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SOCIAL PROCESSES: A CURRICULUM APPROACH TO LOCAL AND COMMUNITY HISTORY: JULIAN, NORTH CAROLINA: A CASE STUDY

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro

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SOCIAL PROCESSES: A CURRICULUM APPROACH TO LOCAL
AND COMMUNITY HISTORY: JULIAN, NORTH CAROLINA:
A CASE STUDY

by

Carolyn Holt Beyer

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro 1981

Approved by

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APPROVAL PAGE

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BEYER, CAROLYN HOLT. Social Processes: A Curriculum Approach to Local and Community History: Julian, North Carolina: A Case Study. (1981)
Directed by: Dr. Lois V. Edinger. Pp. 115.

Although enrollments in traditional history courses have declined in recent years, interest in local and community history has never been higher. As a result, a number of local and community histories have been published, and various strategies have been developed for use in the social studies classroom which frequently include the writing of family histories, studying the artifacts and remains of the community, the use of architectural history, and the collection of oral histories. It is the contention of this study, however, that the use of social processes provides the best framework for the investigation of local and community history.

Social processes can be defined as those underlying inclusive forces and movements of change which involve to differing degrees all groups and individuals in a society. Among those processes which have the most discernible effects on the development of a community are urbanization, social and cultural cohesion, racial and ethnic assimilation, social mobility, economic growth and development, distribution of wealth and power, and industrialization. As social processes are often multifaceted, historians are led to examine them in the most retrievable units of analysis. Local and community studies are therefore an

excellent vehicle for providing the historian with the use of "little pictures" as a means of understanding the larger panorama of social processes.

This study describes a curriculum approach for teaching local and community history within the larger perspectives of American history through the use of social processes. A case study, utilizing the little village of Julian in southeastern Guilford County, offers an example of the effects of social processes on one community's development, and an opportunity to examine the relationship of this area's growth and decline with that of larger regions. Rather than tracing the history of the community from its founding to the present, the examination of Julian is confined to the years between 1870 and 1920, a period during which the area experienced both economic development and decline. With the construction of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad, the community became a thriving trading center as well as the location of several enterprising business and industrial establishments. With the development of the automobile and improved roads and the concomitant growing urbanization of nearby Greensboro, however, a number of rural residents around Julian were attracted to the alternative employment opportunities offered by the cotton mills and other industries in Greensboro. Through the example of Julian, the factors which stimulated or retarded population growth are examined, the impact of economic change upon the social structure is analyzed, and the effects of these changes upon community social and political life are evaluated.

addition, a focus on the Deviney family offers a microcosmic view of how this family influenced economic and social change.

From the review of literature and from the case study utilizing social processes, the principles and assumptions which comprise the curriculum approach for the study of local and community history using social processes are identified. The methodology of the "new social history," which concentrates on the lives of ordinary people and uses quantitative analysis, is used as a springboard to suggest a number of strategies whereby the incorporation of social processes in local and community studies can be accomplished in the social studies curriculum.

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This writer expresses sincere appreciation to her committee chairman, Dr. Lois V. Edinger, who for many years has been a source of educational leadership and intellectual stimulation to this writer and to many other history teachers, and who so generously gave her time and assistance during the process of this study. She further expresses her gratitude to other committee members for their invaluable help and interest—Dr. Richard Bardolph, Dr. Robert Calhoon, and Dr. David Purpel.

She also wishes to thank her husband, Dr. Frederick Beyer, for his patient encouragement and understanding, and for his constant example of creative scholarship, and her mother, Mrs. Frances C. Holt, for her dedicated belief in the value of education.

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CHAPTER I

A CURRICULUM APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF HISTORY USING SOCIAL PROCESSES

Introduction

At a time when academic history in the United States is in trouble, when enrollments are slipping and interest in traditional historical issues is languishing in the schools, local and community history is becoming one of the fastest growing popular intellectual pursuits today. Popular interest in history has never been higher, with many Americans engaged in separate searches into their "roots" -- writing histories of their towns, families, ethnic communities, and parish churches. Although a serious analysis of the origins and development of this contemporary involvement with local and community history has yet to be made, it is clear that such events as the Bicentennial celebration helped to stimulate hundreds of local projects designed to rediscover the nation's heritage. Moreover, the tremendous response to the Roots television series spurred an enormous interest in family history. A measure of this interest was reflected in a Gallup poll taken in February, 1977, which revealed that 29 per cent of American adults were "very interested" in tracing family history; another 40 per cent were "somewhat

interested." 1 Yet, a unique phenomenon in the current enthusiasm with local and community history is the converging of academic and popular interests, for local and community history has now attained unprecedented legitimacy among academic scholars. 2 As a result, for those interested in curriculum theory and development in the field of American history, this movement can offer new opportunities and challenges for utilizing the interest in local and community studies as a vehicle for helping to revitalize a discipline which no longer enjoys its place of importance in many secondary schools and colleges.

Although the study of small, functional spatial units of human settlement is hardly new, heretofore local and community history has been largely the province of amateurs, antiquarians, and genealogists. These writers and collectors, some of whom have been primarily interested in family achievement, parochial local issues, and historical memorabilia, have generally been considered provincial and have often been scorned by academic scholars. Yet, while belittling the proponents of local issues, the attention of the professional historian has traditionally been

lD'Ann Campbell and Richard Jensen, "Community and Family History at the Newberry Library: Some Solutions to a National Need," The History Teacher, November, 1977, p. 48.

David A. Gerber, "Local and Community History: Some Cautionary Remarks on an Idea Whose Time Has Returned," The History Teacher, November, 1979, p. 9.

preoccupied with the larger picture, giving such events as wars, national politics, diplomacy, high finance, or the interactions between them, the center stage. Although it was recognized that the people in the home town voted, paid taxes, and sent their sons off to war, the real activity seemed to be focused in the halls of Congress or in the oval office of the President. The discipline of history was governed by a standard paradigm: history was the study of past politics, of struggles for power between contending cosmopolitan political, diplomatic, and economic elites. Consequently, the home town, comprised of traditionally non-elite and inarticulate groups who lacked the access to power, was perceived of as having little to offer to the standard concept of history.

Social Processes: A Curriculum Approach to the Study of History

For curriculum developers who wish to strengthen and revitalize the role of history in secondary and higher education, the entrance into the historical profession since World War II of increased numbers of women, blacks, and "new immigration" ethnic groups can be viewed as a hopeful sign. With these groups, the traditional paradigm of history has come under attack, for they have brought with them the need and desire to pursue new questions appropriate to their own worlds and experiences—slavery, poverty, ghettoization, disfranchisement, discrimination, foreignness,

and disorienting social and geographical mobility. As a result, contemporary scholarship is increasingly confronting a view of history which does not allow the past to be synthesized as it has been traditionally, by great events and power politics. Rather, new concerns, such as social integration, pluralism, class formation, and cultural hegemony, have been made important issues in current historiography. As a result, the "new social history," as the movement is often called, is increasingly reflecting a view of history which is more the sum total of human social development over time than the study of past politics and governments. In addition, two other trends which characterize the "new social history" are causal precision in the methods of quantitative research and analytic expertise in the theories of the social sciences. 3 Consequently, historians are today increasingly thinking in terms of social processes as they analyze the varied social activities which characterize the growth and development of communities and nations.

Social Processes Defined

Social processes can be defined as those underlying inclusive forces and movements of change which involve to differing degrees all groups and individuals in a society.

³James A. Henretta, "Social History as Lived and Written," The American Historical Review, December, 1979, p. 1293.

Among those processes which have the most discernible effects on the development of a community are urbanization, social and cultural cohesion, racial and ethnic assimilation, social mobility, economic growth and development, distribution of wealth and power, and industrialization. The study of history through social processes involves an interdisciplinary approach, borrowing primarily from the fields of sociology, anthropology, demography, psychology, labor economics, and geography.

A basic tenet of social processes is that human beings in social contact always produce some pattern of social interaction. This may take the form of competition, cooperation or conflict, all of which exist in varying degrees in different groups and societies, depending on value judgments. Yet another form of social interaction may be accommodation, whereby certain working arrangements are adopted by members of a society as a means of existing together, even though there is considerable difference in their social conditions and interests. The secularization of society may also be a result of social interaction. example, contemporary societies tend to be characterized by increased secondary relationships, achieved status, rapid change, and urbanization in contrast to earlier periods, with their primary relationships, ascribed status, agrarian dominance, and traditional patterns of group control when authority was respected as sacred and unchangeable. In the final analysis, the range of social interaction is often determined by the culture, the social institutions, and stratification found within society. These approaches have been of particular value to historians of the family, who have greatly expanded the dimensions and importance of their subject by utilizing theories and concepts derived from other social science disciplines. Scholars in urban history have also benefited from sociological approaches to stratification, geographical perspectives on building patterns, and architectural conceptions of urban esthetics.

As social processes are often multifaceted, involving many levels of complexity (one such example is
industrialization), for practical reasons alone, historians
are led to examine them in the most retrievable units of
analysis. Consequently, the role that local and community
history can play in studying broad topics and issues becomes increasingly evident. Is it not easier to study the
impact of industrialization in one community among one group

⁴California State Department of Education, <u>Building</u> Curriculum in Social Studies for the Public Schools of California, Bulletin (Sacramento: State Department of Education, 1967), pp. 41-45.

⁵As examples, see Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Cornell University Press, 1970), which is an excellent demographic analysis, and John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (Oxford University Press, 1970), which utilized physical artifacts, wills, inventories, and the official records of the colony.

⁶Henretta, p. 1294.

of people than to study its impact upon everyone in society?
Thus, local and community perspectives provide the historian with the use of "little pictures" as a means to understand more fully the larger panorama of social processes.

Implications for Curriculum Development

This concept of using the "little pictures" provided by local and community history to comprehend the larger universe of social processes can be translated into curriculum development. By using social processes in the study of local and community history, the learner is confronted with a view of history which demands that he or she encounter such issues as urbanization, distribution of wealth and power, and industrialization, among others. The student must then analyze the interaction between these social processes and particular localities and communities. Because social processes are seamless and dynamic, continuously taking place and developing over long and indeterminate periods of time, the use of social processes demands a confrontation with the complexity and interconnectedness of phenomena through chronological time. Since one of the most accessible and desirable consequences of the study of history is the understanding of change and development over time, processes are one of the most useful tools for teaching historical analysis. Although numerous other strategies have been utilized for the study of local and community history, including such approaches as the writing of family

histories, developing oral histories, and studying local architecture, the use of social processes has heretofore been largely neglected, making this a fertile field for curriculum developers.

While not all communities and localities may be lastingly influenced by an event of history, such as the assassination of a President or a national election, social processes have an impact throughout society. The study of a community's urbanization, for example, if taken to its logical and analytical conclusions, eventually leads to the formulation of questions about all communities and localities within that society. Even the inhabitants of rural areas may be deeply touched by the development of urban markets for agricultural commodities, or by the tremendous expansion of the urban job market.

Although social processes occur generally throughout society at a given time, they almost always vary to one extent or another in shape, content, and consequence from place to place and community to community. One of the greatest instructional values realized is the opportunity for comparison and contrast between communities and localities. In turn, such comparison and contrast may well be a source of insight as to what is specifically and uniquely local, or Spanish-American, or Catholic, or working-class, or surburban to a particular place. Moreover, at this

⁷Gerber, pp. 24-25.

level, there are millions of ordinary people, without money, high status, and significant political power, whose labor, migrations, and votes influence, although quite subtly, the social processes which determine the larger direction of historical events.

Studying the evolution of such central social issues as economic growth and development, the distribution of wealth and power, and the other myriad issues of social processes through local and community perspectives makes these issues more conceptually and imaginatively accessible. These issues also provide a coherent basis for concrete understanding of the forces which daily influence the quality of life in local communities, as well as helping students gain some appreciation of how actual communities form, develop, change, and in time, perhaps dissolve.

Because social processes have occurred throughout the United States, resulting in a truly national communication and transportation network, the United States has become a more integrated nation, in which local differences play a declining, although not disappearing role. While pre-twentieth century Americans were more isolated physically from one another and by necessity their lives were oriented around their locality, contemporary Americans are more cosmopolitan in their outlook, more conscious of the nation as a whole. Within the framework of this dissertation, the examination of local and community history reflects this wholistic and coordinated approach, and

presupposes that unless local and community history is enveloped by regional, national, and even international influences, it will ultimately become parochial, ethnocentric, and antiquarian. While many practitioners of popular local and community history today attempt to write accounts which are emphatically local and narrowly concentrated, rarely does the history of a town or of a neighborhood stop at its borders. To varying degrees and in varying ways and in different historical epochs, regional, national and international events have impinged upon and influenced each individual locality. As the local community is part and parcel of the nation and world, it must continue to be integrated into larger relevant social and spatial contexts.

Significance of the Study

The study of this and related questions can have important ramifications for social studies teachers and curriculum developers. The traditional scope and sequence found in many social studies guides today are based on the premise that each American lives within a system or set of expanding communities that starts with the oldest, smallest, and most crucial community—the family—and progresses outward in everwidening bands. This set of communities, extending through the neighborhood, the city or metropolis, the state, the region, and the nation, is a highly interdependent system. For example, the problems and possible solutions of the family group are nearly always colored by the larger communities;

even the national community reaches inward through all of the intervening bands of lesser communities to influence the life of the family group. By recognizing this interdependence, local and community history can provide an important view of one's own personal heritage if tied to the larger environment through social processes.

Although the method of studying local and community history through the use of social processes has been previously proposed, no systematic implementation has been discovered by this writer. In the course of this study, the basic principles and assumptions involved in this approach will be identified, and a case study utilizing the history of one particular community will illustrate the use of social processes. If this understanding or conceptual approach could be made real to teachers and curriculum developers, the current scope and sequence of social studies curriculum guides could take on new meaning, and history as a discipline could be revitalized.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to describe a curriculum approach for teaching local and community history within the larger perspectives of American history through the use of social processes. A case study using the community of Julian will demonstrate the application of the procedure.

