Chapter Five: Building Relationships with Place: The Role of History

Introduction

What connects us to the places where we live, work, or visit? What creates a sense of attachment to those places? It is an accumulation of experience in place that creates connections between person and place. Interactions with people and place lead to a growing sense of connection for individuals. For some people these connections lead to feelings of attachment to the place, which in turn can lead the person to assume responsibility for the place (Tuan 1975; Relph 1976; Johnston 1991).

In this chapter I examine the interrelationships among people, place and history that lead to personal attachment to place. I begin with a discussion of the insiders, those born in this place, and the role that history plays in their attachment to place and their strong identification with place. Next I consider incomers, beginning with impressions of first time visitors to Hillsborough, then considering people who have moved here and tracing their growing involvement over time. I then examine the ways that incomers acquire knowledge about place and history, and the ways they use that knowledge and their place experiences to construct their attachment to place.

Hillsborough has black, white and Indian families who have been here for over 200 years. For these people, the relationship to history is deeply personal because the history of the place is also the history of the family. Members of these families were born into networks of social relationships that extend back for several generations, and some have family stories set in Hillsborough or in Orange County that took place decades before the Revolutionary War. It is not surprising that for such people their family

history creates a strong sense of identification with the history of the town expressed by such statements as "we fought for the Bill of Rights."[1] What is surprising is that some of the incomers have created, from their interest in and exploration of local history, a similar sense of identification and have expressed similar sentiments. This chapter will compare the intersections of place and history for these insiders whose long family history roots them to this place to the experiences that incomers have as they create their relationships with people, place and history. The chapter will examine the mechanisms that create a sense of attachment that may, for some incomers, lead to a personal identification with the history of this place. Relph writes that "people claimed that their attachment to their 'home area' increased with the length of time they lived there, and was generally strongest when they lived in the same area they were born in" (Relph 1976, p. 31). The significantly different place experiences that insiders and incomers have result in consequence of the length of time they (and their family) have been associated with this place will be examined in the next chapter, Chapter 6: Responsibility to Place.

Insiders and Incomers

There is a real distinction between insiders' and incomers' experience of place. Insiders by definition were born here, which means that their parents (even if incomers themselves) were part of a network of social relationships. For insiders, Hillsborough is a fixed point of reference throughout their life span. Even if they lived elsewhere for some time, they have returned to Hillsborough. There is a permanency about their relationship to this place; they are rooted here. Incomers are by definition transients. They may

[1] North Carolina's Constitutional Convention of 1788 was held in Hillsborough, which was then the capital of North Carolina. This convention refused to ratify the Constitution until a Bill of Rights was added.

consider their move here a permanent relocation, but many will move on. They do not have a network of family ties anchoring them to the place. Indeed, their network of family ties may anchor them elsewhere. An incomer who arrives in Hillsborough as a small child will have many of the same place experiences as an insider, but the sense of being born into a family rooted in that place will be missing.[2] Incomers who spend decades here may begin to function as insiders, especially if they marry into local families, but their original networks of social relationships were created elsewhere. Significant differences between insider and incomer arise from place experiences throughout the life cycle.

The development of place attachment proceeds differently for insiders than for incomers. It develops in an unself-conscious way and becomes part of their taken-for-granted world, leading to an authentic sense of place. Incomers, however, must learn to read the meaning in the landscape. They often consciously seek to develop a relationship with place, and self-conscious awareness may dominate their sense of place. For insiders, the relationship to place history may develop initially through family stories, such as the tale of an ancestor's participation in the Revolutionary War. This creates a personal connection to history that is place specific. The stories connect the person to both the current time and place, and to the time and place of the story, linking the present to the past, the local place to the nation. The continuity of the insider's family in place means that family history is rooted in that place. In addition to hearing family stories, insiders may drive down streets named for their ancestors, and they may recognize their family names in the narratives of others, such as history textbooks or museum exhibits.

[2] An exception to this, of course, would be a child born elsewhere to Hillsborough insiders whose family returned. None of my informants fell into this category.

Finally, insiders may have personally contributed to the history of the place. Several informants responded to an open-ended question about "history" by discussing their own roles in the civil rights movement and the integration of the public schools. In all of the examples described above, history is personal. They (and their families) created the history of the place.

Incomers may have similar personal connections to place history, but those connections will link them to other places, and the linkage may be at a different scale. The scale at which they identify "place" with "self" may include the local scale (their own homeplace), as is the case with insiders. However, the incomers interviewed for this study also report attachment to multiple places and identify with the state, the nation, and other places in the world. Insiders, some of whom have lived in other places and therefore might be expected to report a sense of attachment to and identity with place at scales other than local, nevertheless do not do so. Family history roots them here. Another significant difference between insiders and incomers is that for incomers the relationship between place and history is perceived primarily through material culture. They may have purchased a vicarious relationship to place history through their ownership of an old house. They may collect local antiques. They may visit local historic sites and hear the narratives constructed by the managers of those sites. They learn to read meaning in the landscape as they develop knowledge of the local architecture. They are consumers of the history of the place.

Insiders: Inheriting a relationship with place and history

One of the first people I interviewed was a retired man, for whom I selected (in advance of knowing his family history) the code name "Adam".[3] For his worldview, in which Orange County began with white settlement, the name Adam proved to be very appropriate. He is an ultimate insider, a member of a family who settled in Orange County prior to the Revolutionary War. Adam, as well as many of the other insiders interviewed, possessed the authentic sense of place that Relph describes as "that of being inside and belonging to your place both as an individual and as a member of a community, and to know this without reflecting on it" (Relph 1976, p. 65). Although it is difficult to determine the presence or absence of the act of reflection, it may be inferred from the nature of an informant's statements. Incomers, as we will see, reveal their self-conscious sense of place as they discuss their responses to the town and its historic landscape. They are aware of their own responses to the town. Insiders, on the other hand, reveal their unself-conscious sense of place through their lack of analysis about their relationship to the place. It is their taken-for-granted world which does not need verbal elucidation.

For Adam it is certainly true that "people are their place and a place is its people" (Relph 1976, p. 34). Knowledge of history—both family history and of the role of the family in local and American history—is an important component of Adam's attachment to place. He answered all of my questions about history by referencing his family history. He knows the migration history of his family in the 1700s as they moved down

[3] As described in the methodology chapter, people interviewed as private citizens were given code names that were gender specific and alphabetical. The first woman interviewed was given the code name "Alice," the first man was "Adam" and so on.

from Pennsylvania, and this included the branches of the family that stopped off in the Piedmont of North Carolina and those who kept going south to Alabama and west to Tennessee. He has detailed knowledge of the local properties that his family settled. His name (actually his ancestor's identical name) is carved on a local monument to the people who fought in the Revolutionary War.

He made it clear that he considers his family an Orange County family, even though they moved to Hillsborough 120 years ago. In those 120 years his family became an integral part of the town. In response to the question "where did your family live?" he gave me details of seven houses within three blocks of each other, and many of the family members on both his father's and mother's side of the family who lived in those houses. He spoke in terms of the spatial relationships of these families ("across the street," "on the next street up," "step down to the corner," "go out my door and into his back door," "the family never did go very far").

