

INTERPRETING HISTORIC SITE NARRATIVES: DUKE HOMESTEAD ON TOUR

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ABSTRACT

Rachel C. Kirby: Interpreting Historic Site Narratives: Duke Homestead on Tour
(Under the direction of Bernard L. Herman)

This thesis uses Duke Homestead State Historic Site and Tobacco Museum as an ethnographic case study to explore a new vocabulary for understanding the power, politics, and production of historical narratives as communicated on guided walking tours. By examining narratives as they fluctuate along an arc from the scripted, the spoken, and the received, I discuss moments of sense-making, discomfort, and disconnect as they occur on the historic site. I focus on the tours' inclusion, exclusion, and negotiation of Caroline, a young girl who was owned and enslaved by Washington Duke, through which societal expectations of history can be examined in relation to the desires and goals of those who wrote the tour script. Her story offers an example of narrative discomfort, negotiated through hesitation, elision, and derision within the spoken presentation. Many voices contribute to the construction and perpetuation of historical narratives, and this thesis uses the voices of site employees, interns, volunteers, and visitors to understand the dynamism of place-based history.

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This work would have been impossible without the support of Duke Homestead State Historic Site and Tobacco Museum, particularly Julia Rogers, Jessica Shillingsford, and Mia Berg. Thank you, Julia Rogers, for taking a risk and hiring me for a summer internship in 2013, and for answering my call in the spring of 2015 when I asked if I could do ethnographic research with the site. I am grateful for everyone at Duke Homestead, even those of you whose names do not appear in this thesis. Thank you for continually welcoming my research, answering my questions, reading my transcripts, dressing me up in 1940s clothing, letting me follow a historic reenactor as he walked across the state, and giving me an up-close and personal view of life at a state historic site. I only hope that this process has in some way been beneficial to you.

To my committee, thank you for your direction, patience, and for continually asking me challenging questions. Early on in this project, Marcie Cohen Ferris asked me “why does Duke Homestead matter in a time with the Ferguson riots?” I do not have a clear answer for this

question, but it has guided the entirety of this process, and has constantly helped me remember why I find this work important. Gabrielle Berlinger, you have helped me see that it is possible to combine folklore, public history, museum studies, and historic preservation. I continually appreciate your ability to push me in multiple directions at once, while still keeping my work grounded. I am so glad that you are at UNC and that I was able to work with you on this project.

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KEY PEOPLE

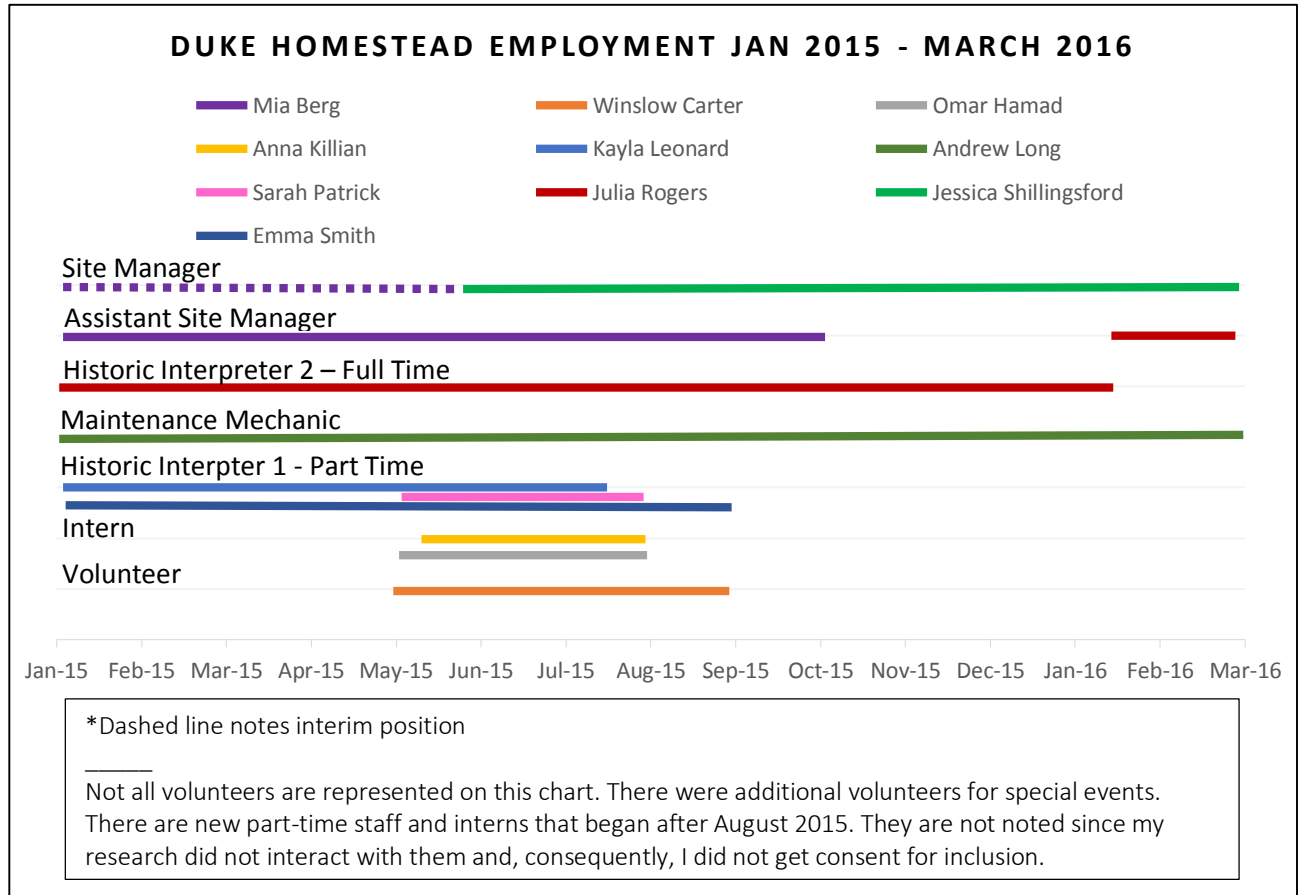


Figure 1: Duke Homestead Employment, Jan 2015 – March 2016

Mia Berg: Berg was Assistant Site Manager through the majority of my research, and she has a long history with North Carolina State Sites. She worked part time for Bennett Place and Duke Homestead, starting in 1996. She worked full time at Bennett Place from 1999 to 2007, at which time she moved to Duke Homestead as a historic interpreter. She was promoted to Assistant Site Manager in 2010, and served this position until she left the site in October of 2015. She also served as Interim Site Manager prior to the commencement of my research until June 2015. As Assistant Site Manager, her primary responsibilities were with people – organizing volunteers, overseeing the junior interpreter program for youth, and training interns and new hires.

Winslow Carter: Carter is a retired educator and a longtime volunteer at Duke Homestead. Throughout the summer, he gave tours and assisted with special events.

Omar Hamad: Hamad was a summer intern. He started in early May 2015 and concluded his internship in July. He studied history in school at Guilford College, and his primary tasks at the site were giving tours, visitors' services, and research.

Anna Killian: Killian was a North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources intern through the Youth Advocacy and Involvement Office during the summer of 2015. Her primary tasks involved managing the junior interpreter program, giving guided tours, and assisting with visitors' services. Killian is a student at Western Carolina University, and she plans to continue studying public history after graduation.

Kayla Leonard: Leonard was a part time historic interpreter at Duke Homestead through the summer of 2015. She began working for Duke Homestead as an undergraduate student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill studying history and English. She left the site to pursue an MA in Museum Studies at Georgetown University. She gave guided tours, assisted with visitors' services, and conducted research for the site. She also helped manage the site during the Soldier's Walk Home event in May 2015.

Andrew Long: Long is the Maintenance Mechanic for Duke Homestead. He began as an intern for the site in the summer of 2013, and was then hired for his current position.

Sarah Patrick: Patrick has worked for Duke Homestead every summer since 2012. She started as an intern, tasked with scanning and digitally preserving archival documents. In 2015, she was a part time historic interpreter. She studies history at Appalachian State University.

Julia Rogers: Rogers was the full time Historic Interpreter at Duke Homestead from April 2012 until January 2016, at which time she became the Assistant Site Manager. Prior to being employed by Duke Homestead, Rogers was a site volunteer, giving guided tours and assisting with visitors' services. Rogers has a BA in History and Anthropology, and an MA in Museum Anthropology/Museum Studies. As a full time Historic Interpreter, her responsibilities included leading site education, giving tours, and visitors' services, along with planning several events, overseeing the bi-annual newsletter, doing monthly reports, and managing the social media. In October, Rogers took on some of the duties of the Assistant Manager position, including overseeing the gift shop, and managing part-time employees, interns, and volunteers.

Jessica Shillingsford: Shillingsford began her position as Duke Homestead's Site Manager June 1, 2015. Her background is in art history, public history, marketing, and publishing, and her duties at the site include long range planning, supervision of site employees, administrative duties, development, event and programming planning/oversight, exhibit development, and general management/oversight of all site facilities and activities.

Emma Smith: Smith was a part time historic interpreter through September 2015. She came to the site as a volunteer in the summer of 2012, and was hired part time in the fall of the same year. Smith studied History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and at the site, her duties included guided tours, visitors' services, and site management, particularly during the Soldier's Walk Home event in May 2015.

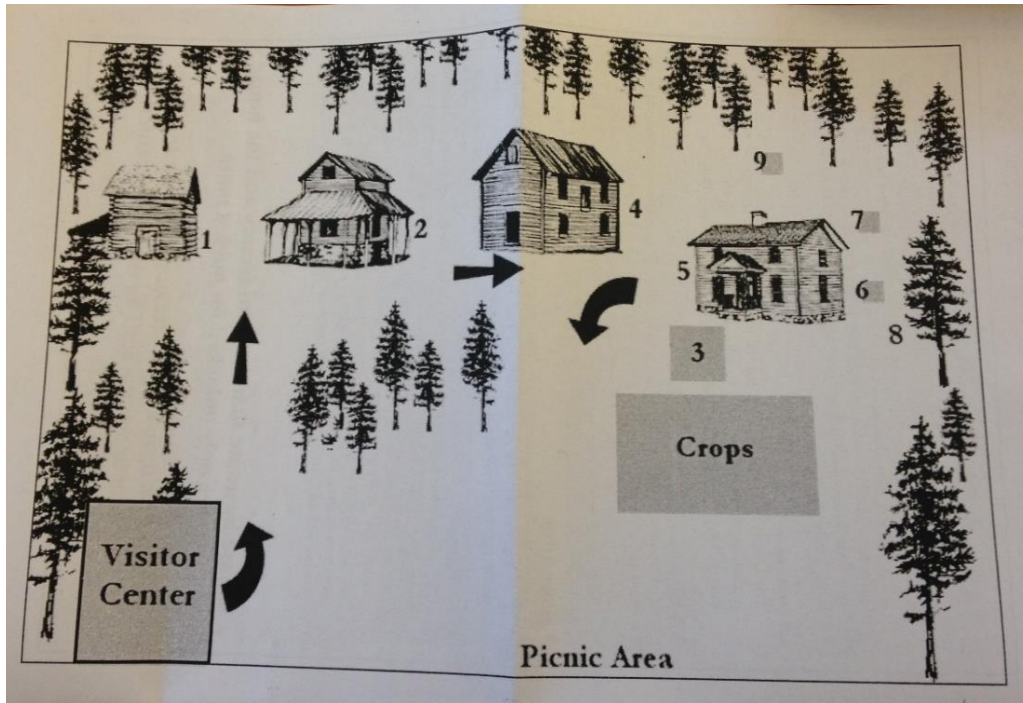


FIGURE 2: Map of Duke Homestead, self-guided tour handout.
Reproduced and included with permission from Duke Homestead State Historic Site and Tobacco Museum.



FIGURE 3: Sarah Patrick in period dress, in front of the farmhouse and corncrib, July 2015.

INTRODUCTION: SPEAKING FOR DUKE HOMESTEAD

People don't always do as they are told. I spent the better part of a year in Charleston, South Carolina writing house histories for the Preservation Society of Charleston. I conducted archival, internet, and secondary research on dozens of historic houses on the downtown peninsula, creating brief narratives that volunteer tour guides would use to lead visitors on tours through these houses. I was proud of my work, and was pleased with the efforts I took to develop stories that were both historically relevant and entertaining. What I discovered, however, was that no matter how much research I conducted, time I spent writing, or attention I placed on accuracy, the information presented on each tour was ultimately out of my control. The guides on the tours could – and did – say what they wanted to say. Some paid strict attention to my narratives, presenting my words practically verbatim. Others strayed far from my work, sharing stories with the visitors that I had never even heard. In some cases, my research functioned almost as suggestion, a role that was not at all what I expected.

These guides' performances gave me new insight into how history is told. I began to see tours as cultural performances, and as the spoken advancement of accepted stories that represent history. Rather than viewing historic interpretation as the presentation of definitive information, I shifted to see it as the selection and perpetuation of formulated stories. I knew that I was crafting historic narratives, curating what was worthy of inclusion and what was not. I was a part of the process in which some stories are privileged and circulated to wider audiences, while others are overlooked and forgotten. And the guides who used my scripts made the same choices, though

perhaps less consciously than I. As a result, the visitors on the tours frequently received a history and an understanding of Charleston that was not at all what I, and by extension, the staff of the Preservation Society, intended.

I left this experience in Charleston curious as to how the flexibility of the presented past varies from the prescribed narrative in historic settings. How do historic narratives get constructed, how are they presented, and how can the discrepancies between the two be negotiated and understood? Who are the authors of history? How and why do some stories become canonical while others are silenced? Once a story becomes associated with a particular space, how is it circulated and how does it alter in both meaning and content as it is shared with public audiences? My first-hand experience of the inconsistencies and choices of historical construction drove me to consider Duke Homestead State Historic Site and Tobacco Museum in Durham, North Carolina, is a multi-acre complex in the Piedmont of North Carolina. The total property includes a curing barn and pack house from the turn of the twentieth-century, a nineteenth-century factory, and farmhouse, and a contemporary visitors' center with a gift shop, offices, theater, and exhibit space. Together, these buildings and spaces mark property that once belonged to Washington Duke, the man who started the tobacco business that eventually grew into the American Tobacco Company, founder of Duke Energy, and namesake of Duke University. In this thesis, the site serves as a case study for exploring the negotiated relationships between historic narratives and place.

I conducted this research throughout 2015, starting the research for a class project during the spring semester. The bulk of the interviews and recordings come from the summer months (May through July), when the site was busier and my schedule was more open for research. The tours I attended were largely by chance: I attended as many tours as possible on the days I was

on the site. Consequently, I do not have an equal sampling of each guides' tour, but instead I have recordings that reflect the days I was able to be on site. Additionally, the site saw a large amount of staff turnover during my period of research. With the exception of the maintenance mechanic, Andrew Long, Julia Rogers, full time Historic Interpreter during the summer, but now the Assistant Site Manager, was the only employee or intern who was present for the entirety of 2015. In part a result of the staffing inconsistencies, the majority of my interviews are with Julia Rogers. Rogers was also one of the two people who helped write the tour guide manual that was used to train guides during the summer of 2015. Her opinions, education, and interpretive goals informed the manual that was used to train guides, and therefore, offer insight into the creation of the "scripted" tour, as it existed during my research. For these reasons, her voice remains prominent throughout my analysis. This thesis is not a history of Duke Homestead, nor an overview of the interpretive evolution that the narrative has undergone over the thirty-five year existence of the state historic site. Instead, this thesis offers an analysis of the guided walking tour and Duke Homestead's narrative as it was presented during the year of my research.

Understanding the flexibility and fluidity of history requires the recognition that "the past" and "the present" are not isolated or mutually exclusive linear phenomena. History, the study and conceptualization of past events, occurs in the present, continually manifested and processed through contemporary occurrences. Interpretations of "the past" are dependent upon "the present," just as ideas of collective identity and "the present" are bound by how we conceive a collective "past." Folklorist Henry Glassie writes of history saying, "History is not the past; it is an artful assembly of materials from the past, designed for usefulness in the future. . . . Overtly, histories are accounts of the past. Their authors, acceding to the demands of narration,

customarily seek change, the transformations by which they can get their story told.”¹ This suggests a dynamic connection to the past, rather than a rigidly defined temporal distance. Consequently, the presentation of history is a creative expression of valued and culturally significant information.

Applying Glassie’s definition of history to the museum setting, we discover the process in which the people who work in museums, and by extension, museums themselves, hold the power to interpret history as they see appropriate and to consequently shape public understanding of race, class, gender, labor, and social relations in the past and, by extension, the present. With this understanding of constructed historical narratives, I use Duke Homestead State Historic Site to examine how specific narratives are created and how they are negotiated in each iteration of their presentation, wondering who speaks for the site, who the site speaks for, how speech occurs, and what is said. I analyze guided tours as formulaic performances in which the interpreter holds the privileged position as primary speaker, through which they present and reinforce particular histories to a public audience. Ultimately, I consider the construction and presentation of historic narratives and the relationships they hold with historic landscapes in shaping public understandings of the past and the present, particularly as they fluctuate between the scripted, the spoken, and the received.

History is embedded in the physical world. Societies attach the past to landscapes through narratives: historic markers on the sides of roads, monuments that interrupt the horizon, and sites that have been preserved as remnants of times gone by. Historical “monuments” then teach the past to future generations. These narratives are always in flux, even as their monuments pretend

¹ Henry Glassie, “Tradition,” in *Eight Words for the Study of Expressive Culture*, ed. Burt Feintuch (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 177.

to fixity. There is no “one history”; historic sites are home to countless stories beyond those that are presented. These stories do not organically rise to prominence, revealed in their surrounding landscape. Instead, they are projected upon the physical environment by individuals and groups with the authority to claim social, historical, and sentimental importance. Consequently, historic sites are spaces of negotiation and spaces of choice. There is choice in what narratives become imposed upon the landscape, and what stories are privileged enough to be deemed worthy of presentation. Government agencies and nonprofit organizations curate which landmarks, buildings, and locales are funded and preserved, selecting what to elevate as historically valuable. Since the ability to present history is limited and, necessarily, involves selection and omission, interpreters and curators conduct research, choose avenues of exploration, and then negotiate their findings to craft narratives that are shared with the public. Thus, the interpreters, curators, funders, donors, board members, and government agencies, among others, serve as authors of history. They write the history that is spoken from, onto, and for specific sites, crafting stories that fit within prescribed standards, and that blend with previously canonized historical narratives.

In the same way that narratives are privileged depending on the site, sites are celebrated based on their ability to speak towards particular socially accepted ideologies. Not every place that could be deemed historically valuable is marked as worthy of research and public education. Factors including accessibility, preservation, location, and availability influence the designation of historic spaces, while politics, archival resources, research capabilities, and contemporary social climates shape the narratives projected onto such locations. For example, Duke Homestead became a state historic site largely because of interest on the part of Duke family members, its connection to Duke University, and financial support from the tobacco industry. In this sense, the

relationship between site and narrative is a construction; sites and narratives are paired together based on their abilities to support strategic rhetorical goals, rather than on an innate or universal understanding of “history.”

Even within intentional and strategic selections of celebratory spaces, narratives are subject to fluidity. Multiple voices shape narratives. Many characters are involved with the selection of a site, the classification of the space as one that holds physical and/or historical meaning, the interpretation of the space on the employee level, the actual presentation of the verbal story, spoken by a site employee, intern, or volunteer, and the narrative as heard by the audience. Each individual or group that interacts with the narrative brings with them their own sets of social assumptions, knowledge, and moral judgments that impact the presentation and reception of the story. As a result, orally presented site-based history operates along an arc that fluctuates between the scripted, the spoken, and the received.

The vacillation of the narrative between the scripted, spoken, and received is nowhere more evident than in the discussions, or lack of discussions, of Caroline at Duke Homestead State Historic Site and Tobacco Museum in Durham, North Carolina. Farmer Washington Duke purchased Caroline in 1855 when she was a young girl, with estimates of her being eleven to thirteen years old. She performed domestic labor for the family throughout her life, first as an enslaved person and later a house servant. The records around Caroline, however, are inconclusive. The 1860 census does not list any enslaved persons living in the Duke household.² This may suggest that Caroline was no longer owned by the Dukes, but records state that Washington Duke employed Caroline Barnes after the Civil War until her death in 1928.³

² Robert F. Durden, *The Dukes of Durham, 1865-1929* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 8.

³ North Carolina State Board of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Standard Certificate of Death states that she was a domestic servant for Washington Duke. Additionally, her birthday, birthplace, and parents' names and birthplaces

Patterns of labor and employment following the Civil War suggest that it is possible and realistic to assume that the Caroline before the war and the Caroline Barnes after are one and the same, and that she simply stayed with the same family after her emancipation, continuing the same work she had performed since she was a teenager. At the same time, it is possible that these are two different women. The inconclusiveness of the records, however, leave ambiguity around her story, her history, and how to include her in the site narrative.

The inconclusiveness of the records also left ambiguity around the young woman's name and how she should be referenced throughout this work. The formality of academic writing requires the use of last names, whenever possible. All of the other individuals I discuss in this thesis, historical or contemporary, are referenced either by their full name or by their last name, but not by their first. There is a long and complicated history around names, power, respect, and race, and I do not want Caroline's status as a person who was enslaved to define how she is treated and discussed in my research. I debated using Caroline Barnes as the primary name, which would allow me to refer to "Barnes" in the same manner I refer to anyone else in this writing. After a conversation with Duke Homestead Site Manager, Jessica Shillingsford, however, I realized that doing so would be acting on an assumption, as the historical records do not assign her a last name. The Caroline who was enslaved and Caroline Barnes may not be the same person.

Unsettled by the inability to confidently call her Barnes, I debated putting Caroline's name in quotation marks each time I mentioned her. Referencing "Caroline," I hoped, would call attention to the uncertainties around her name, constantly reminding the reader that historical

are all unknown, a common reality for individuals born into slavery.; Standard Death Certificate for Caroline Barnes, March 23, 1928, North Carolina State Board of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics. Copy provided by Duke Homestead State Historic Site and Tobacco Museum.

records have not thoroughly remembered this young woman in a manner consistent with the way they have remembered the white members of the Duke family. As I made the changes, though, I became uneasy with this method. It seemed as though the quotation marks – rather than communicating the inconclusiveness of the archives – called into question one of the few aspects of this young woman’s identity that the records did hold: her first name. Ambiguity surrounds her last name, and this ambiguity is worth noting. Yet adding quotation marks around Caroline, I decided, unfairly challenged the validity of her first.

Ultimately, I have chosen to refer to the enslaved woman who lived with and worked for the Dukes as Caroline. I have made this choice but I find it unsatisfactory, as it perpetuates a pattern that marginalizes and ignores part of Caroline’s fundamental identity due to her socially constructed and enforced status. I use her first name, because that is all I have. Caroline deserves the same treatment and respect as any other person discussed in this essay, but the historic record has not always viewed her in this manner. Historical uncertainties surround her name, her history, her relationship with the Duke family, and, unfortunately, the lives, stories, and identities of countless people who were enslaved, and whose names, both first and last, were not preserved in written record.

The scripted inclusion of Caroline reflects the recent priorities and intentions of the interpretive staff at Duke Homestead. The spoken narratives are the point of exchange in which information about Caroline, though not necessarily that which is scripted, is shared with the visitors. The received narratives can hold a third meaning, shaped by the words spoken, but dependent on the individual who heard and processed the performed story about Caroline. The haziness around the narrative presentation at the Duke Homestead exemplifies the layered phenomenon of multivocality seen within the historic site. The literature on multivocality is

expansive, and many scholars' writings offer insight for understanding the complexity of narrative production and translation. Existing theories are difficult in their diversity, but engage concepts for understanding what is spoken, what voices speak, what voices are heard, where authorship lies, and how aurality, vocality, and authority interact and mutually shape communicated meaning.⁴

Multivocality highlights the complexity of narrative, and the dynamism of verbal and linguistic communication. Duke Homestead holds the possibility of numerous narratives that could be projected onto the landscape, in addition to the narratives currently offered. Additionally, when enacted at the site, the selected narrative becomes the product of many voices, spoken and unsaid, contemporary and historic, formal and unofficial, simultaneously shaping the narrative as it is revealed. These moments of communication are moments of sense-making, where the historic site is charged with meaning, and a narrative sense of the past is made accessible.