The Design of the Study

•

The case study setting utilizes the little village of Julian, straddling the Guilford and Randolph County lines in Piedmont North Carolina, which offers an example of the effects of social processes on one community's development, and an opportunity to examine the relationship of this area's growth and decline with that of larger regions. Rather than tracing the history of the community from its founding to the present, this study is confined to the years between 1870 and 1920, a period during which Julian experienced both economic development and decline. With the construction of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad, the community became a thriving trading center and shipping point for some of the cotton mills as well as the location of several enterprising business and industrial establishments. Yet, with the development of the automobile and improved roads and the concomitant growing urbanization of nearby Greensboro, a number of the rural residents around Julian were attracted to the alternative employment opportunities offered by the cotton mills and other industries in Greensboro. Through the example of Julian, the factors which stimulated or retarded population growth will be examined, the impact of economic change upon the social structure will be analyzed, and the effects of these changes upon community social and political life will be evaluated. In addition, a focus on the Deviney family

will offer a microcosmic view of how this family influenced economic and social change and were in turn shaped by the environment in which they found themselves. From the review of literature and from the case study utilizing social processes, the principles and assumptions which comprise the curriculum approach for the study of local and community history using social processes will be identified.

The remainder of the study is organized as follows:
Chapter Two contains a review of the literature pertaining
to the study; Chapter Three includes a case study centering
on the small community of Julian which utilizes the curriculum approach identified in this study; a discussion of
the principles and assumptions involved in the use of social
processes and the curricular implications of these principles are given in Chapter Four; and in Chapter Five, a
summary of the recommendations and implications is given.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The "New Social History"

There are many practitioners of the "new social history" today, covering the educational spectrum from the professional historian to the elementary school pupil, and almost as many approaches to its utilization. Among the academicians are the "cliometricians," as those historians who apply their mathematical or logical skills to the writing of history are often called, who have subjected historical data to elaborate statistical analyses, and as a result have offered new insights into such topics as patterns of congressional voting, the social correlates of political identity, and many aspects of economic dvelopment. Other scholars have preferred to approach the "new social history" as interdisciplinary social theorists, and as such have exploited the theories derived from anthropology, sociology, economics, demography, and their related social sciences in evaluating historical evidence. Still another group of social historians has pursued yet a different goal, and has focused on the lives of the vast majority of the American people by exploring the historical behavior and consciousness of such groups as immigrant workers, blacks, native Americans, and women. Because of the multiplicity

of aims and methods, the "new social history" has not become a coherent subdiscipline of the discipline of history; rather, its adherents represent a diversity of substantive and methodological interests. However, for the student of local and community history, these diverse approaches to historical scholarship have found wide acceptance, and have stimulated numerous books, articles, and curricular developments in the area of local and community history. By applying the methodology and resources of the "new social historians," numerous writers of local and community history have been able to offer new direction to the general study of American history.

Family and Local Histories

In his book, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony, 2 John Demos, following the pattern of the interdisciplinary social theorists, offers Plymouth Colony as a case study in early American family life. Although Demos utilized materials in his study which were indigenous only to Plymouth, he produces questions, methods of approach, and some substantive conclusions that have a much wider application. Demos' examination of family life in the colony led him to rely on basically three types of source

lHenretta, pp. 1294-1295.

²John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

materials: the physical artifacts that remain from the seventeenth century in Plymouth--houses, furniture, tools, utensils, and clothing; wills and inventories, documents which help to describe the possessions of the residents; and the official records of the colony and the individual However, in the absence of the literary materials towns. which most often form the bulk of historical research, Demos' analysis of family life in Plymouth Colony by necessity becomes impressionistic rather than definitive. On the basis of the documentation he was able to assemble, Demos is forced in his narrative to make a number of "best possible guesses" as to a likely occurrence or interpretation; nevertheless, he buttresses these hunches with theoretical models borrowed from the various branches of behavioral science in which the study of family life has been more extensively pursued. In addition, Demos has chosen to organize his chronicle of the Plymouth family on a topical principle rather than a chronological one, including a description of the physical "stage" on which family life was acted out, the membership of the Plymouth households and their relationships to each other, and the major themes in the development of a typical settler from birth to death. In conclusion, Demos is able to point to a strong sense of continuity between the Plymouth family and American families today, in spite of the fact that many of the functions the Plymouth family provided have long since been transferred from its modern counterpart.

The New England family is also the subject of Philip J. Greven, Jr.'s work, Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts.³ Focusing on the demographic and economic circumstances that affected the inhabitants and molded the families of Andover, Greven's study deals with the fundamental events of birth, marriage, and death as they affected both individual families and the population of the community as a whole; the relationship of families to the land; the relationship of fathers and sons in successive generations; the structures of families and the variations in structure which resulted from the changing economic and demographic circumstances within the town in successive generations; and the extent to which families remained permanently rooted in Andover or emigrated to other communities. Faced with the same lack of diaries, autobiographies, and other literary sources in Andover as Demos experienced in Plymouth, Greven also relies on probate records, deeds, town records, and vital records to reconstruct a picture of seventeenth and eighteenth century family life, sources heretofore largely neglected by historians. Recognizing that demographic studies based upon seventeenth and eighteenth century vital records cannot be as accurate and reliable as those based upon modern

³Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1970).

statistics, Greven acknowledges that some of his conclusions must be approximations of reality. Nevertheless, he asserts that evidence abounds with which to answer questions about the land and its effects upon men's lives in Andover, allowing the author to concentrate on the problem of inheritance and the transmission of estates from one generation to another. By examining the patterns of inheritance from generation to generation, Greven draws some basic conclusions about how men used their land for the purpose of perpetuating their families and providing for the settlements of their offspring in colonial Andover.

While the New England colonial family is the focus of the work of Demos and Greven, Kenneth A. Lockridge emphasizes the development of the town in his book, A New England Town, The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736. In his analysis of life in the preindustrial rural village society of Dedham, Lockridge asserts that this community, like any of its companion towns, was a product of English culture and an agricultural community whose basic traits it shared with villages all over Europe. At the same time, as a Utopian settlement in the wilderness and a refuge for a group of English Puritans whose very flight made them unusual, Dedham was peculiarly

⁴Kenneth A. Lockridge, A New England Town, The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736 (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1970).

American. Nevertheless, it is Lockridge's contention that in its main features the story of Dedham--the residual peasant outlook and Puritan social ideal of the founders, and the later growth and dispersal of the population--could well have been the story of many New England towns and so of much of early America. As such, the history of Dedham illuminates the larger history of its times and nation, a narrative which reveals that this part of colonial America was moving away from a powerful corporate impulse deeply indebted to the European past, toward an age of pluralism, individualism, and liberty.

Just as Dedham, Massachusetts, reflects the broader development of colonial America, Greensboro, North Carolina, mirrors to some extent the urbanization and social change which took place in the larger South after the Civil War. In his unpublished doctoral dissertation, "Urban Growth and Social Change in the South, 1870-1920: Greensboro, North Carolina as a Case Study," 5 Samuel Millard Kipp, III, uses social processes to examine the factors which stimulated or retarded urban population growth and investigates the relationship between economic development and urban growth. In addition, his study also analyzes the impact of economic change upon the social structure, and he evaluates the

⁵Samuel Millard Kipp, III, "Urban Growth and Social Change in the South, 1870-1920: Greensboro, North Carolina as a Case Study" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1974).

effects of these changes upon community social and political life. Kipp demonstrates that urbanization is facilitated by railroad expansion and highway improvements, bringing with it commercial expansion and industrial development to Greensboro. Concomitantly, such problems as the size of the market, the sources of capital and credit, methods of capital accumulation, the regional and social origins of the new entrepreneurs, the character of the labor force, and the comparative advantages of local industries are examined. Kipp then analyzes the dimensions of social change in the community as it urbanizes by focusing on evolving life styles and attitudes of the various classes or strata in the city, and the shifting composition of the local political elite. Methodologically, Kipp's work reflects a combination of the tools of the cliometricians and the social theorists, as his study utilizes numerous national, state, and city records, newspapers of the period, city directories and business directories in the description of the social processes which brought urban population growth to Greensboro.

Curriculum Approaches to Local History

The framework used by Samuel Kipp in his study of Greensboro--social processes--provides the best working model for local and community historical studies, in the opinion of David A. Gerber.⁶ In his article, "Local and

⁶Gerber, p. 24.

Community History: Some Cautionary Remarks on an Idea Whose Time Has Returned." Gerber emphasizes that the most common fault of local and community history is the failure to integrate it into larger relevant social and spatial contexts. Although some teachers attempt to correct this situation by using local and community perspectives to illuminate epic events such as wars, depressions, national and state elections, or natural disasters, Gerber contends that the course of such events is usually beyond the control of any individual locality or community, with the result that the ultimate outcome is often unrelated to specifically local or community considerations. On the other hand, the use of social processes, which are constantly occurring, offers the opportunity to analyze the interaction between such processes as urbanization, industrialization, social mobility, or immigrant assimilation, and particular localities and communities over a longer period of time. As historians have become more familiar with social science, and have appropriated the methods and concepts developed by social science to fit their needs, Gerber believes that historians have come to think more in terms of social processes. As a result, historians have been introduced to and are utilizing new ways of researching, understanding, and organizing the history of those conventionally inarticulate groups found in the local communities which usually have failed to leave behind them significant amounts of written evidence.

The change that has taken place in American social history is an important consideration of Fay D. Metcalf and Matthew T. Downey in their paper, "Teaching Local History: Trends, Tips, and Resources." The authors, in describing the "new social history," quote a colleague who has written:

Until very recently, American social history was written from the perspective of the dominant culture. It dealt with elites rather than common people, with institutions rather than social processes.8

As they proceed to describe a number of social history projects in local and community history which are appropriate for the upper elementary and secondary school levels, Metcalf and Downey enunciate very clearly the thrust of the "new social history":

This new social history reveals a shift of scale from a national, public, great-man-centered history to a grass-roots, ordinary-person-centered study of the past. It is more concerned with the "anonymous Americans" than with the elites. By using sources that traditional historians usually overlooked, it seeks to record the history of the masses of the people. Instead of letters, diaries, and the memoirs of public leaders, which told us a lot about a few, the sources of the new social history are lists and numbers that say a little about a great many individuals. Thus the new social history rests in large part upon quantifiable data, although these are usually supplemented by more traditional kinds of historical evidence.

Among the many resources for the social studies classroom described by Metcalf and Downey are several

⁷Fay D. Metcalf and Matthew T. Downey, "Teaching Local History: Trends, Tips, and Resources," ERIC Reproduction, ED 151 237, 1977, p. 23.

^{8&}lt;u>Ibid</u>. 9<u>Ibid</u>.

exercises of a quantitative nature utilizing such data as census reports, city and county directories, and school records, as well as local economic history, family history, architecture and public art, and folklore and cultural journalism projects.

Athough numerous courses in local and community history could be created on the elementary and secondary level from the suggestions incorporated in the research of Metcalf and Downey, the literature is noticeably sparse when it comes to curricular developments based on the most important premises of the "new social history" in the area of local and community history. Although the writer has discovered no specific course descriptions which utilized the perspective of social processes as a framework, a very few courses have incorporated some of the characteristics associated with the general approach of the "new social history."

One very successful course which has been in operation for several years at Oliver Ames High School in North Easton, Massachusetts, is described by Francis Pratt and Frances Haley in "Finding Relevance in Your Own Back-yard: A Course in Local History." The course is offered only to seniors as a one-semester elective, and has as its purpose the study of the local community as a microcosm of

¹⁰Francis Pratt and Frances Haley, "Finding Relevance in Your Own Backyard," ERIC Reproduction, ED 083 120, 1976.

the United States, thereby attempting to reinforce what has already been learned in previous history courses. By following a chronological sequence, the students compare the larger events of the nation with particular developments which were occurring in Easton at the same time, with units including information on geographic background, Indians of the area, first settlers, post-Revolution period to the 1850's, the Civil War, the Gilded Age, 1910 to 1945, and the period since World War II. For example, in studying the time between the Revolution and the Civil War, the students learn that Easton was Republican rather than Federalist, and why. They discover that some of the Irish immigrants who came to America in great numbers in the 1840's found their way to Easton, and played an important part in its development as did immigrants from Sweden and Portugal who came later in the century. As a by-product of their study, students over the years have become competent historiographers, with the result that the local history class has put together over 700 slides and has been active in preserving documents, town records, and news clippings through mico-Local history buffs in Easton today are systematically referred to the high school for resources, for it has become one of the best repositories for information in the area.

The resurgence of interest in local and community studies has not been confined to curricular developments in the elementary and secondary schools, however. Colleges and

universities, even as enrollments in traditional history courses fall, have exploited the popular interest in family and local history as well as the recent explosion of highly sophisticated research in local sources. The result has been a variety of new offerings, many of them interdisciplinary in nature, as they have borrowed freely the research tools and concepts from the related social sciences. example, a course in community studies which was developed from a pilot grant, is taught at Assumption College in Worcester, Massachusetts, under the direction of four faculty members from the Departments of History, Geography, and Sociology. 11 Through weekly lectures the class investigates the theoretical issues and historical backgrounds underlying the study of community, often utilizing guest lecturers to talk on topics such as local architecture or ethnic culture. In addition, small section meetings are held in which the students study primary materials about Worcester-area communities. Because secondary materials simply to not exist for Worcester (or most communities), students in the community studies program are quickly introduced to and learn to rely on their own research skills through the use of primary sources.

The utilization of primary documents in the form of Civil War letters from western New York provides the

¹¹Charles Estus, Kevin Hickey, John McClymer, and Kenneth Moynihan, "An Interdisciplinary Approach to Community Studies," The History Teacher, November, 1979, pp. 37-48.

focus for a seminar on the Civil War which is taught at St. Bonaventure University. 12 The professor responsible for the course collects Civil War letters from the region, and gives each student two or three letters to edit. He or she must correct grammatical and spelling errors, identify names and places, and corroborate any statistics given in the let-In addition, each student is required to write a brief history of the soldier's military unit for the period of the letters, as well as a short history of the town and county from which the soldier came. As a result, students are forced to delve into sources such as The Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, county and town records and histories, records of historical societies, gazetteers, atlases, and other important works which they might have ignored doing a less original project.

Other Local History Approaches

Although the concepts involved in the "new social history" and social processes in particular have not found wide application in the social studies and history class-rooms, there has been much interest in the teaching of local and community history generally. Numerous strategies have been developed to help students gain a better understanding of their present environment through the study of their

¹²Edward K. Echert, "Local History: Everyone's Hidden Treasure," The History Teacher, November, 1979, pp. 31-36.

community's historical development. The approaches which have been used more frequently include the writing of family histories, studying the artifacts and remains in the community, the use of architectural history, and the collection of oral histories.