Adam grew up literally surrounded by relatives. He grew up knowing the contributions that his ancestors had made to the town. For him, the town is a web of personal relationships that extend back for generations. He explained that as a young man he was not interested in history, but he came to value history because of what has been lost. He can see the town as it no longer is: the town of his childhood where several related families lived near to one another, often on the same streets. He remembers a time when "you used to know everybody who went down the street." Now "you know nobody on the street and nobody knows you." Most of his contemporaries have died and most of the members of the younger generation of his family have moved away.

Home and homeplace

In their discussion of place, insiders describe a network of relationships centered on the family. Many of these insiders reside in homes that have belonged to their families for generations. When children grow up and marry, their parents may subdivide property to give them a building lot, or the newly married couple may purchase land or a home near the family home. The result of this is a cluster of relatives living near one another, which in Hillsborough may mean on the same block. Adam's detailed description of what family members lived within sight of his house was duplicated many times in the interviews with insiders. Lynette Jeffries was not exaggerating when she described her neighborhood and said: "This whole hill is kin." Her mother-in-law, known to the family as "Mama Elsie" was one of eleven children, and both of Mama Elsie's parents were from Hillsborough. Lynette's father-in-law moved from Pleasant Grove[4] to Hillsborough to work at Cone Mills. Now living nearby are many of the descendants of that couple and of Mama Elsie's siblings, and "the children and their spouses and then the grandchildren and now sometimes the great, great grandchildren." During Mama Elsie's lifetime she "kept all of the grands [grandchildren] of her sisters' and brothers' children on the hill while they went to work." It is as children that insiders learn the continuity of family in place that contributes to a place-specific sense of history.

The importance of ties to home can be seen in Lynette Jeffries's comparison of the lives of those who stayed near her own family home in Charleston and those who moved away. She referred to the migration of some of her family to the north and west for jobs: "it cuts them off from their families." Even though they returned home with

[4] Pleasant Grove is a rural Native American community in nearby northern Alamance County.

their spouses and children "for Christmas, Thanksgiving, or the summer…they weren't a part of the everyday life in Charleston like the other aunts and uncles that lived there and their grandchildren." She described strong ties of love and affection "but they didn't have that day-to-day thing."

This permanence of location also creates a center for relationships with other families. Fred Cates remembers that the ladies of his neighborhood "would exchange flower plants and I've got some of these plants that were exchanged back when I was a kid still out here." Fred, who was 75 at the time of our interview, still remembers which neighbors contributed the peonies and the irises.

A home that is significant to an extended family may come to be known as "the homeplace," and this is the center of gravity for family and emotional life. Most local families who are rooted in place recognize one property as the homeplace. All roads lead to the homeplace on holidays and at times of passage (graduations, weddings, christenings, funerals). The homeplace is a locus of family interactions, and a repository of history and memories (Relph 1976). Although many of the functions of a family bonding also occur at any family gathering in any placeless place for any transient or migratory family, the homeplace is significant because of it is a permanent locus for family bonding which is significant to all of the descendants of the family who built it. The homeplace may be handed down as an inheritance, or it may be bought and sold within the family, but to remain a homeplace it must be in the hands of the descendants of the original builders.

Returning to the homeplace for a holiday or rite of passage means returning to memories of many other holidays and gatherings that took place in the same location.

Caroline Donnan, speaking of her grandmother and her home in Hillsborough,[5] said that she was "the hub that the family would come back to" and "when I went to Hillsborough I was going to a home that had been settled for many years. So I felt that I was always coming to a place that was settled, that had been there for a long time, had been way back in history for a long time." The homeplace roots the family to the place.

For many local families the homeplace is found in a rural setting, and the Warrens (my husband's family) are no exception. The Warren homeplace is in Prospect Hill, about 15 miles north of Hillsborough. Warrens have left Prospect Hill over the past several generations and settled in other locations, but many Warrens remain. A funeral visitation for a member of the Warren family provides an illustration of the geographic interactions centered on the homeplace. The published obituary read "There will be no formal services, but the family will welcome visitors at the Warren homeplace in Prospect Hill, NC between 6:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. on Wednesday, June 9, 2004" (Warren and Warren 2004). No street address was given, because no street address was needed: family and friends all know the location of the Warren homeplace in the tiny[6] rural agglomeration known as Prospect Hill. The nearer one is to the homeplace, the more frequently one can gather there for events such as this, and therefore the greater the opportunity to maintain family ties. Family and friends nearest the homeplace attended in the largest numbers: the densest concentration of the Prospect Hill Warrens and their relatives by marriage is, not surprisingly, found in and near Prospect Hill. Cousins[7] of all

[5] The family lived in the building that was once the Burwell School.
[6] Seven houses, two mobile homes, a post office, a medical clinic, and various outbuildings and abandoned structures comprise the visual center of Prospect Hill. Residents of farms in the surrounding countryside also describe their location as Prospect Hill.
[7] Included in my use of the term "cousin" are those described in the dictionary as "one related by descent in a diverging line from a common ancestor"; the vernacular "shirt-tail cousin" meaning a cousin of one's cousin; and step-cousins. (Stein, 1967)

degrees were present in abundance. The further the distance from the homeplace, the fewer the visitors, in a classic distance decay pattern. The farthest distance was traveled by closely related people from South Carolina, a nephew and two first cousins. The stronger the familial and emotional tie, the greater the distance that people will travel.

The homeplace links present and past. Memories are called forth, by the sights, sounds and aromas of the physical place, and by the juxtaposition of people who have known one another all their lives. In an age-segregated society, gatherings at the homeplace link all of the generations who attend and provide the young with an introduction to family history. Intra-generational linkage is also important. The Warren visitation, a memorial to a family member of "the greatest generation," and which took place a few days after the 60th anniversary of D-Day, produced many reminiscences of WWII. Other memories centered on activities at the homeplace, and cousins reminisced about spending summers there. The current residents have been exploring the decades of items stored in the outbuildings, and the family photos and documents discovered were on display, triggering more memories and stories. The homeplace is the physical repository for memories.

Place attachment and history: childhood

For insiders, learning the town begins in early childhood and much of it occurs without formal instruction. Relph writes that "the places of childhood constitute vital reference points for many individuals" (Relph 1976, p. 36). Although an incomer to a place uses street names and road signs as he or she learns to navigate through the town, a child growing up in the same place may learn to navigate even before learning to read. David, a middle-aged man who now lives two blocks from his childhood home,

confessed during our interview that he does not know the names of streets within a few blocks of his current and former residences. "Having lived here all my life, I do not need to know all the street signs, because everywhere I was all my life, I just knew where I was. I learned where things were just by being driven around town by my parents and I knew which way I went." He began to learn to navigate as his parents drove to socialize with friends, many of whom also had children his age, and informed me that by the time he was old enough to be allowed to walk to those friend's houses he already knew the routes. He credits "the smallness of town" for his ease in learning to navigate at an early age. In our second interview he referred again to his lack of knowledge of the street names: "I have been making myself trying to learn some of them because I feel like it's something I'm supposed to know." However, in his world in which he knows the names and location of most of the other insider families in town, knowledge of the street names is simply irrelevant.