In 2014, Caroline's history, previously excluded from the official site narrative, was deemed by staff to be an important and necessary aspect of the story the site tells, and was added to the guide manual. Throughout my fieldwork, however, discussions surrounding Caroline, remained inconsistent between the guides. Some mentioned her in the beginning of their tour when introducing the family, only to bring her up yet again in the house. Others waited and

⁴ Literature on multivocality: For an ethnography on vernacular architecture that explores the many narratives different communities attach to one common space: Joseph Sciorra, "Multivocality and Vernacular Architecture: The Our Lady of Mount Carmel Grotto in Rosebank, Staten Island," in *Studies in Italian American Folklore*, edited by Luisa Del Giudice, 203-243, Logan, Utah: Utah State Press, 1993.; Ronald Barthes offers a discussion of author versus scriptor, in which he decenters narrative ownership away from the classical understanding of authorship to include performance, readership, and cultural dialogue. Barthes, Roland, "The Death of the Author," trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974).; Charles L. Briggs and Richard Bauman outline "axes of comparison" for studying the relationships between texts. Axes number five focuses on the difference between oral and written text, and the gaps created from continued reproduction. Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, "Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, vol. 2, issue 2 (1992): 131-172.

mentioned her in the house when discussing the family's sleeping arrangements. One intern frequently changed the way Caroline was or wasn't presented, at times waiting until asked about enslaved people or leaving her out of the narrative completely.⁵ The introduction of Caroline to the "official" site narrative and the variations in her actual presence in the story serves as an example of the negotiations at play when interpreting historic sites.

This research does not exist in isolation, but instead expands upon existing dialogues between historians, folklorists, anthropologists, and other leaders of cultural scholarship.⁶ Many have recognized the silences and absences in historic interpretation, and the politics of the construction of historical narrative, particularly as negotiated in relation to memory and race in contemporary America. The foundational works my research draws from include the concept of silences outlined in Michel-Rolph Trouillot's 1995 book *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Trouillot states: "Silences enter the process of historical production at four crucial moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance)."⁷ There are many opportunities for the omission of details in the numerous iterations history goes through in the journey between occurrence and presentation, all of which are directly shaped by

⁵ This intern's interpretation is explored further in Chapter Four: Duke Homestead on Tour, Caroline: Spoken.

⁶ It is also important to acknowledge that, while I do not directly draw upon the writings of Freeman Tilden, my work is undeniably influenced by his influential writings on historic interpretation. Throughout my research and writing, multiple people asked me if I had read Tilden's *Interpreting Our Heritage* (1957), and I was frequently reminded of the importance of this work in the world of interpretation and public history. Though published almost sixty years ago, Tilden's work is still taught as a guide for approaching and understanding historic interpretation, and its influence on any study of interpretation is undeniable.

⁷ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 26. *Emphasis original*.

power and choice. Trouillot continues: "...any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences, the result of a unique process, and the operation required to deconstruct these silences will vary accordingly."⁸ The significance of silences in the shaping and absorption of history directly relates to the fight for including African American voice and experience in the larger national narrative.⁹ In this manner, the negotiations at Duke Homestead surrounding Caroline offer an example of the many moments of silencing and the complicated process that expanding historical narratives demands.

Two published ethnographic studies of historic sites paved the way for my fieldwork methodology. In 1997, Richard Handler and Eric Gable published *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg*. This book was the culmination of their expansive study in which they discuss the construction of "historical truth" and the relationship between education, tourism, and profit. In 2006, Cathy Stanton published *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City*, in which she discusses her ethnographic approach to the tours given on site at Lowell National Historic Park. Both of these studies were conducted by anthropologists who examined the historical and cultural phenomenon produced at historic sites. Throughout my research, they served as comparative analyses for approaches to my work, offering insight into the challenges, processes, and expectations necessary when carrying out fieldwork in an educational museum setting.

Both books offered central questions that addressed, some of which I borrowed. From Handler and Gable:

⁸ Ibid, 27; For another metaphor, see Thornton Dial's mule as history of the world.; Bernard L. Herman, "Thornton Dial's Recent Works," *Meditations on the worlds of things* (blog), April 18, 2012. <https://blherman.wordpress.com/2012/04/18/53/>.

⁹ For relevant case studies: James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, eds., *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, New York: The New Press, 2006.

“How, we asked, might museum exhibits take shape and change as they pass through the various phases of their development within a large organization like Colonial Williamsburg? What do different people—curators, historians, education specialists, frontline interpreters, visitors—contribute to the making of those messages? What are the different kinds of social interactions in which museum meanings are generated?”¹⁰

From Cathy Stanton: “How can places be made attractive as tourist sites without trivializing or erasing difficult and complex histories?”¹¹ and:

“To what extent can museums, tourism, and public history act as critical, counterhegemonic sites—that is, as places to question and perhaps challenge the dominant forces in our lives? And if we, as leftist scholars and practitioners believe that there is potential in these social forms to critique and change what we do not like about the society in which we live, how might our own work help to bring about the changes we hope to see?”¹²

Stanton also dedicates a full chapter to understanding “An Ethnographer in Public Historical Space,” in which she outlines her own role within her studies, an aspect of her work that I admire and strive to incorporate into my own work.

Where both of these books, however, at times left me wanting more was in the application of their discussions to historic sites beyond those central to their research. While I know that this thesis is deeply rooted in a study of one specific space, I hope that the questions asked can provide insight into larger discourses in interpretation, historic, memory, and contemporary society. Additionally, these two books cover two different sites: one a private not-for-profit institution, the other part of the National Parks Service. My research is in conversation with these pieces, engaging many of the questions introduced and explored in these studies. My study offers yet another ethnographic study of a site, though focusing on a third category: the

¹⁰ Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 10.

¹¹ Cathy Stanton, *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 7.

¹² Ibid, 39.

state site. While I draw on scholarship from anthropology, history, and public history, this thesis is strongly grounded in the field of folklore, a framework that brings with it new theoretical lenses and angles that can enhance the existing works. My research and analysis embraces the folklore literature on narrative and performance studies, which approaches the spoken word with detailed attention on what is said, how it is said, and why this matters. Although my thesis might serve as a guide or a manual for methods in historic interpretation, its specific purpose is to explore the narrative construction and presentation of history as illuminated in a case study of Duke Homestead.

CHAPTER ONE: COMMUNAL LANDSCAPES OF MEMORY

*“In my eyes, this is everyone’s history. You live in Durham? You have ownership of this history. You may have moved here, but so did a lot of other people. The history belongs to everyone, and that makes our role a role of being a space for the community.”*¹³ –Julia Rogers, Historic Interpreter, Duke Homestead

*“Moreover, like the students who learn best on field trips, most Americans feel most connected to history when visiting historic places. Apparently, Americans believe they are more likely to discover ‘real’ or ‘true’ history at museums and historic sites than in classrooms.”*¹⁴ –James Oliver Horton

Duke Homestead is both a space and a place. Place refers to an address, a plot on a map, a defined geography. Space goes beyond that. Space involves a recognition of the enlivening practices that make a place significant. Folklorists frequently discuss these signifiers of “space” through concepts of a “sense of place.” One’s sense of place is defined through emotional connection or affecting presence, and it can be carried far beyond the physical parameters of place or space. As a historic site, Duke Homestead’s “enlivening practices” are selected, its sense of place constructed, and its significance perpetuated through its politically and governmentally defined status. It was elevated as a place turned space, a site of cultural, historical, and local importance, deemed worthy of being maintained into the future. By definition, sense of place is constructed, yet because of its fundamental relationship to a defined and fixed location, it is supported, not undermined, by its emotional and memorial origins: “Sense of place endures all vicissitudes, then, sustaining identity, providing connections to a personal and collective past,

¹³ Julia Rogers, interview with author, February 6, 2015.

¹⁴ James Oliver Horton, “Slavery in American History: An Uncomfortable National Dialogue,” in *Slavery and Public History*, edited by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton (New York: The New Press, 2006), 43.

offering an emotional center. ...places, or our understanding of and attachment to vanished places, sometimes feel like all that is solid in a world of change, all that has undiminished value in a world of maddening flux.”¹⁵ Our sense of place, the way we as humans, both individually and collectively, come to attach our conception of identity to the physical world around us, allows us to project our sense of who we are into where we come from: into something grounded and clearly defined.

Communities celebrate particular spaces, embedding their history, past, and sense of group unity into a defined setting. This ability is clearly seen in the existence of government designated and funded historic sites, like Duke Homestead State Historic Site and Tobacco Museum. These are places – definite settings on maps – that have been marked as culturally, historically, and collectively significant. Historian W. Fitzhugh Brundage explained the tendency to designate historically significant components of the landscape:

By erecting monuments or marking of sacred places, groups anchor their memories in space and time. Objects become infused with commemorative qualities, and thereby serve as physical markers of memory that preserve the past in the present, underscoring the connectedness of past and present. Social memory accordingly becomes associated as much with material culture as with intangible images of the past.¹⁶

Thus, historic sites are a way of expressing a collective identity, offering settings where local citizens may anchor their sense of place, and communicate to outsiders how the space is to be understood. Brundage highlighted the relationship between historic landscapes and contemporary sense-of-self. Monuments and sacred places are not publicly significant without their ability to speak to the past, and without the ability to speak to a past that is deemed worthy of being heard.

¹⁵ Kent C. Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape: Folklore, Writing, and Sense of Place* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993), 95.

¹⁶ W. Fitzhugh Brundage, introduction to *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 8.

They reflect images of the past as constructed by individuals in the present, or individuals at the time of memorialization.

Together, museums and monuments create a landscape through which cultural and historical value can be read. North Carolina has twenty-seven state recognized historic sites scattered from mountains to coast. The sites exist within the Department of Natural and Cultural Resources as a subgroup entitled The Division of State Historic Sites and Properties, which “preserves, operates, and interprets significant historic sites, enabling visitors to explore North Carolina’s rich and diverse heritage in an engaging, relevant manner.”¹⁷ But the reality that a majority of the twenty-seven sites examine the lives of wealthy white men in North Carolina questions the state’s claim to diversity in its historical interpretation. The state is not acquiring new sites, so the task of diversification within history is left to the existing sites and the narratives they share with their publics.

Durham alone is the home to three sites: Historic Stagville, Bennett Place, and Duke Homestead. These three sites show the progression from antebellum North Carolina at Historic Stagville – a plantation owned by the Bennehan-Cameron family, to a Civil War surrender at Bennett Place, and the Duke Homestead that Washington Duke returned to from the war, and where he later experienced the industrialization that carried the South into the twentieth-century. Duke Homestead, then, is part of a larger network of state-sanctioned spaces that together present a particular regional and national history of North Carolina to the public. The question remains, what is the public that visits these spaces? What community does this space serve?

¹⁷ Mission statement and vision of North Carolina Historic Site: “About NCHS,” *North Carolina Historic Sites*, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://www.nchistoricsites.org/about.htm>.

According to former part-time employee Emma Smith¹⁸, Duke Homestead is “a very white space” and the overwhelming majority of visitors to Duke Homestead are white.¹⁹ Smith, who was the site’s sole African American employee at the time of my research, spoke to the lack of diversity in visitors: “Besides school trips, we probably get one black visitor every two or three weeks.”²⁰ The site is visited by local and out of town visitors, families, children, and older adults – both domestic and international. A number of out-of-state adults who visit the site have personal investments in the field of public history, and are employed or volunteer at public history sites in their own hometowns. These demographic variations impact the information presented on the tours, as the levels of prior knowledge, engagement, and curiosity differ with each group. Geography and age vary far more than race, and while Smith’s observation about Duke Homestead being a “white space” accurately reflects its visitors, it also speaks to the interpretive experience of the site. The story this space preserves, interprets, and engages is primarily white.²¹

¹⁸ Emma Smith is a pseudonym selected by the individual.

¹⁹ Emma Smith, interview with author, March 25, 2015.

²⁰ Emma Smith, interview with author, March 25, 2015.

²¹ Visitor categories are discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Four: Duke Homestead on Tour, Caroline: Received.

CHAPTER TWO: DUKE HOMESTEAD AS A HISTORIC SPACE

*“A State Historic Site should never be allowed to become static or sterile, and period reassessments will need to be made to update...the philosophy of preservation and interpretation at the Duke Homestead.”*²² –“Duke Homestead State Historic Site: A Master Plan, 1978

Duke Homestead as Self-Guided Museum

“Let’s start at the beginning. We have a very old museum.”²³ This is how historic interpreter Julia Rogers began her explanation of the restricted interpretive creativity at Duke Homestead. She began with an introduction to the site as a museum and a public educational space. In this section, I too offer a detailed description of this “old museum,” outlining Duke Homestead’s history and landscape. The historic narrative presented on tours is communicated in relation to the physical space itself. This introduction to the history, buildings, and layout of the site is intended to help reveal the ways the space and the narrative interact, and how this specific place came to exist as a state-sanctioned history site.

In 1971, the North Carolina Division of Archives and History began efforts to make the property of Duke Homestead a historic site.²⁴ The Division encouraged the establishment of the Tobacco History Corporation, founded in 1972, which aimed to raise \$500,000 for the establishment of the site. In 1973 the North Carolina General Assembly allotted \$285,000 for a visitor center and museum.²⁵ Liggett & Myers, Inc., a large tobacco business that has its roots in

²² *Duke Homestead State Historic Site: A Master Plan* (Historic Sites Section, Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1978) 48.

²³ Julia Rogers, Interview with Omar Hamad, Julia Rogers, and author, June 18, 2015.

²⁴ *Duke Homestead State Historic Site: A Master Plan*, 25.

²⁵ Ibid.

the American Tobacco Company, purchased and donated a significant tract of land, and the majority was donated to the state by Duke University in 1974. The historic buildings were purchased and opened by the State of North Carolina as a historic site in 1974, and the Tobacco Museum and visitors' center were added in 1975 and 1976, respectively. Duke Homestead officially opened on May 21, 1977, and the buildings have not been significantly updated since.²⁶

Visitors begin their trips to Duke Homestead by entering the doors to the visitors' center and stepping into the gift shop area where a staff member or volunteer greets them. From the gift shop, visitors may move into the theater where "Legacy of the Golden Leaf" shows every thirty minutes.²⁷ The exhibit space itself is dimly lit, with a hand of tobacco leaves – a collection of leaves, roughly a handful, that are all of the same quality, size, and color, wrapped together to make a single unit of sale – on the left. To the right are pictures of the Duke family and a diorama of the site. Weaving through the museum, visitors step into a replica of a curing barn and learn about Stephen Slade, the enslaved man who first discovered how to produce Bright Leaf Tobacco, the technique for which the region is now famous.²⁸ A white animatronic farmer wearing overalls and a straw hat speaks about the "thirteen month crop." Continuing on, visitors can listen to oral histories from contemporary farmers, or farmers who were contemporary in the 1980s, and view a display of machinery that marks the transition from hand-labor to industrial

²⁶ Ibid, 26.; The 1974 Master Plan suggests the implementation of temporary and permanent exhibits in the various historic buildings, the rotation of temporary displays, and a number of additional developing and changing interpretive efforts that were not brought to fruition.; The only major structural update that has occurred on the site is the addition of additional space for artifact storage.

²⁷ "Legacy of the Golden Leaf" was created in 2003; "Plan Your Visit," *Duke Homestead State Historic Site*, accessed February 21, 2016, <http://dukehomestead.org/visit.php>.

²⁸ "An accident in 1839 served as a stepping-stone toward the discovery of a standard formula for producing 'Bright' leaf. Stephen, a slave belonging to the Slade family of Caswell County, North Carolina, discovered by chance that the intense heat of charcoal as a curing fuel yielded yellow tobacco." *Duke Homestead State Historic Site: A Master Plan*, 15.

production. Circling around, visitors read about the early tobacco advertising industry, view a replica of a typical 1950s white, middle-class family living room, and see a sampling from a large collection of spittoons. Later on, the exhibit space features a large wall map noting places of significant tobacco production. The map's designation of the Soviet Union is a subtle clue to the era the exhibit was installed and the political environment in which the museum was conceptualized, funded, and developed as a space of historical and contemporary relevance. Towards the end of the museum, visitors view a wall titled "The Tobacco Debate Through the Ages," which explores the evolving popular and scientific positions regarding tobacco consumption.

Ultimately, the physical museum focuses primarily on tobacco as an agricultural crop and as an industrial product. However, according to Rogers, when the museum opened, its intended audience had a different familiarity with tobacco and agriculture than today's audience. Rogers stated:

In 1980 in North Carolina, tobacco was still the lifeblood of our state in many ways. Most people knew someone who worked in tobacco in some way, shape, or form. So [the museum] assumes a huge amount of knowledge on your part. And you fast forward even ten years, and that's changed. You fast forward twenty-seven or thirty years and it's really changed.²⁹

What exists today is a museum setting, little changed or updated in almost thirty-five years, that no longer suits its audience, and in which the Dukes are relatively absent. As a result, the guided tours have become the primary means of enriching the site through additional and alterable interpretation. The physical site is the stage for this evolving narrative performance.³⁰

²⁹ Julia Rogers, interview with author, June 18, 2015.

³⁰ Julia Rogers, Interview with Omar Hamad, Julia Rogers, and author, June 18, 2015.



FIGURE 4: “The Dukes of Durham,” Museum Exhibit



FIGURE 5: Duke Homestead’s Animatronic Farmer

Duke Homestead as Historic Site on Tour

Tours through the historic area, both the guided tour and the suggested self-guided route, begin by exiting the visitors' center. Visitors step outside and face a clearing in front of a wooded area, a space typically used for festivals and events. Historic structures are not immediately visible on the horizon. As they walk past the concrete sidewalk around the side of the visitors' center, visitors turn away from the historic house, and go through a wooded area that winds to a clearing at the curing barn, the first stop of the tour. The curing barn is the only historic building on site that was not originally constructed on the property. The Dukes' are believed to have had a curing barn, and the remnants of their supposed barn sit in a roped-off area directly to the right of the current barn. This barn was moved to the site from a different, unidentified North Carolina farm. Constructed from unfinished timbers, the wooden building has a small entrance in the center of the front wall. Simple in design, the barn held over 500 looping sticks of tobacco, and was used to cure the leaves in the Bright Leaf method.

From the curing barn, the tour leads visitors past the foundation of Duke's original curing barn and to the pack house, a larger structure with an awning that circles it, and rests upon unfinished beams. In the shade of the pack house's overhang, wheelbarrows, wagons, and additional pieces of historic farm machinery are positioned – examples of the evolving nineteenth century agricultural techniques. Visitors walk to the far side of the building and stand facing the ordering pit, with their backs to the third factory, corn crib, and house. The ordering pit is a two story building was constructed by subsequent owners of the property, and served a dual purpose: leaves were stored in the bottom of the pack house in the ordering pit where they collected moisture and became pliable, making them easier to handle when preparing for market. Above the pit is a storage space, where baskets of leaves were kept while waiting to be sold.

Collectively, this building represents the final stage of tobacco before it was sold or transformed into consumable products.

Turning from the pack house, visitors view the remaining structures: the corn crib, third factory, and house. From this vantage point, on the right sits the corn crib, a small building similar in design and build to the curing barn. This building was the first structure on the property used as a factory, converted when Washington Duke switched from growing to manufacturing tobacco. To the left is the third factory, titled according to its function. The corn crib served as the first tobacco factory. Later, the Dukes converted another building on their property into the second factory, but the structure of the second factory no longer remains. The third factory, then, was the subsequent building on the Dukes' property used as a tobacco factory. The two-story wooden structure has entrances on the sides and front with windows on both floors. Like the other buildings, it is constructed from wooden slabs, assembled with gaps to facilitate ventilation. This building, however, stands out. It was the first and only structure on the property built solely for manufacturing, thus marking the Dukes' success in production.³¹ Just a few years after its construction, the Dukes moved their business downtown, shifting away from this homestead and into the heart of the growing city of Durham.

After visiting the third factory, tour guides lead visitors to the house, frequently considered the primary attraction of the site. Built in 1852, the two-story farmhouse has been altered over time, but primarily maintains its architectural integrity. The house initially consisted

³¹ W. Duke and Sons initially focused their business on manufacturing pipe tobacco. They purchased leaves at market and at auction, and brought them back to the property to be prepared for sale. The production process involved beating the leaves with sassafras sticks, a step that simultaneously broke the leaves from the stems and into small pieces, and transferred natural sweetness to the leaves. The stems were used in fertilizer, and the leaves were then placed in a sieve and further crushed into the fine consistency necessary for smoking pipe tobacco. Once the company shifted to include cigarette manufacturing, the crushed leaves were then rolled into cigarettes for sale. The construction of the third factory was evidence that the Dukes were making enough money from tobacco production, that they could afford – and their business necessitated – the construction of a larger building dedicated exclusively to manufacturing.

of only four rooms, two on each floor, with one on either side of the front entrance. Separate from the house was a kitchen, built of more loosely assembled wood to allow for greater ventilation than the rest of the house and balance the large fireplace in the center of the room. Around the Civil War, Washington Duke had a dining room built in between the kitchen and the main house, expanding the total square footage of the home and marking the increasing financial resources available to the family.³² The house was primarily built of heart of pine wood, much of which remains. Contemporary changes to the house included accommodations for handicap accessibility and fire alarms. Four of the six rooms that complete the house are visible to visitors, but the second floor is off-limits, the staircase hidden behind a wooden door in the parlor. The upstairs rooms were bedrooms for the children and for Caroline, the enslaved girl owned by Washington Duke. During the guided tours, the upstairs space is often briefly mentioned in the parlor. The space, however, is inaccessible, left to the imagination, and relegated only a few sentences of description. Just as the upstairs remains hidden and underutilized, the narrative function of the space – the discussion of Caroline – is a site of fluctuation, negotiation, and conflict.

³² *Duke Homestead State Historic Site: A Master Plan*, 30.



FIGURE 6: The Curing Barn, July 2015



FIGURE 7: The Pack House, April 2015.



FIGURE 8: Visitors walking towards the third factory, July 2015



FIGURE 9: Costumed interpreter in the third factory, July 2015



FIGURE 10: Washington Duke's farmhouse

CHAPTER THREE: PRODUCING AND PERFORMING NARRATIVES

Whether intimately enmeshed with objects and spaces or haphazardly projected onto the landscape to serve an explicit purpose, history is narrative. Scholars of folklore and performance studies have theorized the importance of narratives, their construction, and their presentation, providing frameworks that can guide analyses of historic narratives. In 1968, folklorist Roger Abrahams called for an inclusive approach to studying performance when he wrote: “In fact, what is needed is a method which would emphasize all aspects of the esthetic performance:

performance, item, and audience.”³³ Later discussing a method outlined by Kenneth Burke, Abrahams continued, “The importance of [his] theory is that it causes us to consider the form and function of the isolated item; we look simultaneously at the performer, at the piece he performs, and at the effect which this has on the audience.”³⁴ To study a performance we must first recognize that we have isolated an item (form) and removed it from its original context, and secondly that the performer’s intentions, the audience’s reception, and their resulting interactions (function) are as important to understanding effect as the actual words themselves.

Abrahams’ approaches directly apply to tours given at historic sites and at Duke Homestead, as the item, performance, and audience can be easily delineated within these events. Item, audience, and performance are mirrored in viewing historic narratives as existing along a fluid spectrum between scripted, spoken, and received. The “item” is the scripted information at hand: the history of the site and the narrative used to share the desired information. This narrative is based, at least in part, on a written manual used to train new guides, and outlined with the intention of creating a level of consistency between the tours given by the many guides. The narrative is used to take visitors through the historic site, stopping outside of the curing barn and pack house, and entering into the third factory and the Duke farmhouse. The history shown in the Tobacco Museum is set, printed on panels, and hung on walls. While the performance of the information is in flux, the site’s “official” narrative is outlined in print and on paper. It is defined.

At Duke Homestead, the “audience” is made of up the visitors, the people attending the particular tour who receive the narrative. Visitors come from a variety of places, as local as

³³ Roger D. Abrahams, “Introductory Remarks to a Rhetorical Theory,” *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 81, No. 320 (April-June 1968), 144.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 145.

Durham and as far away as Germany. They have a varying degree of prior knowledge of tobacco, Washington Duke, and Reconstruction, but they generally recognize the Duke name because of Duke University. Some visitors are actively engaged in the tour, asking questions and nudging the guides into extended tours and conversations. Others remain relatively silent, falling more into the role of an observer than a participant. The dynamics between guides and visitors vary drastically depending on the guide's personality and the interest level of the visitors, but one thing is always certain: tours are not given unless there are visitors at the site.

The received narrative depends on the audience, and not only as reason for presentation. The audience receives the narrative they are able and willing to hear. Guides vary their delivery and information depending on the visitors, but the visitors do not always receive the information in the manner intended by the guide who speaks the words. Particular nuances in language may be missed, references may not be understood, and personal backgrounds and opinions may shape the reception of the information, allowing for the narrative as taken to differ from the narrative as presented and as intended.