The study of local history has begun by focusing on the individual in many secondary social studies classrooms, and as a result, the development of family histories has become an increasingly popular project. In his article, "Discovering Roots: The Family in History,"13 Anthony N. Penna describes the exercises which are preliminary to the writing of family histories, projects which invariably include the construction of genealogical charts, the development of questionnaires to be used by family members, and student-conducted interviews with their families. Using their observations and research as a basis for dialogue with parents and other family members, these activities also provide opportunities for students to compare living patterns of today with those of previous generations and hence, provide a model for students to learn about the process of family socialization. Penna further contends that the study of the family can be utilized as a springboard whereby the relationship of events occurring in the family can be compared with those occurring in the community and the nation.

¹³Anthony N. Penna, "Discovering Roots: The Family in History," Social Education, October, 1977, p. 480.

Although the writing of a family history may provide the opportunity to study historical development near at hand, the community, whether it be a village, town, city, or the larger area of county and state, supplies a quantity of authentic evidence of past development. Ralph Adams Brown and William G. Tyrrell have written that through the examination of the local community and the use of materials from a familiar setting, a heightened sense of realism is introduced into the history classroom. 14 Once students become aware of the fact that the old house on Elm Street once housed runaway slaves during the 1850's, or realize that the old man who lives on Greene Street once met Woodrow Wilson, the past is able to move out of books and directly into their lives and experience. Moreover, evidence of continuity and change is provided by many sources which are existent in most communities. Among these are gravestones of older cemeteries which offer an interesting opportunity to examine the cultural and demographic characteristics of a given period in history. The official records of the town or county as well as the examination of other institutional records, such as those of churches, can also provide sources of information about the local past. Brown and Tyrrell contend that the organizations that exist in any community--the

¹⁴Ralph Adams Brown and William G. Tyrrell, "How to Use Local History," How To Do It Series No. 3 (Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1966), pp. 1-8.

local Rotary Club, the Farm Bureau unit, the Village Improvement Society--are vehicles for establishing values, of evaluating the institutions of the past, or appraising progress or the lack of it. Even finding an ancient tool or an early implement in a dark corner of an old decaying barn is receiving a symbol from another world, and it gives students a particular and interesting contact with the past. When tied to the experience of the learners, the old butter churn and the candle moulds found in the ruins of an old house are not only artifacts from an earlier way of life, but can elicit a basis of comparison. The authors suggest these as appropriate questions: what changes in family life are represented by the contrast between the butter churn and the package of margarine purchased today, or between the candle moulds and the electric power bill? Even the geography of the community is an important part of its history. The streams and the hills, the swamps and the clay pits, all played a role in the development of the community. By evaluating the documents and resources of their neighborhoods and towns, by talking with people, by creating case studies from community resources, students may find new ways to understand what their contemporary society values, and to compare these values with other periods in history. 15

¹⁵See also the February 1974 edition of Social Education. The focus for studying the American Revolution and America's revolutionary inheritance is largely on individual communities, and the strategy employed utilizes community explorations involving similar materials as described above.

Although many teachers are realizing that local historical materials are invaluable tools in helping students to study history, local architecture also has many possibilities for teachers interested in using the community as a resource. According to Catherine Taylor, Matthew T. Downey, and Fay Metcalf, in their article, "Using Local Architecture as an Historical Resource: Some Teaching Strategies, "16 buildings do not have to be monumental or the works of famous architects to be of historical significance. Tenement buildings, storefronts, fallout shelters, and town halls can convey as well as the more conventional written documents the fears and aspirations, the failures and successes of previous generations. Moreover, regardless of where one lives, or the size and age of the community, some buildings, styles, and architectural details will have historical significance. For example, because construction materials and building styles once varied substantially from region to region, it is possible in many midwestern and western towns to identify that part of the East from which early settlers came by the building styles of the oldest houses. The history of a neighborhood can also be studied through its buildings, with the realization that each generation uses land and space in different ways. In addition,

¹⁶Catherine Taylor, Matthew T. Downey, and Fay Metcalf, "Using Local Architecture as an Historical Resource: Some Teaching Strategies," The History Teacher, February, 1978, pp. 175-191.

the authors emphasize, much can be learned about economic change and its effect on the community by trying to understand why architectural changes take place.

While the use of architectural history has not yet become a widely used method of teaching local history, the field of oral history has experienced tremendous growth. As a process by which the past is recaptured through recollections of those who have lived through it, oral history has been popularized by such recent publications as Eliot Wiggington's Foxfire volumes, Studs Terkel's Working, Merle Miller's Plain Speaking, and Roots by Alex Haley. While these works and others have given recognition to oral history as a valid historical tool for some time, its recent introduction into the classroom as a teaching device has provided a valuable supplement to the study of history through written documents.

The strategies by which oral history are utilized in teaching situations are diverse, a number of which are described by George T. Mazuzan and Gerald Twomey in their article, "Oral History in the Classroom." Students often take the roles of interviewers, going out into the community and talking with ordinary people, gathering stories about the important events and activities which have occurred in the community. As Mazuzan and Twomey emphasize, a premise

¹⁷George T. Mazuzan and Gerald Twomey, "Oral History in the Classroom," The Social Studies, February, 1977, pp. 15-18.

of the oral history concept is that in a very real way, <u>all</u> people make history, and the basis for any general interpretation of history is formed by people's attitudes, activities, and experiences. Moreover, through the course of gathering information, students are introduced to the historical process, and must face the problems of dealing with personal accounts which are embellished or embroidered, superstitions which filter into their material, and uncorroborated testimonies of witnesses. Realizing that people remember certain things and forget or fail to notice others, students learn that informant reliability is a key ingredient to the validity of oral history.

Although the utilization of oral history as a classroom technique is not without its problems, there are numerous examples of highly successful oral history projects.

One such endeavor is the basis of an article by George T.

Mehaffey and Thad Sitton in the December 1977 issue of The
Social Studies. 18 In the Loblolly oral history project, in
operation at the high school at Gary, Texas, students gather
interviews describing the life and culture of early east
Texas, and publish a quarterly magazine of their interviews.
Created in the manner of Foxfire, this oral history experience has added new dimensions to the social studies program,

¹⁸ George T. Mehaffey and Thad Sitton, "Oral History Tells Its Own Story: The Loblolly Project," The Social Studies, December, 1977, pp. 230-233.

and the publication which has grown from it now claims a readership which extends far beyond east Texas.

Summary

From the review of related literature concerning the curriculum approach to the study of history using social processes, one can discern that, while there is evidence of much interest in the general field of local and community history, this particular curriculum approach has received little or no attention. The interdisciplinary methodology of the "new social history" has generated several family and local histories, many of which have utilized source material heretofore untapped by historians as well as recognizing the operation of processes on the local setting. While the rationale of the "new social history" has been espoused by writers interested in curriculum development, and individual courses have been designed which incorporate some aspects of the approach, the use of social processes as a curriculum approach has not been implemented in the classroom. sidering the attention that local and community history has received through the use of such strategies as the writing of family histories, studying the artifacts and remains in the community, the use of architectural history, and the collection of oral histories, the development of a curriculum approach to the study of local and community history through the use of social processes should be an important addition to the literature. After a careful

analysis of the related literature, this writer agrees with David A. Gerber that the use of social processes provides the best framework for the study of local and community history.

CHAPTER III

JULIAN, NORTH CAROLINA: A CASE STUDY IN SOCIAL PROCESSES

The Geographical and Economic Setting

Julian, North Carolina, was not a community that would have attracted much attention in 1870 from the casual observer; in fact, many perhaps would have predicted then that her future was destined to be no more than what it has become -- a post office address. Geography, however, was not to be a factor which necessarily limited her development. Julian was located primarily in Clay township in the southeastern corner of Guilford County, but spilled across the Randolph County line. Although the community did not then nor does now enjoy the advantages of agreat river system, it does lie in the middle of the midland plateau in North Carolina, part of the larger Piedmont crescent stretching from southern Pennsylvania through Virginia and the Carolinas into northern Alabama and Georgia. Guilford County, with an elevation of from 800 to 1000 feet above sea level, is characterized by rolling hills, broad-backed ridges, and valleys, conditions which still make farming reasonably profitable. Numerous streams and creeks rise in the county (among them, in the vicinity of Julian the infamously named Stinking Quarter Creek) and flow either north or northeastward into the Haw

River or southward into Deep River. Although the oldtimers in Julian tell of how their community in the early years resembled a prairie land because the Indians kept the area burned off, the 1880 agricultural census reports described the soil and forests of the area in this manner:

Its forests consist mainly of oaks of various species and hickory, with a subordinate growth of short-leaf pine scattered quite uniformly over most of its area. Along its rivers and creek bottoms . . . and in the southeastern section of the county . . . even on the uplands, . . . are heavy forests of oak, intermingled with hickory, walnut, poplar, maple, etc. These lands have generally a reddish-clay loam soil. The soil of the higher and broad-backed ridges and swells is quite uniformly a yellowish, sandy and gravelly loam underlaid by a yellow and redclay subsoil.²

The soil conditions of the county contributed to growing of corn, wheat, and oats in the area, making these crops the dominant agricultural concerns of the farmers. Although cotton and tobacco, the two most important staple crops in ante-bellum North Carolina were raised by some Guilford County farmers, neither assumed much importance in the local economy. The vast majority of the Guilford agriculturalists, and the southeastern residents, fitting into the norm, operated small to moderate-sized subsistence farms rather than cash-crop agricultural enterprises. Nevertheless,

¹Statement by Calvin Hinshaw, local Julian historian, in a personal interview, January 20, 1981.

²U. S. Census Bureau, <u>Tenth Census of the U. S.</u>, Volume VI (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), p. 60.

in 1870, despite the natural advantages of soil and climate, the most salient aspect of Guilford County's agricultural life was its lack of prosperity. As a result of wasteful farming practices and the economic dislocation of the Civil War period, the 1870 agricultural statistics for Guilford County indicate that within a decade, the size of the average farm had declined by 92.3 per cent, from 250.5 to 158.2 acres. 3 During the same decade, the number of farms also increased from 1503 to 2100, numbers which reflect the introduction of sharecropping and farm tenantry in the aftermath of emancipation and military defeat. Another indicator of the depressed state of agriculture was the decrease in the number of improved acres in the county, a consequence of farmers' cultivation of fewer acres than they had cultivated in the previous decade. Still another measure of the dederioration of productivity was the drop from \$99.84 to \$50.21 in the average value of farm implements and machinery.⁵ Dislocations and deterioration were also evidenced by the decrease in the average per acre value of Guilford County farm land. Again, the two most southeastern townships of Guilford County, Greene and Clay, are typical of the county at large, for the 1870 census figures reveal that only 35 households of the 223 visited in Greene listed real estate holdings which were valued at \$1,000 or more, and only 36

³Kipp, p. 14. ⁴Ibid. ⁵Ibid., p. 15.

of the 167 households in Clay township estimated values at \$1,000 or more.⁶

Although Guilford County in 1870 was experiencing a substantial decline from earlier years in agricultural productivity, an important resource to the area had always been its people. Most of the early residents were Germans, Scots-Irish Presbyterians, and Quakers; in the southeastern section of the county, names such as Coble, Clapp, Causey, Deviney, Foust, Greeson, Holt, Fields, and Woods were frequently found in the records of business, social, and political activities. A careful analysis of the census data between 1840 and 1870 reveals, however, that Guilford County was also declining in this valuable commodity--population. Some estimates indicate that between 15.1 and 18.2 per cent of the population emigrated each year in search of greater opportunities elsewhere, and newcomers were never enough to offset the losses. Although the exodus appears to have declined during the 1870's, the Greensboro Patriot, the weekly newspaper for the area, commented on numerous occasions during the early years of the decade about the large numbers of people at the train depot who were apparently permanently leaving town in search of greater fortunes in the west.

⁶Guilford County Census of 1870, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

⁷Kipp, pp. 18-19.

Even this cursory examination of Guilford County in 1870 points to an area suffering from economic stagnation and restricted opportunities, problems which were magnified by poor transportation facilities, limited local markets for farm products, and isolation from larger markets. addition, Guilford farmers, who for generations had used the same methods and equipment, had exhausted the fertility of the land by their thoughtless agricultural techniques. Deep plowing, the use of commercial or natural fertilizers, and crop rotation were certainly never utilized, and perhaps not even known to the local farmers. It is not surprising that the results included abandoned fields, marginal profits, low crop yields, and a large stream of emigration from the county. The "unredeemed farmer," who C. Vann Woodward describes in the larger South⁸ could be found in profusion among the agrarians in rural Guilford, with the southeastern residents in the vicinity of Julian fitting well into the mold.

The town of Greensboro, located nearly twenty miles away and a day's journey by wagon over rough, rutted roads, provided a limited marketing resource for the farmers around Julian. Although the county residents more than likely bought more than they sold in Greensboro, it could be a marketplace for the fresh produce and meat grown on the farm.

⁸C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Louisiana State University Press, 1974), pp. 175-204.

The town was, however, the major supplier of goods in the county's retail trade. According to the Mercantile Agency Reference Book, 1879, Greensboro was the home of 84 business establishments, although half of them were small, unspecialized general stores. 9 There were a number of artisans and craftsmen located in Greensboro as well: shoemakers, hatters, harnessmakers, carriagemakers, tinsmiths, cabinetmakers, and metalworkers were there, all producing custom-made goods for local consumption. Moreover, Greensboro served as the financial center for the county, as it was the location of the only bank in the area. Since it was also the county seat, the county courthouse, located near the center of town, was the focal point for the more important regional disputes which could not be handled by local justices of the peace. This was the site of the superior court which was in operation four times a year, during the third weeks of February, May, August, and November. The county court, presided over by three to five justices, was also located there, and heard civil and criminal cases. In spite of the discomforts and inconveniences of travel, court and market days generally brought large numbers of rural residents into the town to attend court, sell their produce, shop in the stores, or simply to meet friends and to find some diversion from what could be a monotonous rural existence.

⁹Dun, Barlow and Co., Mercantile Agency Reference Book, 1879.

As it appeared in 1870, unless some drastic improvements could be introduced, the rural residents of southeastern Guilford County seemed destined to exist precariously in a stagnating agricultural society for decades to come. Because the boom of railroad building had thus far eluded them, they suffered from the lack of economical transportation, an obvious limitation to the potential and prosperity of agriculture. As a consequence, the isolated farmers had no alternative but to concentrate on raising food crops for their own consumption and for sale in the restricted market of Greensboro, crops which were likely to provide little more than subsistence support because of poor agricultural practices and soil erosion. Moreover, there seemed no alternative to farming, no other avenue of economic development available to the residents. Indeed, in 1870, the economic future for Julian and the surrounding countryside seemed far from promising.