A child's ability to move across the landscape unencumbered by the restrictions implied by property lines affords children opportunities for place attachments that adults do not have. Children understand places in ways that adults cannot. Their relatively unrestricted motion through space allows them to develop kinesthetic memories of specific places that can only be developed during childhood. Although everyone has haptic sensations of places, defined by Walter as "an entire perceptual system conveying sensations of pressure, temperature, pain, and the sense of movement within the body as well as the feelings of the body moving through space" (Walter 1988, p. 34), the haptic perceptions of children encompass movement through spaces forbidden to adults. David recalled these perceptions as we took an off-road excursion in my attempt to develop an

understanding of the relationship of certain landscape features.[8] He said "What you need to do is rent a helicopter. I can see this whole thing because I have walked all up in there. I have an idea of what this would look like if I was in a helicopter. I can see all of that." David's kinesthetic experiences in the place (the worm's eye view) allowed him to extrapolate a bird's eye view of the place. We didn't have access to a helicopter, but one winter day when the ground was frozen hard, we took a truck back into the area of the archaeological site, now returned to agricultural use. While we were there he slipped back into his childhood vocabulary—he would not ordinarily have referred to the sewage treatment plant as the "turd ranch," but during all the previous times that he had been in this location (during childhood only), that was the socially correct, place-specific terminology for use among his peers. The landscape called forth the language of childhood.

David's childhood rambles up and down the banks of the Eno River and on his family's farm also led him to an early understanding of one aspect of place history: the presence of Native Americans on the land. As we will learn in Chapter 7, this was decades before the rediscovery of Occaneechi identity revealed the presence of contemporary Native Americans living in the region. "It was just the general idea that Indians were here... I do not remember being educated to it or anything; I just knew there had been Indians here." He noted the presence of "well worn paths along each side of the river" and assumed them to be Indian trails that had been "there from eternity." He

[8] I asked "David" to accompany me as I attempted to develop a better spatial sense of the relationship of the triumvirate of Classical American Homes Preservation Trust sites (Ayr Mount, the Occaneechi archaeological site and the former NASCAR track) to the then-proposed big box development site at the I-85 bypass. The spatial relationship is obvious on a map, and obvious to a person who spent a childhood roaming the landscape, but not at all obvious to a person driving the current street network, which has no bridge across the river connecting the places.

didn't see people walking along those trails, and concluded that "it wasn't the locals that was doing it" (keeping the paths worn down to bare dirt). He constructed a narrative that explained a landscape feature based on his understanding of local history.

The past presence of Indians on his family's land contributed to his attachment to that place. "When I was a little kid I found arrowheads all the time out at the farm. It was important to me. It was something meaningful, something you would keep. I was glad I was part of that piece of land. The fact that I found arrowheads on it added value to the land, perhaps in the same way if I had seen a turkey[9] on it. Something native to the land, it made it more important to me." The sense that he belonged to the land rather than the other way around linked him to the Indians and to the history of the property. Both he and the Indians were "native to the land."

Anyone who has lived in a place for a long time and has seen it change will have an understanding of how the place has evolved. Roads are built or abandoned; new houses replaces farms. As we saw in the last chapter, the loss that accompanies a material change in a place triggers the desire for preservation. In the interviews conducted for this study, incomers commented on the material changes, while insiders tracked changes in the location of people and families, and the loss of individuals from the landscape. Their descriptions of properties often included references to former residents of those properties. For example, David pointed up a hill and said "if the leaves were off the trees [we could see] that house on the hill there, Knox Efland's dad's house, Clarence Jones house, is right there." He was referring to the late Clarence Jones, but he was not aware that I knew Jones, so he included a reference to Jones' daughter, a person

[9] Wild turkeys are now making a comeback in this region, but at one time they had been over-hunted until they became an endangered species. His tone of voice indicated that he was making a comparison between two rare and valuable aspects of the landscape, not comparing humans to animals in a derogatory way.

that he knows that I know. David also knew that I am interested in historic places, and the house dates from the colonial era, but it was the network of personal relationships that had his regard, not the architectural features of the house.

Insiders and life cycle: old age

An insider who lives to old age in their home town will witness many changes over the decades. Many older residents spoke about businesses and places in town that are now lost from the landscape: the livery stables, the town wells, the grocery store downtown that delivered groceries. If one lives long enough the network of personal relationships begins to fray. When I asked Adam "is there anything in particular that caused you to get interested in history?" he responded:

> I think getting old… You begin to see more and more obituaries of people you know and knew. Then you begin to realize what is being lost. There is a stage in life where you do not know anything about anything you read about in the paper. Then you get along to where you know all the girls who got or [are] getting married, because you read the society section. Then a few years thereafter you read about the people having babies. You get a little farther along and you read about some other event. Then you begin to read obituaries. Then you get to the point where you do not see any obituaries, they ain't anybody left to die. You are the only one who is left. So everything returns to where it started.

Incomers: Developing a Relationship with Place

The first few interviews that I conducted were with insiders, and they linked history with family relationships and personal experiences in place, but none of them talked about the way that their attachment to place developed over time. Insiders have spent their lives developing a sense of spatial familiarity, which Gale et. al. describe as "close acquaintance with an environment or its elements … brought about by repeated association with that environment" (Gale, Golledge et al. 1990, p. 299). Because this has occurred over the course of their lives, the development of spatial familiarity may have

occurred in an unself-conscious manner, and the insiders interviewed for this study did not articulate an awareness of the methods by which it developed. The situation is quite different for incomers, who are consciously seeking to develop spatial familiarity with a new place. As I began talking to incomers the stories of a developing attachment to place emerged immediately. It is not surprising that the earlier insider interviews did not touch on this—the unself-conscious experience of place that insiders have will never be easy to discover. If they could talk about it, it would be a self-conscious experience of place.

In this section I describe the ways that incomers build spatial familiarity, and the development of attachment to place which results. I examine the ways that incomers learn to see the significance and meaning of historic elements in the landscape. Using examples from my informants, I describe the ways that people become more familiar with the history of a place, and the sense of attachment to place that can arise from that increased familiarity. And although I have arranged these concepts in an order which takes them from simpler to more complex, I do not assert that they occur as a progression. They may occur simultaneously, and revisions to understanding similarly take place continuously, as we will see in Curt's story, where as a first-time visitor to Hillsborough he reads and interprets the landscape.

Those who arrive in a new place have to learn to read it, a self-conscious process similar to learning to speak a new language as an adult. The initial perception of landscape elements is a necessary step on the path to learning to read a landscape, but does not guarantee that the person will be able to read the significance of the things she sees. Steele describes two steps in perception of place: first "a person receives a signal from the immediate setting" and then organizes "these incoming signals in such a way as

to give them meaning within a personal view of the world (Steele 1981, p. 21-22). The organization of signals into meaning is culturally conditioned and is influenced by stereotypes and iconic images. Almost all of the informants in this study had lived in other US cities[10] and thus shared the common "culture screens" that condition "perception of the milieu" (Lowenthal 1961, p. 252). People "shape their perception of the setting based on what they are accustomed to seeing or expect to see" (Steele 1981, p. 25).