The "performance" is the actual presentation of the information itself: the narrative as it is spoken. It is the specific event in which a guide leads a group of visitors throughout a particular area sharing the site narrative. And despite any script, guidelines, training, or standards that any site may have in place for their tour guides, no two performances are the same. The narrative presented varies each time it is spoken. Each guide has their own habits and tendencies towards variation within the scripted narrative. No two guides present the information in the same manner. Additionally, there is inconsistency within the tours given by the same guide. The questions asked are dependent upon the visitors in attendance and the interpreter's "reading" of her or his audience. And guides alter their tours to include new information, to better emphasize

particular points, to accommodate the other events occurring at the site at any particular time, among other reasons that call for adjustment and variation from a standard routine. These questions then influence the performance, altering the dynamic between the “performer” and “observer.” Each performance is unique, though unified by the three elements outlined by Abrahams.

Performances reflect the culture in which they are born, and they are shaped, in turn, by that culture. In his 1977 study of performance theory, folklorist Richard Bauman outlined a number of types of performance, explaining how they function and how they may be studied. He discussed the idea of a “cultural performance,” an event drastically unlike the personal and storytelling traditions usually associated with narrative. “Cultural performances tend to be the most prominent performance contexts within a community. They are, as a rule, scheduled events, restricted in setting, clearly bounded, and widely public, involving the most highly formalized performance forms and accomplished performers of the community.”³⁵ These performances clearly are of great societal value and are worthy of study and consideration. Yet Bauman continued: “As interesting as cultural performances are, performance occurs outside of them as well, and the most challenging job that faces the student of performance is establishing the continuity between the noticeable and public performance of cultural performances, and the spontaneous, unscheduled, optional performance contexts of everyday life.”³⁶

The event of a guided tour on a historic site sits between these two discussed categories, not fully a cultural performance yet not spontaneous or unscheduled. Specifically considering the tours at Duke Homestead, these presentations of history are scheduled (every fifteen minutes

³⁵ Richard Bauman, *Verbal Art As Performance*, (Proquest Heights: Waveland Press, Inc., 1977), 28.

³⁶ Ibid.

after the hour), restricted in setting (through the historic site owned by the state of North Carolina), and widely public (the site is free to the public). Yet they do not completely match Bauman's additional criteria. While they are, in fact, clearly marked with a beginning and end explicitly stated by the tour guide, they are not "bounded." They are, however, the only way visitors may go inside of the buildings, creating a controlled circulation of particular experiences and knowledge. Visitors who arrive at the visitors' center shortly after the departure of a tour are frequently encouraged to catch up with the group, and there is no rule against leaving a tour early.

The guides at Duke Homestead all receive some level of training and many are quite skilled at their presentations, but their age, educational level, and amount of time spent training is inconsistent, disqualifying them from Bauman's "most highly formalized and accomplished performer" category.³⁷ When beginning as a staff member, intern, or volunteer, the full-time interpreter gives the guides tour materials that include the script outline and supplemental readings on the Duke family. The assistant site manager is the person who actually carries out the training, familiarizing guides with the procedures, protocols and best practices for working at the site. The training process, however, is not consistent, as different guides receive varying levels of attention when they begin. For example, intern Omar Hamad began in May of 2015 just before the full time staff departed for a two-week event off-site. With the staff distracted by the upcoming event, Hamad's training was rushed, and his initial tours received little oversight. While the provided materials, specifically the tour script, is uniform, the attention, mentorship, and engagement between new guides and staff varies greatly depending on such circumstances, contributing to incongruence between guides' tours.

³⁷ Ibid.

Evaluating the tours in relation to the more casual performances Bauman discusses, it is clear that they do not fully align with “the spontaneous, unscheduled, optional performance contexts of everyday life.”³⁸ The tours they are not spontaneous or unscheduled. They are simply optional. The guide takes on the role of the performer, clearly aiming to communicate specific information in a planned manner, with the hope of being educational and engaging. They are not, however, actors on a stage. Visitors interrupt, question, interject, and contribute to the tour experience, actions with the potential to enhance or hinder the success and reception of the narrative at hand.

In addition to the ambiguities brought about from the differences in training, performer skill and style, and the unknown variable of visitor interaction, the narrative presented is not fixed. There is no one “true,” or “authentic” story of the buildings, people, industry, or lives connected to Duke Homestead. And even if it was possible to gather all of the information linked to this place, it would be impossible to communicate it within the allotted forty-five minute timeframe. But as is, the different tour guides are at the liberty to present slightly different stories. They are asked to cover the same basic structure and progression, including many similar facts, concepts, and ideas. Their nuances and delivery, however, varies greatly. One guide spends more time on the labor movement, while another focuses more on the agricultural aspects of tobacco production. These differences, while at the surface level appear slight, alter the overall narrative presented and thus create varying understandings of the history that is connected to this place.

³⁸ Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR: DUKE HOMESTEAD ON TOUR

Caroline: Scripted

Duke Homestead's current mission statement is "to preserve and interpret the history of the Washington Duke homestead and the North Carolina tobacco industry."³⁹ The relationship to the tobacco industry, according to Julia Rogers, expands the purview of the site, broadening its interpretive scope far beyond the Duke Family.

We get to tell African American history. And because the tobacco industry affected so many people in North Carolina, we can tell the stories of sharecroppers. We can tell the stories of African American freed persons. We can tell the stories, even though Washington Duke didn't own enslaved persons that were necessarily working in the field, we have the opportunity to tell the stories of those enslaved persons as they lived elsewhere... We're here for the community. Preservation without interpretation doesn't mean very much. At least in my eyes, the point of preserving, the point of collections, the point of keeping these old homes alive, keeping these properties here, not demolishing them, is because it has an inherent meaning to the community. Not what the community was, but what the community still is.⁴⁰

In this description, the site is fundamentally a space that needs to be aware of its past and its

³⁹ "Mission Statement," posted and displayed at Duke Homestead, March 2015.; "Duke Homestead: A Master Plan," written in 1974, stated: "Among the management objectives of the Historic Sites Section relating to Duke Homestead are: Preservation of the Duke Homestead's historic buildings and grounds as well as the collection and preservation of artifacts associated with the history of tobacco. Interpretation of the history of tobacco and the Duke family, with particular emphasis on the latter's role in the development of the modern tobacco industry and philanthropy, through tours of historic structures, exhibits, audiovisual presentations, and other educational vehicles. Facilitation of a pleasant environment for visitor day-use of the site by provision of amenities such as adequate parking, a rest and refreshment area, and routes for pedestrian circulation. Implementation of a long-range historical and archaeological research program to investigate thoroughly the history of the site and tobacco. Cooperation with all public and private groups and individuals, particularly the Tobacco History Corporation, to achieve the above goals as well as other aims necessary for the successful development and operation of the Duke Homestead State Historic Site." *Duke Homestead State Historic Site: A Master Plan*, 2.

⁴⁰ Julia Rogers, interview with author, February 6, 2015.

present, and the relationship between the concept of history and contemporary society as it exists today.

While Rogers believes that Duke Homestead has the responsibility of being a community space that tells the history of Durham to the people of Durham and the city's visitors, she also is aware that the physical exhibit space currently falls short of her interpretive goals. With recent changes in the budget and staffing, she has hope that there will soon be new options for altering the exhibit space.

Can we put down projects and say every year, every two years we want a different temporary exhibit? Which would mean we could talk about what it means to be an enslaved person on a small farm in Orange County. What did slavery look like in Orange County before the Civil War? Because a lot of enslaved persons would have been working in tobacco, and in Orange County you've got a unique situation where you have people who owned enslaved persons solely to rent them out. I had no clue that even happened until I was working here. That's not a part of history that gets told.⁴¹

The history that is attached to this space does not have to be limited to Washington Duke, his business, and the tobacco industry. There are more stories that this space could tell that would be far more diverse and inclusive than the narrative originally attached to the landscape, and Rogers knows this full well. She also knows, though, that there are limitations to what the physical site can do.

As a state historic site, there are many hurdles that surround updating the physical interpretation. The museum opened in the 1980s and has not been updated since that time. The historic buildings require costly conservation and preservation maintenance, and monopolize the resources that might be available for expanding interpretation. The limitations on budget and staff hours leave the Duke Homestead staff little physical room for altering the presentation of history as manifested in the landscape and the space itself. They turn instead to the forty-five

⁴¹ Ibid.

minute guided walking tour as their primary venue for constructing and presenting history in the manner they currently see necessary and appropriate. Speaking about the possibility of temporary exhibits, Rogers stated: “In lieu of the fact that it’s going to take forever because it’s the state, I think that the tour is the best bet for talking about those things,”⁴² – specifically referencing the above comments on the enslaved experience.

Given the tour’s focus on the Duke family and the people and events connected to this property, Caroline becomes the most direct opening to the discussion of slavery related to Duke Homestead. Rogers continued:

I was going over materials yesterday, our training materials for the tour, and I was making sure Caroline was in there as something you need to talk about with the students in the parlor. And we talk about it in the parlor mostly because we talk about the bedrooms. ‘Who would be sleeping in this home? Washington Duke and his wife would be sleeping in this home. His children would be sleeping in this home. The enslaved person owned by Washington Duke would probably be sleeping in this room.’ Yeah, the tour is the best bet.⁴³

The tour is the best place to discuss slavery, and Caroline is currently the critical historical voice that shifts the Duke Homestead narrative away from the myth of the great hero-benefactor and towards a more inclusive version of history.⁴⁴

In this sense, the construction of a particular narrative, or the alternation of the official narrative, is intentional; the interpreters at Duke Homestead have scripted a narrative that helps to compensate for the absences in the physical museum that they are currently unable to alter. In the fall of 2014, Julia Rogers and Emma Smith, full time and part time interpreters, respectively,

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ “I really don’t want it to be a rags to riches story, and I try to avoid that phrase, which is why I’m always like, remember, they were doing pretty well as farmers, and they were living. Because it promotes this myth. This myth of American exceptionalism. And I don’t really want to promote that because it’s not true.” Ibid. For more, see interview with Julia Rogers in APPENDIX E.

re-wrote the official tour guide manual to include historical material about Caroline. Despite her absence from the original tour script, knowledge of Washington Duke owning an enslaved person has existed since the site first opened. *The Duke Homestead Guidebook*, copyrighted in 1978 by the North Carolina Division of Archives & History, states “Though records indicate that [Duke] owned only one slave, a female housekeeper, it is known that he participated in the common custom of hiring slave labor from larger farms and plantations.”⁴⁵ Prior to the 2014 revisions of the tour manual, the tour included conversation of Duke Homestead and the site before the Civil War, but did not require the discussion of Caroline. Some guides voluntarily incorporated her into their tour narratives, but this inclusion was of personal interest and volition rather than site-mandate or scripted suggestion.

The latest tour guide manual outlines the flow of the tour and what information is best suited for discussion at given locations throughout the Duke Homestead property. The section on the parlor includes the following paragraph on Caroline:

The stair case is also a good place to talk about Caroline Barnes and her role as an enslaved person on the Duke farm. We know that Barnes was purchased in 1855, at the age of eleven. She was probably responsible for child care and domestic duties such as, cleaning and cooking. Barnes most likely slept upstairs on the floor of the children’s room. In 1860 a census was taken and she was not on it and we lose track of her whereabouts; but, after the Civil War a woman named Carolina comes to work for the Duke family as a house keeper. Barnes did get married and have two children and probably lived in the predominantly black sector of Durham, known as Hayti.⁴⁶

Compared to the biographical Duke family information and the detailed descriptions of agricultural and industrial tobacco production, this paragraph on Caroline remains short and

⁴⁵ Linda Funk, designer editor, *The Duke Homestead Guidebook*, (North Carolina Division of Archives & History, 1978) 3.

⁴⁶ “Tour Guide Manual,” (Duke Homestead State Historic Site and Tobacco Museum, 2014), 9.

peripheral to understanding the larger significance of Duke Homestead. It does, however, definitively assert Caroline's place in the site's narrative. Whether employed, interns, or volunteers, guides are expected to know the eleven-page manual, and use it as an outline for their own tours. The decision to re-write the manual and include Caroline reflects Rogers' and Smith's efforts to acknowledge the female, black, enslaved members the Duke Homestead community, efforts critical to the site's stated mission and that of the Division of State Historic Sites and Properties.

When asked the primary takeaways of the site, however, guides and employees did not mention diversity, labor, or slavery. Julia Rogers states that guides must cover the same information, even if the delivery is varied: "There are core points that we teach everyone at each stop. As long as you get them to points A, B, C, and D, how you get there doesn't matter so much. As long as you're not saying inaccurate information or being terribly mean."⁴⁷ This dismissal of the nuances of performance suggests that the manner of presenting the spoken word matters little, so long as the words themselves match the key points of the script. These main points, according to Rogers, include an introduction to the Duke Family, farm life in pre-Civil War North Carolina, the auction system, the intensity of tobacco labor, the transitions surrounding the Civil War, and "how he built the business, how big American Tobacco became, and what they did with their money."⁴⁸ Using these "guideposts" to inform a tour, tour guides could easily overlook issues of race and gender, although conversations about labor and the Dukes' businesses directly relate to class. This linear narrative, however, also opens the

⁴⁷ Julia Rogers, Guided walking tour of Duke Homestead, recorded by author, February 6, 2015.

⁴⁸ Julia Rogers, interview with author, February 6, 2015.

possibility of positioning the Dukes as a ‘rags to riches’ story, a trope on which the staff and interns at Duke Homestead have conflicting opinions.

Anna Killian, a North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources intern through the Youth Advocacy and Involvement Office, was asked the purpose of public history. She stated it is important because:

North Carolina has some awesome stories to tell. Just knowing that, in my mind, builds a pride in the people. And when you have pride in where you’re from, you want to invest in where you’re from. And investing just makes it better. . . . Learning about where we come from and being proud of that and finding pieces that makes us happy, then that helps North Carolina be better in the future. Certainly, like everybody else, we have bad scars on our history. But we’ve got some good stuff in there too, and we should be happy about the good stuff, I think.⁴⁹

For Killian, museum interpretation is about pride and investment.

Sarah Patrick has been a summer employee at Duke Homestead for the past four years. She began as an intern, and her first assignment was scanning slides for the archives. Asked to reflect on the main story of Duke Homestead, Patrick stated:

I guess all the tours are pretty different. But for me, it’s a story of just a regular farmer growing and becoming something incredible. It’s the story of going from nothing...and then someday his name is plastered all over Durham and everybody knows Duke University, Duke Hospital, Duke Energy. So for me, it’s that story of being a regular farmer, having all this tragedy, people dying and having to go to war, and coming back and saying, ‘well, what can I do now? Let’s start a business.’ And that succeeding incredibly.⁵⁰

Here, the story of Washington Duke is a success story, and a story that tells of important developments in the beginnings of Durham. It is a story of overcoming challenges, and a story that is crucial to the local understanding of place. For Patrick, the tour is also an important

⁴⁹ Anna Killian, interview with author, July 30, 2015.

⁵⁰ Sarah Patrick, interview with author, July 31, 2015.

opportunity to help the public make connections between contemporary issues and the past. “I think it’s more important than people realize, for them to have an understanding of at least the basic facts of history in order to understand modern problems. That’s one very important reason for stories to continue being told. Most everything that happens now-a-days has happened in some form or another before.”⁵¹

On June 17, 2015, the relationship between history and the present became a dramatic reality when a young white male named Dylan Roof entered a prayer service at historic Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in downtown Charleston, South Carolina, and shot ten people, killing nine of the victims. Roof was an advocate of white supremacy, citing hopes of a race war as his motive for the killings. His online website displayed a manifesto and images of him with the Confederate battle flag. This mass shooting reignited old conversations surrounding racism, history, and the battle flag, with mainstream media debating “heritage” and “hate.” In the months that followed the hate crime, the Confederate battle flag that flew over the state capital ground in Columbia became the focus of heated debate. The flag was eventually removed from display during a public ceremony attended by thousands and broadcasted live online. In and beyond the South, universities, towns, and institutions, both public and private, discussed their statues and monuments to Confederate leaders and known slave owners, questioning the appropriate way to memorialize the controversial history that was painfully real in the present, and that mainstream society could no longer ignore.

Leaders in the field of public history questioned their responsibility in responding to historically-based debates – and historically inspired violence – occurring with greater

⁵¹ Ibid.

frequency, publicity, and emotion in American daily life.⁵² At their core, historic sites are spaces designed to break the divide between the past and the present. They can be places that invite the public to learn, contemplate, and struggle with the complexities of history. And in the wake of the murders in Charleston, historic sites, like the rest of the country, asked themselves, “how do we move forward?”⁵³ For Duke Homestead, with the many obstacles that hinder the development of exhibits and limit immediate interpretative flexibility, tour guides reacted to the Charleston murders by creating a space for visitors to ask questions and thoughtfully engage history. Tour guide Sarah Patrick explained:

For me lately, there’s been so much in the news about people getting angry about things in history coming [up]. And it seems like people will just jump on the bandwagon and yell and raise their fists and fight each other and not really stop and think, ‘these were real people that lived a long time ago. What was that really like?’ Instead of getting up in arms about something and just yelling about things they don’t understand, I think it’s important to go and visit a history site and see, this is how people lived. This is what their life would look like.

‘How would I have thought differently if I was them?’ Instead of just running around and saying, ‘well, all your people were racist,’ or whatever they say. Step into the shoes of people who lived a long time ago. And that doesn’t mean excusing people’s actions, but just understanding that these are real people too, I think is really important. Because people will just bring up things in history to make an argument for modern day things, which is perfectly reasonable sometimes. But I think living history just helps people see, ‘Oh, this could have been me if I lived 200 years ago. How would I have felt?’⁵⁴

⁵² Thomas J. Brown, “Civil War memory and American gun culture,” *National Council on Public History*, November 10, 2015, <http://ncph.org/history-at-work/civil-war-and-american-gun>.

⁵³ The Black Museum Movement marks a time when sites dealt with similar questions: “Conference organizers intended to solicit discussion about how traditional museums could remain relevant in the context of recent social and political upheavals as well as explore the groundswell of interest regarding how, and whether, mainstream museums should open small branches in neighborhoods historically neglected by these institutions.” Andrea A. Burns, *From Storefront to Monument: Tracing the Public History of the Black Museum Movement* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 1.

⁵⁴ Sarah Patrick, interview with author, July 31, 2015.

As she continues, Patrick explains that, while the story is one of success, the tour offers the chance to function beyond this aspect of the narrative. It is an opportunity to learn about a complicated past and to think critically about how this past remains present in light of contemporary events.

The tour script did not change as a response to the shooting in Charleston, but the murders weighed on my mind and the minds of the tour guides and the visitors. The trauma in Charleston impacted the meaning behind the spoken and received narratives at Duke Homestead. I struggled to understand how the history presented on the tours – and the history presented at any historic site related to slavery and the Civil War – could ever exist in isolation from the racial violence in Charleston and elsewhere. I longed for a way to blatantly point out the intimate relationship between past systems of violence and oppression, silences within historical narratives, and the recent killings that I could not comprehend. I was not the only one for whom the events effected their understanding of the history of the site. For Patrick, the increased conversations around race and history added importance and intention to her role as a mediator of public history. In the aftermath of tragedy, the interpretive script became an invitation for dialogue between Patrick and visitors.

The tour guides' varied statements on the interpretive purpose and emphasis of their tours highlight the significance of individual delivery, even when basic tour information is meant to be uniform. The script is not a monologue meant to be recited word for word in the allotted forty-five minutes tours. Nor would site manager Jessica Shillingsford want the script to be used in such a manner. "I also believe that people give better tours when they're able to digest and then, not regurgitate, but spit it back out in their own logical way. I just think that it's easier for you,

so then it's easier for the people who are with you to follow you. Whereas, if I'm struggling through someone else's script, then it's probably not making that much sense.”⁵⁵ Leaving room for each guide to learn, claim, and form their tour as they see best fit gives voice to personal intention. These personal variations impact the narrative, the tour, and the audiences' understanding of the history attached to the space, and its importance.

Caroline: Spoken

The power to script a historical narrative and the power to speak it are not the same. In some instances, there is overlap. At Duke Homestead, interpreters Julia Rogers and Emma Smith reshaped the tour guide manual and they also give tours, a situation in which the script and the presentation work in relationship with one another, influenced by the same individuals. For Rogers and Smith, the script is malleable, an object they can and have altered as they see necessary. For the other guides at Duke Homestead, they receive the scripted manual fully formed. The script comes in the form of a bulleted list, suggested flow, and frequently asked questions, rather than as a written out speech to be recited. Nonetheless, the tour manual is a finished document presented to them by the staff, offered with additional resources for their review, but not presented in an editable form. To them, at least in part, the tour script is a fixed document.

The presentation of the tour, however, is not static. Each tour guide executes the script in their own way, emphasizing aspects they find particularly interesting or important, while, consciously or not, minimizing areas they find less crucial. Not only do the tours vary from one guide to the next, no two tours given by the same guide are exactly the same. Additionally,

⁵⁵ Jessica Shillingsford, interview with author, July 24, 2015.

understanding the spoken requires the recognition that these forty-five minute guided walking tours are larger experiences that re-create the narrative each time they occur. Just as the tours are not monologues, they are not robotic, and they are not uniform. They are related yet also isolated performances of history.⁵⁶

Particularly during the summer months, tours are frequently given by interns, part-time staff, and volunteers. Often, interns and volunteers are college students or recent graduates who come to the site seeking work experience. In May of 2015, the site and the tours were even more dependent upon volunteers and interns than in the past; the fulltime staff were away for two weeks participating in an event commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Civil War. Omar Hamad was a new tour guide and intern that summer, primarily tasked with giving tours. Hamad was given the tour guide training packet, directed to additional resources, and encouraged to follow the tours of the current guides, all in preparation for giving his own tours. Given his training and introduction to the tour outline, Hamad's interpretation varied, as his tours were marked by depreciation, elision, and hesitation, the outcomes of narrative discomfort.

On May 28, Hamad had been giving tours for a few weeks, and Rogers joined the tour to observe. I came along to record. A new summer intern, Anna Killian, also followed the tour. She started a few weeks after Hamad and was still trailing the various guides' tours to help her craft and learn her own tour. In the parlor, Hamad began by closely following the information as outlined in the scripted tour packet:

Also [sleeping upstairs] with the children, they would have had one slave girl and her name was Caroline Barnes. She was purchased in 1855. She primarily would have been a housekeeper as well as a playmate of the Duke children. She was the

⁵⁶ Deborah A. Kapchan outlines four consistent elements of performance: "performance is public...performance is set apart from practice...performance is participative...performance is transformative."; Deborah A. Kapchan, "Performance," in *Eight Words for the Study of Expressive Culture*, ed. Burt Feintuch (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 130.

only slave reported to be owned by the Duke family during this period. We lose track of what happens to her after 1860 although we do believe that she moved to the Hayti neighborhood here in Durham, which is a historically African American neighborhood.⁵⁷

At this point, Hamad's major variation from the scripted information is that he did not explain the holes and ambiguities in the census records, nor did he state that records also show a woman of the same name working for the Duke family after the Civil War. These omissions create a condensed understanding of Caroline, but not one that would necessarily be deemed inaccurate.

On this day, Hamad continued:

A lot of people...come here with the mistaken notion that the Dukes were plantation magnates. So I want to take the time to also dispel that myth because they were really modest farmers when they started out, unlike Stagville or some of the other places you'll see around here. They didn't really rely on enslaved labor as a primary means of farming and growing the tobacco around here.⁵⁸

These next few sentences are Hamad's own addition to the tour, a variation from the scripted guide manual. The first two of these three sentences are generally accurate. Other guides at the site have noted the frequency with which they get asked about enslaved people, slave quarters, or other aspects of "plantation" life.⁵⁹ The farmhouse, the size of the farm, and the Dukes' lifestyle all suggest that, prior to the Civil War, he would have been considered an average farmer. He had money, land, and resources, but he was not a member of elite society, nor did he have the massive wealth associated with large plantation owners. The claim, however, that Duke did not rely on enslaved labor for his farming could be debated. Records show that Duke did rent the labor of people who were enslaved by his neighbors and community members.⁶⁰ So while Duke

⁵⁷ Omar Hamad, guided walking tour of Duke Homestead, recorded by author, May 28, 2015.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ For examples, see APPENDIX G and APPENDIX R.

⁶⁰ "Your boy Jim left me last night as two or three other negroes in the neighborhood left. I think they are trying to get to the Yankee lines. I had had no difficulty with him. Respectfully, W. Duke." Washington Duke wrote this

is not known to have owned more than one enslaved person, he did use the labor of enslaved people to operate his farm. His farm and, by extension, his lifestyle benefitted from the institution of slavery.