The Political Climate of Reconstruction

The name of Julian in southeastern Guilford County can be traced as far back as 1761, 10 before Guilford County as such existed. Peter Julian and his family migrated from Virginia to what was then called Orange County, and settled near the path of one of the oldest roads in the country

¹⁰Kenneth R. Haynes, Jr., Guilford County, North Carolina, Historical Documentation Map, 1980.

known as the old Salisbury and Hillsboro Road. The Julians were large land and slave owners, and lived in a house which was known for miles around as the "Red House." According to local accounts, however, the village of Julian was actually named for Jesse Julian, the son of Peter Julian, who inherited his father's 800-acre estate. Jesse, his wife Sarah, and his mother Hannah Julian, are also credited with founding a church in the area in 1790, which was later to be called Shiloh Church. The Julians were very active in community and civic affairs, and were highly respected by their neighbors as long as they lived in the community. At the outbreak of the Civil War, however, they moved to Greensboro.

When the Julian family lived in the community which was later to bear their name, the settlement could hardly be called a village. The countryside was dotted with scattered farms, separated by miles of only trading paths and trails. For years any legal or judicial business had to be conducted miles away in Hillsboro, the county seat of Orange, although later the location came under the jurisdiction of the Salisbury court. Eventually the residents were relieved to some extent from such excessive travel for court business when a magistrate's court was held about one mile from what was later to be called Julian. Minor cases were tried by a judge in this court as he passed through the community in

¹¹The Liberty News, June 30, 1976.

his travels between the Salisbury and Hillsboro courts. 12

For years, nothing even resembling a general store existed in the community until a man by the name of Thomas Regan began operating a store, located where the old Snow Camp and Danville Road crossed the Hillsboro and Salisbury Road, on a part of the 225 acres he purchased from Jesse Julian. Regan is credited with establishing the first business enterprise in the village later to be called Julian, and although the exact date the store began operation is in question, it is known that Regan was in business before the Civil War. At about the same time, a cotton gin, one of the earliest in the area, was built near the Regan store, and operated by horse power. 13

According to local tradition, the residents around Julian were not entirely in sympathy with the aims of the Confederate government with which they found themselves aligned during the Civil War, particularly with the Confederate policy of taxing the people ten per cent of what was grown. With most of the younger men away from home fighting with the Confederate troops, farming was left to the older men, boys, and women. It was difficult during these years under these conditions to raise enough food to feed the hungry mouths at home, much less to ship a portion

¹²Greensboro Record, January 9, 1952.

¹³The Liberty News, June 30, 1976.

of it off to a government which many of the older residents did not enthusiastically support. Nevertheless, the taxed foodstuff was stored in the old Thomas Regan store building, as Regan had moved his establishment to newer quarters, and was guarded by a Confederate trooper. One night, when the moon was bright, the old men decided to take matters in their own hands; they shot the guard while he sat on the doorstep, and helped themselves to the stored food. The next day, it was the duty of Samuel Deviney, then a twelve-year-old lad, but later the actual founder of the village of Julian, to take the body of the guard to Greensboro to be shipped back home to his family. 14 Apparently none of the conspirators in the shooting nor in the theft of the food were ever held accountable in a court for their deeds. Although families in the community undoubtedly suffered from separations and loss of family members during the Civil War, this event, coupled with the fact that the remnants of General Joseph E. Johnston's army passed through what is now Julian on their way to the Red Cross camp as the war was about to end, were the most memorable occasions in the minds of the residents as they later related their experiences during the war years. As a whole, the people of the Julian area were fortunate, as were the Guilford County citizens generally, in that their locale never became the scene of much military activity. When, in 1864, the North Carolina Railroad was extended from

¹⁴The Greensboro Record, January 9, 1952.

Greensboro to Danville, Virginia, in order to facilitate transportation of troops and supplies, Greensboro residents were introduced at regular intervals to trains loaded with wounded soldiers and supplies, sights which county residents were spared except on their infrequent visits to the town. 15

With the defeat of the Confederacy and the coming of Reconstruction, Guilford County, as was the case in many parts of the larger South, substituted the political battle-ground for the military arena, with the Democrats now calling themselves "Conservatives" in order to delineate their opposition to the Radical Republicans. 16 The southeastern sector of the county in particular found itself in the midst of the conflict between the two parties, partly because Greene township was the home of one of the most controversial of the county's Radical Republicans, Rev. George William Welker, D.D. Welker was born near Greencastle, Pennsylvania, in 1817, but came to North Carolina in 1841 after completing his literary and theological degree at Mercersburg College. 17 After preaching in various parts of Guilford County during the fall and winter of 1841-1842, he

¹⁵Ethel Stephens Arnett, Greensboro, North Carolina: The County Seat of Guilford (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), pp. 392-393.

¹⁶Woodward, p. 3.

¹⁷ Joseph Calvin Leonard, The Southern Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards and Broughton Co., 1940), p. 140.

received and accepted a call from the Brick Church, a German Reformed congregation which had been established in the area as early as 1759. As a preacher, Welker was well-known throughout the country, particularly for his sermons based on such texts as "Pitched his tent toward Sodom"; "Remember Lot's wife"; and "Forty Days and Nineveh Shall be Overthrown. "19 His appearance was said to be as serious as his message, for he had only one eye and wore glasses, and spoke with a voice that bore a distinctive German accent. He was known, also, to reprove without fear anyone who made any disturbance while he was preaching. Dr. J. L. Murphy, a good friend and ministerial cohort of Welker, never forgot the following incident:

I remember at Bethany a number of young people sitting in the gallery began talking while he was preaching. He stopped, looked them straight in the face and said, "I have preached to all kinds of persons; I have preached to the convicts in the penitentiary, but I never preached to anyone who behaved as badly as you." There was no more trouble. 20

It was Welker's politics, however, rather than his theology or his reputation as a disciplinarian, which placed him at the center of controversy. In the conflict that brought on the Civil War, he was invincible for the Union, and outspoken in his convictions. As such views were not always appreciated in Guilford County, his life was threatened on numerous occasions. His enemies were almost

¹⁸Leonard, p. 140. 19<u>Ibid</u>. 20<u>Ibid</u>.

successful on one particular evening, when a mob was prepared to intercept and hang him on his way home from Greensboro. They were deprived of their victim by "Divine

Providence," as Welker was given to describe it, because a

premonition that night led him to take a road he did not
usually travel.

At the war's end, Welker and his good friend and fellow Radical Republican, Albion W. Tourgée, were selected to represent Guilford County in the State Constitutional Convention in Raleigh in January of 1868.21 At the convention, both men were highly respected by their fellow delegates, and both played prominent roles in developing the document which became the North Carolina Constitution of 1868. That same year, Welker was elected as Guilford County's only senator in the North Carolina General Assembly. While in the Senate, the minister continued to be an outspoken supporter of Radical Republican programs, policies which he often publicized as editor of the Republican, a Radical Republican publication, and which did not ingratiate him with many of his constituents in Guilford. In fact, when the citizens of Clay township, many of them neighbors and acquaintances of Welker, held their township meeting on

²¹ James W. Albright, <u>Greensboro</u>, 1808-1904, <u>Facts</u>, <u>Figures</u>, <u>Traditions</u>, and <u>Reminiscences</u> (Greensboro, N.C.: <u>Joseph J. Stone and Co.</u>, 1904), p. 43.

May 14, 1870, they passed the following resolutions, obviously directed at the Senator who was seeking re-election.

Resolved, 2nd. That we condemn as unwise and unjust, the reckless extravagances which has [sic] characterized the administration of public affairs in this State for the last two years.

Resolved 3d. That we want Legislators who will consider themselves as servants of the people and not their masters, and who will not sacrifice their constituents to promote their own selfish ends.²²

Moreover, the Greensboro <u>Patriot</u>, the weekly Conservative newspaper which was the major source of local and state information for most of the Guilford residents, never lost an opportunity to blast the Republican preacher:

There are many reverend ranting radicals in this State who made haste to desert their master, and pulpits for the political arena, where they have shown themselves to be, by far, the most avaricious, unrelenting and bitter defamers of the Southern people, of all others. And among this little tribe of recusant Levites, there is perhaps no other one, to be found, that is so bitter a hater and unsparing traducer of the native born white population of the South than is the Reverend George William Welker. How, or why it is, that an ordained minister of the Gospel should thus voluntarily sink so far beneath his holy calling, we have not been able to determine unless it was done for the sake of filthy lucre or worldly honor. 23

The campaign against Welker paid off, for when the election returns were counted on August 4, 1870, the Republican incumbant for the Senate had been defeated by the Conservative candidate, J. A. Gilmer. Although he received 122 votes in his home township of Greene, only four

²²Greensboro Patriot, May 19, 1870.

²³Greensboro Patriot, June 2, 1870.

behind the leader, only ten votes were cast in favor of Welker in neighboring Clay township.24

In spite of the fact that he was not an office-holder during the years 1871-1872, Welker remained active in party politics. He continued to edit the Republican which, according to the Patriot, was "as full of Ku Klux as ever"; 25 he represented the party by speaking at such events as the July 4th rally; 26 and was an articulate delegate to the Republican District Convention. 27 In 1873, however, he was a political candidate again, this time a contender for the state House of Representatives. Once more victory eluded him; when the final ballots were tallied, he trailed the field, even coming in last in his native Greene township, and only one vote above the lowest vote-getter in neighboring Clay. 28

After the election of 1873, Welker was never again a candidate for political office, although he remained politically active within the Republican party power structure. As the decade waned on, the Guilford Conservatives continued to make a clean sweep of the county offices, with

²⁴Greensboro Patriot, August 11, 1870.

²⁵Greensboro Patriot, February 9, 1871.

²⁶Greensboro Patriot, July 6, 1871.

²⁷Greensboro <u>Patriot</u>, May 16, 1872.

²⁸Greensboro <u>Patriot</u>, August 9, 1873.

the residents of the southeastern area consistently reflecting the general consensus. The editors of the <u>Patriot</u>, however, were apparently never certain that the Republican minister was over his political office-holding aspirations, and they never missed an occasion to remind their readership of his ambitions and his performance. In an editorial entitled, "Rev. G. William Welker - He Brands Himself and Publishes His Own Perfidy," the Patriot wrote:

In the "good old days" ministers of the gospel, having pastoral charges, were forbidden both by law and public opinion from taking seats in Legislative Assemblies. Our fathers regarded them as ministers at that sacred fount, from whose crystal stream alone could issue good order, good morals, all the sweet social and domestic virtues and as a consequence of those, good government itself. Hence they were peculiarly jealous of the purity and cleanliness of the ministry. Hence the State Constitution from 1776 to 1868 - when changed by Radical hands - closed the political arena to ministers of the gospel, and they and the public said it was right. But the propriety of this law and the evils of its repeal, were never more ably illustrated than in the man whose name heads this article. He and his intimate friend, Judge Tourgee, were influential members, and indeed, the controlling spirits, of the Convention which made this change, and who shall say it was not for his benefit! Be that as it may, endowed by Heaven with more than ordinary intellect - this pastor of a prosperous and thriving church, in a happy and peaceful community, with a splendid opportunity of becoming eminent in his Master's cause, in advancement of the Redeemer's Kingdom; since the change was made, he has dragged the loftiest calling on earth into political mire, and befouled its pure robes of office with its filthiest slime. . . . It was shown that he also, while now denouncing the civil rights bill, voted for every measure to make the negro the equal of the white man, for the bill putting negro officers over white men in the militia; for the infamous Shoffner bill, and, in

fact, for every party measure that was brought up. 29

Three years later, the <u>Patriot</u> was still calling attention to the career of the infamous Welker. In a somewhat less than objective article headed by the caption, "The Faithful Hold a Beshazzar Feast in Honor of the Returning Board Steal," the <u>Patriot</u> described the celebration of the Republicans after the disputed Presidential election of 1876 ended in the inauguration of Rutherford B. Hayes:

On Monday night, the Rads "jubilated" till a late hour in this quiet little burg - the occasion being one of rejoicing (?) over the triumph of fraud in inaugurating Mr. Rutherford B., late of Ohio, as the so-called President of the United States. . . Those Who were Present: . . Welker, Rev - The great unwashed and hoary-headed sinner, the champion teller of things that are not so, assigned at the foot of the table. 30

While the election of 1876 is the event which most American historians generally cite as marking the end of Reconstruction in the South, in Guilford County, political control in most instances had been wrested by the Conservatives from the Republicans some years earlier. After 1876, much to the relief of some of the residents in the southeastern corner of the county, their Radical celebrity, Dr. George William Welker, generally retired from political involvement, although he remained active as a minister in the German Reformed Church until a year before his death in

²⁹Greensboro Patriot, July 22, 1874.

³⁰ Greensboro Patriot, March 7, 1877.

1894. By the end of the 1870's, the little community which, in another decade would be organized as Julian, had encountered many of the same experiences as other participants in American history had known. Her citizens had survived the isolation and inconvenience of the Revolutionary era, the hardships and separations of the Civil War, and the political divisions of Reconstruction. Located on soil which was exhausted from misuse and tied to agricultural traditions which were desperately in need of change, these rural Guilfordians, as they approached the decade of the 1880's, could only hope for better days to come. After all, they had seen the worst.

The Coming of the Railroad

North Carolina, unlike most of the other southern states, had always suffered from isolation and a poor transportation system, problems which in the early years when commerce was tied to a state's great rivers were directly related to the absence of an abundance of natural harbors. Of the six principal rivers found in the state, the Pee Dee and the Catawba flow through South Carolina to the ocean; the Roanoke, the Neuse, and the Tar empty into shallow sounds; and only the Cape Fear empties directly into the Atlantic Ocean at Wilmington. As a result, when trade was developing elsewhere, there were few markets of importance within the boundaries of North Carolina, with most imports and exports moving in the direction of Charleston in South

Carolina or Petersburg or Norfolk in Virginia.³¹ In the Piedmont section of the state where Guilford County was located, there was no navigable river at all, a factor which severely restricted the potential of any commercial development prior to the building of railroad transportation.