On the first visit to a new place the visitor easily interprets visual elements in the landscape that are iconic or stereotypic: a McDonald's restaurant or a church with a steeple. Past experiences from other places provide visitors the knowledge base to perceive and read the meanings of other ubiquitous and functional American landscape elements such as gas stations. The visitor may also see what is unusual or strange without being able to read the meaning of those elements, for example Hillsborough's giant statue of Daniel Boone or the palisaded Indian village in the middle of town. Other elements may attract attention as a result of a person's value system (the beautiful or the ugly, as defined by that person's aesthetic values). Steele notes that as one perceives a place "there is always too much to tune in to" and that one function of perception is the selection of "what to receive and what to screen out" (Steele 1981, p. 22). Unremarkable elements may therefore escape notice: "ordinary" houses, alleys, and small businesses.

The number of times a person visits a place or travels a route determines the pace of the development of spatial familiarity (Gale, Golledge et al. 1990). Newcomers to a

[10] The single exception to this was a family of Canadian tourists who had migrated to Canada from Europe several decades ago. Although I do not make the assumption that Canadian culture is merely a subset of American culture, it was obvious from their responses to the landscape that they shared enough of the American "culture screens" to easily interpret the visual elements of Hillsborough.

place may deliberately seek more familiarity by sightseeing and tourism, or by driving the roads to learn the road network. Lowenthal observes that "we seldom differentiate among people, places or things until we have a personal interest in them" (Lowenthal 1961, p. 257). Newcomers may seek to develop a personal interest in their new home through involvement with aspects of the place that intrigue them, attending local events, joining a church, shopping, meeting people and hearing their stories. As they learn more about the place they may apply their knowledge of other places to help them interpret the new place.

With time and with increased familiarity the initial superficial impression becomes deeper and more nuanced. The more frequent the visits, or the longer the length of time spent living in a place, the more chances there are to gain knowledge and experience that deepen understanding. As the incomer remains in the place she inevitably learns about the present function of the landscape elements (where to go for a dog license, for the furnace filters, for kid's ballet lessons), and may also learn about their history. She begins to learn about the relationship of the elements that makes the place a functioning whole (that the driveway next to Dual Supply will lead down a hill to the old Southern States building, that there are artists' studios upstairs from Tupelos). Individual pieces of information about place that the newcomer collects begin to link together to create a narrative through which she understands the place. All of these places become loci of experiences and hence repositories for memories of people and events. Layers of meaning about that place continue to develop. Over a period of months or years life events in that place create personal history in place that endows it with meaning. Thus after one year in a place, or ten, or fifty, a walk through town becomes a walk through an

environment imbued with meaning and memory. This may transform place attachment into an identification with place, a feeling that one is a part of this place.

First Impressions

The reaction that a first-time visitor has to a place depends on the reasons for the visit, the length of time of that visit, and the likelihood that the visit will be repeated. Someone just passing through may scan the landscape idly and gain a few impressions, while someone considering a place as a possible business location will be far more likely to focus attention on specific characteristics. "When something is both noted and valued, it has our *regard*. What we regard, therefore, assumes prominence in our awareness because it attracts our attention, but also because we assign importance (value) to it" (Birdsall 1996, p. 621). What directs attention to certain features? The interest may arise from within, or attention may be directed from the outside by signage, a friend, a tour director, or a brochure from the Chamber of Commerce. In this section informants reveal some of their first impressions of Hillsborough, and what factors mediated those impressions to create meaning for them.

To understand the processes that occur as a person encounters a place for the first time, I recruited several people who were unfamiliar with Hillsborough to take part in this study. These interviews were conducted as we toured historic sites in town. I gave brief descriptions of the historic importance of each site, and answered questions. Their questions and comments revealed which elements of each landscape attracted their attention and garnered their regard.

There are surface meanings that are easily understood without interpretation by almost anyone conversant with American culture, such as McDonald's golden arches. In

Hillsborough, historic roadside markers draw attention to aspects of Hillsborough's history that the town and the state consider important. Multiple historic markers line Churton Street, working not only to inform the visitor about the historic significance of the place, but also to instruct the viewer on what is significant and how to value it.[11] One needs only basic literacy to interpret this layer of meaning because it is all engraved on metal markers. Elaine, a Salvadoran who migrated initially to Texas and who now lives in Durham, described her first impressions of Hillsborough.

> …because I liked history the first thing that attracted me were those signs that say something happened here... The first thing I thought was…this is a place that I would like to come on a Sunday and just walk around.

The markers alerted her to the historic nature of the town, which she values, and invited her to spend more time exploring the place.

At the time I interviewed Elaine, she had not yet become familiar with Hillsborough. She was familiar with historic sites in El Salvador and in Texas, but this background did not give her the knowledge to interpret a Southeastern historic landscape. Her comments during the interview revealed the way that iconic images in popular culture structured her responses to the historic sites and structures that she was seeing for the first time: "That type of house is like [the type] that you can see in the movie Gone with the Wind."

Elaine was not surprised to find a house with white columns in a Southern town because her cultural experiences had conditioned her to relate that image to a geographic region. People are aware that not all iconic images have "ground truth" however (for example, there are no domed colonies on other planets at this time). When an iconic

[11] The values represented by the markers are not shared by everyone. Tom Magnuson, for example, is offended by the implied sanctification of the town's founders, whom he regards as scoundrels.

image thought to be imaginary comes to life, this can create surprise. Elaine related an experience she had on a first visit to Alexandria, Virginia. She was surprised by the small row houses, ubiquitous in Eastern coastal cities but missing from the Texas and North Carolina landscapes.

> …one side of the house is no wider than this car….But they look cute though….I mean I have seen that sort in Christmas scenes and I thought oh, that's cute. I never thought that there's actually areas that have that type of houses.

She discovered that what she had assumed was an imaginary landscape exists in reality. Curt viewed the "necessary" behind the Burwell School and commented: "A brick shit house! You never see those in the Midwest." Since "brick shit houses" were not common in the Midwest (I, too, never saw one) Curt's reference implied something truly extraordinary. Here Curt was confronted with a concrete example of an iconic image that he thought of only as a metaphor[12]. Both Curt and Elaine experienced a shock of recognition as an iconic image came to life.

The change in relationship between person and place can happen gradually or with a sudden flash. When a landscape element pops into the foreground and is visible against the background, something hidden in plain sight suddenly became visible. Jennifer Miller had such an experience while hunting for Indian artifacts on the coast.

> Someone told me about this place near where I grew up at Bogue Sound that had a big lot of pottery shards. I walked over there with my father once and walked about looking at the ground for an hour and I couldn't see anything and he couldn't see anything either and kept wondering why I kept doing this. Then finally I saw them, they had been there all along and then I got a whole bag of them. But [before that moment] I couldn't see.

Her eyes learned the necessary pattern to produce recognition, and she was able to distinguish the shards from the clutter of other objects on the ground.

[12] The phrase "built like a brick shit house" is often used in reference to an attractive woman of magnificent proportions.

Reading the landscape

A person visiting a place for the first time will have initial reactions which reveal the lenses through which they view the landscape. I gave a guided tour of selected historic sites in Hillsborough to Curt, a Midwestern white male in his 50's. He has a strong and well-informed interest in American history. Curt's questions and comments during this tour illustrated his politically conservative worldview, his prior experiences with other historic structures and landscapes, and his views of American history. These were the lenses through which he saw Hillsborough. As we walked and talked, he immediately began constructing narratives to explain what he was seeing, and he queried me repeatedly to confirm or refute his conclusions. For Curt, the landscape was a social science text that he believed he could read.