Questions of accuracy aside, these few sentences functioned as a denial of the seriousness of Caroline's status as a person who was enslaved. This commentary holds much of the same weight as the commonly asked question: is Washington Duke a "good slave owner?," to which Rogers responds "There is no good slave owner."⁶¹ Comparing Duke to the owners of Stagville⁶² is essentially claiming that Duke was "not as bad" as those who enslaved larger numbers of people. It undermines Duke's involvement in and benefit from a system of oppression and does a disservice to Caroline, a woman who lived in a system that denied her control of her own personhood.⁶³ Here, the reality of Caroline's experience as an enslaved person is depreciated, as is Duke's involvement with the system of enslavement.

letter, and another, to James W. Cox, discussing the renting of enslaved labor for Duke's farm. Reference here to the letters about the enslaved person who was rented to work on his land and ran away while under his watch. These documents are in The Wilson Library.: Letter from Washington Duke, June 13, 1863, Series 1, Folder 4, in the James W. Cox Papers #3653, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁶¹ Julia Rogers, interview with author, February 6, 2015.

⁶² For more information on Historic Stagville: "Visit Stagville State Historic Site," Historic Stagville Foundation, accessed March 14, 2016, www.stagville.org.

⁶³ See APPENDIX O. Julia Rogers, interview with author, July 23, 2015. Rogers stated: "To paint Washington Duke as a person he was not devalues the lives of the people who were enslaved. What they're saying is, 'oh, he was a good slave owner.' That's the low end of the rung, right there. That was not the life Caroline led. To tell a lie about her life because you, because your ancestor or the person whose life you interpret, you are embarrassed that they owned slaves? What a disservice you are doing, and what a disgusting thing you are doing to a person. Slavery was horrific, no matter what. I don't care if you were basically, Caroline may have been like a mom to the young Duke children, and there's a high likelihood she filled some sort of role there when their mom died. But they weren't her kids and she didn't have a choice. ... And the point is, you're not my kid, and I have to leave my children every day to take care of you. If Caroline continued working for the Dukes and she got married and had kids, she had to leave her kids every day to take care of someone else's kids. It is demeaning her life, and [Omar and I] had this conversation.

Following this tour, Rogers and Hamad discussed various aspects of the interpretation. On June 18, Hamad, Rogers and I discussed the interpretation of Caroline and Duke, and methods for talking about slavery on your tours. Hamad stated: “If this was my classroom, I would be willing to talk about all that, but this is a state historic site. I’m not sure where we draw the line between just giving tours and actually trying to, are we supposed to enlighten people or provide them with an entertaining experience?”⁶⁴ Rogers responded, challenging Hamad’s concerns about “entertainment” and emphasizing her views of the task of the guide:

You can. And the idea is, you should be speaking in such a manner that it is engaging, and inherently somebody who is engaged. Entertainment is such a hard word. What is it to be entertained? Is it circuses? Is it watching TV? From my point of view for a tour guide, if you are entertaining, you are somebody who engages people, who is willing to speak to their level of understanding, but you are also there so that they come away with a greater understanding. And what that greater understanding is always depends on the visitor. But in terms of telling history? We have the responsibility to tell an entire history.⁶⁵

This conversation was a defining moment in my understanding of the dynamics at play between Hamad and Rogers and the fundamental differences in their approaches to the narratives. For Hamad, Duke Homestead’s position as a State Historic Site led him to question the inclusion of polarizing elements of history and lean towards presenting an uncomplicated story to audience. Hamad’s tours were particularly marked by elision when he spoke to school groups. Caroline, at times, disappeared from his narrative altogether. In these instances, her story, and the story of slavery as related to this site, was omitted from Hamad’s narrative. His

⁶⁴ Omar Hamad, Interview with Omar Hamad, Julia Rogers, and author. June 18, 2015.; Hamad is not the only interpreter to question the place of the historic site interpreter in teaching about slavery. “There seems to be some disagreement over whether guides are responsible for telling the whole story of how the people lived at Monticello or whether they should be mainly entertainers who must be careful that visitors are told a story that will not upset them.” Lois E. Horton, “Avoiding History: Thomas Jefferson, Sally Hemings, and the Uncomfortable Public Conversation on Slavery,” in *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, edited by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, (New York: The New Press, 2006), 141.

⁶⁵ Julia Rogers, Interview with Omar Hamad, Julia Rogers, and author, June 18, 2015.

statements suggest a separation from the story and a clear distinction between what he sees as “entertainment” and “education.” Moreover, his relationship with the narrative appears to one where he relays information, not one where he claims and crafts a narrative as his own. Rogers, on the other hand, does not seem to find the definitions of entertainment and education helpful. She asserts not just a preference for, but a responsibility to include all aspects of history, even when they are not necessarily “entertaining.” While the claim to tell an entire history may be lofty, it suggests an intentional diversification of the history presented on tour.

As the summer continued, conversations both on tours and in individual conversations about Caroline were frequent, and Rogers expressed, at least to me, her disinterest in Washington Duke being presented as a “good slave owner.” Yet Hamad’s presentation of Caroline remained consistently variable throughout the weeks.⁶⁶ As I continued to attend tours and have conversations with Rogers, my perception of her goals for the tours increased. At times, I found myself in an odd position, as I was most familiar with the various presentations and narratives given by the different Duke Homestead guides. Aware of my knowledge of the tours, Rogers asked me to keep her informed of the interpretations, particularly if something was stated that I felt was inconsistent with the scripted narrative.

These concerns and observations culminated in Hamad’s guided tour on July 23. He began the section in the parlor as he usually did, referencing the door to the stairwell. “The door over there, behind that is a staircase which leads up to the room where the Duke children would sleep. Sleeping in the same room with them would have been Caroline Barnes. She was the only slave owned by the Duke family, and she was purchased by Washington Duke in 1855, I believe

⁶⁶ See APPENDIX M for another example of Hamad’s presentation of Caroline: Omar Hamad, Guided walking tour of Duke Homestead, recorded by author, July 10, 2015.

when she was thirteen years old.”⁶⁷ Unlike the tour in May, he did not continue on to state that the Dukes did not use enslaved labor on their farm. Instead, he proceeded: “I’ve seen, or I’ve read about some conflicting reports. I actually was just reading on Wikipedia the other day that some sources were claiming that Washington Duke purchased her and then set her free, but as far as I know this isn’t actually true. I believe they owned her until the Emancipation Proclamation would have set her free.”⁶⁸ From these sentences, which I had not previously heard him incorporate in his tour, he continued on with his usual script: “We lose track of what happens to her after the Civil War, although we do believe that she moved to the Hayti neighborhood here in Durham, which, unfortunately, has been destroyed by urban renewal. But that’s a completely different story.”⁶⁹

In this moment, Hamad’s presentation was the product of interpretive hesitation. Discussing this tour with Rogers, she explained: “[Omar] was doing research. He comes in and says ‘oh, the Wikipedia page on Washington Duke says this. Is the Wikipedia page wrong or are we wrong?’ And I was like, the Wikipedia page is wrong, Omar. And we had this long conversation...”⁷⁰ Yet with this conflicting information, Hamad hesitated in his own acceptance and perception of the history of the site, which consequently pushed him to alter his tour. Even though he spoke of the probable inaccuracy of the information found on Wikipedia, he included it.⁷¹ His tone was not one of sarcasm or dismissal, nor did he offer context as to why the

⁶⁷ Omar Hamad, Guided walking tour of Duke Homestead, recorded by author. July 23, 2015.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Julia Rogers, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

⁷¹ Ibid. See APPENDIX O; Julia Rogers: “Bad information that you mention on your tour, the way you mention it matters.”

Wikipedia article would have included this misinformation about Caroline's status.⁷² Instead, his tone expressed uncertainty.

Occasions of elision, depreciation, and hesitation in Hamad's interpretation of the life and status of Caroline illustrate the instability of the narrative as processed by tour guides. The narrative of Duke Homestead is not stable, and is not constructed or executed in a fixed manner. Though Julia Rogers and Emma Smith co-wrote the latest version of the tour script, and though Rogers has clear and articulated expectations of the interpretive responsibilities of the guides, they do not always follow her recommendations. Rogers' status in the staff hierarchy gave her the ability to shape the scripted narrative, which the Assistant Site Manager, Mia Berg, then used to train volunteers, interns, and staff. Rogers' goals for presenting the information, however, are not concretely absorbed and incorporated into all aspects of the guides' tours. Consequently, the scripted history is inconsistently translated to public audiences, and they are increasingly distanced from the intended rhetorical goals of the 2014 tour manual. The narrative's potential power diminish as the story advances, and as the narrative is continually recrafted and reprerformed for each visiting audience according to the volition of individual tour guides.

⁷² Ibid; Speaking with Julia Rogers about this tour, she explained: "...this was probably somebody who was a family member of the Dukes and wanted to make the Dukes look good. [Omar] was like, 'they're quoting Durden.' And I was like, 'did you not read the first two chapters in Durden like every volunteer is assigned? If you had, you would have actually seen what was in Durden.' What was in the Wikipedia article is that he bought Caroline to free her. There is zero record, zero record of that manumission... It also says that he purposely, purposely rented the labor of an enslaved person to give that person time to run away. There is zero record of this. Bad information that you mention on your tour, the way you mention it matters." Julia Rogers, interview with author, July 23, 2015.

Caroline: Received⁷³

“Interpretation is thus inherent in storytelling; both tellers and listeners constantly interpret each other.”⁷⁴

In a similar manner to the way the spoken tour is distanced from the scripted tour, shaped by the individual tour guide, the received tour is another step removed from the spoken, completely dependent upon the individual who hears, processes, and reinterprets the spoken information, forming their own version of the history that they take with them when they leave the site. Political, social, and economic factors contribute to the privileging of some narratives over others. The field of public history has studied the construction of history and interpretation, and developed countless methods and strategies for crafting histories that are intentionally diverse, inclusive, and progressive. Yet disconnect remains between the carefully planned and presented history, and that which is absorbed by the public. This disconnect is not the fault of the interpreters, nor can it simply be avoided through meticulous planning and control. Rather, interpreters and guides must recognize that each visitor brings their own knowledge, background, experiences, expectations, interests, curiosities, and questions when they visit a historic site, and, no matter the clarity with which history is spoken, these factors shape their reception of the meaning, importance, and history of the space narrated on tour.

These factors that dictate reception also dictate the information as spoken, which Julia Rogers is fully aware of.

You have to meet [the visitors] at their own life experience. If there’s a general rule for explaining this, you meet them at the life experience they have. You A, have to make sure you’ve found out about them enough. But you can’t necessarily ask people to meet you where you’re at. You have to meet them at their

⁷³ See APPENDIX B: EXPLANATION OF FIELDWORK METHODS.

⁷⁴ Arthur W. Frank, *Letting Stories Breathe: A Socio-Narratology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 86.

experience. That's what I've learned from this. You meet somebody where they're standing and you don't make them come to you.⁷⁵

This process requires a quick assessment of the visitors' experience, and demands that the guide juggle the diverse interests and education backgrounds in a single tour group. While well-practiced guides do their best to shape their spoken tours to best engage a given audience, the ultimate reception of the tour is defined by each individual visitor.

At Duke Homestead, the visitors tend to fall into the following oversimplified categories: students and teachers visiting on school trips, international visitors, people with a personal connection to agriculture or the tobacco business, locals or friends/family of locals, and those with a particular interest in history who bring both a level of enthusiasm and a critical lens.⁷⁶ Of these six defined groups, I found myself most frequently engaging people who fall into the last three categories. School groups and camp field trips were common throughout the summer of my research, but given the concerns around consent and minors, I did not directly interview any children, nor did I conduct audio-recordings of these tours. International visitors, while frequent, were not part of the everyday visitation, so I often heard stories about these groups, but did not personally follow many of these tours. As for interaction with individuals with a relationship to agriculture and tobacco, my lack of recorded conversations with such visitors may simply be explained by my own bias. As a researcher, I identify with the last three categories, and I was

⁷⁵ Julia Rogers, interview with author, February 6, 2015.

⁷⁶ For examples of these categories:

APPENDIX F: Rogers discusses visitors who grew up in the tobacco industry, and the language barriers navigated when giving a tour to a woman from Italy. Julia Rogers, interview with author, February 6, 2015.

APPENDIX H: Visiting couple from Ireland. Omar Hamad, Guided walking tour of Duke Homestead, recorded by author, May 28, 2015.

APPENDIX N: A local man and his mother attended this tour, interested in knowing more about the local area. Omar Hamad, Guided walking tour of Duke Homestead, recorded by author, July 23, 2015.

more comfortable talking to people who clearly expressed a curiosity about Duke Homestead and an interest in history and interpretation. My research reflects this discrepancy.

A common interest united the different groups of visitors. Visitors frequently asked questions about slavery. Emma Smith discussed the fascination with slavery and antebellum life:

One time this old woman came in and she was like, ‘Where are all the slave cabins? Where are all the slave cabins?’...And I just walked up to her and I was like, ‘This is not a plantation.’...One person was like, ‘I drove all the way from Virginia to here to see slave cabins and there aren’t even slave cabins here.’ And she was highly upset. And I [thought], you could easily have called us or looked at our website to know that this was not a plantation.⁷⁷

Visitors assume the antebellum home of a wealthy, white southern man must be a plantation.

This expectation ignores the fact that Duke gained his wealth after the Civil War; the general public equates southern wealth with the plantation imaginary perpetuated in popular culture and nostalgic representations of the antebellum South.

Smith explained:

It’s also weird because you get people who I don’t even think are historically interested. It’s some kind of weird desire to be like, oh, slave cabins. It’s hard to describe. It’s not from them wanting to say how horrible this period was. It’s more like a fetish. It just seems like they’re fetishizing this time period, and I’ve definitely gotten people like that here....That might not be the exact right word to use, but it’s like, idealizing this time period, and not understanding the politics, or the history, and not understanding that at all. So I’ve definitely encountered many of those kinds of people who don’t understand how hard life actually was here.⁷⁸

Whatever lies behind the fascination with slavery and plantation life, visitors come with a certain set of knowledge, assumptions, and expectations as to what the site is and means, and what role enslaved labor played in creating the Dukes’ wealth. Consequently, the life of the young

⁷⁷ Emma Smith, interview with author, March 25, 2015.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

enslaved girl named Caroline becomes a point of disconnection when the tour breaks from the visitors' expected southern formulaic narrative.

For Duke Homestead visitors Christina Rodoski and Mary An,⁷⁹ the information presented about slavery at the site was not only surprising, but it was too brief and left them wanting to know more about relationship between tobacco and slavery. Rodoski, a graduate student at Duke, and her friend An, visiting from New York, attended Sarah Patrick's tour on July 26, 2015. On this day, the weather was particularly hot and humid, so Patrick shortened the usual forty-five minute tour to twenty-five. Moving from the pack house to the third factory, Patrick told the visitors that, prior to the Civil War, Duke owned 300 acres of farm land for growing food and tobacco. A woman on the tour then asked if Duke owned slaves. Patrick replied: "He owned one slave. She lived in the house and did cooking and cleaning and stuff. [Duke] would have hired boys from the town and had his sons and all helping with the farming."⁸⁰

As the group moved to the house, Patrick made an additional modification to the structure of her tour, as the size of the group was larger than usual. The rooms of the farmhouse are small, and Patrick was not confident she would be able to fit everyone into the house at the same time. Rather than leading the group through each room, she spoke from the back steps of the house and shared some key points of information for visitors to keep in mind as they walked through on their own. "This house was built in 1852. Washington built it the same year he married his second wife. He and Artelia lived here with five kids as well as a slave. Her name was Caroline and she did cooking and cleaning for them. It's going to be hard to fit everybody

⁷⁹ An and Rodoski gave permission for the inclusion of their names.

⁸⁰ Sarah Patrick, guided walking tour of Duke Homestead, recorded by author, June 26, 2015.

into one room at once, so I'm going to let you just wander through and ask me questions as you go."⁸¹ The majority of the questions asked focused on the furniture and architecture of the house, leaving the discussion of Caroline and of slavery minimized to two brief mentions.⁸²

As the tour wrapped up, An and Rodoski asked me about my research and the interpretation. They had not yet seen the museum, but agreed to find me later to talk more thoroughly about their visit. After they saw the exhibits, An reflected on her observations:

I have some overview of the South, but being dropped in and not knowing anything about the Duke family or the economy of the region, [Duke Homestead] fits into a lot of the meta-story that I have. And it's interesting, too, because it's kind of a story of how the South had to industrialize after the Civil War, because up until that point, I'm sure most of it was produced here and manufactured somewhere else, which is why the South stayed pretty poor even though there was a plantation culture. And how they were trying to create wealth in the region, which hasn't been too successful overtime.⁸³

This initial comment suggests that the museum successfully delivered an important historical narrative located in time, place, and economy. It was a story that An, someone who stated to have little personal relationship to the region, could understand, process, and connect to her prior knowledge. Yet as she continued, she stated,

They really glossed over the man power, the power that powered all of this. The part of history they don't have is that you couldn't have had this farming industry without slavery, and that the Civil War was about the economy more than anything else. And that after the Civil War, there was still Jim Crow and all of that, but a lot of the economic downturn was because of that. And they don't have to go over all of that history, but they didn't get into it at all.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Visitors may have asked Patrick questions about slavery or about Caroline that were not picked up by my audio-recorder. The informality of the tour prevented me from capturing a complete record of the interactions between Patrick and the visitors.

⁸³ Mary An, interview with Mary An, Christina Rodoski, and author. June 26, 2015.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Rodoski expanded upon An's comments:

I think you touched on an important point by thinking about the man power, because it was a very laborious industry. [Sarah] went through the process, but if you think about picking the leaves, drying the leaves, making the leaves moist and then drying them again and batting them to break them apart, that took a lot of work, and a lot of time, and a lot of man power. And who was doing all of that? ...I think it would be interesting to contextualize the Duke story with other stories. I think that's maybe what is missing. How is this working in all of North Carolina? What about, even though the Duke family had this domestic slave, and they had kind of gotten out of the 'dirty labor' part of the tobacco farming, you know? It's kind of like they don't have to talk about the difficult story of slavery because the Duke family, their success story is based on the manufacturing.⁸⁵

These reflections suggest that a historic site can and must speak to a broader history and community beyond the lived experiences that are recorded to have taken place on this property. Yet when it comes to issues of labor and race, the existing interpretation falls short. The tour as written, presented, and then processed, does not fully engage its expansive and inclusive potential.

Rodoski and An, however, are not fully representative of all visitors who visit Duke Homestead.⁸⁶ A local woman who brought her grandchildren to the site the same day, but who attended a tour led by Omar, stated at the conclusion of the tour: "It's hard to imagine they would have had 300 acres of tobacco with no slaves. So labor intensive."⁸⁷ I spoke with her about how Duke rented out enslaved labor to work his farm, but that, yes, this property was worked differently than most antebellum plantations. She continued to reflect on the site: "It's a revelation to get into these old structures and realize people lived, *thrived*, in [these] conditions. I

⁸⁵ Rodoski, Ibid.

⁸⁶ Even they themselves acknowledged this fact. Rodoski stated: "We're a particular audience, too, that wants to know everything. So it's probably hard to create a narrative that speaks to all ages and to all visitors." Ibid.

⁸⁷ Omar Hamad, Guided walking tour of Duke Homestead, recorded by author, June 26, 2015.

find it difficult to think.”⁸⁸ In this instance, the takeaway was the success of this family and of people during this time period, and their ability to accomplish a great deal in such different circumstances than in which we live today.

The aspects of the tour that are remembered by visitors vary drastically, as do the backgrounds, expectations, and intentions of each visitor. Those who work in interpretation know that the information presented is not consistently received. The instances of successful reception, however, are the moments that make the interpretation worthwhile. Commenting on school group visits to Duke Homestead, Rogers stated success is not measured by complete attention and reception:

The little moments where they get it, that’s really awesome. There could be 100 of them and I could have done archaeology four times, and I can’t remember if I’ve asked you this question, but you’re still having fun. That’s the good part, the getting it part. All the work is worth it for when it clicks, when you’ve made a good post, when people are responding to what you do. Because otherwise you’re not doing it for anyone. You’re just talking into space.⁸⁹

Here, interpretive success is not measured by the rigidity with which information is passed between the scripted, the spoken, and the received. Just as the words themselves and their meanings evolve, change, and shift from the pages of the tour manual to the ears of the visitors, the goals for interpretation also morph. In an ideal world, a successful tour may create deep and meaningful conversation about history and contemporary society that impacts human experience. These goals, however, are lofty, and are difficult to measure. On a day to day basis, interpretive success is the knowledge that someone found your presentation engaging and was affected by what they learned and experienced at Duke Homestead.

⁸⁸ Female visitor, Omar Hamad, Guided walking tour of Duke Homestead, recorded by author, June 26, 2015.; “Thrived” is italicized to note the emphasis with which she said the word.

⁸⁹ Julia Rogers, interview with author, February 6, 2015.

CONCLUSION:

“For what history is changes with time and place or, better said, history reveals itself only through the production of specific narratives. What matters most are the process and conditions of production of such narratives. Only a focus on that process can uncover the ways in which the two sides of historicity intertwine in a particular context. Only through that overlap can we discover the differential exercise of power that makes some narratives possible and silences others.”⁹⁰ – Michel-Rolph Trouillot

“This is just a situation where we are discussing that historic relativism often doesn’t want to touch challenging subjects.”⁹¹ – Julia Rogers, Historic Interpreter, Duke Homestead

People don’t always do as they are told. History is not always heard as it is told. The interpreters at Duke Homestead State Historic Site and Tobacco Museum do not adhere to a single narrative; they speak from the same script, but they do not tell the same story. Despite the variations, the historic site is a tool for communicating the past to a contemporary audience. By considering the process through which the intended narrative is transferred to visitors, the movement along a trajectory from the scripted, to the spoken, to the received, history becomes the product of a multitude of authors, voices, and interpretations. Even the three categories of scripted, spoken, and received become blurred and indistinguishable. Historic Interpreters Emma Smith and Julia Rogers scripted the narrative, but only after having spent years speaking it as a tour guide. Additionally, Rogers speaks her tour in a manner that best addresses what she hopes will be received, but ultimately the received history is individually defined by each visitor who

⁹⁰ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 25.

⁹¹ Julia Rogers, Interview with Omar Hamad, Julia Rogers, and author, June 18, 2015.

engages Duke Homestead. The categories of scripted, spoken, and received narratives become tools for analyzing and discussing history, but they, like history, are an oversimplification, and an imperfect means for understanding the complex cultural and social phenomenon that is the cultivation, construction, and circulation of history.

These categories bump and rub against each other. Each influences the others. These variable categories combine with the manifold of other factors that influence the internalization of history. As a result, the absorption of history is far from universal or exhaustive. Politics, archival resources, and money influence the preservation, celebration, and interpretation of specific sites, stories, and spaces. The stories that formulate the accepted national, regional, and local conceptualizations of communal experiences and identity are, consequently, incomplete. Anecdotes of the past are then assembled and written, only then to be verbalized to diverse audiences. In this sense, history moves. It travels from lived experience to observed occurrence, from spoken lore to written record, from outlined anecdote to recounted sequence, from heard presentation to processed ideas of reality. This traveling occurs in no set linear order.

Historic sites are not time capsules. They are dynamic, living, and changing spaces. The narratives attached to these spaces are meant to be transgressed, and it is in the moments of transgression that we discover new opportunities for understanding and communicating lessons, anecdotes, and conceptions of the past. Sites exist today, and their interpretive efforts surrounding tours are products of this time. At Duke Homestead, for example, the current tour does not solely speak to ‘history.’ It mirrors a contemporary understanding of history, the guides’ current perceptions of historical importance, and the perceived purpose of the site as a space that can teach a story worth hearing today. The guided tour is a moment where the past and the

present meet, and where the history of Durham is recreated, revived, and retold, constantly renegotiated in relation to the story's own context of transfer.

The latest scripted tour includes Caroline. She lived on the site, cared for Duke's children, and was later employed by Washington Duke. If this site is a space that tells of those who resided on the property, Caroline is fundamentally a character in the story. Yet Caroline has no words. The interpreters at the site have not found diaries that she kept. There are no images of Caroline to display alongside the pictures of the Duke family members. The museum and historic site of Duke Homestead bare no physical markers of her presence, no evidence of her life or relationship to the family. Her name is not embedded in the landscape of Durham, found on street signs, buildings, or historic markers. Her name is not fully known, as evidence of her life is missing, leaving us unsure of her identity.