The belief that adequate transportation was indispensable to economic development and a concern about the isolation of the interior regions led two Guilford County natives, Archibald D. Murphey and John Motley Morehead, to assume state leadership in the push for the construction of better facilities. In 1815, Murphey assumed the chairmanship of the Committee on Islands and Navigation, and as such, became an expert analyst of the transportation problems of the state. In the course of his reports to the General Assembly, Murphey proposed a system of canals and natural waterways to every part of the state, projects which, if they had been adequately funded, could have had a significant impact on the transportation development of the state. Although Archibald Murphey's dreams of a viable transportation network in North Carolina never came to fruition in his lifetime, he instilled a similar enthusiasm in one of his young law students, John Motley Morehead. a result, when Morehead became governor in 1841, one of his first proposals was a plan for a state-wide system of

³¹Roland B. Eustler, "The Cape Fear and Yadkin Rail-way," The North Carolina Historical Review, October, 1925, p. 427.

railroads, canals, and turnpikes, "in order to make North Carolina economically independent of Virginia and South Carolina."32 Although only a small part of the plan was realized while Morehead was in office, he became the most prominent leader in railroad development in the state as a former governor. When Morehead became President of the North Carolina Railroad, the company which built rail connections between Goldsboro and Charlotte, he used his influence to see that his native Guilford County was included in the project; as a result, Greensboro saw its first train in 1856.33 That same year, the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad was chartered to connect the North Carolina Railroad with the ocean at Beaufort harbor, another project which Morehead directed and in which he was a major in-In 1857, Morehead exerted every effort to get a railroad built to Danville, Virginia, but he was consistently blocked by eastern North Carolina interests intent on preserving the west-east flow in trade. In 1862, however, when it became a military necessity to connect Confederate troops with the bases of supplies, the Confederate Congress appropriated \$1,000,000 to complete the Piedmont Railroad from Greensboro to Danville. 34 Although

³²Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 347.

³³<u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 348-349. ³⁴Kipp, p. 81.

poorly constructed, the line was completed in 1864. Two years later, John Motley Morehead was dead, but he had completed what he had hoped to accomplish:

Living, I have spent five years of the best portion of my life in the service of the North Carolina Railroad; dying, my sincerest prayers will be offered up for its prosperity and success; dead, I wish to be buried alongside of it in the bosom of my beloved Carolina. 35

By the time the Civil War had ended, the heretofore isolated residents of Guilford County had finally secured economical transportation connections with the eastern part of the state and with Danville, Virginia. The impact on agricultural production was evident in the increased production of such staple crops as tobacco, cotton, and grain. Although the Civil War interrupted and eventually reversed many of the economic gains that commercial contact with other sections brought to the Piedmont, the potential for future development was at least now a possibility.

Although the existence of railroad transportation in Greensboro offered the residents of the southeastern sector of the county travel opportunities they had never before realized, Greensboro was still many hours away over rough, poorly maintained roads. Not until the railroad lines came directly into their local communities would this form of transportation have a substantial impact on the everyday lives of the rural residents. The possibility of

³⁵Arnett, p. 149.

such an event occurring seemed extremely remote until the mid-1880's, when finally the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad was completed, a route which connected Fayetteville in the Cape Fear region with Mt. Airy in the vicinity of the Catawba River, and ran through the southeastern portion of Guilford County. The project to connect these two areas had begun as early as 1832 but had been intermittently abandoned until 1879 when the state legislature granted the Western Railroad, then to be known as the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad, the authority to reorganize and to pursue again the connection of the Cape Fear and Catawba River regions. 36 Under the presidency of Julius A. Gray, an energetic Randolph County native who made Greensboro his home after 1855, 37 the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley immediately began corporate reorganization and then construction. By 1884, rails had been laid to Greensboro; in March of the same year, train service began operating through the town. Unlike the marginal effect of almost all of the railroad construction in the 1865-1880 period, the residents of Greensboro foresaw in the completion of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley line a genuine prospect of increased trade for their area. During the summer of 1884, the town had a

³⁶Eustler, pp. 431-432.

³⁷ Jerome Dowd, Sketches of Prominent Living North Carolinians (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton, 1888), pp. 302-303.

celebration in honor of the railroad's inauguration and the potential opportunities for new prosperity, replete with flamboyant oratory by state and local officials, band music, fire works displays, a banquet, and a ball.³⁸ That Greensboro's expectations were being realized was evident three years later when the <u>Patriot</u> reported enthusiastically:

The Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley rail road is and must be for a long time to come the principal factor in increasing the business and prosperity of Greensboro, and to the untiring and zealous, heroic and manly efforts of Julius A. Gray, the very efficient President, and J. W. Fry, Gen. Superintendent, this great line of railway, the people of Greensboro and generations yet to come are due a lasting debt of gratitude. 39

When in 1886, the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Rail-road began operations with its Factory Branch, which would operate between Climax and Ramseur, 40 the little community now called Julian was directly affected. Because the early

Furnace Branch, Greensboro to Proximity 1.00 miles

Main	Track	338.68	miles
Side	Track	26.17	
	Total	364.85	miles

³⁸Greensboro Patriot, May 15, 22, and 29; June 5 and 19, 1884.

³⁹ Greensboro Patriot, December 23, 1887.

⁴⁰With the completion of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad into Mt. Airy in 1889 and into Wilmington in 1890, the Company, according to Eustler in "The Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railway" (p. 436), operated the following properties:

trains were run by burning wood, it was necessary for the railroad to be guaranteed a fuel supply at certain intervals along the route. Factory Junction, as Climax was generally called, was such a fueling station, as was Liberty, a little village on the edge of Randolph County. However, the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Company realized the need for another stop which would enable the train to take on wood between these two points, and Julian was considered to be the ideal location. But upon closer examination of the area, the railroad executives realized that the location of Julian offered greater potential than a mere fueling depot; if enough land could be obtained, a town could be built there, further enhancing the commercial fortunes of the investors. It would be necessary, however, to enter into negotiations with the largest landholders in the community. This factor brought the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad officials in contact with the Deviney family.

The name Deviney has a long history in North Carolina, dating at least as far back as the Regulator movement in the state, between 1766 and 1771. In a special session of Court held at New Bern on March 11, 1771, Herman Husbands and sixty others were indicted under the Riot Act, passed in 1770, as a result of disturbances which had earlier broken out in Hillsboro. In protest to what the Piedmont settlers considered to be extortionate fees, dishonest officials, and excessive taxes, a number of men decided to take matters into their own hands, among them, one Samuel

Deviney, a seasoned Indian fighter who had migrated to North Carolina from Pennsylvania, and a participant in the whipping of John Lea, Sheriff of Orange.41 His treatment of the sheriff was not Deviney's only offense, however. The Hillsboro District Court minutes of the March term, 1771, also refer to

the persons who style themselves Regulators under the conduct of Herman Husbands, James Hunter, Rednap Howell, William Butler, Samuel Deviney, and others broke up court at Sept. term last... still continue riotous meetings... therefore continue court to September, 1771.42

For these acts, Samuel Deviney was among those indicted at New Bern. 43 Because the grand jury failed to pass a true bill of indictment against Herman Husbands, however, there was little chance that Samuel Deviney and his cohorts would be indicted. It was at this point that the British Governor William Tryon decided to lead the militia and break up the Regulators, a purpose which he accomplished a little more than two months later at the Battle of Alamance on May 16, 1771.

After the defeat of the Regulators, the twelve of their leaders considered to be the most dangerous were

⁴¹North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. 8, p. 26, North Carolina Department of Archives and History Samuel Deviney's participation in this event was disclosed at a Council meeting held at Brunswick on April 14, 1769.

⁴²Hillsboro District Court Minutes, March term, 1771, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

⁴³ North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. 8, p. 531.

condemned, and six were hanged at Hillsboro on June 19, 1771. Some left the area, still other leaders were to be punished by being denied pardons and thus declared outlaws, while the rank and file of the Regulators were to be freed upon taking an oath of allegiance to the Governor. Samuel Deviney, for some reason, escaped the brand "outlaw," although an attempt was made in the Council to exempt him from the pardon, a move, however, to which the House of Commons would not agree. 44 When Josiah Martin became Governor in August, 1771, Samuel Deviney was among the Regulators who appealed to him for protection, saying that many of the "Legislatives" were against them. 45

For the next few years, Samuel Deviney was an apparently peaceful resident of Guilford County. By the time the Revolution had erupted in North Carolina, however, he had also become more forgiving of the British, for now he took the side of the Loyalists in support of the Mother Country. It is likely that Samuel Deviney was among the regiments from Guilford who met the Whigs at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge on February 27, 1776. The Tories were defeated in this skirmish, and many were taken prisoner and carried to Halifax, and for a time confined in jail there.

 $^{^{44}}$ North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. 9, pp. 423, 433, and 457 .

⁴⁵North Carolina State Records, Vol. 22, p. 891, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Among the names of those who were imprisioned was that of Samuel Deviney. 46 He was still evidently incarcerated on October 12, 1776, the date of the following petition:

Petition to the Council of Safety now setting [sic] at Halifax . . . Whereas our husbands Wm. Field, Robert Field, Joseph Field, Semor York, Stephen Sisny, Samuel Deviney, Frederick Craft, Robert Turner, all of Guilford, were made prisoners on or about the 10th day of February last . . . Petition for their release. . . . They were not allowed the necessities of life as prisoners of war.

Signed by Hennay Deviney (and eight others).47

That Samuel Deviney eventually had another change of heart and fought on the side of the American Revolutionists can be surmised from the fact that a payment was made to him from the Revolutionary Accounts of 1781:

State of North Carolina Salisbury District - No. 132

Agreeable to an act of the General Assembly passed in Wake the 16th of July 1781 Samuel Deviney was allowed five pounds four shillings and seven pence for sundry public claims by the Lower Board of Auditors.

November 22d, 1781 David Wilson Will Cathey, Auditors 48

Apparently Samuel Deviney took advantage of the Governor's proclamation that those among the Tories who enlisted in the

⁴⁶Revolutionary Accounts, Book 1-6, Payments, 1775-1776 includes the following: "to William Branch, Sheriff of Halifax, For Saml Deviney, 27 days." North Carolina Department of Archives and History."

⁴⁷ North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. 10, p. 841.

⁴⁸Comptrollers Papers, Cancelled Vouchers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Revolutionary army would be exempt from having their property confiscated. However, he settled in Guilford, accumulating sizable land holdings, and lived to be over 100 years old.

In 1884, just over a hundred years after Samuel Deviney had joined the Revolutionary forces to save his land, Deviney property in Guilford County was again at issue, for this was the family in the area of Julian who owned the most acreage in the vicinity where the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley railroad interests were most anxious to establish a town. Once again the leading member of the Deviney family was named Samuel Deviney, so-called after his grandfather who had fought so many battles in the Revolutionary era. When the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley company approached Samuel Deviney in early 1884, they suggested a proposition whereby a town could be developed beside the railroad tracks if the Deviney family would donate the necessary land. 49 Samuel Deviney was apparently convinced that the proposal would bring new commercial and economic advantages to the heretofore isolated farmers, and not wanting to jeopardize the route of the line through the community, he readily agreed. As the tracks were being laid by convicts who lived in the stockade just across the new depot of the railroad, Samuel Deviney began drawing plans

⁴⁹Statement by Calvin Hinshaw, in a personal interview.

for the town of Julian which would be established on the donated land. The inner city, he determined, would be comprised of First, Second, Third, and if necessary, Fourth Streets. He very carefully arranged the property into 60' by 120' lots, and advertised that the property would be sold at public auction on May 31, 1884. The had been prearranged that the proceeds from every other lot would go to the Deviney family, while the receipts from the remaining lots would go into the railroad coffers.

On the appointed date the sale began, with lots selling from \$2.70 to \$22.00.⁵¹ The auction had not been underway long, however, before old Jesse Deviney, the father of Samuel and the patriarch of the family, heard the commotion of the crowd and the auctioneers, and came to see what was happening. Because his father was somewhat in his dotage, Samuel had not bothered to consult with Jesse about the railroad deal and the plans for the town. Nevertheless, Jesse was not so senile that he did not soon grasp the reality of the situation, and he put a halt to the proceedings.⁵² As a result, although some property was sold, many vacant lots remained, a factor which undoubtedly impeded the development of the town. In the process,

⁵⁰The Liberty News, June 30, 1976.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵²Statement by Calvin Hinshaw, in a personal interview.

nevertheless, Samuel Deviney had established a village, and had laid the foundations for the future development of Julian.

When the railroad began making its stops in Julian in 1884, there were few business establishments in operation, but more would soon be built. The first merchant in the community, Thomas Regan, had years before left his store to be operated by J. A. Odell and had moved to High Point, believing the commercial opportunities to be greater in that part of the county. His judgment was apparently correct, for Regan established a prosperous hardware business in High Point, and soon became very prominent in the affairs of the town. 53 In 1872, J. A. Odell also left Julian and headed for Greensboro, where he opened a general merchandise store in two small rooms on South Elm Street. 54 Later, hardware became the store's sole commodity, with one branch catering to the retail trade and another serving wholesale customers. Odell Hardware Company became one of Greensboro's earliest and most thriving businesses, and its proprietor one of the town's most influential and prosperous citizens. Although Julian was not able to keep such men as Regan and Odell in the community for long, the mercantile experience they gained there undoubtedly contributed to

⁵³The Liberty News, June 30, 1976.

⁵⁴Arnett, p. 207.

their later successes in the larger towns of High Point and Greensboro.

The first retail establishment to be erected in the "inner city" of Julian, after the sale of lots, was built and operated by C. Harris Hardin, who also acted as the community's postmaster. The Hardin store offered the residents of Julian a large assortment of general merchandise, goods which were often exchanged in barter for dried fruits, roots, and herbs grown by community gardeners. 55 These commodities were then sold in Greensboro by Hardin who, on his frequent trips to the town, often had the additional duty while there of selecting a hat for one of his Julian customers. Until 1898, when he was described as "the oldest resident of Julian,"56 Hardin was active as a merchant in the village. In that year, he retired to "the more quiet surrounds of the farm,"57 turning the operation of the store to W. T. Hanner, who ran the enterprise as the Julian Store Company. At this time the store had a large stock of general merchandise, but in addition, had a good selection of hardware and fertilizers. Later the business was sold to Austin M. Hemphill and George Garrett, who added a shoe shop to the premises. The old store building, for years

⁵⁵The Liberty News, June 30, 1976.

⁵⁶Greensboro Patriot, May 4, 1898.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

used as a granary, but since restored, is still standing in Julian.