Lowenthal writes that "perception itself is never unalloyed: sensing, thinking, feeling, and believing are simultaneous, interdependent processes" (Lowenthal 1961, p. 251). Curt's first visit to Hillsborough provides an illustration of those simultaneous processes. At the first stop on our tour, the replica Occaneechi village, he performed what Jakle describes as the "two steps of visual exploration," a space-covering search in which he scanned the landscape for meaningful cues, and then a place organizing search, "a more specific visual probing of landscape toward the uncovering of expected patterns that validate cues already found" (Jakle 1987, p. 34). His comments revealed the meaningful cues that surfaced in his initial scan of the site: the palisade around the village, and the construction materials used. In both cases he uncovered deviations from expected patterns, which were interpreted based on his knowledge of American history and his visits to other historic sites. His comments about the palisade ("the real village

would have had them [the logs of the palisade] much closer together"[13]), and the sweat lodge (he found the concrete covering the lodge to be an inauthentic material) demonstrated that it was the anachronisms that quickly moved to the forefront of his attention. An element that does not conform to expectations may be more visible than one that does conform. He knew what a replica Southeastern Indian village should look like (in his opinion) and it was the difference between the expected pattern and the actual village which he noted.

Curt also read the landscape as a political text. He speculated about the role of federal law in the construction of the replica village. In his opinion, Indians are driven to rediscover their heritage in part because of the availability of federal funds. His political conservatism ascribes importance to the flow of tax dollars to minority groups. In this case, however, he saw something that wasn't there. The Occaneechi are not a federally recognized tribe, and at the time of the interview they had not yet received state recognition.[14] No tax money was involved in the construction of the replica village.

At Ayr Mount, "a meticulously restored 1815 plantation home" (Preservation North Carolina 2003), Curt viewed Ayr Mount through the lens of his experiences touring other plantation homes in the James River area of Virginia. The relatively steep pitch of Ayr Mount's roof (see Figure 2 below) seemed anachronous to him for a North Carolina Piedmont plantation house ("down south you have lower pitched roofs"). He identified the landscaping style as James River also: the hedgerows, the "holly trees close to the house—that's very normal for James River." From his knowledge of the

[13] Curt's expectation was a reasonable one. Archaeologists believe that the original village, of which this is a replica, had brush woven through the upright logs. This would create the denser visual impression that Curt expected to see. The palisade at the replica village has been left open for security reasons.
[14] The Occaneechi's long struggle for recognition is discussed in Chapter 7.

settlement history of the Piedmont of North Carolina, in which the major migrant stream moved down the Valley of Virginia rather than inward from the coast, he constructed a narrative to explain these similarities, "you would see more of the James River perspective than you would along Charleston." For Curt the Ayr Mount landscape was a text from which one could read migration history.

Figure 2: Ayr Mount. (Photo: Cheryl D. Warren, 2004)

Creating a relationship with place and history

From the 1940s through the 1960s, the primary reason cited by my informants for moving to Hillsborough was marriage to a Hillsborough resident.[15] Hillsborough was still off the beaten track then, prior to construction of I-85 and I-40. Those who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s primarily cited jobs. Hillsborough's location within easy commuting distance of Raleigh and Research Triangle to the east and Greensboro to the

[15] One informant arrived as a child in the 1930s when his parents accepted teaching jobs here.

west is particularly attractive to two-career couples, according to Town Manager Eric Peterson (Price 1999). These patterns mirror national trends. In the post-WWII period the development of the interstate highway system and the rise in economic fortunes that led to almost universal family car ownership created commuting patterns based on automobile travel and allowed people to live farther from their work. This pattern led to widespread suburbanization, but we see here the effect on a small town embedded in a region whose economy was improving.

More recently the computer revolution has allowed for telecommuting and locational decisions influenced by amenities. Only the most recent arrivals to Hillsborough discussed amenities as a "pull" factor. On the day that I interviewed Holden Richards he was working at home, rather than in his office in Carrboro. In response to the question "Why did you choose Hillsborough?" he cited his family's personal reasons:

> Too many reasons. Walkable Hillsborough, historic Hillsborough, community oriented, family oriented Hillsborough. We can walk to church, we can walk to school, I can walk downtown, the dentist is downtown. I get to walk to the dentist, I do not know how many people ever get to say that they walk to the dentist. It has all the amenties of a larger urban space in a small town: the food and the farmer's market and Last Fridays and things to do with people when they come from out of town, taking them down to the river, showing them the pow-wow, Hog Day, all the sort of little elements that make up this community that make it fun to be in. People come to see us, I take them for a walk, that's the first thing I do. Come with me, you got 45 minutes we'll go for a walk and we'll see a big slice of history. We'll go talk about the George III clock and we'll talk about Regulators and talk about Edmund Fanning's house being slid down the hill and all the sort of fun things that are fun to talk about here in Hillsborough. It's pretty obvious what's good.

Cathleen Turner , executive director of the Alliance for Historic Hillsborough, acknowledged that some people locate here simply "because it's right on the interstate and it's easy to get in their car and go off to work or whatever and they come home and they sleep at night." However, she sees other factors that draw incomers here.

> They make a conscious decision to locate in Hillsborough because of the quality of life and the sense of place that it has preserved and maintained; the small town nature and charm that it still has. … It might be a nostalgic throwback to their own upbringing in a small intimate town. It's a small intimate town yet they're close enough to the higher cultural amenities that the university town or more metropolitan areas offer, which is a nice compromise.

These amenities were cited by some of the members of Hillsborough's writer's colony who were interviewed for an article in a local newspaper. Journalist Geoffrey Graybeal listed 16 published writers currently living in Hillsborough (Graybeal 2004), including two Pulitzer winners and one Emmy winner. Several of them cited easy access to the nearby universities in Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill. Others mentioned "the pure tranquility" (David Payne), the "timeless aspect…conducive to reflection and imagining" (Lee Smith), and the "rich heritage" (Doug Marlette). Marlette discovered after moving here that his grandmother worked in one of the mills and had been bayoneted in a mill uprising in 1938. Discovery of this episode eventually led him to write a fictionalized account of it in his book The Bridge. "I was really drawn to the history and the soulfulness of the place and of the town, and then when I bought it, I discovered there was a deeper history, personal history, a genetic kind of tug" (Marlette in Graybeal 2004).

Incomers from other places in North Carolina connect to Hillsborough as a place representative of North Carolina and its culture. Laura Oakes chose Hillsborough as the place to show international visitors "what it looked like down here." Holden Richards stressed the importance of North Carolina identity and history as part of his appreciation of Hillsborough. Other incomers expressed identification with place at the state rather than the local scale. Carla, a North Carolinian who has family history in one North

Carolina location, grew up in another, and now lives in a third, connects with the entire state rather than one specific place.

> Even though I was born in Boone and I consider myself connected that way and having grown up there, I feel just as connected to this part of the state. And then I feel connected to where my family and parents grew up from hearing the stories and visiting the area and being with relatives there.