Even if Caroline and Caroline Barnes are one and the same, her records are incomplete at best. They consist primarily of legal documents that mark her civically recognized status as an enslaved person, a laborer, and later, confirm her death after she was freed by emancipation. Despite the absence of intimate details of Caroline's life, she is a critical voice in the history of Duke Homestead. The void in the physical archive is supplemented by the words of the tour guides, as they verbalize and project her story onto the landscape. Although not consistently remembered, Caroline is a part of the scripted, spoken, and received story of Duke Homestead, a person whose life and actions are inseparable from the space now enlivened as a historic site. Caroline has no words, but she has a narrative.

APPENDIX A: AFTERWARD: DUKE HOMESTEAD CONTINUES

“There’s no lack of interest, from what I’ve gauged. The people here, everybody wants to make [Duke Homestead] better... But nobody’s had time to address it, so the challenge, I think, is just carving out the time and dedicating it.”⁹² – Jessica Shillingsford, Duke Homestead, Site Manager

The research for this thesis was conducted throughout the year of 2015, and during that time, the site went through a great number of changes. There was transition in staffing, with long stretches of underemployment, followed by new individuals to train. The normal event schedule was altered, as new events were created and longstanding festivals were canceled. Throughout the months I spent visiting Duke Homestead, the site was in flux. Nor did Duke Homestead freeze once I stopped visiting on a regular basis. Summer staff went back to school, new interns started with the fall and winter semesters, events occurred, and ideas continued to develop. All of these factors contribute to site interpretation and narration, for on both small and large scales, Duke Homestead’s narrative is not static.

I spoke with the newly hired Site Manager, Jessica Shillingsford in July of 2015, about two months after she started her position, and just as I was wrapping up the bulk of my research. We discussed the current status of the site interpretation, and Shillingsford stated her hopes for the interpretive takeaway: “If nothing else, I would hope that [visitors] walk away understanding this place’s significance in local, state, and national, and international history. I would hope that they just say, ‘wow, all of these things came from here, in some way shape or form.’ Even if distantly.”⁹³ Shillingsford shared her hopes for future interpretation, which included new exhibits, an overhauled training manual, and thematically focused tours that rotate. As I

⁹² Jessica Shillingsford, interview with author, July 24, 2015.

⁹³ Ibid.

concluded my fieldwork, I felt as though I was leaving Duke Homestead right as it approached massive change.

Seven months after my previous conversation, and after sending Shillingsford a draft of my thesis, I visited the site. Shillingsford was the only one on site, so I was not able to follow a tour. I did, however, talk to her about the draft, and ask questions about Duke Homestead's current and planned interpretation. She has plans in the works for three new temporary exhibits that she hopes to create in 2016 and 2017. One exhibit would examine North Carolina tobacco on a global scale, focusing on artifacts from a North Carolina tobacco buyer in Greece in the 1930s and 1940s. The second is for a photo exhibit that connects Duke Homestead to the tobacco landscape of downtown Durham. The third hopes to display a private collection that can be used to interpret the past fifty years of tobacco history. These exhibits would provide the first changes to Duke Homestead's museum interpretation in at least five years.

In addition to these exhibits, Duke Homestead is also in the process of developing a new special event. Shillingsford spoke of the desire to have events that are truly interpretive, which will be embodied in the upcoming "Born at Duke Homestead," currently scheduled for April 29-May 1, 2016. For this event, Duke Homestead is partnering with a dance group, and creating a new tour that will explore what it means to be pregnant, to be born, and to be a child on a North Carolina farm in 1856. Unlike previous events, this interpretation will focus on the experiences of women and children, expanding the purview of the special events and enhancing the site's interpretive diversity.

Finally, Shillingsford still has plans to reevaluate the guided walking tour of the historic site. The current site staff is working to revise the overall training materials, of which the tour is a part. Shillingsford's vision is for a tour that involves a clear list of "musts," but that also allows

guides to add their own elements to the tour. Long-term plans include educational digital media, and training workshops during which guides can discuss aspects of interpretation including what it means to work for a state site, how to negotiate race and slavery, among other general principles for guiding a tour. Shillingsford did not state a clear timeline for these changes, but change is occurring. The experience of visiting Duke Homestead continues to reflect contemporary goals and values, as the current staff is shaping Duke Homestead's narrative as they see best suited for the public. Work has already begun to restructure the scripted, which will alter the spoken and the received story of Duke Homestead.

APPENDIX B: EXPLANATION OF FIELDWORK METHODS

From the onset of this project, I knew that I wanted to pursue a collaborative project. I also knew that I wanted to conduct interviews and compile a collection of audio recordings of the guided walking tours. This decision required me to negotiate a set of methodological and ethical questions concerning collaboration, consent, transparency, and transcription choices. This appendix outlines my experience as an ethnographer attempting to make these methodological decisions, so that you are aware of the process and steps throughout which spoken words have become incorporated in this thesis.

Historic sites are educational spaces that invite the presence of visitors, distinguishing them from more “traditional” sites of ethnographic study. These sites invite the innate contradiction of present interaction with the past, demarcating “the old” so that it may be acknowledged as distinct from “the modern.” Such spaces are populated by employees, staff, and volunteers, as well as by tourists who gather to learn, to see, and to “experience” life in a way it is no longer lived. While the staff and volunteer community is more-or-less defined, the total population of the site is constantly in flux. Additionally, the educational intention of Duke Homestead, and potentially of other sites as well, makes it more receptive to research than groups or spaces that exist outside of educational and academic realms. This function assists ethnographic immersion, but it simultaneously obscures the place and role of any researcher or ethnographer.⁹⁴ Staff at such sites are, ideally, accustomed to and encouraging of audiences; their existence depends upon the rotating attendance of public audiences, potentially making the presence of an ethnographer far less noticeable than could be the case in isolated spaces and

⁹⁴ Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: an account of native enterprise and adventure in the archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, 1922. (Prospect Heights, III: Waveland Press, reprinted 1984).

communities. At the same time, though, the ethnographer is not simply a visitor. Unlike the tourists and visitors, in the eyes of the ethnographer, the history of the site and the narrative presented becomes secondary knowledge to their study of the people, the interactions, and the meanings transferred in the space. Without intentional transparency, however, the purpose of their presence could easily be overlooked, as they could easily appear to be another face in the crowd.

The same revolving door of people and faces that may assist an ethnographer when initially engaging with a site also complicates the communication required for transparency. How does one collaborate with each visitor they engage? The honest answer is that such collaboration is nearly impossible. Many visitors at sites are one time guests, engaging with the museum or historic site for a few hours, never to return again. And the National Park phrase that I grew up hearing “leave only footprints and take only pictures,” encourages visitors to leave as little trace as possible. It would be more than possible for ethnographers to attend guided tours and public programs, observing all others in attendance completely unbeknownst to those around them. This tactic, no matter how much it may be seen as helpful to the study of any illusive “authenticity,” would contradict the methods outlined in collaborative ethnography. In my work, I found it necessary to reintroduce myself and the purpose of my presence to every tour group I followed.

In an effort to maintain transparency with my intentions at the site, I introduced myself at the start of each tour I attended. My practice involved me turning on my audio-recorder before the tour guide began speaking. Most of the guides introduce themselves at the very start, before the jump into an introduction to the Duke family. After they introduced themselves, they generally would turn to me and allow me to introduce myself. I stated my name and said that I

was a graduate student at UNC conducting my thesis research with Duke Homestead. I then asked if anyone objected to me taking notes and recording the tour. This habit did not make the site visitors collaborators; unfortunately the majority of the people I encountered through my work remained simply dots on my radar, or “middle-aged woman from Alabama,” in my field notes. But at least the middle-aged woman from Alabama knew that I was taking notes.

I only ever received objections when school groups were involved, at which time I would turn off the recorder and note that I was to delete the files. At times, the tour guide would forget to allow me to introduce myself, and in these situations I would do so upon the completion of the introduction of the Duke family as we transitioned to walk outside. If individuals joined the tour mid-way through, I attempted to introduce myself and explain what I was doing, but this was not always practical and was not something I was able to do consistently. With this in mind, and acknowledging the brevity of my introduction and the fact that I did not specifically ask for individual consent or explain in detail how I would use the recordings, I have taken efforts to anonymize the visitors, with the exception of situations where specific consent was obtained, which will be noted accordingly.

When conducting interviews and recorded conversations, I took two steps for securing permission: written consent forms, and recorded verbal consent. For interviews, primarily conducted with site employees, volunteers, and interns, I had forms that included the participants’ name, contact information, and signature. The forms also had space for restrictions, allowing the participants to note if they wanted a pseudonym, if they wanted to see files or transcripts, or any other requests they had. Then, once the recorder was on, I verbally asked again for permission to record the conversation. This method of double-consent helps eliminate the possibility of forms and recordings becoming separated. I also had tour guides sign consent

forms even if not conducting formal interviews, since their voices and words are the primary focus of the recorded tours.

By the conclusion of my primary fieldwork efforts, I had roughly seventy audio files. These files are from tours, interviews, and various special events, and are far more expansive than that which is represented in this thesis. For this project, I was unable to transcribe all of the files, nor were they all incorporated in the analysis. I prioritized the tours, attempting to review at least one tour for each various guide, and those that I had noted included particularly interesting conversations around Caroline Barnes. My attention to interviews included a similar focus. I transcribed and reviewed interviews that I knew were directly related to site interpretation, the tours, and Caroline Barnes. Consequently, conversations and interviews about the summer events, specifically a Soldier's Walk Home, an event that marked the 150th anniversary of the Civil War, and conversations about the Junior Interpreter program, which is connected to special events rather than guided tours, are absent from the thesis and from these appendices.

For the recordings that I did transcribe, I attempted to capture the spoken words as closely as possible. At times this became difficult, especially on the guided tours. For some of the tours, the tour guide used a lapel mic with the goal of most clearly capturing the actual tour. Not all of the guides were comfortable with this recording technique, and I discovered that the recordings captured by my handheld (or belt clipped) recorder had equal quality and more successfully captured the comments and questions from the quests. Nonetheless, at times the wind, the street, or distance between myself and the person speaking made it difficult to decipher the spoken words. In these moments, I did my best to transcribe the recordings, but at times I have marked "inaudible," or "question about *this topic*," attempting to capture meaning even when unable to state the words.

I also took some liberties cleaning up dialogue to increase readability. In various places, I edited out false starts, repetitive words, stutters, and “likes,” all with the intentions of maximizing the reception of the words, while aiming to maintain the voice, intentions, and character of the individual who was speaking. I also deleted some moments of distraction, deciding that including a cellphone ring, or a greeting from someone walking by would be more confusing than beneficial. Some of my consultants requested that they see transcriptions, and I have upheld these requests. At times, they have requested various sentences or statements be clarified, cleaned up, or removed. I have taken full efforts to heed to these requests, at times discussing options for alteration when I believe omission would take away from the meaning. Additionally, at times in an interview, a consultant stated that they may need to review and/or redact various aspects of the interview. In these instances, I have provided them with a transcript, and discussed how to best move forward. Ultimately, I know that these words are not my own, and I have worked to respect the integrity, voice, and desires of my consultants.

In addition to sections that my consultants requested be left out of the transcripts, I made some choices over what would and would not be included in these appendices. Some of these choices were made for the sake of time and relevance. I have attempted to include as much as possible, but when push came to shove, I chose to include excerpts from multiple interviews, rather than sacrificing important moments because I could not include the interviews in their entirety. Whatever the reasoning, missing sections are marked by time stamps, ellipses, or notes in brackets stating that conversation has been removed. At the end, I have taken great effort to present these transcripts in a way that increases their accessibility, as I believe they can be a resource that serves far beyond my own project.

My efforts at collaboration and transparency continued beyond the research phase and into my writing process. I knew from the start that this project would result in my thesis – a paper, written to fulfill specific requirements set forth by my department, my university, and my committee. The thesis needed to be original work conceptualized and written by me, with my name sitting alone as the author. This reality undermined some options for collaboration. My consultants could not write this for me, nor could they suggest a different medium for this project. Despite these limitations on collaboration, I took various steps to include my consultants throughout the process. I sat down with them to go over transcripts, allowing them to remove sections whenever they desired. I had many conversations with the full-time staff at Duke Homestead about what this project would look like, what questions they found important, and directions they thought would be valuable to pursue. I shared drafts of class assignments, grant applications, and proposals with them, and ultimately sent them a draft of the thesis in its entirety. While this required their time, my goal was to allow for open conversation throughout the research and writing process. They offered me feedback, both on what they liked and on what they found concerning, which I incorporated as I continued editing and writing. Ultimately, I hope that I have presented the people, dialogue, and ideas of Duke Homestead in a manner with which my consultants can be comfortable and confident, as this thesis would have been impossible without their time, patience, trust, and their words.

APPENDIX C: OBSERVATIONS and TAKEAWAYS FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

Analyzing Duke Homestead's guided tours on the arc of scripted, spoken, and received offers lessons that form and contribute to the larger discussion of how historic sites move forward around questions of interpretation.

- There is variability in interpretation; the many iterations and reiterations of a singular narrative are accompanied by an innate existence of silences, both intentional and unintentional.
- History is in tension with the fraught and contested nature of inclusion.
 - The historical landscape includes a limited number of spaces, curated by few to represent many.
 - Historical narratives are limited, including specific people, events, and stories that create an incomplete and only partially inclusive sense of the past.
 - Negotiating the inclusion of problematic history can be unsettling, resulting in public performances of narrative discomfort, characterized by depreciation, elision, and hesitation.
 - Visitor demographics are not representative of surrounding communities, at times making historic sites spaces of historic sense-making that are not demographically inclusive.
- Current events and historical memory impact public consciousness and the reception of history.
 - Explicitly or not, historic narratives exist in conversation with issues being negotiated in mainstream society.
 - Common perceptions of history, formed by both public education and popular cultures' imagined past, impact public expectations of and interactions with historic narratives.
- Historic narratives are dynamic; when performed on historic sites, their fluidity is made evident. Tour guides' public presentation of narratives allows for public contemplation, open dialogue, and an interaction with history that is simultaneously verbal and physical.

These observations serve as tools for understanding the cultural production, performance, and reception of narratives as it occurs at Duke Homestead, and at other places and spaces of historical significance and interpretation.

APPENDIX D: DUKE HOMESTEAD TOUR GUIDE MANUAL

Included with permission from Duke Homestead State Historic Site and Tobacco Museum.

Tour Objectives:

Each tour should include the following information:

- A general introduction to Duke family genealogy, as it pertains to the site, including Washington Duke marriages and children.
- A basic outline of the growth of the Duke tobacco business with the establishment of W. Duke and Sons in 1865 and culminating with the dissolution of the American Tobacco Company monopoly in 1911
- A general explanation of 19th century tobacco farming and the flue curing process
- An explanation of the production methods used by the Dukes in the 3rd Factory

Other useful information to include:

- The establishment of Trinity College in Durham in 1892 and the Duke family's involvement with the school; culminating with the creation of the Duke Endowment of 40 million dollars by James. B Duke in 1924
- A discussion of Duke family life at the Homestead and typical 19th century farm-life in the Piedmont of North Carolina.
- Duke business activities outside of tobacco like Duke Power and textiles.
- A chronicle of the site itself; the 1874 sale of the Homestead, 2 subsequent owners, the acquisition by Duke University in 1931 and the establishment as a State Historic Site in the 1970's.

Frequently Asked Questions

- What were some of the tobacco products made by the Dukes?
 1. Cigarettes: Duke's Cameo, Duke's Cross Cut, Dukes of Durham, Duke's Best
 2. Pipe Tobacco: Pro Bono Publico, Duke's Mixture, Cross Cut, Honest Long Cut
 3. Chewing Tobacco: Honest Long Cut
- Which companies created the American Tobacco Company in 1890?
 1. Allen & Ginter Co., Kinney Co., Kimball Co, Goodwin
- Which tobacco company is the largest today?
 1. Philip Morris, the maker of Marlboro
- When were filters added to cigarettes?

The early 1950's; Viceroy was the first and companies added them to provide a smoother taste and less irritating to the throat.
- Does nicotine exist naturally in tobacco?

Yes, it acts as a toxin that discourages insects.
- What are some alternative uses of tobacco?

Pesticides, food wrappers, research in treatment of mood disorders, auto-immune disorders, cancer research and a potential bio-fuel
- Who is Doris Duke?

She is the only daughter James Buchanan Duke. She died in 1993 and has three homes for tour. One in New Jersey, one in Hawaii, and one in Rhode Island. She was a major philanthropist and art collector
- Where did Washington Duke come from?

Washington Duke's father, Taylor Duke, was born in Orange County North Carolina and his family came from Virginia. The Duke family had come from England to Virginia in the seventeenth century. Washington Duke's Mother, Dicey Duke, was of Welsh ancestry.

FAQ Continued

- What were Washington Duke's political views
After the Civil War Washington became a Republican (Lincoln's party). There is evidence that he was a Democrat before the war. Washington, like the vast majority of North Carolinians, did oppose secession.
- What is the Duke Endowment used for
It is currently used to support communities in North and South Carolina, education, health care, rural churches and child care. In 1924 the endowment was \$40 million. In 1925, it was expanded by an additional \$67 million from James Buchanan Duke's estate. Today's value of Duke's total contribution would be almost \$1.4 billion.
- Does North Carolina still produce a significant amount of Tobacco
North Carolina is still number one in the amount of tobacco produced. In 2011 NC flue cured tobacco farmers raised 160,000 acres of tobacco. As of 2012 tobacco was sold for about \$1.80 per pound.

Common Historical Myths

- The Myth:
Old glass is thicker on the bottom because it is actually a liquid and is slowly flowing down and settling over time. This myth may also be presented as, glass is a liquid that flows really slowly or it is a super cooled liquid.
This myth is **false** because glass does not flow. According to Dr. Robert Brill and the Corning Museum of glass, glass is a highly viscous substance. Viscosity is a measure of resistance to flow. Something that is very viscous will not flow very well (molasses in the winter time). Something that has a low viscosity will flow easily (room temperature orange juice). Glass will not lose its viscosity over time, so time will not cause it to flow either.
How to explain why glass in some old buildings is thicker on the bottom than on the top: The glass was made that way.
- The Myth:
Buck Duke approached Princeton University to give them an endowment and when Princeton refused, Duke chose to give to Trinity College instead. There are several reasons why this myth is **false**. The Duke Endowment given to Trinity in 1924 was a calculated plan. In 1892 The Duke family helped Trinity open a campus in Durham. Then in 1896, the family gave Trinity \$100,000 endowment. So, before the Duke endowment, the Duke family had a very good relationship with Trinity College. The myth originated from Princeton and Duke's architectural similarities.
- The Myth:
We say "sleep tight" because "back then" people slept on rope beds. Ropes start to sag under the weight of a person night after night, so one needed a bed key to tighten them back up, and thus the phrase "sleep tight" was born. Researching this myth has proven it to be **false**. The Oxford English Dictionary website will tell you that one of the meanings of the adverb "tightly" is "soundly, well or properly." So to say "sleep tight" is to say sleep well or sleep soundly. There is no hard evidence that the phrase "sleep tight" and tight having a meaning of sound or proper is directly related to the use of rope beds.

Common Historical Myths Continued

The Myth:

Kitchens were often separate buildings from the main house structure because, with a fire going almost 365 days a year, there was serious danger of the whole structure catching fire and burning down. This would lead you to believe that a kitchen burning down was a very common occurrence.

However, many historical homes found in the South and other warmer regions of the US are likely to have separate kitchens more so for heat and temperature factors. The fire is still the cause of the kitchen to be separate, but not because the kitchen was likely to burn down. Adding a fire to a 90 degree day would not be a pleasant home environment.

Tour Notes

This is a general outline to help you prepare to start giving tours. Please feel free to edit or add to this, based on information you gain from reading and from following other tours. Good resources include *Dukes of Durham*, *Green Leaf and Gold*, the self-guided tour map, the site training manual, *Legacy of the Golden Leaf* movie, museum exhibits, Frequently Asked Question file, and books and newspaper articles in the library.

1. Welcome visitors and introduce yourself

- Let visitors know that they are welcome to ask questions
- May like to ask if they have a special interest or background that brings them here. (some may have grown up or worked on a tobacco farm) and where they are from. (I like to encourage people with experience in tobacco to feel free to share stories during the tour; I also like to know if someone has a special interest, which I can then address in my tour by adding information. I ask people where they are from because it helps break the ice among the visitors, who sometimes are from the same state or area and who will strike up conversations during the tour.)

2. Introduce family and their history—

- Biographical Facts: The Dukes lived on this farm from 1852 to 1874. Washington first moved to the area in 1842, when he married his first wife, Mary Carolina Clinton. They had two sons together, Sidney and Brodie. In 1847, Mary died. Washington remarried in 1852 when he married Artelia Roney. (You may want to add that 1852 is also the same year he finished building the house that the tour will visit today.)
- Washington and Artelia had three children: Mary, Benjamin, and James Buchanan (more commonly known as Buck). Tragedy struck again in 1858 when the oldest son Sidney caught typhoid fever; Artelia took care of him and she caught the disease as well, and they both died. Washington was left with four children.
- Information relating to tobacco: the family stayed on the farm until 1874, except for a short time during the Civil War. After the war, the family returned and made an important change in their tobacco production. Before the war, they had sold their tobacco at market; after the war, they began processing their tobacco in a factory on their farm. (May want to point to the 1869 factory in the picture and mention that we will visit one of their factories today.)
- In 1874, the Dukes moved to downtown Durham. By 1890 the company they had founded was so powerful, it could force its main competitors to merge with it. IN this way they created the American Tobacco Company, the largest tobacco company in the world for 21 years until the Supreme court broke it up.

3. Ask for questions

4. Walk to curing barn

Information you may want to include in your tour:

- This barn dates from 1870 but is not original to our farm—we brought it here from a different farm. The reason for that is that there was not much left of the original Duke barns. You can see here the foundation stones of one of their original barns.
- How tobacco was grown in 1870 (The year we focus on at Duke Homestead):
 - May want to explain that the seeds were too small to be planted individually (one tablespoon would hold 100,000 seeds, enough for six acres) and that in February farmers would scatter seed over seedbed then cover them with brush to keep them warm. When the seedlings were the right height, farmers would remove them from the seedbed and transplant them to the larger field.
 - Explain the different jobs farmers would do during the growing season: topping, suckering, and worming.
 - Talk about how farmers harvested, or primed, the tobacco leaf by leaf, starting with the lowest leaves first since they ripened first. [Note: the Dukes probably cut the entire stalk down and cured that; during the 1870s some farmers were beginning to harvest the crop leaf by leaf, as described here.]
 - Discuss what was done at the curing barn: Describe how the tobacco was brought to the barn in tobacco sleds or slides; children handed tobacco (3 leaves at a time), and women looped it onto looping horses.
 - At the end of the day, the men would come back from the fields. Two of them would climb inside a barn this size and people would stand below them and pass them the full tobacco sticks. The men would hang the sticks between the poles, close the barn door, and start a fire in the furnace. Someone would stay here day and night for up to 6 days until the leaves dried out completely and turned a bright golden color.
 - Note: the curing barn is a good place to invite visitors who grew up or worked on tobacco farms to share any stories. You can even ask them questions such as—what jobs did they do on the farm? How did they like doing those jobs? Do they have any funny stories to share? Etc. You can also ask them about things you would like to know more about (and that other visitors might like to hear) to enhance your understanding of tobacco farming.

5. Invite Visitors to ask questions and look inside the barn (but not to enter barn)

6. Walk to Packhouse

- Explain use of ordering pit to put moisture back into the leaves after they had been cured.
- Explain the grading of these leaves, once the leaves are in order; leaves were graded by color, size, texture—the brighter the color the better.
- Explain how when there were enough leaves of the same grade to fill the palm of a hand, the prettiest leaf was wrapped around the top, making a hand of tobacco. The hands would be stored in the top part of the packhouse until the farmer was ready to go to market. The farmer would take a wagon like the one near the pack house and would display the hands on baskets like the one hanging on the wall.