Soon after the trains began operations, other businesses began appearing in Julian. One of the first was a bar which was located conveniently just across the tracks from the railroad station. Many spirits were dispensed across the counter of this bar, making the waits between trains considerably more bearable. Shopping also became more accessible, not only to railroad passengers who made stops in Julian, but also to local residents, as additional stores opened and became competitive in their prices. One example was the J. R. Stout Store, a large establishment full of general merchandise, and apparently one of the busiest in the area. Stout was also the railroad ticket agent and succeeded Hardin as postmaster (a job he held when the Democrats were in power), which probably accounted for much of the traffic in his establishment. 58

When J. R. Stout died in the early 1900's, however, his widow married G. Luther Whitaker, another Julian businessman who had earlier built a small drugstore in the village, complete with a soda fountain. After his marriage to Mrs. Stout, Whitaker moved his store and fountain to the larger premises Stout had occupied, and the business became known as the G. L. Whitaker Store. The large store

⁵⁸Greensboro Patriot, May 4, 1898.

building continued to be the focus of many community activities. The northeastern corner of the building was sectioned off as the Post Office, with Mrs. Eva Stout Whitaker now serving as postmistress during the Democratic administrations. In the back of the building haircuts could be obtained for the price of 10¢ a head. The Whitaker store also had a large selection of penny candy displayed in glass cases, which tantalized the neighborhood youngsters; in addition, this firm had the distinction of offering the first bakery bread sold in Julian, loaf bread sent down from Greensboro on the train.

Another thriving retail business in the little village was found in a large brick building erected in July of 1898 by Thomas G. Coble and Madison Brown. The establishment known as Coble and Brown became one of the most popular grocery stores in the area, often frequented by farmers who could be seen going through the store with their shopping lists, or accompanied by their wives as they came into town in their wagons to meet the train or to buy farming supplies.

In addition to the large selection of groceries found in the village, fresh produce was also available in Julian, as it could be purchased from the produce concern of Simpson Patterson and Walter Hardin. The versatile Patterson also made and mended shoes in a small building located on Third Street.

Still another impressive-looking brick structure, the Jesse Deviney General Store, could be found in the village by the early twentieth century. Through this enterprise the residents of Julian were first introduced to such modern conveniences as ready-made clothing in the dry goods department; moreover, the store had a separate millinery shop located in one corner. Here, too, could be found for sale the first aluminum cookware to be seen in the area, an item considered to be the ultimate in luxury by the Julian residents. Another corner of the Deviney General Store was also reserved for the Post Office, at least when the Republican party was in office, when it would be switched to that location from the Whitaker store. When his party was in power, Jesse Deviney, the aged father of Julian's founder, held the job as postmaster; after his death, his wife Lora served in that capacity.⁵⁸

On the east side of the large Coble and Brown building was constructed another brick edifice which was operated by Julius F. Brown and called Brown's General Store. It was to this store that the all-important soda fountain was eventually moved from its location in the Whitaker store. Another convenience which the Brown General Store offered was a watch and clock repair shop which, for many years was operated by Joe Staley. A

⁵⁸The Liberty News, June, 1976.

distinctive attraction of the Brown General Store was the location of a "loafers' bench" in front of it which, according to local tradition, was nearly always occupied by numbers of Julian men who liked to rest in the shade, to spit, to whittle, and spin yarns. The conversation of the occupants of the bench was of such an animated and boisterous nature, however, that women often "took to the road" rather than walk by the bench. 60

Within a space of forty years, beginning with Thomas Regan's first mercantile efforts before the Civil War to the large general stores of the early twentieth century (many with specialities located within their premises), Julian had grown from an isolated community to a thriving trading center. The village often bustled with wagons filled with farmers and their families who came from miles around to shop in the stores, repair their clocks or shoes, or visit with their neighbors and friends. Although the retail trade accounted for much of the commercial activity in Julian, the village was also the site of several manufacturing establishments, another factor which brought much traffic to the area.

From at least as early as 1890, Julian was the location of a shuttle blocks and spoke billets factory, one of many such enterprises owned by J. Elwood Cox. Cox, a Guilford County native who was educated at Guilford College and

⁶⁰The Liberty News, June 30, 1976.

Earlham College, purchased from Captain W. H. Snow, a High Point businessman and political leader, his High Point plant for manufacturing spokes and handles, shuttle blocks and bobbins. Very soon Cox had similar factories dotted all over the area, including, in addition to the Julian plant, factories at Ramseur, Staley, Climax, and Summerfield. Cox eventually turned his attention to furniture making, however, helping to pioneer that industry in High Point as the president of Globe Home Furnishings Manufacturing Company, the largest industry of its kind in the South. 61 Nevertheless, for a time, the shuttle blocks and spoke billets plant in Julian was an important industry.

In the spring of 1895, plans were drawn for the establishment of the Julian Milling Company, a flour mill to be located in the village of Julian. The project was proposed by two local entrepreneurs, Nathan Hanner and C. H. Hardin, and the contract was made with the Salem Machine Works to build a fifty barrel roller flour mill. On November 25, 1895, the mill began operations under the presidency of G. A. Garrett, with Ernest Hardin acting as its first manager and Secretary-Treasurer. 62 With the capacity of producing twenty-five barrels of flour and 200 bushels of meal per day, the company was the sole manufacturer of

⁶¹Sallie W. Stockard, The History of Guilford County, North Carolina (Knoxville, Tenn,: Gaut-Ogden Co., 1901), p. 137.

⁶²The Liberty News, June 30, 1976.

"Best Patent XXX" and "Silver Star" brands of flour, 63 products which were sold all over the state, but especially along the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad line. By 1902, the Julian Milling Company was capitalized at \$5,300.64

For a number of years the largest business in Julian was the North State Nursery. The nursery company was organized in 1912 by W. T. Hanner and L. Vance Garrett, and was initially located three miles north of Julian, outside the "inner city." Here the stock, only a few trees at first, was packed in huge wooden boxes and hauled by wagon to Julian to be shipped by train. This procedure eventually became impractical, so the nursery was moved to Julian on a 76-acre tract of land purchased by the company from Samuel Deviney. The North State Nursery is still in operation under the name of Gilmore Plant and Bulb Company, and to-day constitutes one of the largest nurseries in the region.

While the Julian Milling Company and the Gilmore
Plant and Bulb Company are still Julian landmarks, the fortunes of many of the community's early industries were tied
to the railroad; their industrial efforts tended to thrive
so long as the railroad thrived. In the early years of the
twentieth century, a box factory under the designation of

⁶³The Greensboro Patriot, May 4, 1898.

⁶⁴Stockard, p. 75.

A. B. York and Sons was very successful for a time. Another prosperous business for many years was the Johnson Chair Company, a chair stock mill which made chair posts and table legs, but in addition, supplied the community with stove wood from the scraps and rejected furniture parts. A saw mill and polished wood industry were also established on a part of the original Julian family tract in 1898, and continued there for a number of years. While all of these operations contributed to the prosperity of the "boom" period in Julian, they were a part of the railroad era, depending on the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley line to transport their goods, and when that era ended, so did the industries.

With the coming of the railroad into southeastern Guilford County, the little village of Julian was born, the brainchild of the railroad developers and Samuel Deviney, a progressive citizen of the area. For several years after the coming of the railroad, the village grew. Its location in the corner of the county, in the days before good roads and the automobile, made the village a central trading center for the heretofore isolated farmers of the area. In addition, before the building of the Ramseur Branch of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad, Julian was the shipping point for some of the cotton mills on Deep River, as the mills could haul in wagons the bales of cotton from

⁶⁵The Greensboro Record, January 9, 1952.

Julian to the factories and haul back the finished goods for shipment by train. This procedure required the use of several teams of horses, with their drivers on the road many hours at a time. Moreover, the volume of the business required the full-time services of a railway agent and telegraph operation. 66 Indeed, as the twentieth century opened, the village of Julian, with her roads lined with wagons and horses and her stores and factories stirring with commercial activity, seemed far, far removed from the economic decadence that so characterized the area just thirty years earlier. Yet, this was only the beginning, or so believed many of her proudest boosters. In 1898, the reporter from the Greensboro Patriot who wrote a feature article on the villege flamboyantly described the spirit of the people he encountered in Julian:

The writer only spent three hours at Julian, but that was enough to emphatically convince us that the people there are not content to stand still. They are anxious to expand their fields of endeavor; anxious to grow into a wider scope of usefulness. Firm determination is the power that pushes onward and upward kingdoms and republics. 67

Julian seemed destined to achieve bigger and greater things.

The Social Effects of Change

Just who were these people of southeastern Guilford County who had been so changed by the coming of the railroad

⁶⁶The Liberty News, June 30, 1976.

⁶⁷The Greensboro Patriot, May 4, 1898.

to their little community? What institutions did they value, and how were these institutions reflected in their social and economic life? Upon closer examination, one finds that the residents of Greene and Clay townships, the two most southeastern townships, were not unlike the occupants of hundreds of other small Southern communities, people who found themselves caught up in the processes of change which characterized the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As far as their occupational universe was concerned, the vast majority of southeastern Guilfordians, as would be expected, were engaged in farming. Of the 223 households enumerated in the 1870 census of Greene township, the borders of which are only two miles from Julian, all except eleven heads of households listed farming or working on a farm as their occupations, with one of these indicating that he was a combination farmer-miller. Of the 167 households visited in Clay township the same year, only five deviated from farming. In both townships, the 1870 census indicates that every woman surveyed was either "keeping house" or "at home," with the exception of twenty-five women in

⁶⁸Guilford County Census of 1870. Among the other occupations listed were one shoemaker, one miller, one tailor, one blacksmith, two carpenters, two physicians, one merchant, and one minister.

⁶⁹Guilford County Census of 1870. The non-farming occupations listed in Clay included two millers, one coachmaker, one jailer, and one carpenter.

various households who were listed as domestic servants (only eight of whom were black). By 1880, while the vast majority of the Greene and Clay township residents were still agriculturalists, the diversity of alternative occupations, involving a greater number of people, was evident. For instance, in addition to the occupations among the men listed a decade earlier, more merchants were listed, more clerks in stores, and at least one traveling agent and two teachers were noted. In addition, more artisans were among those enumerated, including a cooper, a wheelwright, and a chairmaker. Of particular interest, however, is the fact that the women of the two townships had, although only slightly, broken out of the patterns of being exclusively involved in housekeeping or domestic duties. At least three of those enumerated listed their occupations to be teachers, while four others indicated their employment to be dressmaking.

Because similar information is not available for the Cenus of 1890 (much of which was destroyed by fire in the National Archives) and the censuses of the early twentieth century (which have now come under the protection of privacy legislation), it is impossible after 1880 to analyze through census returns the changes improved transportation and commercial opportunities had on the lives of particular families in the area of Julian. It is reasonable to assume, however, that because alternative employment opportunities were possible, with the introduction of factories and stores

in Julian, more people continued to avail themselves of them, considering also that only slight improvement was made in the farming practices of the residents during these years. Nevertheless, farming would continue to be the major source of livelihood for most of the inhabitants for several years to come.

Their agricultural pursuits, coupled with the necessity of using all available hands to harness the productivity of the soil, accounted for the fact that for the residents of Julian, education was a luxury that many of the rural occupants could not afford. While the census records of 1870 and 1880 made provisions for specifying whether or not a particular resident was literate or illiterate, this was not always an accurate indicator. For example, the enumerators changed during the course of counting the inhabitants of Greene township in 1870, with the second enumerator, counting almost one-half of the residents, failing to indicate literacy. Of the 223 households in the township, most of which were occupied by at least two adults, sixty white adults of those for whom literacy was noted, were illiterate. A similar pattern existed in Clay township as well. While it could be expected that black adults in 1870 would probably be illiterate, that so many whites were in this category is some evidence of the educational poverty of the southeastern sector of Guilford County.

As a result of the general lack of commitment to public education in the larger South prior to Reconstruction, the academy provided the best alternative route to an education. For many of the children in the rural areas of southeastern Guilford County, however, this means of education was not even remotely possible. The Pleasant Garden Classical School, open to both boys and girls and operated by the Rev. T. S. Whittington, was the academy located nearest to Julian, and was attended by a few of the neighborhood children. In its advertisement in the Greensboro Patriot of February, 1870, the institution announced: open the Spring session on 8th of March, 1870, and continue twenty weeks. Tuition per term, from \$6 to \$16. \$7.00 per month. Half the expenses in advance, the other at the middle of the term." 70 The Whitsett Institute, established in 1888, was another nearby institution, and offered courses in business, teaching, or college training to both young men and women. Considering such factors as the numbers of children in the families of the area (the census records indicate that five, six, or seven children were not uncommon), the amount of work in the fields which had to be done by hand, requiring as many hands as possible, as well as the general lack of prosperity of the farmers, it is not surprising that so few of the children

⁷⁰The Greensboro Patriot, February 10, 1870.

of the area attended the academy or the institute. What fundamentals of the "Three R's" the majority of the children had were learned more often than not at home, and there under the tutelage of parents whose skills were rudimentary.

Although the North Carolina Constitution of 1868, written in accordance with the Congressional plan of Reconstruction, provided that the General Assembly, in its first session, should "provide by taxation or otherwise for a general and uniform system of public schools, wherein tuition shall be free of charge to all children of the State between the ages of six and twenty-one years,"71 this provision was not immediately translated into action. When the General Assembly finally addressed itself to the Constitutional mandate on January 27, 1869, it was the chairman of the Senate Committee on Education, Dr. George William Welker, Greene township's own carpetbagger, who introduced the bill providing for a school system. bill which finally became law in April of the same year was almost entirely the work of the Senate, and provided that

County commissioners were to order a tax for sites and for building or renting schoolhouses, and that local township committees were to establish and maintain, for at least four months in every year, a sufficient number of schools at convenient localities, which shall be for the

⁷¹Edgar W. Knight, <u>Public School Education in North</u>
Carolina (Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1916)
p. 230.

education of all children between the ages of six and twenty-one years residing therein. 72

Although the principle of education by public taxation had been established by the state legislature, it took some time for these taxes to be systematically collected as well as some time to convince Guilford County residents that "respectable people" attended free schools.

The difficulty of collecting taxes for the schools was indicated by a public announcement from the Superintendent of Public Instruction, S. S. Ashley, and printed in the Greensboro Patriot in 1871:

No bills for teacher's [sic] wages can be paid until the provisions of Sec. 13 of the School law have been complied with.

A large portion of the tax for Public Schools is yet to be paid into the State Treasury. A final settlement will probably be made by Sheriffs and Tax collectors, so that another apportionment can be made to the counties early next year. How large that apportionment will be cannot now be estimated.73

That the financial support given to the schools was meager was evident when the <u>Patriot</u> published the figures for the distribution of the Educational Fund, derived from the capitation tax of 1871. Of total of \$5,550 allotted to Guilford County in 1871, \$291.75 went to Greene township, while \$174.76 went to Clay.⁷⁴ While the amount designated

⁷²Knight, p. 235.

⁷³The Greensboro Patriot, January 12, 1871.