Involvement with place history arises in a myriad of ways and can occur at several scales. As we saw with the insiders, it can be deeply personal, connected to self and family. The following examples from incomers begin with a discussion of the sacredness of tangible history, explore the role of family heirlooms in connection to place and history, examine the significance of material objects from the past, and conclude with a discussion of how an engagement with history drew one person into civic engagement. Although these examples move from the internal to the external world of the person involved, all can occur simultaneously.

The incomers that I interviewed were all interested in history (a prerequisite for participation in this study) and were able to articulate the nature of their beliefs about the relationship between history and place. Tom Magnuson, President of the Trading Path Association,[16] finds that "the past is sacred… It's something fundamental to human nature that the past…has an aura of sanctity about it, because without it you wouldn't be here. It is truly your foundation, it's your roots, it's why you're here." He finds evidence for this in the reaction of participants in his monthly hikes, even middle schoolers.

> I've taken middle school children, hormonally deranged middle school kids, and put them into road beds and told them, just be quiet and listen real hard and tell me what you would have heard 200 years ago and do not say anything for

[16] The Trading Path Association is a nonprofit corporation founded by Magnuson whose purpose is "to preserve, promote and study the historic Trading Path of the Southeastern Piedmont" (Trading Path Association, 2004).

> two minutes. And they settle right in and get down to the task and they start reciting what they heard and you will hit every single imaginable sound out of a class of 15 students, you will get every imaginable sound you might have heard on a road 200 years ago. That impressed me, and I've taught middle school and I know that there is very little sacred to those little suckers and the past is one, as long as they can touch it.

Magnuson analyzed the reasons he thinks people respond to tangible evidence of history, citing John Hope Franklin's ideas:

> What is it about historical artifacts? It's that they're real. They're real, and people have a sense of how this real thing relates to them. And I found that very compelling. I think…even the most insensitive of us tend to empathize and nothing quite brings that out quite as effectively as a real thing from the past.

Both insiders and incomers mentioned the importance of family heirlooms, but the discussions were subtly different. Insiders held heirlooms to be important reminders of specific family members, and in some cases reminders of the importance of those family members in the community (for example, a cherished tray presented for service in a local organization). Incomers also spoke of heirlooms connecting them to departed family members, but they found wider significance in connection to place and history. Holden Richards values his grandmother's dining room furniture because "they used it every day for every dinner and we spent quite a good bit of time over at their house… So there it sits, and that's a real sentimental thing. As a kid that was…legend." He also finds value in the way these locally manufactured items connect him to North Carolina. "It's real important to know who your antecedents were and what they were about. It helps you be connected to the place you live and that state you live in."

Incomers and insiders both find meaning in material objects from the past that are not connected to their own family history, but for insiders the description of these objects included references which placed those objects within their network of personal relationships. For example, Adam told a story about a friend of his who found a

Revolutionary War cannon ball while plowing a field. Included in the story was a description of Adam's granddaughter's reaction to the cannon ball. For insiders the connection to the past is necessarily more abstract. Richards lives in a new house on a property that abuts the first brick house built in Hillsborough, the Berry Brick House. As we talked, he showed me a collection of "tantalizing little bits and pieces" of artifacts that he has unearthed while gardening.

> My back yard is full of antiquities and artifacts that I dig up on a regular basis every time I put in a new flower or something… This is 18th century, this is 19th century, that a piece of Depression era glass. This is an old patent medicine bottle. Here's the label, Sawyer's… here's the neck of some kind of very old hand blown bottle and here's some really interesting. These fragments interest me more than anything else, I think they're fascinating.

Magnuson created a personal sense of connection to place history through his purchase of an historic house, "probably the second or third oldest" in Hillsborough, built in stages from 1752 to 1820.

> We've restored three houses, four houses [in other towns], and this one is the oldest and probably the most interesting that we'd ever do, and that got me into local history. Buying an old house really embedded me in the community. We had a vested interest in Hillsborough.

The purchase of an historic home may be the "hook" that draws a person into a relationship with place history, but in Hillsborough there are many other opportunities. For many people knowledge of history is acquired in bits and pieces through stories, conversations, folklore, the media and through local events. No matter how disinterested one is in history, it is hard to miss the sound of Indian drums downtown, and the sight of Indian dancers in full regalia walking through town. Richards said "in Hillsborough you have to think about Indians…the connection line here is so old that you can't help but be aware that people have been living here for thousands of years."

Bill Crowther, executive director of the Ayr Mount historic site, said that "I do not generally go out and look for history in every corner, nook and cranny…but I do get into the history of things when they get personal, and when I take them on and stop and look at them." He developed an interest in NASCAR only after the organization that employs him[17] began to seek National Register status for a dirt stock car track on their property.

> Take for instance, the race track. I have never followed NASCAR, I am not interested in racing, because I think it is a waste of gas and all of that. But now that I have looked at an old track and dug into the history of NASCAR and you want to preserve some of that and see that remain. It's very intriguing.

Sister Marie Bugge, Pastoral Administrator at the Holy Family Catholic Church in Hillsborough, described her interactions with the town and how those lead to a sense of attachment and involvement.

> When I came here actually I didn't know of the historical nature of Hillsborough and it was just living here, my first year, that I began to realize the beauty of Hillsborough and explore some of the historical places… Because I lived in downtown I was able to just walk around town so I looked at all the historic signs and went in to visit the museum and kind of looked at places like that. And I had a dog so I used to walk the dog around and see the different places and it was fascinating.

I asked her how her learning about the town changed her relationship with the town. She said "It gave me a sense of pride of being part of a historical scene and realizing how far back we go, you know the pre-revolutionary war times." Learning about the history gave her a pride in the place, and led to her identification of herself with the place, "how far back we go."

Hillsborough's historic identity is reinforced by the media, and this also plays a role in personal involvement in place history. Steele writes that "a special process can

[17] Crowther is employed by Classical American Homes Preservation Trust, which owns Ayr Mount, the archaeological site, and the former NASCAR track.

increase awareness of settings in modern urban areas. This process, called 'certification,' results in a person feeling that his or her setting is somehow special, legitimate, or more real, as it has been certified by some reliable outside source" (Steele 1981, p. 30). Newspaper reports about community events constantly reinforce Hillsborough's image as a quaint historic place with small town charm. The two powwows a year always garner press attention, with photographs of Indian dancers prominently featured. Historic re-enactments and the Christmas Candlelight tour also produce newspaper and television images of people anachronistically dressed. If one lives in Hillsborough and is exposed to media coverage about the place, it is impossible to avoid the sense that Hillsborough is certifiably an historic place. Steele suggests that certification "serves as an antidote to the modern urban trend toward undifferentiated settings that encourage alienation and disconnection from one's immediate surroundings. Through certification, the person is helped to see them as having distinctive features and a spirit of place" (Steele 1981, p. 30).

Jennifer Miller's Story

Local artist Jennifer Miller provided many details of the mechanisms through which her connections to Hillsborough and its history were created. Her story provides an interesting case study to illuminate the evolution of connection to place and the role that history can play in that connection. It is especially interesting because she did not arrive in Hillsborough with a strong interest in history, or with a desire to be a part of the community. The connections arose naturally from her daily life and professional activities, and confirm Relph's idea that attachment to community is rooted in

interactions with other people rather than in a relationship to the physical environment (Relph 1976).