7. Walk to Third Factory

- Before going into the Third Factory, point out reconstructed first factory. After the Civil War, Washington and his sons stopped selling tobacco at market and worked in the corn crib processing tobacco. As their business grew they moved into a stable, and by 1869 they could afford to build a two-story factory.
- Inside the factory, explain the process of manufacturing smoking tobacco (Flailing with sassafrass sticks, pulling out the stems which were used for fertilizer, and then grinding up leaves). You can offer to let children help demonstrate this.
- Can explain how competition from W.T. Blackwell's company, which made Bull Durham, lead the Dukes to start making and selling cigarettes in the 1880s. (1881—they hired European immigrants from NY to roll them by hand, rolling 3 or 4 per minute; 1884—Buck invested in the Bonsack machine, which could roll 200 cigarettes per minute.)
- The Dukes could make and sell more cigarettes than their competitors could; they were also willing to spend more money on advertising than anyone else. In this way they forced the competition to merge with them, forming the ATC; eventually, they acquired the company that made Bull Durham.
- Invite questions (If they ask about hogsheads—hogsheads were used to transport leaves to market in colonial NC and in early 1800s; were also used by factories to store the tobacco.)

8. Walk to the house

- Start with front yard and talk about the tradition of sweeping the yard. (Darn by women and children, was the sign of a well maintained home; kept out all the grass and thus helped keep away snakes, ticks, rodents, etc.) You can invite children to help demonstrate.

- **Behind house**, may explain use of well-house (kept basins of water in the well house and could store items that needed to be kept cold in the water) and smoke-house (where you would cure your meats)
- Inside **kitchen**, first mention that in every room there is a safe chair that visitors are welcome to sit on, but that other than that most objects are fragile and we ask that visitors to look but not touch.
- In the **kitchen**, you can talk about how at first the Dukes had a separate kitchen, and that this one was added around 1860. Can talk about how they used an open fire for cooking in 1860, but by 1870 had a stove. May explain how the wood burning stove worked (the one we have is a reproduction—it's ok to touch). You can mention that the stove is a symbol of wealth; the Dukes had more money than typical farmers. May also want to talk about the pie safe, the cracks in the walls, the scrub mop, the dried beans and herbs. Invite questions.
- In **dining room**, may want to point out original pine walls (Duke University planed down the walls when it owned the property), the two doors and two windows for cross-ventilation, and the sewing machine (can be used to talk about Mary Duke, who used to work in this room filling bags of tobacco and labeling them with the brand "Pro Bono Publico"—Latin, "For the Public Good"). This room was also added in 1860. You can also mention that the dining room could be an educational space for children on a farm.
- In **parlor**, may mention that the original house had only four rooms, two downstairs and two upstairs. You can talk about the tradition of "straightening up a room" by pushing furniture against the walls. You may also mention Bibles because the Dukes were devout Methodists and probably owned Bibles. The writing box on the table can also be pointed out. It was used for storing papers and as a surface to write on. You can point out staircase and explain that we don't go up there because it is steep and narrow; the stairs are a safety hazard. Mention that the upstairs bedrooms were most likely for the children and that here is one fire place upstairs.
 - The stair case is also a good place to talk about Caroline Barnes and her role as an enslaved person on the Duke farm. We know that Barnes was purchased in 1855, at the age of eleven. She probably was responsible for child care and domestic duties such as, cleaning and cooking. Barnes most likely slept upstairs on the floor of the children's room. In 1860 a census was taken and she was not on it and we lose track of her whereabouts; but, after the Civil War a woman named Carolina comes to work for the Duke family as a house keeper. Barnes did get married and have two children and probably lived in the predominantly black sector of Durham, known as Hayti.
- In **bedroom**, discuss the rope bed and how a bed key was used to tighten the ropes. Can point out:
 - chamber pot— You can mention that there would be an out house, but the chamber pot was for night time use.
 - Picher and basin of water for washing your hands and face
 - Brush (boars hair bristles), comb, and curling iron (heated over flame in lantern)

- One homemade and the other store bought (tooth paste recipe-baking soda, salt, and water). Homemade was made from a sassafrass twig and wooden tooth brush had horse hair bristles.
- Lye soap– Homemade using ash hopper to strain ash with cheese cloth and water to get lye. Then that lye would be added most likely to pig fat to make bar soap. Flower petals could be added for scent.
- After asking for questions, be sure to end tour with a short summary of the Duke family's significance. You can mention how their tobacco empire was what helped endow Duke University, create Duke Energy, and donate millions of dollars to various charities, hospitals, and schools.
- Thank visitors for coming and invite them to either wander the grounds or come back with you to the museum.

Important Dates

- 1820: Washington Duke is born
- 1842: He marries his first wife Mary Clinton and they have two sons, Sidney and Brodie
- 1847: Mary passes away
- 1852: Washington marries his second wife, Artelia Roney and they have three children: Mary, Benjamin, and James Buchannan
- 1858: Sidney and Artelia contract Typhoid fever; they die within 10 days of each other
- 1864: Washington is drafted into the Civil War as a Navy crewman
- 1865: Civil War ends, Washington Duke is shipped to New Bern, NC and walks back to Durham
- 1869: Washington builds the 3rd factory and begins focusing on tobacco manufacturing
- 1874: The Dukes leave the Homestead and move to downtown Durham, building a new factory and home on Main Street
- 1890: "Tobacco Trust" est., named the American Tobacco Company; monopoly on the tobacco industry and the largest company in the world.
- 1911: American Tobacco Company is busted by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.
- 1924: James Buchanan donates 40 million dollars to Trinity college, creating the Duke endowment. Trinity is renamed Duke University.

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW, JULIA ROGERS, FEBRUARY 6, 2015

Interviewee: JR Julia Rogers

Interviewer: RK Rachel Kirby

Interview Date: February 6, 2015

Rachel Kirby: [*to self, about recorder*] The phone will work. Are we seeing a green light?

Julia Rogers: It doesn't, okay, hello? Yes.

RK: Alright. We may just have to.

JR: I'll just speak in my really intense low man voice.

RK: I'm Rachel Kirby. It's February 6, 2015 at 3:05 and I am here with Julia Rogers at Duke Homestead. Will you introduce yourself?

JR: Hi. I am Julia Rogers. I am the Historic Interpreter II here at Duke Homestead which means I'm the museum educator and lead interpreter, but I also do a whole lot of other stuff, obviously. I give projects to interns. I am currently planning events that are going to take place months from now. And just a whole lot of everyday things, which I don't know if you want me to go into detail about the little weird minutia like sending Mary Bell emails about 10-99 forms. There's that stuff that everybody does that's just random. I tried making a list one day and it wasn't the same day to day.

RK: I guess that job description then?

JR: Other duties as assigned. Basically, other duties as assigned. Like cats.

RK: So what brought you to your role here at Duke Homestead?

JR: Let's see. I went to school for history and anthropology and I talked about [it] since I was in like, eighth grade. I told my eighth grade math teacher, I'm going to work at the Met and I'm going to be a curator. I don't think I knew what that was. I knew I liked museums. And then starting in college, I volunteered at the Wake Forest anthropology museum and I really liked that. I had one summer when I was taking classes, so that is what I also did. And then I took a museums class there and then I came back to Durham after graduating and I had done an internship at the Supreme Court and I was like, yes, I'm going to grad school. I'm going to do this.

The best advice I ever got was always work in your field, if possible. I had not much money for grad school, I needed to work and I needed to apply. I went and I had lunch with a family friend who had volunteered and worked here and she was saying that

solidified her. She was like, go volunteer. Even if you're working part time somewhere that has nothing to do with museums, volunteer. So I started out here as a volunteer in between my undergraduate and grad school education. And then for the summer I was here, there was an open actual paid spot so I worked the last summer before graduate school here.

And then I chose to write my thesis on North Carolina. I went to graduate school in New York. So it doesn't make much sense to write about a state when you're not in the state. And I came back and unfortunately, how Columbia works, and this may be something you find out or don't find out. If you're a masters student, if you're writing your thesis, that's well and good but unless you're actually paying and taking courses there, you're not considered a student. So my student loans got called in pretty quick. I ran out of that six month grace period, and I was looking for a job and I saw this and I was like, I can do this. I can give the tour. I've given the tours. I knew I liked working here. I knew I liked this place and they actually wanted to hire me and I hadn't even finished writing my thesis yet. So part of my first year here was working here but then spending my nights, some Saturdays I'd actually bring my thesis and in between giving tours, I would be writing. So that is how I ended up here. It was really lucky, I think. Because I don't think a lot of people would want to take a chance on someone who wasn't technically out of graduate school yet. So that's how I ended up here, in this office.

[04.17.384]

RK: Good. Thanks. I guess you touched on this some, but what first got you interested in museum work and historic interpretation?

JR: Like I said, in eighth grade I had this idea. I think every kid has an idea of what a job is. I think, just about every child at some point wants to be a marine biologist. So there were years when I took it way more seriously and all, but I really always liked history. Durham is the benefit of really good museums, and I always really liked art. I spent a lot of time in Durham at the museum of life and science as a kid. So I grew up in a place where museums were a space, they were a public space. They were a place that you could be. I had birthday parties there, I went to birthday parties there, I took babysitters there. When I started babysitting kids, we went to the museum of life and science. So I think I had a lot of really good influence from an early age as a historic place or museum or an art place. That's a place you can be. That was a place for you to be. A really welcoming space. So that influenced how I thought about them really early on.

In high school I went and did a summer program because I thought I was going to design clothing. I went and spent a summer in New York City at Pratt and was going to design clothing. But our art history class, instead of being slides, even though I loved my art teacher, it was days and days of slides. The only thing that interested me was Greco-Roman art because I loved it because I was taking Latin. I was like, I know context.

And so our art history class was every art museum in all of New York City. We would just go every day. You took a couple classes and one of them was drawing and one of them was actual fashion and one was an art history class in a museum. I think I was in a space in a museum where I was allowed to sit on the floor and our teacher would talk to us or we could bring our sketch books and sketch. It wasn't a sterile space. And so all those kind of influences. And then I got to college and everyone was like, 'Oh, what are you going to do? You're a history major. Are you going to go to law school?' And I was like, 'No.' And I started being in the anthropology department more, and that was really how I was kind of slowly winding my way into having good anthropology teachers. Teachers that were telling me that this is a legitimate job that people do. And kind of bounced around.

I don't think anyone takes a straight path into museums. 'I'm going to curate.' Even in eighth grade, and your eighth grade math teacher is like, 'You are nuts-o.' I was going to be this. I was going to be that. I was really seriously considering historical archaeology for a while. So I think there's no. You kind of just bounce around and you end up, and it ends up being the right place. It's just hard. There's never one, but I think the major influence in wanting to be in a museum is being in museums that are good museums. Is not having someone you need to 'shhh, be quiet.' And not having someone tell you-. I knew there was stuff I could not touch, but it didn't feel like a 'don't touch that' bad zone. It felt like this is a space for you. And I think that's a really important influence when it comes to wanting to do this job. Does that answer?

[08.06.774]

RK: Yeah. Let's see. Can you tell me about your typical day at Duke Homestead? If there is one.

JR: A typical day. Okay. So there are definitely some things that happen every single day. Every single day I get up later than I should for work, because I live fifteen minutes away and so I'm always late. Not 100% ready to go to work. Typical day, I come in, I check email which is really interesting. Because I'm the social media intern I started checking something like I09 which is part of gawker media. So if you've ever been on gawker or jezebel. I09 is their science-y, their tagline is 'We'll find the future.' It's all this science fiction and fantasy, but they also tend to find history really interesting and science history really interesting. So sometimes they'll be posts on the Duke Homestead Facebook which are links to their articles. Or if they write an article I'll go back to the source. There's been some cool stuff about Old English which really shouldn't have to do anything with our time period, but talking about our modern concepts of "ye olde" actually come from the 1800s and people trying to be quaint and cute and oldey timey. So there's been some cool stuff.

I actually make sure I browse through there really quick. It's been interesting. I found a lot of cool things that have been relevant. Because part of my job is our Facebook page, and this may be one of the few jobs in the world where your boss wants you 100% all day

logged into Facebook. But it's mostly focused on Duke Homestead's page which for us, we have 1852-1874. That's our kind of timeline here on the physical property. But the Facebook page is the place we can have the Dukes as their great-great grandchildren lived, or the Dukes as their grandchildren lived. Or the Dukes as they started gaining money. Or really finding ways to say 'Hey, Washington Duke was living here during this time and these things were happening in our country and this is how it would have affected his life.' To remind people that history doesn't exist in a bubble. So it's Facebook and these things your boss would get really mad at in any other job. And email.

[10.43.599]

We have a morning meeting and we usually lay out phone calls. Obviously, answering the phone. Sometimes phone calls are things like school groups. So I take down school group and group visit requests. And then I kind of layout my day for myself. It's usually making a list of stuff that has to get done. And depending on the time of year, half of my day can be teaching butter churning to a whole bunch of fourth graders. Or part of it is getting up and giving tours. So those are kind of placed throughout. And then it's usually planning and figuring out what has to get done for when.

Ideally, it's planning. We're trying to really beef up our school programming in terms of high school and juniors, but right now it is planning the Walk Home event. And it's, there's a lot of things to do and if it's, okay, today is the day I'm only doing this. And then you've got to pick the thing on your list which you know you can get done tomorrow, and that's the thing you don't do. That's what it is when there's two people, and then I hand out projects to Kayla. Or I'll brief Kayla or Emma or Anna, these are our interns. Like today when you came in, I was like: 'Okay, here we go guys. We've got this going on. This is going to happen. I need you doing this, I need you doing that.' And so basically, it's cleaning the historic site. So those are kind of things that happen. They don't all necessarily happen in a day. And then some stuff has become stuff that doesn't surprise me anymore. Something breaks or one of the cats is being weird or gets trapped up. So there's feeding cats, feeding chickens. Doing stuff like that. Every day is an adventure.

[12.40.873]

There's a week when everything was just going wrong, and one of the cats started walking around. Emma called me from the historic site and she was like, 'she looks like she's hurt herself.' And I had been down there and she was fine. And I got down there and I was like, this cat is being weird. I never had cats but I know cats are weird. But she was walking like the hip joints were wrong on her hind legs. And we were trying to figure it out and we brought her up here, and we were like 'Okay, do we need to take her to the vet?' Then she just normaled out. And we were like, 'ugh, cat.' And I know that's weird but that's not a thing I felt was totally out of the norm. Like, that's not even on the

abnormal spectrum. That's something I didn't even bother to tell my boyfriend about. 'Oh yeah, this happened.'

The day we fished snakes out of the chicken coop. That is not something I want to be on the normal spectrum, but it is now. That was two really long black rat snakes. Which are not going to get aggressive because they had just eaten and they are not poisonous, but I had to shovel them out with Andrew, [the maintenance guy]. And I did not want to do this again. Because animal control was busy. Step 1- call animal control. Step 2- the lady was like, 'I'm really sorry. Everyone is out on a call. I'm going to talk you through how to do this.' And she was like, 'I believe in you.'

RK: Well at least you got good moral support.

[14.11.404]

JR: I know. I was like, thanks. This is not what I was hoping to get out of that phone call. Okay, that's the typical day. And then go running and go home. Right now. Run. Run. And run some more. Then once the marathon's done, never again.

RK: So what do you find most rewarding about working here?

JR: There's different parts. When I'm doing something like the website, which you kind of watched me do earlier. There is the moment when it works. When it comes to things like exhibit design or website design or creating some kind of program, a lot of time what that's like is if you have a puzzle and you don't have the box to look at. All the pieces are there, but sometimes the picture doesn't show up until you put the piece in the right place anyway. So you've got some pieces that are all white. You have some pieces that have some picture on it. [...] It's basically flying blind on a puzzle. And it is a really good feeling when you've made a thing that works. Or you've made a website and you're like, yes. Or you have been working on this content and it comes together and you get to step back and you see it.

Like, I've been working on a design for this exhibit and it's been really problematic because we want to do a timeline but timelines are inherently really boring. And a timeline doesn't always show connection. We want to show connection across time and cause and effect, instead of just saying 'this caused this.' And so we've been working with different design and there was a day when I was like this, 'this is good.'

When it comes to the other majority of my work, which is kids programming, days when a kid comes and they're like, 'I've been here before.' That can either mean they're like, 'uh, I've been here before.' But days when they're like, 'I've been here before and I know the answer.' And that is always good because it means they want to be here now. Or they came during a summer event. 'My parents, I remember doing. We did this and this and this.' Or you have the moments where you're on tour and there's like seventh

graders or high schoolers or college students that are supposed to be too cool to be there, but they laugh at your really bad history joke. And it's like A- you're listening. And B- you get it, or you actually secretly want to be here.

[17.11.618]

When you have that one high schooler that actually asks you a question or wants to know more. So there are the nice little windows that you've done something. That they get it. Or the kid who's like, 'I'm really happy,' or just expresses the fact that they had fun and they liked it. And you're like, 'Okay, even if your classmate was disruptive and couldn't stop talking, you guys got it.' Or we'll do archaeology. And it's like sometimes in fourth grade, trying to explain what is it that makes an artifact? And they can all answer, and I'll have one kid raise their hand. I'll be like, 'Why are my shoes an artifact, or why would they be?' And they're like, 'Because a person made them.' And I'm like, 'Why isn't a tree an artifact?' And they're like, 'People don't make trees.' And I'm like, 'Oh my god, you got it.' And I'm like, 'What would make it [an artifact]? If I carved my name on that tree would it become an artifact in 100 years?' And they're like, 'Yeah.' And it's like, they get it or they could figure it out.

'What room, if you're finding a bunch of dishes, what room could we be in if we're digging?' And they're like, 'We could be in the kitchen.' And oh my gosh, they get it. The little moments where they get it, that's really awesome. There could be 100 of them and I could have done archaeology four times, and I can't remember if I've asked you this question, but you're still having fun. That's the good part, the getting it part. All the work is worth it for when it clicks in. When you've made a good post. When people are responding to what you do. Because otherwise you're not doing it for anyone. You're just talking into space. And there are days like that. There are days when you can feel like you're not. You ever feel boring?

RK: Yeah, I do.

JR: There are days when I would be on tour and people would be like, 'We really liked the tour.' And you're like, 'Okay, good.' Because I'm like, do you guys find this as interesting as I do? I really hope so. Otherwise we just all stood here really awkwardly for 45 minutes. So days when they're like, 'Let me ask you another question.' But there are days when it's not like that, but more often it's actually you get people who like it.

RK: That kind of leads to the next thing.

[19.36.281]

RK: What is most challenging and/or least rewarding?

JR: Right now, there's a couple things. Right now we are facing the challenge of being a man down, essentially. Having Anna, Kayla, Emma, having people who are coming in who I can say, 'Kayla, you are going to do this project.' She may not have done it before and she is like 'Okay.' And Emma, I'm like, 'Emma I'm going to teach you how to do this.' But it's still, full time staff, there's me, there's Mia, there's Andrew. Andrew is taking care of the entire grounds so that leaves me and Mia to do this stuff, and that is hard. And it's hard in ways where you have good ideas and you know they're not going to happen this year. So it's learning some patience.

And sometimes it's like, I would really love to do this thing. And you want to do it 110% and you don't want to half-ass it. I don't want to put a shitty project out there. So making the decision that you're going to cut a project as opposed to doing a crap job, that's hard. Or just tabling something. There has been stuff we've wanted to do that has to be tabled for a long time. We know we're going to do this eventually. Like, having research there, and trying to get someone in who will develop. For instance, the exhibit I've been working on. We're waiting on artifacts. Until we can get those donated from the person who can physically go get them, which is harder than you'd think, it's tabled. The event that's happening in May has to happen in May, where this doesn't have a deadline. So the hardest part is the stuff you have to cut.

[21.32.660]

Or knowing, man I would love to do A, B, and C things. But we don't have the money and the state's not going to give us the money. And the state is going to keep cutting our budget. That's really hard to know that we're not necessarily a priority, or that there are people out there who look at us like a waste of money. Which I don't think we are, but that's hard. Apparently when Jennifer, who is now the western regional manager who started here, when she started here there were five full time staff.

RK: Five?

JR: Yeah. Five. Not including the maintenance person, I think. Or maybe it was including. There was site manager. There was assistant manager and two others. So five including the maintenance person. So you think okay, dropping down to four including maintenance person isn't so bad, but you do feel that. Like, every less person there is there, that is one less person you know? It's like man, what we could do with five full time staff. Oh my gosh. We could do so much. There would be one person doing one [task]. There would be an educator and that would be [all they did]. And we would just have fantastic educational programs, and it would be somebody who is constantly working. Opposed to me who is like okay, I get to spend this hour today doing it.

So that's what we feel. And that's what museums everywhere are feeling. I seriously, when it comes to the small museum, which is the majority of museums in this country, the majority of museums are not giant institutions. They are feeling it.

RK: A nice downer there.

[23.33.660]

JR: Hello kids. Welcome to your future.

RK: Well, yeah. I'll find a job somewhere.

JR: Just write books. Just be a professor and write books. Publish or perish, my friend.

RK: So can you talk to me some about the tour of the historic area?

JR: Okay, like what it does? What we go through?

RK: I guess, is your tour always the same? How do you ever change information? How do you negotiate kind of what you're doing and what that looks like?

JR: Hopefully the tour is the same, in that it's the same information. Hopefully not the same, in that it's presented in the same way. There are some portions of the tour where I probably same the same thing in the exact same way. It has been three years that I've been here now and that's just full time. But you learn really quickly what helps people understand something and what helps people not understand something. So I'd been explaining Washington Duke's Civil War service in between talking about their farming life and talking about the factories because to me that made sense. But what I quickly figured out, that was something that someone else giving a tour was like, I talk about him being drafted when I start and then I repeat it down there and they hear it a second time and are like, 'Aha, I remember this.' So some things I say the same every time and I'm like, uh, it gets boring. But most of the time what gets said depends on a couple things.

[25.06.422]

Where people are from or size of group. How interested they actually are. Sometimes you'll get a group that is a big group and they're here and you are playing to that big group. And you are playing to the fact that we had people form, today you followed me on a tour where there were people from out of town or had just moved here. So the woman who just moved here was really interested in where she was physically living and what that had to do with this history. So that is going to change the tour. Because that's, I'm not going to talk about, oh you know where Pops is? If you're local I can say, do you know where this is? And they'll go, 'Oh, yeah.' Do you remember that? They'll go, 'Okay.' But if you're from another country, I'll add in a little more information about when the Civil War actually happened. Sometimes if they're from our country I have to add in a little more information about when the Civil War happened. I'll go 1861, and

they'll go really? And I'll say yeah. Or I'll say the American Civil War because every country has had a civil war just about.

Sometimes they'll be one particular person in a group who is really interested, and that person would go on an hour and a half tour if you let them. But everyone else in their group is being dragged onto this tour. And you have to be like, okay, I'm going to give you the bare bones version and let you ask questions. That way, that person is then responsible for finding out more. And then, they are also responsible for looking after their children or spouses or whoever they brought with them and going, oh. And they can come to me instead of making everyone listen. It's so group based.

We have people who are, people who grew up in the tobacco industry. And they know sometimes more about tobacco than I do. I did not grow up in the tobacco industry. That's my scariest part, because I don't want to say something wrong. I just want to be like, I'm supposed to be the expert. God, if I get this wrong. I'll usually look at them and they'll be nodding their head. Or I'll be like, well, you know. They'll just want to reminisce. So you just kind of go, oh yeah you guys know this. Affirm that they know it too.

Or there's people who are like, 'tobacco's big right. It's a plant?' And you're like, 'yes.' It just really depends. I had a couple who were from Italy and the woman they were staying with didn't speak a lot of Italian but she was friends with them. That was really strange to me. I'm still trying to figure out how that friendship started if neither of them spoke, or her daughter spoke Italian or something. And I took Italian in college. But it's been a while. And, it was like a hour long tour. But they had so much fun. And it was not a lot of information, but the fact that it was just them, so I was like, I'm going to stumble through some Italian. And they stumbled through some English, and they learned something. And then they got in the house and they were talking about during the American Civil War, Italy was having. Something was going on in Italy. Basically there were huge changes in the country so they were totally related to everything that was going on. And they were like 'Oh, okay. You guys were having this happen? We had this happen.' If there had been anybody else on that tour, I couldn't have given the tour like that, because you have to adjust.

So basically, short answer is you adjust based on who's on your tour. You try, if there are kids, to simplify some things so that they feel like they're not being, you know. But the basic information that you want everyone to understand. There are core points that we teach everyone, you know, at each stop. So as long as you get them to, you know, points A, B, C, and D here, how you get there doesn't matter so much, as long as you know, you're not saying inaccurate information or being terribly mean or, you know. I don't want you to say, you stupid people.

[29.15.051]

[*Julia talking about a text message*]

RK: So, what are some of those core points and were they taught to you as a script? Or how did that kind of form?

JR: So core points. Basically, we have [an] introduction to the Duke family. Who are these people? Where do they come from? Washington Duke's from Orange County from Bahama. Talk about him moving to this property, how he got here, how he got married, had two kids, first wife died, gets remarried, has three more kids, oldest son and second wife die. And it just basic summary. We generally have bullet points. You are going to introduce everybody here, and then over at the tobacco curing barn, you are going to start talking about life pre-Civil War for the Dukes. They were farmers. What does it mean to be a small farmer in North Carolina?

