiveness of a place" (Relph 1981, p. 172). In the next chapter I compare the ways that insiders and incomers build relationships to place and place history, and the role those relationships have in attachment to place.