As a child she enjoyed family outings to Fort Macon, but she had no interest in the history of the site. As a young person she disdained the historic home tours in Beaufort because she viewed those homes as residences of "house proud aristocrats." She read social significance into the historic homes, but she did not value them because to her they represented a segment of society with which she felt no sympathy. The view of history in the landscape that she described from this period of her life was flat, without nuances. She began to develop an understanding of history in the landscape when she lived in New Orleans through the "obvious stuff, the French Quarter, the old graveyards." Her appreciation for historic landscapes began to grow, but the French Quarter "was a hard place to park and stank of beer." It did not attract her.

When Miller first came to Hillsborough she was looking for privacy, not for a sense of connection to history or community. She rented a studio downtown to use as a base of operations for painting outdoor scenes in Orange County (she does not live in Hillsborough). Activities in her life led to a growing sense of connection to Hillsborough and its history. As she moved through the spaces of the town she observed features that caught her attention and imagination. Not surprisingly for an artist, her statements in the interview often referred to visual experiences that enhanced her experience of place: "I have this fabulous view of the Old Courthouse" and "I find it (Hillsborough) very pleasing to the eye."

When I asked her what places give her a sense of history, she described visual and kinesthetic experiences.

> I love to walk around in the evening especially, there is nobody else out, not anybody at the Colonial Inn on that porch…So mostly the things, places that I have had experiences with, like the Colonial Inn porch with the rocking chairs. The way that the sidewalk just ends up on the porch. In walking down the street, on King Street heading west, and the way the sidewalk is so old and the tree roots have grown under it and looking at the Eagle Lodge.[18] That is a real throwback; there is something about that building that is really stark and strange...

Part of the visual experience of place includes spatial relationships, such as that between the colonial era cemetery at the Presbyterian Church and the adjacent neighborhood.

> I get a lot of feeling from there because of the way it looks. The old hedges, the old, old gravestones, and the way the neighborhood is there right next to it.

Over time Miller became involved with the local arts community and gradually got to know people and to "interact with the historical buildings." Her studio overlooks the Old Courthouse, which she learned has one of the oldest clocks in the country that is still operating. She has climbed the clock tower to "see the original clockworks. Those experiences really enhance the way I care about the place."

Activities in the arts community led to personal relationships. Many arts projects are created in collaboration with the history community, so she was also drawn into activities in and relationships with the history community. One of the working relationships that resulted was with Tom Magnuson of the Trading Path Association. Magnuson asked her to paint some historic sites, and they walked a few of the trading path routes together. aught her to "see" historic elements.

> I went out with Tom to see these trails, the old trading paths, because he wanted to see if I could paint some of it… that has made me more aware when I am out of the relics of history that are still in the ground, around you, that you would have not noticed if you didn't know what you were seeing. [The] river ford where people crossed, you can see it better now… The trading paths may be from the 1600's, but what really wore them down would probably have been the stagecoach.

[18] The Masonic Lodge building is directly across the street from the Colonial Inn. It is the view one sees when sitting in a rocking chair on the porch of the Colonial Inn.

Miller's involvement with Hillsborough's history began with an indifference to the characteristics of place, but personal involvement and relationships with other people led her to a deeper understanding and appreciation of the place and its history. Other informants spoke about liking or appreciating the place more once they understood its history. Jennifer spoke of liking the history itself, of having a positive response to it emotionally. Her involvement also led her in another unexpected direction—toward a spiritual engagement with place. Relph has said that the landscape can provide "the context for moments of profound revelation" (Relph 1989, p. 150), and Miller has found this in some locations as she paints outdoors. She describes an "intoxicating" "feeling of timelessness" and relates it to her process of creating art.

> I had that feeling of timelessness; it is more that I have been lucky to be in really wild places. And even the practice of creating paintings there, you lose consciousness and you sort of merge with your surroundings…it can be a kind of struggle, but it can be an ecstasy. Because you are surrounded by something so magnificent and you begin to become a part of it.

She described a growth of connection that happened over time in place and said that she is "more aware of the instinctive feeling of caring about this place" the longer she is here. Not all incomers to Hillsborough develop an appreciation for the historic characteristics of the place. Miller's example shows us, however, that even a person who does not seek engagement with place may be drawn into it through work and relationships with other people. As Relph would have predicted, the place in which she originally chose to work is not the place that she finds herself now. The place has changed its character for her "both because of improving geographical and social knowledge and especially because of a growing intensity of involvement and commitment" (Relph 1976, p. 31).

Insiders and Incomers: The Scale of Connection

Both insiders and incomers framed their discussions of place and history within the territories where they had developed personal relationships, places that they had lived or spent time at the home of a relative. Members of local families who are rooted here, who consider Hillsborough and its environs as home, may have life experiences in other places, but in their discussions of place and history the connection to Hillsborough is the dominant connection. Family history roots them here and for them family history is place history. They begin with this local connection to history and generalize outward to national history. One insider told me quite seriously that "the nation began here," crediting both the Regulators and those who had insisted on a Bill of Rights. For them, national history occurred here and "they" were a part of it. When I asked former mayor Fred Cates if he was a native of Hillsborough he answered, "Since seventeen hundred and fifty-three."

A personal connection to place and place history can take place at a range of scales. Adam connected to history most strongly at the county scale, but his personal relationship to place is strongest at the town scale, and particularly to the small area of the town where he and his relatives lived. For John Blackfeather Jeffries the primary connection to place is local (Hillsborough and Pleasant Grove) but his connection to history is regional. Archaeological evidence links his Occaneechi ancestors to places throughout North Carolina, extending into Virginia.

> My ancestor's tracks are on this land here right now. They're downtown, in Chapel Hill, they're down in Raleigh, they are between here and Virginia. There is evidence from the arrow points and things that's left that these are Occaneechi people there. Down in the Dismal Swamp, down on highway 58, where our people travel at, all the way up into Macon County."

While insiders (including those who had lived in other places) find significant place history with a small range that includes the location of their family, incomers described a wider connection to place and history, coincident with their own personal range of territory. Several North Carolinians described attachment to the state, including Carla.

> My family goes back to the 1700s down in the Catawba Valley area. … I am an avid North Carolinian and I think that has a lot to do with family history connecting me to place. … [Family history] was passed down by word of mouth and it was passed on through stories and it was passed on from my grandparents when they were children and when they grew up in Cleveland, North Carolina. That I think really connected me to being a North Carolinian and being proud of that and wanting to know more about it.

Incomers and visitors who have lived in other countries had an even wider range from which to draw connections between place and history. A European family allowed me to show them some of Hillsborough's historic sites. When we reached St. Matthew's Episcopal Church one of them said, with great satisfaction "This looks like a church" (implying that other American churches did not). She compared St. Mathew's with churches in her European home country,[19] citing the shape, the red brick, the arched windows, and the stained glass. Others drew parallels between contemporary lives in 3rd world countries with a vanished way of life here. Elaine considered her grandmother's way of life in her Salvadoran village to represent the past. Her grandmother had no electricity, and as a child Elaine was sent to draw water from the village well. Sr. Bugge also found her experiences in Guyana to be "like living in the past."