⁷⁴The Greensboro Patriot, February 1, 1872.

for Guilford County had almost doubled by 1893, amounting to \$10,258, the <u>Patriot</u> reported that the sum was \$900 less than that of 1891-1892, and that a total of \$1.60 was being spent per student. To For the 1892-93 school term, Greene township's seven white schools and two colored schools were granted \$845, while Clay township's six white schools and one colored school were allotted \$534. Moreover, in 1880, the average length of the school term in the county was still four months, the minimum length mandated by the state, and it remained so until 1912, when the term was lengthened to eight or nine months. Even the four-month term was better than the state-wide average of only 59 days in 1890--the shortest school term of any state in the Union.

While the schools provided a focal point of activity for the youngsters a part of the year, the church occupied an important place in the lives of practically every family member all year round. The southeastern part of Guilford County was dotted with many Protestant congregations of various denominational affiliations, with many of the churches having long histories. One of the oldest churches in the county was Lowes Church, located in Greene township on the old road from Hillsboro to Salisbury. Lowes Church began as a united Reformed and Lutheran church until dissensions arose among the members of the congregation with

⁷⁵The Greensboro Patriot, January 4, 1893.

⁷⁶Ibid. ⁷⁷Kipp, p. 296.

regard to the activities of the Regulators during 1770-1771. At that point, the Reformed members left to build a church of their own. The controversy resulted in the building of a new brick church nearby, with the name, "Brick Church," becoming permanently affixed as the designation of the new German Reformed organization. It was to this congregation that Dr. George W. Welker was called in 1841 to serve as minister, a post he held for over fifty years in addition to his political activities.

Dr. Welker also found time to organize another German Reformed congregation in 1851, a church also located in Greene township on the old Martinsville Road to Fayetteville, on the upper Alamance Creek. This church was named Mt. Hope Church, and after the Civil War, in spite of the Unionist and Radical Republican views of its minister, it grew to be the strongest church numerically of any congregation in the area, claiming over 425 members. Dr. Welker was also the pastor of Mt. Hope Church for forty-six successive years, serving this congregation at the same time he was minister to the people of Brick Church.⁷⁹

The controversy in the early nineteenth century in the Methodist Church over the issue of church government led to the creation of the Methodist Protestant Church, a faction which believed that obedience to bishops was inconsistent with a republican people. The Methodist

⁷⁸Stockard, p. 130. 79Ibid., p. 131.

Protestants found many adherents in southeastern Guilford, among them, members of the Shiloh congregation, the church which originally had been founded by the Julian family in the Revolutionary period. Another Methodist Protestant Church, located in Greene township, was called Pleasant Union, a name which was chosen to create a feeling of harmony because of the prevalent controversy over church government. Although the congregation of Pleasant Union had come into being because of a split in a Methodist Episcopal Church over the particular issue of whether presiding elders should be elected by the preachers or appointed by the bishop, its earlier church building was used by Methodist Episcopals, Methodist Protestants, and Baptists in the early years of the 1830's. By 1835, however, only supporters of the Methodist Protestants were left in the Pleasant Union congregation, a group which had outgrown its original meetinghouse. On June 12, 1842, a traveling circuit preacher, the Rev. Joseph Causey, secured a deed from Eldridge Brothers, a Baptist, for the tract of land on which the old church and cemetery stood. This deed was made to Peter Julian, Christian Kime, and G. W. Bowman, trustees of the Methodist Protestant Religious Society of Pleasant Union Meetinghouse, and that same year, a larger church building was erected.80

⁸⁰The Liberty News, June 30, 1976.

Around 1840, another Methodist Protestant congregation was organized in Clay township, called Tabernacle Church, on property donated by Jonathan Causey. The first minister for this church was the same Rev. Joseph Causey who arranged for the deed for the property on which the Pleasant Union congregation located their church. Additional Methodist Protestant churches were also organized in the area, including the Mt. Pleasant Church, in Greene township near Kimesville, and the Julian Methodist Church, organized some years later in the old Julian School House on land given to the church by the Samuel Deviney family. Although the roots of many of the churches in southeastern Guilford County went much deeper, the growth of the Methodist Church in particular during the period of 1870 to 1920 certainly parallels that of the larger South. Membership in the Southern Methodist Church doubled in the fifteen years following the Civil War, with the year 1885 marking the year of the highest net gain in members in the history of the church.81 At least in Clay and Greene townships, this denomination far outdistanced its evangelical rival, the Baptists, who shared a monopoly with the Methodists in many Southern states during these years.

Regardless of denomination, however, the Sunday schools of the churches were an important aspect of their

⁸¹Woodward, p. 170.

organization, providing a supplement to the abbreviated educational experiences of the neighborhood children. The churches in both townships were organized into Sabbath School Associations, which met semi-annually to discuss the work and progress of their schools. After each meeting, a correspondent usually reported to the Greensboro Patriot an account of the group's deliberations and decisions. At their meeting on May 20, 1870, at Tabernacle Methodist Protestant Church, the delegates to the Clay Township Sabbath School Conference discussed such topics as the qualifications of Sunday school teachers and superintendents:

Frank Blair said the Supt. should be a neat and orderly kept man. John Coble said the Supt. should receive the ill-clad kindly . . . Allen Jay remarked that if a Sabbath school failed to succeed, it was owing to the incompetency of the Supt. and teachers. The Supt. should be at the house 15 minutes before school begins and meet the teachers at the door, shake hands with them, and cordially receive the poor children. 82

Over twenty years later, the townships' Sunday
School Associations were still meeting, and continued to do
so for several years longer. If the reporter to the <u>Patriot</u>
is to be believed, the gatherings also continued to inspire
their participants:

Our popular and zealous Sabbath school worker, Mr. Norman Wills' subject was "True Use of Helps in Sunday School." As our young friend stood before us entering into his subject with so much earnestness and enthusiasm it was clearly to be discerned by the fixed and steady attention depicted

⁸²The Greensboro Patriot, June 16, 1870.

in countenances of the audience that his words were finding judgment in their hearts. We were next entertained for 25 or 30 minutes by an address from Mr. Jas. Andrew. Mr. Andrew occupied most of his time in drawing a comparison between the effect of the still house and the Sabbath School on the rising generation. He was eloquent and fluent in language. 83

The churches and their Sunday schools were important institutions in the lives of the southeastern Guilfordians, providing a semblance of unity and a system of "sub-communities" in the larger townships. The church also provided a measure of identification, for one's place of residence was often designated by the church he or she lived near. Moreover, for many of the isolated rural residents, the box suppers and church socials sponsored by the various denominations provided the major outlets of entertainment and socialization for their members. The sermons of the preachers provided topics for hours of conversation among their listeners, and the churches' charitable projects were often the only source of relief for the needy.

With the coming of the railroad to Julian, the options for recreational diversion were increased for the area residents. By the beginning of the 1900's, four freight trains came into the village every day, with the passenger service also increased to four trains daily. It was now possible for the neighborhood ladies to board the morning train for Greensboro, spend the day shopping in the

⁸³The Greensboro Patriot, July 19, 1893.

city or visiting friends and relatives, and return home in the evening. But just watching the trains come and go was entertainment for many people; in fact, a fairly accurate census of the village could often be taken each evening when many residents went down to the Depot just to watch the "Shoo Fly" come in around eight o'clock. Whether they made use of the train themselves or not, the railroad was a tremendous impact on the rural residents of southeast Guilford: it meant contact with the outside world. It meant transportation -- even an excursion to Wrightsville Beach or a trip to the mountains; it meant the means of getting and selling merchandise; it meant mail; it even meant fresh fish every Saturday morning in the summer which soon after coming off the train could be bought in the local grocery store.

The coming of the railroad to Julian also had the effect of making the village a recreational attraction for others as well as providing an outlet for its own residents. In the early 1900's, Julian became the location of an exclusive hunting lodge, called the Byrd Lodge by some of the old-timers because of its association with the famous political family of Byrds from Virginia. Particularly in January and February, when birds and wild game were plentiful, the three-story lodge would be occupied by such influential out-of-state hunters as financier J. P. Morgan and the Byrds, and members of the wealthy Penn family from Reids-ville. Although the Julian residents did not participate

in the sporting activities of their well-heeled visitors, the hunting lodge did provide employment opportunities for some of the local men and women. 84

As improved transportation facilities relieved the area residents of some of the former burdens of travel,

Julian residents had more time for civic activities. Several of the local residents became participants in the

Granger movement and other agricultural associations, and spent their time and energies preparing for agricultural exhibitions and fairs. When the old Whitaker drug store was abandoned for larger premises, this small building became the lodge for the Woodmen of the World, for many years an active organization in Julian. During World War I, the women of the community used the facilities of the lodge to sew for the Red Cross.⁸⁵

The social processes associated with the economic growth and improved transportation and communication in the little village of Julian had a significant impact on the occupational, educational, religious, and recreational and civic development of the community. While change and the effects of change were not evenly felt in every area, the people in Julian and the surrounding countryside, just like

⁸⁴Statement by Calvin Hinshaw in a personal interview. As a boy, Mr. Hinshaw personally retrieved a bird for J. P. Morgan when his hunting dog failed to cooperate.

⁸⁵The Liberty News, June 30, 1976.

many other Southerners, were being introduced to new ideas and new experiences as their rural existence was being challenged by outside influences.

The Decline of Julian

While the advent of the railroad affected the lives of the people in the hinterlands of Guilford County in numerous ways, it had an even more profound influence on the development of nearby Greensboro. The operation of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad in the city in the 1880's, coupled with the earlier completion of the North Carolina Railroad, greatly expanded the marketing and commercial prospects for the city's merchants and businessmen, both geographically and in the diversity of business activity available to the city. The Greensboro Patriot described the effects of the railroad on the city in 1887:

As a business center Greensboro is developing into one of the leading markets in North Carolina, and having such fine railroad facilities, the advantages as a distribution point are beyond question. There are six outlets by rail, and the trading territory tributary to Greensboro extends over one hundred miles in every direction. 86

As important as the railroad was in bringing Greensboro's business interests in touch with potential markets, the city's success as a retailing and distribution center depended on the development of an adequate system of roads

⁸⁶The Greensboro Patriot, December 23, 1887.

and highways, a prerequisite which was non-existent in the late nineteenth century.

The condition of the county roads and highways was deplorable in the 1870's and 1880's, and the source of much agitation and inconvenience. The dirt roads were, in many instances, poorly located, improperly graded, and inadequately drained and maintained. As a result, they deteriorated rapidly, became deeply rutted, and during rainy periods, were virtually impassable. Lacking any county or state road maintenance programs, it was the responsibility of each local community to keep its roads in such a condition that travel could be accomplished. In the southeastern part of the county, it was the policy to appoint a community foreman, whose duty it was to "warn them in," or inform the neighborhood men that he had decided the road needed to be worked.⁸⁷ After the necessary warning, the community men were obligated to appear on the appointed day with their shovels, picks, horses or oxen, and to perform the necessary grading and repairs. Under such a plan, the condition of the roads obviously varied from community to community, depending on how conscientious the foreman was and the amount of cooperation he could exact from his neighbors.

⁸⁷Statement by Roscoe C. Causey in a personal interview, May 30, 1980. Mr. Causey is an 86-year-old resident of Greene township, and a former county commissioner.

That the system was far from adequate was evident from the numerous complaints about poor roads noted in the Patriot throughout the 1880's and 1890's. By 1899, however, largely through the efforts of Greensboro businessmen, the Guilford County Good Roads Club had been organized, and soon had branches in every township in the county. This organization advocated a definite plan for constructing and macadamizing the major roads in the county through the issuance of \$300,000 in bonds. 88 Although it took almost three years for the Club's proposal to be translated into action, their efforts were finally realized in 1903, when the county commissioners created a county highway commission to direct the expenditure of \$300,000 in road bond funds. In addition, it would be the responsibility of this commission to supervise the construction of the macadam roads, as well as to maintain and to construct other feeder roads.

Although the rutted and often muddy roads of Guilford County did not suddenly disappear, an important hurdle had been overcome with the acceptance of the concept of county maintenance and bond funding. In the 1920's, North Carolina undertook the most ambitious highway building program in the South, 89 thus complementing the road projects

⁸⁸The Greensboro Patriot, March 28, 1900.

⁸⁹George B. Tindall, The Emergence of the New South 1913-1945 (Baton Rouge: The University of Louisiana Press, 1967), pp. 225-226.

which had begun earlier in the county. With a system of all-weather, farm-to-market roads leading to the city, Greensboro began to reach an enlarged clientele, as customers came to the city from all directions to avail themselves of the banking, commercial, and marketing opportunities found there. Together with the railroad connections, the transportation network which developed as a result of the good roads and highways contributed much to the economic prosperity of the city.

An obvious by-product of an improved transportation and communication system was the attraction of more people to the city, a factor which, in the case of Greensboro, led to an increase in the number of wholesale and retail establishments to be found there. By the turn of the century, there were eighteen wholesale houses in Greensboro; by 1903, there were 243 retail firms in the city, and nearly twice that number by the mid-1920's.90 In addition, the larger market and increasing volume of trade were accompanied by a greater specialization of merchandise, a factor which led to the decline of the general stores and a proliferation of specialty shops. In the process of commercial development, Greensboro also became a banking center as well, serving the credit needs of numerous small communities in the outlying areas along the railroad lines, in addition to the financial interests of the city. From a single bank with a capital

^{90&}lt;sub>Kipp</sub>, pp. 125-126.

of \$60,000 and surplus and individual profits of \$10,000 in 1880, the city claimed four banks by 1920 with combined assets of \$1,800,000 and surpluses of \$365,000.91

Greensboro's development, however, was not limited to financial and commercial growth; the city also began to attract factories and industries. The first industries tended to be lumber mills and woodworking plants, requiring relatively little capital and few workers. In 1881, however, the tobacco manufacturing industry came to town, as several cigar manufacturing factories began operations, bringing employment to a considerably larger working force. Like many other Southern towns, however, Greensboro's greatest hopes for industrialization were tied to the cotton textile mills, which, in the minds of most Southerners, were symbolic with progress and prosperity. The dream of a cotton mill for Greensboro, however, was frustrated throughout the early 1880's and 1890's. Finally, in 1895, Moses H. and Caesar Cone, two brothers from New York, began construction of the first of three giant factories which, when completed, gave Greensboro its long-desired cotton mill, complete with a print and dye works to finish the fabrics which were produced.

But what would the commercial and industrial fortunes of Greensboro have to do with the little village of

⁹¹Kipp, p. 135.