And really hitting home the point that, for me, main points are A. What did tobacco growing look like? This is the plant that built North Carolina, so it's really important for people to come away understanding like, if you were living in Durham even just twenty-five years ago, we were way more rural than we are now. And the industry side was still in Durham, but you just go outside of the city into the counties, and very quickly you would see farmers putting in an acre of tobacco. So you back up your life, you don't have to back it up 150 years, you back it up 25 or 50 years and this is your life if you were living in North Carolina. Your life is tobacco. Your life is sweet potatoes. Your life is pork. What would you be doing on a tobacco farm? And how does it work to be growing it, picking it, curing it?

And then we move into the pack house and ordering pit where you talk about getting it into auction and, you know, this is in my opinion there's a couple things. There's A, the auction system. But B, kind of hitting home that, the, if you're a farmer, you can be doing pretty well and you're still working pretty darn hard. And also that this is, this is this kind of theoretically the auction is the end point, but if you're moving up the plant, you're going to do everything. It's kind of that weird conclusion. We talk about field to barns to auction and then back to the field because you're doing it all over again. So hitting home the actual intensity of the labor. We just went through that whole saga, and by the way, that's just for the bottom of the plant. You are going to do it again. You are going to do it again. And you also have other crops, you have other things. So leading into that transition. This is other life. Here you go, this is your life. And you're kind of like, okay. And then the Civil War hits and now your life is changing.

Then we move and talk about what is that after the Civil War? That's the transition part, the Washington Duke was on this one side of things and now he's on the other side of things post-war. He is now buying tobacco. He is now manufacturing it. And we get into my favorite part. I love the kind of gilded age into the 20th century. I think that stuff's the most interesting because it's crazy. And all kinds of crap happened. It's the, you could talk about what you want to talk about. What the key points are: how he built the

business. How big American tobacco became. And what they did with their money. You know? This is what they did. This is how we got Duke, you know?

But the other interesting thing, if people ask there is so much cool stuff during that time period. I mean, they were insanely wealthy so if possible I really want people to leave with a good understanding of what that kind of wealth looked like. Which is why you throw out things like, they were on par with the Rockefellers and the Vanderbilts. Which, that is true. They were next door neighbors at one point. These are people who were crazy wealthy and that kind of wealth is why we decided we really didn't think that was a very good idea. You know, all kinds of things.

And at least overall, at that point, reaching the major point that the Dukes are not necessarily the heroes in the story. Which is, you think, 'Oh, you talk about their history you have to love them.' It's like, no you don't necessarily. It's not that I don't think they were good people, but they were people who the labor movement was reacting against. They were people who were not necessarily interested in the, you know, plight of the working man. In the sense that they wanted, you know, they were people who were interested in, really strangely, public health. They were interested in education. They were interested in all these things that would be for the plight of the working man. But were they so pro-union? I highly doubt it.

[34.14.992]

It was, it's just one of those things. You've got to remember guys, these were people who owned a monopoly. Our country did not like them very much. Going into the house and the point of the house is A, how the Dukes would live their lives there and B, how you just live your life in a house like that. And it's weird. Because it is a tour that focuses on something being both an anomaly and both ubiquitous. And the point is, pre all this crap their life is pretty ubiquitous. Their life was pretty representative. But you have to say, but then they became special.

I really don't want it to be a rags to riches story, and I try to avoid that phrase which is why I'm always like, remember, they were doing pretty well as farmers, and they were living. Because it promotes this myth. This myth of American exceptionalism. And I don't really want to promote that because it's not true. Because I hope that people wouldn't say oh, well obviously they just worked super, super, super hard and they made their money and anybody can do that. And it's like no, they are the exception to the rule. They were the rule and then they became the exception to the rule. They climbed incredibly quickly and they had a lot of lucky breaks. They were in the right place. They were at the right time. They were the ones that were like, oh yeah, I'll do that. And they were pretty ruthless in some of the ways they did things, too. So yeah. That's the tour. It is the everyman but also the anomaly, which is hard to reconcile. But that is the Dukes. So there you go.

[36.02.351]

And I think they truly believed, like, they come straight out of that protestant ethic. So if you see interviews Duke gave, he's like, 'You just have to work hard. I worked hard.' And it's yes, very true. That man did grow up working hard. That's not a lie. But that is not the only thing that got him where he was. This is a white protestant male in the South. Had Washington Duke been Jewish. Or had Washington Duke even been Catholic. Or had Washington Duke been black. Or had Washington Duke been female. Circumstances would have been sensationally and incredibly different. And I can't really say that. I mean, you try to. You've got to be careful because people will be like-. You say it without saying it. You remind people that he, they were special. But were they really? Were they special?

And then you let people decide for themselves how they feel. You present the information and you try to present it without a bias for or against them. And then people have to make their decision. And some people will be like wow it truly is, it's like wow. Some people will be like, wow they started in a garage. And I'll be like, corncrib. But kind of the same thing. Basically.

[37.20.926]

RK: So what are some of the other, I guess, strategies, or I had written down to ask you about this "not always the heroes" and how you kind of get that across. Can we talk a little more about how you fit that in?

JR: A lot of it has to come up when people ask about things. I'll talk about sometimes in the third factory and sometimes I'll talk about it at the end of the tour. Especially when we talk about change. I think the other cool things to get to people is this change over time, especially in the house. Like, really pointing out things that are different as the Dukes have more money, which means they have more disposable money, which means they have more income, they have more power.

Sometimes it's really good to get across when you talk about Washington Duke's life. You say this is a guy who was born in 1820 and died in 1905. He was 85 years old. And asking people to think about every single thing that has changed in their lifetime. And then think about if they lived to 85, what could change. And then saying this is a man who was on a farm in North Carolina and saw his country break out into war and put itself back together again. His kids go through World War I. Just the point that in his lifetime, you suddenly have the prevalence of these things. Even if it was just staying on the farm, he would have seen the Civil War. He would have seen germ theory come about. He would have seen electricity move into the wealthier homes and kind of start to trickle down. He would have seen all these things.

But he didn't [stay], and he and his family became this ripple. What their actions did had affects across our country and across the world. And then I'll be like, that includes things like the labor movement. That was a response to the gilded age. That was a response to our monopolies. Because of people like the Dukes, and not because they necessarily wanted it but because people demanded them of their employers, we have eight hour work days. We have paid sick leave. We have an entire movement of people who were reacting, striking and reacting against changes in the workplace. And those are changes made by people like the Dukes.

[39.47.974]

So, that's one way to catch it. Is to kind of show that, yeah, had Washington Duke stayed where he was, done nothing but come home and start farming again, stuff would have changed. Tons of stuff would have changed. But he didn't stay where he was. And then you can bring in the fact that stuff did change for the better, but also stuff did change for the worse. I kind of slip in, I want to make sure people don't think we're like "Tobacco is Good for you!" because it's not. So its things like that.

Very plainly saying, Washington Duke called his product Pro Bono Publico. That's not true. And sometimes people will ask and I'll mention, depending on what they're more interested in. This is 150 years, or not 150 years. 100 years before the surgeon general's warning, relatively. But, tobacco was the first, I think, we can check the reference. I want to say nicotine is the very first alkaloid plant poison to be isolated. Oh God, stuff's falling. Tobacco, tobacco, 183. If I'm correct, it's in here. Which is, this is why it's one of my favorite books. Because it quotes the same quote that you hear in our movie. The "custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose. Harmful to the brain." It was, I want to say it was the first alkaloid plant to be isolated.

[41.24.270]

It will kill you. It will kill you dead. Nicotine is horrible. People knew it was a poison and people knew it was in tobacco. You've got to remember that even after the 1950s there were still plenty of advertisements about how doctors recommend. So the Dukes owned the company that became these companies. By the way, this is where the modern tobacco industry began. And you can say, for better or worse. Or you can just say, here you go.

And then they start to say, "Oh Liggett and Myers?" "Oh, RJ Reynolds?" And you're like, yeah, bridging that connection to today's problems. To things like the Truth Campaign, and stuff that we knew growing up, essentially. Those are some of my strategies. At least trying to have people have a wider view of it. Or sometimes, people ask questions like, "Was Washington Duke a good slave owner?"

RK: How would you answer that?

[42.31.942]

JR: There is no good slave owner. It's so hard, because it feels very aggressive to say that, so a lot of times I'll say, look. Caroline's life is different. You may be an enslaved person who is taking care of these kids who is beloved by these children, but you are still an enslaved person. At the end of the day, no matter how you were treated, you are still not in ownership of your own body. Or your own actions. And that's sort of how, it's hard, that's the hard question. Was he good? Oh but he did this and this and this after the war. Yes, but he still owned an enslaved person and he still rented their labor.

It's also one of those things, helping people understand that on a small farm like this, this would look different than a plantation. That doesn't necessarily mean they are better than the people that owned 800 or 900 enslaved persons. And talking about, Caroline worked for them. "Did it mean she liked them?" Maybe it did. Maybe it meant she really loved those kids. Or it's also a circumstance of post-Civil War Reconstruction. You have your freedom but you don't have any property or a job and you go and seek work with the people who once employed you. Or once owned you, sorry. And now they employ you.

He gave to Africa American businesses post-Civil War. And that, today we use the lens through which we give to that, which is a lens of equality. Liberalism and progressivism in that time period had a sincerely paternalistic bend. There were not a lot of people who were calling for equality. When Washington Duke was giving to African American businessmen and giving to African American schools, it wasn't necessarily because he believed them to be equal to himself. And I think that's really hard for people to reconcile. But it was very paternalistic. I will help these people who are lesser than me to become the best they can be, which might not be equal to me.

[44.56.976]

He was very big into women's education. Had Washington Duke lived longer, would this man have campaigned for the women's right to vote? I don't know. Maybe yes, maybe no. But he said women had to be admitted to Trinity on equal footing as men. And he used to go and ask the female students how their studies were coming. He didn't write a lot of journals so you don't really know what he really thought, but it's still kind of a very paternalistic.

So trying to help people understand that we have to take it on the terms of the time. What do these good deeds mean taken at the time? What are the motivations then? Because if we apply our modern way of looking at things, it's harder to understand. So that's another strategy. Is, hey by the way, this is good. It was inherently good. Parish Street and black Wall Street are amazing and wonderful things and meant amazing and wonderful things to Durham. So inherently, Washington Duke, sans motivations, giving to those communities? Awesome thing, right? Awesome thing. And you can take that as

inherently good. However, you've got to understand that his motivation for giving it is not the same motivation for which we fight for equality today.

[46.11.239]

Jewish community, really good example. Lots of Jewish people immigrated, worked for Washington Duke. This man didn't want you to be anything but a Methodist. Did not understand why the Jewish people did not want to convert. Which is kind of hilarious, if you think about, like, his mindset .in his mind, everybody should want to be Methodist. Are you a Baptist? Well, you should probably be a Methodist. Are you Jewish? You should probably be Methodist. Are you catholic? You should probably be Methodist. Are you anything? You should probably be Methodist. I mean, he. Like. However, like, it did lead to him justifying biases and prejudices of the time in his head and in his actions. So it's like, motivations for him is, I'm a Methodist and Methodists are just the best. It's awesome. Everybody should want to be this.

That's not necessarily a bad motivation. He's like, you should come join my club. And then it kind of leads to other things. And then you're like, Washington Duke, you should calm it down with that. It's one of those things. It's hoping and trying to communicate, hey think about it this way. Or hey, think about all they've seen, now think about what happened because of them. And usually the illustration of, these are people who create big ripples in a pond, helps people. Or couching it in, the business, the modern tobacco industry started in this building. And then they kind of look around and you see people see things a little different. Because they know about the modern tobacco industry. They know. And suddenly they're connecting everything that is today to everything that the Dukes did. And it makes them kind of think twice about how they feel about this family.

Which is important. There are very few people. I don't want to use this, it's such a cliché. There are very few true Hitlers in the world. There are these people that are truly, that are just, bad. There are true villains, right? There are people who are like that. But the majority of people in this world are complicated. And sometimes asking people to think about their own actions or their own views on things, and most of the time their views are complicated. And it's couching it in, think about how you feel about something. Think about something that you know exists today or an issue today that is tearing people apart and how many different points of view are on that issue. And that is a really good way to help people understand that, okay whatever the most controversial thing you can think of today. Think about that, but its slavery. Or think about that, but it's the labor movement. Or think about that but it's the beginnings of the Civil Rights Movement .and suddenly you get people who are like, okay. I get it.

There are very few true heroes in the world, too. I'm sure, there was probably even somebody who thought Martin Luther King Jr. was not a very nice man. There are very few true, these people stand out in our minds because there are not a lot of them on either side. Does that make sense?

RK: Yeah.

[49.27.532]

JR: Like I said, it depends. It depends on who you're talking to. What you have to do to help. You have to meet them at their own life experience. If there's a general rule for explaining all this crap, you meet them at the life experience they have. You A, have to make sure you've found out about them enough. But you can't necessarily ask people to meet you where you're at. You have to meet them at their experience. I mean, so that's what I've learned for this. You meet somebody where they're standing and you don't make them come to you. Like with a little kid. Have you ever played monopoly before? And that works. What's the goal? And they're like, you get all the money. How do you get all the money? You have to have all the spaces. And you're like, yeah.

And you go into the t-shirt examples really cool. If there's only one person in the entire country who made all the t-shirts. And I was like, well can you buy them from anybody else. That person can charge you anything they want for their t-shirts. And they're like, that's not fair. Especially if there's more than one kid. I'll be like, he makes all the t-shirts. And you need to buy a t-shirt, it's the only thing you can wear. So you have to go to him, you can't go to anyone else. And they're like oh. And I'm like, you make t-shirts for a living and you don't know how to do anything else. You have to work for this person and they can pay you whatever they want. If they make \$50 off a t-shirt and they only give you \$1, is that fair? And they are really mad by the end of that exercise, but suddenly you have kids who want to go on strike in the t-shirt factory.

There was one high school group when we were talking about how the tobacco industry created a diverse Durham. Because it was one of the industries that you could work in if you were African American. And you have to remember Jim Crow South, having a job, that's a big deal. And I said, however, they'll pay you less because you're black. And they're kind of like, what? And they'll pay you even less because you're female. If you're a kid you can get a job, but you'll get paid least of all. That's why they want to hire you. You can do the same work and you don't get paid as much. And they get really pissed off. And I'm like, thus we have the labor movement. It was good because I had a teacher that was like, yeah. This is it, they get it. And I was like, good. But there's different strategies.

And you kind of sit there and before those word get out of your mouth saying they can pay you less because you're black. You're kind of sitting there, but no, they need to know that. Sometimes the harsh statement is really powerful. This is inequality. This is how inequality functions in a society when it's engrained in it. And that can be really powerful I think if you are growing up and you're like, just so you know, I think a lot of people just assume that everybody's going to get paid the same. And people had to fight for it, and

they're like, oh. And that's meeting a kid at their life experience, meeting a high schooler at their life experience.

[52.49.759]

So that's the, that's that strategy. Really works, you get a lot of kids really really mad that their friend won't pay them enough. I'm like, I'm really sorry I just started a fight. But it works. And then they're interested in the tour again. So there, that's the hard stuff, interpretation. I guess that's one of the big ones. Is meeting someone where they're at. Anything else?

RK: Yeah well I was going to ask, what do you see kind of as the role of Duke Homestead?

JR: Oh man. Well our official mission is to preserve and interpret. So we, there's the official thing that we do. We preserve and interpret not just the Duke Family but tobacco heritage. I think I have. The support group, the Duke Homestead education and history supports educational programming at Duke Homestead State Historic Site, supplements artifact collections for the tobacco museum and historic farm operation, aiding in the preservation and interpretation of North Carolina's tobacco heritage. So part of it is our tobacco heritage. And I always worry about the word heritage because it's become this coded word for a lot of other crap.

[54.12.466]

But, the role in terms of history is, we have this opportunity in my eyes to tell the story of the beginning of Durham. Because the Dukes are connected to it all the way, 100%. Of, you know, Durham before the tobacco. Because it's the tobacco story. The story of Durham is tobacco history. It would have, had there'd been no tobacco warehouses had there been nobody moving their business into Durham and establishing businesses. Because it wasn't just the dukes .and even though it's tobacco heritage, which can kind of read, in the south heritage kind of reads for other things sometimes. But for me what that reads for is we get to tell the wider story of things. Which is the wider story of Durham. We get to tell.

RK: I thought you said whiter?

JR: Not whiter, wider story. Which is weird because I was about to say we get to tell African American history. On site, it's really, you know the focus can be for us, if it's just tobacco heritage. We can focus on, this is what your life probably would have looked like. And because the tobacco industry affected so many people in North Carolina, we can tell the stories of sharecroppers. We can tell the stories of African American freed persons. Even though Washington Duke didn't own enslaved persons that were necessarily working in the field, we have the opportunity to tell the stories of those enslaved persons as they lived elsewhere because it is tobacco heritage. We get to tell

Duke history, which is really interesting history even if you hate them. It's just that the school is really cool. I get to write posts about Julian Francis Abel who designed the entire campus. I get to do fun throwback Thursdays where I go out and I took a picture the other day and I need to post it of where Brody Duke's house used to stand.

Because we have that one word, tobacco heritage, we get so much, which ultimately, I think makes us a role of a community space. It should, the, we're here for the community. If we just, you know, preservation without interpretation doesn't mean very much. At least in my eyes, the point of preserving, the point of collections, the point of keeping these old homes alive, keeping these properties here, not demolishing them, is because it has an inherent meaning to the community. Not what the community was, but what the community still is.

And so, at the end of the day, our role, preservation for the sake of interpretation. For the sake of being a community space. And sometimes I think we meet that role really really well. And some days I feel like, oh my god are we reaching anybody? So it's, it's always like. That's the thing you keep in mind. We're here for the people who come here. We're here for even the people who don't come here. Even if they don't know we're here for them yet. The idea is to be a space where everyone in Durham can feel connected and feel like they, in my eyes, this is everyone's history. This is, you live in Durham, you have ownership of this history. You may have moved here, but so did a lot of other people. The history belongs to everyone, and that makes our role a role of being a space for the community. Preservation to preserve heritage, I guess. That's what that means, at least in my eyes.

[57.52.676]

RK: Well I know we've been going for a while. I can save some stuff. Is there anything else that you want to add that you want me to know right now? That I should have asked?

JR: Should have asked? You asked a lot of good questions.

RK: Thanks.

[...]

JR: You're really interested in interpretation? How history gets presented, right? You're interested in the face-to-face?

RK: Yeah, but you can tell me about whatever you want.

JR: I would say, what is really interesting me right now is interpretation in the digital age and there is the connection you have with people and I think there's not much that beats that.

There's not much that beats meeting them physically in the place. That's another good reason for preservation.

Standing yesterday looking at the Durham school of the arts where I know Brody Duke's house used to be was pretty awesome. But I would really also like Brody Duke's house to still be there because that would be even more cool because the man was crazy. But there's also, the thing I've been really interested in lately is this concept of the reaching beyond the people that can ever get to your door. And how museums exist in a digital age, and how we find ways to connect with people. And I think we do a pretty good job of that through our Facebook page. And I see other museums that do an excellent job of that, and I'm like, if only we had the money and the time.

That's a thing I have been thinking about a lot is this, is new media, the term I never thought I'd use. But essentially, how you pull museums out of the paper age and put them into the modern age, and not just digitizing your collection so you have a good database and don't lose information, but how you make that available. And how do you make a picture on a website something that somebody can actually interact with on the same level they would in a museum. Those are things I've been thinking about. Which inherently leads me back to making maps. Making interactive maps in software I don't know how to use.

RK: Well I can let you get back to those interactive maps.

JR: It's okay. You don't have to. Oh gosh.

RK: Well thank you.

JR: Of course. And if you think of other questions, I'm glad to answer them.

RK: I'm sure I will ask to do this again.

JR: Go for it.

RK: Thanks. I'll figure out how to turn this off.

JR: I've never used a recording device. I assume you hit that button but I'm not going to touch a thing.

APPENDIX F: GUIDED TOUR, JULIA ROGERS, FEBRUARY 6, 2015

Recorded Event: Guided walking tour

Tour Guide: JR Julia Rogers

Recorder: RK Rachel Kirby

Notes: I attempted to do my best keeping up with the visitors and noting which visitor spoke at which time, but this was challenging. Some of the visitors may be conflated.

Female Visitor 1: She said, "Here, try it [a cigarette]," and I choked and coughed, and my eyes ran, and I said I'm not a volcano. This is awful. And that did it for me. That was smart of my mother.

Julia Rogers: That's probably the best way she could have done it.

FV1: Show but don't tell. Just try it.

JR: It's terrible, you'll hate it. Yeah, I actually do. I think we're about to get started. We can actually head through here. That's where we're going to get started.

Male Visitor 1: He's going to have to chase us down.

JR: He won't have to chase us far because we're starting in here. And we'll start with an intro to the Duke family. I know you've been here?

FV1: Yes, about five times.

JR: So you can always give the tour if you'd like. Are you visiting from outside of the state?

MV1: From Colorado.

JR: Most of the time when people come from out of state, their familiarity with the Duke family is Duke University. Especially this month because it's March Madness. You're like, "What do you know about Duke?" and they're like, "basketball." Sometimes even if you're from NC, that's all you know.

But Duke would not exist as it does today, Durham wouldn't exist as it does today without this family. We'll start with Duke. He was originally from Bahama, one county north of us. He moves here in the early 1840s. It is in that year that he's married to his first wife, Mary Caroline Clinton and they have two children together. Now, Mary Caroline Clinton isn't pictured here and neither is their first son together, Sydney. But y'all can see their second son Brodie as an adult right here. Unfortunately, not long after Brodie is born his mother passes away.

Now Duke did eventually remarry. He remarries in 1852 to the woman you all do see up here, Artelia Roney of Haw River. That is the same year he finally completes the house that we are heading into. Artelia and Duke have three more children together: Mary, Benjamin, and James Buchanan who everyone knew as "Buck."

MV1: Not everyone.

JR: Well everyone in the family. Let's rephrase that. Now when he was about 2 years old, Buck's oldest brother Sydney caught typhoid fever. Artelia was attempting to nurse him back to health. She caught this disease from him, and they both died within about ten days of each other in 1858.

Now Washington Duke never gets remarried after this. It's really important to remember, this is when this is still a small farming family on this property, so this is a big hardship. And not but a few years later our country breaks into war. You guys can tell, he's born in 1820, he's in his early 40s when the Civil War begins. And from what we know about his post-war politics he was probably more unionist leaning. So this isn't a guy, a single parent in his early 40s, is not a guy who's ready to pick up a gun and fight for the Confederacy, and because of his age they aren't that interested in him either. However, in 1863 they pass conscription acts and change the draft age. If you're between the ages of 15 and 45, you are out of luck. You are going to get drafted. He is drafted into the Confederate Navy and is only away a little over a year. It is when Duke comes back to this property in 1864 after the war that he decides that they are going to transition into manufacturing pipe tobacco.

The business they begin here is what makes them all that money. Because you do need quite a lot of money to get a university named after you. We are going to talk about all this in more depth on the tour. If you have questions, please feel free to ask them. Do you have any before we get started?

Male Visitor 2: You said his first wife was a Clinton? Or, is it related to the other Clinton?

JR: Not related to the Clintons as in the presidential, as far as I know. I'm assuming, their family was a farming family. The land he started on was a gift from her family. So they were, he was not marrying up into a---.

MV1: What happened to Brodie?

JR: During the war Brodie was drafted as well. He was really young, really skinny, and ended up, I think, as a prison guard in Salisbury, North Carolina.

MV1: So he wasn't big in the business?

JR: He was and he wasn't. Brodie Duke, at one point in time, was known as the land baron of Durham. He owned a lot of land. If you wanted to build something you went to Brodie Duke. He also was instrumental in convincing his father to move off the land and into downtown Durham. Remember he's older than his younger step-siblings. So he himself had started a B.L. Duke tobacco manufacturing company in downtown Durham before his father moved in and they consolidated things. He also was unfortunately a terrible alcoholic. At one point in time Benjamin and Buck Duke approached him saying if he could get his drinking together, he could be more involved in the business. Apparently the next day he got really drunk and rode a horse through their factories. That ended poorly.

MV2: That's a good story.

[05.24.402]

JR: He also was married quite a lot. His third wife, he got married to at the same time Buck Duke was getting married to Aniline Holt up in New York City. He went on a three day bender and married a woman suspected of marrying a prostitute. That encouraged him to dry out a bit after that. That marriage was quickly annulled.