[19] These tourists had Canadian citizenship but a point of origin in a European country. They were here visiting relatives who live in Orange County. Because I promised to keep their identity confidential, I do not specify which European country they originally called "home." To do so might compromise their confidentiality. The number of Orange County residents with Euro-Canadian relatives is probably small. The number with this particular configuration of former residence is probably small enough to allow identification of this family.

> Electricity was a very fragile item and electricity could go off anytime day or night and be off for days or weeks. Water was a scarcity. … So I think that was my experience of what it was like in the past.

This scale of connection to place intersects with the connection to history. While insiders connect to national history through their family history, incomers link their growing awareness of local history to what they know of national history.[20] For Sr. Bugge, history links her original home in New York City to her former residence in the small upstate town of Lisbon, NY. She said that history in Hillsborough is "the same as New York on a much, much smaller scale because of the history involved in New York City." Lisbon, a significant site in the War of 1812, has re-enactments "but it wasn't as significant as down here where we were involved in so much of our early colonial days." Her connection to national history also connects her to Hillsborough and its history.

Insider Network and Incomer Sense of Place

If one could measure emotional attachment to place, each person's attachment would have many components, and the level of attachment to each component would fall along a continuum. There was a clear distinction, however, between the insiders, for whom the most important component was family relationships, and the incomers who had to develop individual personal relationships with people, with the place, and with place history, and who placed an emphasis on the material culture remnants of history. One group of people who bridge the insider/incomer divide is composed of those people who married into local families, and who have lived here for decades. These "resident aliens" have the network of family relationships to tie them to place, however they also have a perspective on Hillsborough derived from their early experiences in other places.

[20] None of the informants discussed any history that was unconnected to the United States.

These people were invaluable informants, for they had thoughtfully considered the differences among places.

As a resident alien myself, I have access to a world that is invisible to most incomers. I'm present at some of the connective events that most incomers do not see—weddings, funerals, ritualized visits on Christmas Day, family gatherings at the homeplace to make Brunswick stew. Even if other incomers are present at some of the weddings and funerals, they will not "see" the networks of relationships that I know exists. From time to time I hear stories that reveal the connections among people, with the sense that there is a vast world beneath the surface where the incomers live and find their meaning for people and place. The impression I receive from some of the stories is that a lid has been lifted to reveal a slowly simmering cauldron of that Brunswick stew. Prior to the story, I had been looking at the lid, a relatively flat and featureless view. When the lid is lifted I then see the surface of the stew, with all the vegetables, chucks of meat, and broth in relationship to one another. However, I also receive a sense that below the surface the elements of the stew have relationships that extend to the bottom of the cauldron, and that those elements move and shift as the stew simmers. I can never see beneath the surface, but the insiders know all the components of the stew and can gauge their changing relationships.

Cathleen Turner found that "folks who have generational family ties here who wax nostalgic for places of memory" do not separate their ties to people from their ties to place,

> whereas a newcomer's going to separate it out. The newcomer doesn't have the family ties, the people ties… They may or may not have the vocabulary to say what it is about it that provides them a sense of connection. But it might just be the already present sense of connection that they're recognizing and find

> attractive. There's a connection between people and place here in this town that people… may or may not be able to articulate, but it's there. And it's still there.

All places change over time. Insiders and incomers alike create the changes, both actively and passively. Insiders see the place changing and they have opinions about the cause and nature of the changes. But some aspects of the place will not change for them because for them the place is a network of family and social connections that spans generations. This is what I can see as the resident alien. Other incomers also glimpse the network of connections, and this becomes a part of their sense of place. Laura Oakes referred to this continuity of families. She recognized the names of local families in a book that described settlement patterns in the 1700s.

> And bells go off in your head. You know, you begin to say, ah ha! There are Lloyds and there are Cates, and there are MacPhersons, and Jeffries. You begin to see…how they got where they got to be. And some people that clearly belong in Hillsborough, the reason is that they've been here quite awhile.

Oakes recognizes that families of all three of Hillsborough's major ethnic groups are rooted here

> And this is not just the white folks uptown, you know? There are black family names that go back, especially the Faribaults, go way, way back. … you begin to realize names that are European names, but they become attached to Native American families, the Jeffries, the MacPhersons, the Mayos, bells go off in your head.

The continuity of families over time contributes to her appreciation of Hillsborough.

> It feels good to know how a place is put together like that, socially. And I think people do value that. A lot of people, they have no particular claim to glorious family history at all. It just feels nice to be in a place that feels interconnected.

Lauri Michel is also aware of the continuity of some of the families in Hillsborough, and credits this with a sense of conservatism.

> People here have such a sense of history with the town, the people who have lived here for generations, for hundreds of years their people have been here.

> Sometimes in the same house. You know, not just in the same town. The same house. (She said this with great emphasis). And so there's an expectation that that's the way things have always been and that's sort of the way things always will be.

It has also contributed to her sense of place.

> To me, it was just fascinating to be in a place where people have lived their entire lives where their parents lived and their grandparents, in the same house on the same street … When there is a sense of history and a sense of place it seems also to be a sense of community. And people relate to all others who are in that community.

She contrasted the sense of history that local families here have with the sense of history in places "like a New York or a Philadelphia or Washington" which have their own history "but it's not a personal history that connects them... it's not a personal history that becomes a part of you."

Conclusion

Increased residential mobility and the rising fortunes of the New South bring incomers to established communities. As a result, these communities now include people who have developed very different relationships to place. For locally rooted families, the relationship between place and history is a deeply personal one, and is often part of hteir taken-for-granted world. Local history is their family history, and the identification among person, family, place and history is inextricably intertwined. They are the place, the place is them, they are the history, the history is theirs. They speak of past events as if they were there. Adam said "my name" is on a monument to "people in the community who fought in the Revolution," conflating his identity with that of his ancestor. Unlike the insiders who inherit a relationship with place, incomers must develop one. They compare this place with other places known to them as they learn to read and interpret the

landscape. Through experiences in place and through interactions with others their attachment to place may deepen.

New people arrive in places and by their arrival there change the nature of the place. The movement of people is part of the pulse of human history, it has been happening since the dawn of time and it will happen until the end of humanity. The scale of Hillsborough is such that the processes through which incomers bring change can be examined, and one goal of this study is to describe the situation and context within a small place. Connection to place is personal for everyone because people create place meaning for themselves. For both incomers and insiders the connection occurs through their interactions with people. For insiders, this happens through family stories. For incomers, it happens as they consume stories constructed by others. The process of learning place history attaches incomers to this place. The process both results from and creates connections to other people, and to what they know of other histories (such as national history).

In this chapter I have contrasted the family-centered and personal sense of place history that insiders develop unselfconsciously throughout their lives with the active and self-conscious development of a sense of place history which some incomers pursue. What I was not able to gauge from the spoken words of the interviews was a sense of the strength of connection and commitment to place. Personality determines the tone of voice and level of affect that may imply affection and commitment, but these verbal qualities may be misleading. To determine commitment and feelings of responsibility toward place, I consider in the next chapter the actions that Hillsborough residents take in the landscape.