Julian, one might reasonably ask. Between 1870 and 1920, before the era of major annexations, the communities were nearly twenty miles apart. Julian certainly posed no threat to Greensboro; the little village was no commercial or industrial rival in her larger neighbor's urban growth and development. Nevertheless, despite all apparent reasons to the contrary, the futures of these two communities were inextricably bound together; the fact was that as one thrived, the other declined.

Just as the railroad had opened new commercial and industrial opportunities for Greensboro, Julian residents also had been introduced to alternative ways of making a living, different products and ideas, and new perspectives as they visited varied sections of the country. The railroad had lifted the isolated rural residents out of their agrarian environment and had introduced them to a new way of living. Moreover, by relieving them of some of the inconveniences of travel by wagon and horseback, through the railroad they found they had more leisure time, more opportunity to enjoy the good things of this life.

The rural residents around Julian increasingly found opportunities to encounter "the good life." As they took advantage of the improved system of highways and roads that led to the bigger cities, the simplicity of the farm and the quietude of the rural existence, in many instances, were found to be wanting. Although the southeastern residents had clamored just as loudly as any other region for better

roads and highways so they could get their farm produce to market and buy their supplies for planting and harvesting, these same roads which, soon after the turn of the century were being used by automobiles, were also leading some of the country folk to question the wisdom of their endeavors. They began to ponder the long hours they worked on farms which seemed to compensate them very meagerly, to question the value of working from sunup to sundown under such unpredictable masters as weather, and to doubt the merit of having to deal with distant and insensitive bankers and creditors. Would not working in a cotton mill be a better life, a relief from the uncertainties and imponderables of eking out a living on the farm? To many of the rural residents of southeastern Guilford County, the cotton mill was viewed as the same cure-all as it was to their city neighbors; except for them, the mill was an answer to the problems of their personal prosperity rather than those of their community.

That the population of the southeastern corner of the county did in fact provide an important reservoir of labor for Greensboro's textile industry can be surmised when one examines the census returns between 1880 and 1910. When the results from each of the decades are tabulated, it is evident that Greene township recorded absolute losses during these years. On the other hand, the county's overall population increased by 464 per cent, due almost

entirely to the rapid growth of Greensboro and High Point.92

As the southeastern sector increasingly lost its valuable commodity of population to Greensboro, the obvious concern was how it could be stopped. If the textile industry held the key to the future prosperity of a community, could not a little village as well as a larger city attract the industry? Did not Julian, although not as advanced economically as Greensboro in the 1890's, have the same potential for future development and growth? Apparently the Cone brothers, when they came to piedmont North Carolina looking for a site for their textile enterprise, had believed the community of Julian would be an appropriate location. Just as the railroad developers had done a decade earlier, Moses and Caesar Cone came to Julian and sought out the largest landholder; their mission was to bargain for acreage on which the proposed textile mill would be built. Once again, it was the Deviney family which was approached. This time, however, as Samuel Deviney met with the northern textile developers, he knew he could not meet their de-Their plans for a cotton mill in the piedmont area mands. called for many more acres than he could or wanted to sell. 93 He had donated the land to build the town of

^{92&}lt;sub>Kipp</sub>, p. 188.

⁹³Statement by Calvin Hinshaw in a personal interview.

Julian, but now he felt he could do no more. In making his decision, Samuel Deviney, the man who established the village of Julian, determined what it was to become.

CHAPTER IV

THE BASIC PRINCIPLES AND ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING SOCIAL PROCESSES

The Social Processes at Work in Julian

While the case study utilizing the little community of Julian incorporates the methodology of the "new social history," many aspects of the community's development are not dealt with in this study. The ordinary people of Julian did not leave the documents which often provide the most important source materials for the writing of history--letters, diaries, and other secondary works about their area. consequence, much of what is known of their lives must be inferred from impersonal data, statistics which reveal very little about many important phases of their history. case study does not deal with such issues as the shared traditions or ideals to which the members of the community are committed, the processes which contributed to conflict and consensus in the society of Julian, or the implications of such concerns as child rearing and many other social issues which had an impact on the development of the community. While it is possible to approach some of the issues through the techniques of the "new social history," an accurate portrayal of the internal nature of a people is often difficult to ascertain through this methodology. This case study of

Julian is limited to aspects of the "new social history" which could be based directly on primary documents.

As the little village of Julian moved from an isolated, rural community to a thriving trading center, social
processes, or those forces and movements of change which
affect all individuals and societies, played an important
role in its transition. At work in the transformation of
the physical features as well as the attitudinal outlook of
the community were such forces as improved transportation,
economic growth and development, industrialization, social
and cultural cohesion, and population growth and decline.
While the processes which brought change were continuously
taking place in localities all over the nation, the sharper
focus that the examination of a single community affords
gives the observer of such phenomena the opportunity to study
some very complex social issues in the most retrievable form.

With the inauguration of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad, the village of Julian was established to take commercial advantage of the improved transportational facilities provided by the rail connections. While the railroad did not replace travel by wagon or horseback, it introduced the rural southeastern residents to new areas they had never before visited and to new products they had never known existed. In short, the railroad opened up their lives to the outside world. Once the resources with which to transport goods and people were available to the community, the process of economic growth and development began to operate. New

businesses began opening their doors in Julian, introducing the rural residents to a vareity of goods that had heretofore been unavailable to the local scene--ready-made clothing, aluminum cookware, and bakery bread. Moreover, the little village, through its retail establishments, in addition to the general stores, provided the country folk with the best-stocked grocery store they had known, a drug store, a bar, a millinery shop, and the services of a watch and clock repair shop and a shoe store. The convenience of having these goods and services so near at hand saved the area residents time and energy, precious commodities considering the efforts required in making a living on the farm.

While commercial expansion was an important byproduct of railroad transportation, another process which
had its effects on the development of Julian and the surrounding countryside was industrialization. Although the
village never realized the growth of industry to the same
degree as neighboring Greensboro, it did become the location
of a shuttle blocks and spoke billets factory, a box factory,
a flour mill, a chair stock plant, a nursery, and a saw mill
and polished wood industry. It also became the shipping
point for some of the cotton mills on Deep River. These
industries used the facilities of the railroad to transport
their products all over the state, and many flourished while
railroad transportation was at its peak.

Although the combined work force of all the business and industrial establishments in Julian was not large, the stores, factories, and mills did provide an option to the farm for several area residents. Until these alternatives were realized, however, the rural environment had an important impact on the process of social and cultural cohesion. The long hours required to make the farm productive, coupled with governmental indifference toward the creation of public schools, contributed to the fact that a low priority was placed on educational development by the southeastern residents. Although the Sunday schools supported by the various churches attempted to supplement the deficiencies in formal schooling, their effectiveness was undoubtedly lacking. church was, however, an important institution in the lives of the country people, as it supplied a cohesive force which helped to offset the sense of separation that the rural environment often involved; in addition, it provided an outlet for socialization and recreation. With the coming of the railroad to Julian, however, opportunities for entertainment were expanded as the possibilities of more convenient communication with new areas of the state and nation were realized. Moreover, the improvements in transportation and communication allowed the rural residents the luxury of enjoying more leisure time, a factor which increased the civil and social involvement of the citizenry.

As is evident by the case study of Julian, while social processes may be operating directly in one community

to bring about change, other processes may also be at work in neighboring towns or cities which will ultimately affect the community. As the relationship between Greensboro and Julian demonstrates, even the inhabitants of rural areas may be deeply touched by the development of urbanization and the expansion of the urban job market. As the agrarians were lured to the city with the prospect of employment in the textile mills, the process which brought about one community's population growth and the other's decline is clearly discernible. Consequently, the use of social processes becomes a valuable instrument in the comparison and contrast of individual communities, as well as a tool for determining what is uniquely local.

Implications for Curriculum Development

The writing of the history of the little community of Julian as a case study in social processes has involved the same lack of literary sources that similar local and community studies have encountered, for the residents of the village and the neighboring townships left no diaries or letters or other deliberate information about themselves. As a consequence, their story, by necessity, has been gleaned largely from census records, court records, which included property deeds and wills, business directories, graveyard records, colonial records, newspaper accounts, and interviews. The manuscript census returns, on which the census takers recorded their information, are available through the census

of 1900, except for the 1890 returns which were almost entirely destroyed by fire in the National Archives. in the returns are the names of all the people residing in a household, their ages, occupations, places of birth, and whether or not the occupants were literate. This information, and much more, has been summarized in the published census volumes. However, because the smallest unit for which most of the published information is reported is the county, the published census returns were of little utility for a community as small as Julian. Particularly useful, however, were a number of state business directories dating to the mid-nineteenth century which were helpful in identifying the various villages and population centers of the county, their merchants, factories, farmers, and professional people. Guilford County Courthouse is also a valuable repository for many nineteenth-century property deeds and wills, invaluable tools in determining family relationships as well as those belongings and accumulations deemed important. For the residents of Julian and the surrounding countryside, the Greensboro Patriot, the conservative Democratic publication of the area, was an important source of national, state, and local news. In the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, there were several local correspondents from the various neighborhoods in the county who reported news items about their contemporaries to the Patriot. Today, these tidbits and pieces of news are important resources for the researcher of local history, not so much because of their

newsworthiness, but because they are additional indicators of who the local residents were as well as clues to their social and political activities. The <u>Patriot</u> was challenged by the introduction of daily publications in 1900, when the Greensboro <u>Record</u> appeared, and later was joined by the Greensboro <u>Daily News</u>. Although these newspapers were more oriented toward state and national news than was the <u>Patriot</u>, both served as useful sources of information for the years 1900 to 1920.

Although census reports, vital records, and newspapers provided many names and statistics from which one could gather much of the story of Julian and its surrounding townships, it was helpful to be able to interview two or three local residents who had lived in the community since before the turn of the twentieth century. Their recollections and stories filled in many of the voids and gaps left by statistics and numbers, and provided the important human element so important to the writing of social history.

The focus of the history of the development and decline of Julian is on a number of common people, "anonymous Americans," who are present in communities all over the United States. Moreover, the story of Julian could be repeated untold times, merely substituting any number of local communities which have experienced the forces of change through social processes. As a consequence, considering the current interest in local and community history, the

curriculum implications of this approach to the study of American history are substantial.

In developing the history of Julian through social processes, the methodology of the "new social history" was incorporated. While traditional social history has looked at American society from the top downward, the "new social history" concentrates on the lives of ordinary people, families like the Devineys, who have had an impact, although often very subtly, on the development of their communities. Because there are more common people than elite, there are large numbers of people involved when the "new social history" approach is incorporated; in addition, there is usually a great amount of quantifiable data available. these reasons, it is practical to limit the geographical scope of the area investigated as well as the time span involved, making the local community an excellent topic through which the "new social history" methodology could be utilized in the classroom.

The use of quantitative analysis is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the "new social history," an important strategy which can be used to study small areas. While quantification is a useful tool for some social studies projects, it might not be appropriate for others. Although numerical data do not add much to the understanding of individuals and their motivation, it can be useful for describing the characteristics that people have in common.

The implications for curriculum development of the "new social history" in general and social processes in particular are myriad, and will likely soon be translated into numbers of classroom activities. For the study of local and community history, however, this approach, with its focus on millions of "little people" who have heretofore been forgotten in the panorama of American history, can provide an exciting new medium for revitalizing the important discipline of history.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

For the social studies teacher, the use of local and community history in the classroom can offer many opportunities to stimulate new interest in the subject of history. History, at least in the minds of many students, has been synonymous with dates, battles, and wars, a factor which has contributed to the movement away from the discipline in many secondary curriculums. The study of local and community history, however, offers the student the opportunity to focus on subjects which do not fit into the traditional framework of the history class.

There are many ways to incorporate the strategies of the "new social history" in local and community studies. As examples of possible classroom applications, city and county directories, manuscript census returns, and published census data can be utilized to help a class study the patterns of the community's development and to analyze its structure. By using city or county directories, it is possible to develop a social profile of the residents of one particular street. These investigations can reveal such information as the occupational structure within a community and, if compared over time, can indicate the geographical mobility of the community if the

process is repeated. Such a study can also be broadened by comparing the profiles of several streets within a community, an effective way for students to discover that social structure has a geographical dimension. School records are another valuable source of information for quantitative social history, as information about students can reveal a variety of neighborhood changes in a given period of time.

While quantitative analysis can be one indicator of the changes which have occurred in a particular community, the study of the neighborhood institutions is also an important reflection of the values of a given locality. this reason, the school itself is a logical topic for social history investigation. Such a study could involve the comparison of contemporary schools with earlier schools in the community through the analysis of such data as budgets, enrollments, kinds of courses offered, and numbers of teachers employed. A similar study could be undertaken of some of the other institutions and organizations of the community, such as churches or civic groups. Undoubtedly such investigations would enable students to discover both the changes within the community and its institutions, and the extent to which those changes are also reflections of change within the larger society.

The careful examination of local and community history and its place in the social studies curriculum leads one to ask a number of important questions. For

contemporary students who are caught in the pressures of a mass society, could not the examination of one's personal environment provide a sense of identity and belonging, components which are all too often lacking in the crowded, impersonal world of today? Could not the study of local and community history stimulate students to write their own personal histories, exercises which, for many young people, might provide a measure of control and a feeling of autonomy over their own lives? Could not the interviewing of family members and older members of the community by students provide a renewed spirit of cohesion and greater understanding between the generations? Could not students develop a greater conception of what relics and belongings of the past contribute to the understandings and interpretations of an era, as they encounter the research techniques involved in the study of their families and their communities? Could not students learn to be better preservers of those pieces of information which may contribute to the understanding of their own lives in years to come through the study of local and community history?

Because it is often difficult to transcend the narrow and uncritical enthusiasms of parochialism, local and community history, by its very nature, is prone to pitfalls. As a consequence, a number of other questions, some with negative connotations, must also be raised. In attempting to study and write about history that is emphatically local, are not influences of a regional,

national, and international nature often excluded? Is not a chief concern of local and community history the evocation of the subjective, emotional, and experiential aspects of social life and human interaction? Does not local and community history rely heavily on oral history which, because it must be the product of memory, is by its very nature subjective, personal, and idio-syncratic? Is local and community history so important that it should be incorporated into the social studies curriculum at the expense of other histories? If so, what should be eliminated?

In deciding when and how to use local and community history in general and social processes in particular in the social studies curriculum, questions such as these and others will need to be considered. In the opinion of this writer, the use of social processes provides the best approach for the study of local and community history, an approach which gives curriculum developers the rare opportunity of capitalizing on the public enthusiasm and interest in local and community history, and at the same time, providing Americans with a more objective consciousness of their society's past.

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