His fourth wife was about 17 years old and her name was Wylanta Rochelle. We've talked to people who worked in the 20th century, in the 1940s, 50s, 60s, 70s, and remember Wylanta, and remember her coming down and collecting the rent at these tobacco warehouses in person. So "oh he married this young girl," but she wasn't a dummy. You get the sense that, she apparently called him Mr. Duke until he died, and Mrs. Duke, Mrs. Wylanta Rochelle knew what she was doing. He had a lot of good business acumen, like his brothers and his sister. But unfortunately alcoholism was a major problem for him and it caused a major rift, as I gather, essentially after the wedding, it caused a permanent split between him and the rest of his family. You can imagine dealing with that as a family. You can have all of the money in the world and it's still not easy.

FV1: But she stayed with him, and kept collecting the rent?

JR: Apparently when he died, she took over his business.

FV1: Quite an entrepreneur.

JR: She was no dummy, from what I gather. There was an oral history we found from someone basically saying "yeah, I remember Mrs. Duke coming in, in person and making sure they got rent." She owned the land and your building was on it, you're paying that woman rent.

[07.22]

JR: Yeah, Brodie Duke is interesting.

[walking from visitors' center to curing barn]

MV1: How did you learn all that stuff about him?

JR: There is stuff in books, people ask us about him. There's, any time that you see somebody. You go through the family trees. "Oh he's married four times." And then you look at the age of his wife and, man she is really young and he was not.

MV1: He is fascinating.

JR: They're all pretty interesting in their own right. The more you delve into them personally, the more you get a sense of the dynamic of how the family was. I think Buck Duke gets a lot of credit for the giving and Benjamin Duke was really the catalyst for a great deal of the giving the family did. Buck just said "whatever, just do it."

[08.27.00]

JR: Neither of them were big on getting accolades for it.

MV1: Except he wanted to have a statue.

FV1: Out in front of the chapel smoking a cigar.

JR: That was posthumously, as far as I know. I know for Ben Duke, at least, it definitely was. So Ben Duke financed the East Campus wall and they wanted to put a plaque on it and he said no. Apparently he compromised and let them put it on the inside of the wall where no one could see.

FV1: We had heard that he asked about, I guess it was, some kind of Methodist Church and he said "how much would it cost to have a university here?" And they told him a vast amount of money and he said "I have that." I require to have a statue of me with a cigar in my hand.

JR: As far as I know, that wasn't really the case. Because again, talking about a long term endowment for Trinity College, really before the end of the 19th-century. So Trinity College is what was there before it was a Duke University.

FV1: Right, it was called Trinity, not Methodist.

JR: They were Methodist affiliated college. One of the reasons the Dukes started giving money was because after the Civil War, the Methodist Church was essentially broke. It was like

any other institution in the South. They didn't have any money after the Civil War. Any they did have was in Confederate currency which was worthless.

FV1: But when he first came back home he didn't have much money?

[00.10.22.335]

JR: No.

MV1: That was the old man.

JR: We are starting at the tobacco curing barn. Before the Civil War, the Dukes were small farmers. Tobacco was considered a cash crop to put money in their pockets. They grew what they needed here. What was going to put money in their pockets was crops like tobacco. If you guys do come back and visit us in the fall, we actually have curing done in this barn. A big looping contest. We let people, you can really get hands on if you'd like to try it out. Right now, we are in the middle of pre-planting season, I guess you'd call it.

Tobacco sees that you guys have probably seen in the museum are really small. You don't just plant them in the field and you're done. During this time you are going to build seed beds, and you're going to be spreading your tobacco seeds out in those, covering them with brush, anything that is going to keep any late frost off of them, keep them protected, and letting your seedlings grow up like that. Come May, you plant. And that's when we plant here. You move through your seasons, and your harvesting season is mid to late August through September.

If you've been in the museum, we have models of tobacco plants. If you come back in the fall, you'll see real ones growing in our field. The leaves on the bottom are bigger than those in the middle and those on the top. You can't cut down the entire stalk all at once. You have to prime it, picking the leaves as they're reading, moving up the plant. Harvesting and curing, that whole process takes about six weeks in total.

When you have got through the first priming, you bring the leaves up here, loop and tie them onto sticks and hang them in this barn. When the barn is full you close the doors and light a fire. If you look inside you'll see a big central fireplace. It's completely enclosed except for one opening on the far left-hand side. You light a fire in there and it's the heat that will very quickly dry out the leaves.

In order to get bright leaf tobacco, leaves stay in there for a week. People take turns sleeping out here all week, raising the temperature hotter and hotter and hotter. Towards the end of the week you spike the temperature about 20 degrees and then bring it back down. That'll give you the bright leaf tobacco, changing the color and changing the

flavor. It gives you this beautiful bright golden leaf and gives you a more mild flavor that is increasingly popular nationwide after the Civil War.

Which means it's actually pretty good time for Duke to go into the tobacco business after the Civil War. But when you're done here for the week you aren't done as a farmer. We're going to head to the pack house. Do you have any questions? Alright.

[13.14.320]

[walking to pack house]

MV2: Like a slow cured ham.

JR: There is a slower curing of tobacco. If you grow burley, it's often air-cured. That's exactly like it sounds. It's hanging in barns a lot like those, but you notice chinking between all the logs? They're actually be no chinking in those logs, and it's end up a darker leaf and a different flavor.

We had a girl who was a Duke student who was a work study here for four years while she was at Duke. Her family were tobacco farmers, and they farmed burley. Burley is actually bigger than bright leaf too. She said "your tobacco looks pitiful compared to ours."

Given that she was in Ohio, the harvest season is a little different. They harvested later and weren't heading into auctions or selling until November. The season is really long. And that's because burley takes a month to air-cure. A week where you have given up sleep isn't so bad in comparison.

Alright, so there is a problem with the curing system. At it's heart, it's a drying out process. It prevents the leaf from molding quickly and makes it smokable. But it also makes the leaves very brittle. They're going to break easily. What you want is something more like this. You want these big and beautiful leaves to show people. But when it's dried out it breaks really easily, and that's not going to sell. You want big beautiful leaves.

So what you're going to do, you put the tobacco sticks into the ordering pit. Our ordering pit is a little flooded. That happens when we get a lot of rain and snow all built up. But what's going to happen in there, in August and September in North Carolina, it's hot and humid. This is basically a dark, damp basement. The moist air is going to be trapped in there and the leaves will soak that up without reversing anything that happened in the curing barn.

And then you can handle them. You won't have to worry about handling them when they are nice and ordered, nice and floppy. And if you notice, the way you handle tobacco is

you take a literal handful, take a tobacco leaf, and you wrap it around. That's what holds it all together. Then you pack these hands into the pack house and you get ready to head into your urban areas where you are going to sell tobacco at auction.

And this is just your first priming, that first bottom leaves, so you end up doing this process again and again. It is a lot of work, but this is worth it. This puts money in your pocket, you're paying off debts, and you're buying what your family needs. If you're a kid your parents have money. You're going to be in town saying, "Buy me everything." It's a good time of year if you've had a good crop. And this is what they're doing up until the Civil War.

[16.28]

Like I said, Washington Duke is drafted and it's when he comes home that he decides he's going to move away from farming and start manufacturing. So we're going to head over their factory buildings and talk about that part of their lives. But before we get away from farming, do you guys have any questions?

MV2: Most of the farms are small?

JR: If you look at your average farmer, the average farmer is hard to put your finger on. If you look at census data, a small farmer sits on anywhere from 50 and 500 acres of land. Washington Duke started on about 50 acres in the early 1840s. By the Civil War they had about 300. That puts him almost average of the average.

You definitely, with small farmers, you want to get the idea that they aren't necessarily impoverished or poor. They're doing pretty good as farmers, but they aren't on the same level as the planter class in the South which is a very different social and economic level. That can be dictated by acreage but also by, you have to put general demarcations, like owning more than ten enslaved persons, having thousands of acres of land. Life gets different. But then there's a merchant class that sits in between. Small farmers are a huge chunk of the population, however if you were an enslaved person in North Carolina, most of the enslaved persons, making up a third of our population, were on plantations.

MV1: But there weren't many plantations in North Carolina?

JR: Comparatively to the rest of the South, not as many. You've got to remember there was still a planter class controlling a third of the population in North Carolina. Didn't mean there wasn't slavery or that the instances of slavery were any less brutal or hard. Or experienced in any other way. In fact, one of the largest plantations in the South that had one of the largest slave holdings, the Bennehan Cameron family, their plantation is geographically an anomaly because it is about twenty minutes up the road. They had thirty-thousand acres and over enslaved persons at any given time.

MV2: So is the planter class mainly a difference in scale or is it organized differently?

JR: Scale, but sometimes organization. You can think of plantations as completely self-sufficient entities. There are large scale cash-crop farming. There is more cash flow coming in. But at the same time, a lot of plantations had their own churches, their own stores. And if you have thirty-thousand acres, you are essentially your own small, everything. There were blacksmiths. If the Dukes needed something from a blacksmith, they had to buy it.

MV2: It was much more integrated. Probably more efficient?

JR: I guess, I don't know if I'd be able to do the numbers on efficiency. Especially for cotton after the cotton gin became more efficient. This is your---

FV1: Less bloody hands.

JR: This is your industrial farming before you have large scale in actual physical machines to do industrial farming.

[19.41.865]

[Talking as we walk to the third factory] [...]

JR: We're transitioning ourselves. Washington Duke comes home in 1865. He basically, imagine this is a guy coming home, coming back to his children. We're going to stop farming and start a brand new business. That probably feels like, dad what's going on. It was a transition in labor for them. It was Wash duke and children manufacturing pipe tobacco on this property. They we remanufacturing over there in the corn crib.

Man: They store corn in there?

JR: Yeah, and then they started making pipe tobacco. This is very much building it from the ground up. The title of the business, W. Duke and Sons is incredibly appropriate. They start manufacturing and very quickly they are becoming successful. Between 1865 and 1869 they convert another building into their second factory. Then they build this one in 1869. If you're able to build a building instead of using other buildings, you've probably got capital. Your business is becoming successful. It's really easy to compare the two and see the literal growth in the business. At this time, we also suspect they're probably starting to hire outside labor as well. These are good signs. We're going to head inside and talk about what it looked like to manufacture tobacco.

MV2: Is there a banking system at the time for raising capital?

JR: Well.

RK: That's a good question.

[23.11]

JR: That's a really good question. You had a bit of a problem post-Civil War. What had happened during the Civil war, during the Civil War? 1860s you have, during the Civil War, they passed the National Banking Act. Unfortunately, that act was passed when the Union didn't consist of everyone who lived in the Union.

Oh yeah, you can sit in that. Don't worry, I'd let you know. Trust me, its fine. We have modern chairs all throughout.

So you did have this consolidation. You start to move towards our modern concept of a national banking system, but you're moving towards that in the northern states. So the southern states had money that was basically worthless even when in circulation by the end of the war. There was kind of, I would imagine, any way of getting capitol would be selling land. But I'd have to look through records to see if that was the case. I don't want to call it economic collapse because it wasn't. But at the same time you had a currency that was just worthless, and a really quick part of reconstruction was an effort to quickly bring the rest of the South---

MV2: So how did they manage their tobacco transactions in the South unless they bartered it?

JR: Because the Confederate currency was worthless, they're just using the US dollar again. There's even a story that Duke traded Confederate money for a 50 cent piece because someone wanted a souvenir.

You've got to place it in the sense that, like Confederate money they sell in gift shops? That's probably the most Confederate money has ever been worth, and that's reproduction Confederate money. They're very quickly establishing that reconstruction was literal, infrastructure reconstruction, government reconstruction. Really, really quickly everyone is passing things. There is a political aspect of it but the literal getting everybody back up. Very quickly you have the US dollar being used everywhere. He would be selling for dollars.

Now what you're doing in here if you're Washington Duke. You are buying tobacco from, at first some neighbors, some tobacco that he had in storage, and later from the auction system. Bringing it back here, and final you can have it completely crunchy and dried up because you are going to be breaking it up from the stems. Nice demonstration with my flail.

Someone gets to do that all day every day with no AC in here. Breaking it away from those stems and moving those leaf pieces into a sieve. Someone is spending their days pushing the tobacco through the sieve. What you see coming out of the bottom is our

final product, is pipe tobacco. And if you want, you can touch anything on this table. It is all modern. In fact, we restock this recently. But you get the idea that it is a simple but labor intensive process. You can farm and you can manufacture but you aren't going to do both for very long. So by 1869 they've probably shifted completely away from farming.

[26.24.587]

So they are calling their product Pro Bono Publico. It's Latin. It means for the public good, and we kind of all know that's not true. But 1865 if 100 years before the surgeon's general warning is published, so truth in advertising. Eh. Not a big deal.

MV2: People did things by different standards which we would think are stupid. But when you don't eat, you die. Lesser evils.

JR: I had somebody on a tour once say "well, their money ended up doing a lot of public good." And if you really want to justify it that way, okay. I'll let you do that. I can't, that's up to you.

They are manufacturing here until 1874. But Brodie Duke is like "Dad, move into downtown Durham." And finally they pick up and move into downtown Durham. They built bigger homes, bigger factories, definitely hiring more workers. They're moving out of the general, every-man class into what today we would call the upper-middle class. Very quickly they are becoming some of the wealthiest and most powerful people in the city and in the state.

Now in 1880, they hit kind of a wall. You've got Washington Duke's children stepping up and taking control of the business. Buck Duke had a really unfortunate realization. One of their major competitors, Bull Durham, is doing better than them and if they keep doing what they're doing that's always going to be the case. He decides they don't want to compete with Bull Durham anymore. They're going to find a way to get around direct competition, and the answer is cigarettes. So if we are working for the Dukes we might have been doing work like this but we also might have been hand rolling cigarettes.

[28.15.298]

Because there was no machine to do this work. But very quickly the Dukes see growth in their business. Cigarettes had been a European trend item so it was a shaky business move to manufacture this thing that may not be popular in a few years, but that's what they did. They started seeing lots of growth. Of course, other businesses catch on and start manufacturing cigarettes as well. The Dukes again want to know how to get the next leg up on people. For them, the answer is mechanization. They buy Bonsack rolling machines in 1884.

Female Visitor 2: He was in doing something else. We saw his picture in the museum. Really bright and he had a second machine that was after that and improved.

MV1: And you didn't mention, they had to import people that knew how to roll cigarettes.

JR: Yes, they did.

FV1: And in the documentary it showed woman and Jewish people from New York.

JR: They actually did recruiting trips. And by 1884 they had offices in New York City and were building factories in the bowery. But what you have happen is you do have those Jewish laborers, and not just Jewish laborers, but all workers basically when they say they are going to mechanize that means the end of your job. So you have a lot of people going on strike and you saw people moving out of Durham and back up to NYC where there were still manufacturing companies needing hand rollers.

[29.43.016]

So, you see that kind of happening at that time. So for the Dukes, this is a major big thing. Eliminating part of their work force means saving a ton of money in the long run. If you're in the workforce, that's not awesome. And this is the beginnings of the labor movement. It's really important to remember that the Dukes aren't always the heroes. You have people wanting labor unions in reaction to decisions being made by people like the Dukes and by the Dukes which inherently hurt workers. But, the Dukes, you know, didn't care.

They get Bonsack rolling machines. For them, it's an amazing deal. At first, they get exclusive rights for use. James Bonsack signs a contract saying he won't sell to other companies for a certain number of years. This gives them an up on their competitors because they can drop their prices significantly because they're paying out less wages. And the 1880s are this time of exponential growth for them. They're also investing in advertising in a way that would scare the pants off their competitors.

By 1890, you have Buck Duke owning one of the five largest companies for tobacco manufacturing in the United States. They aren't upper-middle class anymore. They are way upper class. And he doesn't want to compete with the other companies so he proposes to buy them all. He proposes a merger. You're going to merge with W. Duke & Sons Company and essentially we'll buy you out. We'll form the American Tobacco Company. They all say yes, it's a really good deal apparently. Buck Duke becomes the first head of American Tobacco by 1890. By end of century, ATC is largest tobacco manufacturing company in the world. They end up buying out Bull Durham. Julian Shakespeare Carr eventually sells to them.

[31.42.987]

Bull Durham becomes one of their brands. You also have them controlling about 90% of the tobacco manufacturing industry in this country alone. They have a full-fledged monopoly, to the point you would consider it a Trust opposed to a monopoly, but that's just getting into the details. What ends up happening in the gilded age---

FV1: We have that now. The gilded age.

JR: Not nearly to the same degree that it was, if you want to be truthful about it. But yeah, there are a lot of things coming full circle at this point. The Supreme Court uses the Sherman Anti-Trust act to break up ATC in 1911 and that's where you get your modern tobacco industry. Phillip Morris, you get RJ Reynolds, you get a smaller version of ATC. You get British American tobacco, my favorite thing ever because it's British American Tobacco. That was legitimately the company's name.

But you also get even tinier companies out of this breakup and you get the Dukes with tons of money still. These are people who had a house next door to the Vanderbilt's on 5th Avenue. They still have a lot of money after this breakup, but they've been giving a lot away. We did talk a little about this.

You have, starting in the late 1870s early 1880s, Washington, Ben and Buck were giving to a nice Methodist college called Trinity. Washington Duke was probably one of the most Methodist people you are ever going to meet. His brother was a Methodist minister and they helped establish Duke's Chapel, not to be confused with Duke's Chapel, which is a church that still exists. He wanted all of his workers to be Methodist because why would you want to be anything besides Methodist? He met Artelia at a Methodist revival. This is a very Methodist man. So Trinity College is a great place for him to sink his money, and man they need some money.

In 1890 they propose that Trinity moves its campus into Durham and by 1892 the move is complete. Thus you have where East Campus stands today. They gave lots of money. They gave one-hundred thousand dollars at the turn of the century and that is the only time they put stipulations on the money. Washington Duke said "you must admit women on equal standing with men" and thus you get the first women's dorm built on Trinity's campus named after Mary Duke.

So you have this huge longstanding relationship and it is at the end of the century, they finally have Trinity where it can support itself. Universities at this time were not at a place where they were turning away students. They were like "we need applicants."

So you finally get Trinity at a point where it can support itself. It's doing well. The next step is the discussion "we want this to be the best educational institution in the South." That was definitely in their minds for the long term plan.

[34.26.284]

They worked with then President of Trinity, President Few after Washington Duke's death in 1905, starting in the 19teens to orchestrate the Duke Endowment which was a forty-million dollar gift in 1904. Forty-million dollars is a lot. If you give forty-million dollars today you'll get big, big buildings with your name on it. If you wanted to get the modern equivalent in 2015 you would need about five-hundred and sixty million dollars. That's a lot to give.

And they had money left over. This is not like they would give all their money away and go live and be poor. This was "yeah, we'll give you some money." In 1924 Buck signs the indenture for the endowment and what that is, that starts taking Trinity and building it into the Duke that we know. This is when you see them purchase great tracks of land, start to build the main campus, make decisions about architecture, Duke Hospital, this is when you see the law school being built.

FV1: Where did the chapel come into this?

JR: The chapel was built around this time as well. I think the cornerstone was laid in late 1920s, early 1930s and that was all designed by one man. You can see his picture if you go to the student union. Julian Francis Able, an African American man out of Philadelphia. He had designed homes for the Dukes in the past. If you go on campus, everything exists in the shadow of his thought. The modern architecture still follows and it can all be traced to this one guy.

So you see all of this happening and you see Trinity thinking "we aren't going to be Trinity College anymore. We're going to be Duke University." And they were kind of like "eh." They had done this before "we want to be Duke now." The Dukes were like "no." If you do it, we'll write it into the endowment, we'll built it around Trinity. Don't name it after us, name it after our father. He's the one who started this. He is why we're giving this money. It's in honor of him. So Duke is not named after Buck Duke, it is named after Washington. In an interesting turn of fate, it's not named after the guy who wrote the gigantic check.

Now, I'm going to head into the house. I don't want us to run late because the other group can go out until we get back. But as we walk over, if you have questions let me know. It's a lot of stuff to take in. The rich Dukes are really interesting people.

FV2: Doris Duke?

JR: When you get to be that rich you get to be awesomely eccentric and fashionable. Everybody loves Doris Duke. My favorite is Mary Duke Biddle Trent Semans. Talk about somebody with a million last names, but there's only one that matters, obviously. This is a woman who recently passed away actually. She lived in Durham. She was so supportive of

Durham and Duke University. She was the great granddaughter of Benjamin Duke, and his entire line stayed heavily invested in the city, in Duke. They were people who gave money without wanting much recognition for it.

[37.49.717]

I think she had an office on campus until she died. She had served as mayor pro-temp for Durham for a while. She was an interesting, cool lady. So I like Doris. I like her eccentrics. Her fashion is always the height of fashion. Ben Duke's line is always one of my favorites.

[man asking inaudible question]

JR: Are they still officially associated?

MV2: Legally, there is still a seminary. University of Denver. It's no longer a seminary. It's just owned by it. It's the legal name.

JR: So currently Duke has an affiliation in quotes with the Methodist Church still, but there's no body of control. I think the seminary is still actually affiliated with the Methodist Church. When the Methodist church stopped being able to fund them they stopped being a Methodist controlled college.

We're going into the house so we're backing away from the people with mansions and giant homes and talk about their lives as our lives may have looked if we lived about 150 years ago. We do have one important rule in the house: please don't touch. I am confident, though, that you've been to museums before and can handle this rule so come on into the kitchen. Watch your step on the way up.

[39.24]

Now we do have an exception to our please don't touch that rule. We have a modern chair right here and right here. You will see twins of these chairs, feel free to sit in them. They are in every single room. But over there, those chairs are not modern.

We're starting in our kitchen, basically you've got Washington Duke completing this house in 1852. This kitchen, right here, the space behind us, no dining room, and then the rest of the two story structure. In the 1860s they add on the dining room. Most of the time you see kitchens in the back of the house or separate not because of the fire risk but more because of the heat issue.

Like he mentioned earlier, if you're from Colorado your summers don't get that hot, but your winters get really cold. It's vice versa here. In May we see some 90 degrees days all the way through September, even into October. We've had some hot days this year. So

half of your year you spent in the heat. You add a fire to that? It is not a pleasant place to be and you don't want the rest of the heat getting into your house. You also don't want food smell combining with the heat in your house, so kitchens were often kept separate. No inner walls in here. Breeze comes through pretty easily. Windows directly across from each other. This is the closest you get to AC. And it helps a lot. We are in here in the summer with a fire going.

MV2: *[inaudible]*

JR: Basically, yes. The other thing that helps is owning a stove like this one. This is a reproduction, but they purchased a stove like this. This is way more economical in terms of heat and energy. It is so much nicer to cook over this than an open fire. It's quicker, you're saving time. These are signs that your family is starting to have more money.

MV2: Do you actually light the fire in the stove?

JR: We are a wood stove. You've got the fire box in here. What's great is it's really easy to A- scoop out the fire, and B- light the fire. Then in your oven you can leave coals in the oven to have a more even heat. You can switch the burners around.

[42.17.689]

We bake a lot of things on this stove. Let's head on into the dining room. There is only one chair in here, sorry.

MV1: It's okay.

JR: So our dining room, this is kind of newer. I use that in quotes because 1860s is not much newer than the 1850s. Now basically you start eating all your meals in here. Think about if you're a kid at this point in time growing up in a farm, you aren't spending your days at a school. When you are, it's just a few months a year. When you aren't in school, school happens here on the dining room table. This is where you would be learning, and for the vast majority of US history your mom is the main teacher you have growing up on a farm.

The other stuff we have in here doesn't seem very related to eating. We have a sewing machine in here. That's because this is also a good work space. Dining rooms aren't the strict formal places and spaces we think of today.

MV2: My wife, she thinks the dining table is the sewing table.

JR: My mom and my dad fight over the dining room being half sewing room and half computer room. He's on the computer she's at the sewing machine and they're happy. [...]

This can be formal space. If you are guests in this home here for a meal, this is a formal space. But if this is your house, you're eating all your meals in here. Think about how many projects you do on your dining room table, on your kitchen table today. It's the same kind of fluidity. Do you have any questions about anything in the dining room before we head into the parlor?

MV2: Can I take a picture for my wife?

JR: Oh yeah, pictures are welcome. You can tell her this is an original Singer, not a reproduction. It's one of my favorite pieces. You can take a closer picture too if you want. I don't think you're going to break it.

[44.47.605]

JR: We'll head into the parlor.

RK: Watch the step here.

JR: Thank you. Our parlor really is our formal space. You all being guests in this home would come in through the front door, you probably wouldn't come in through the kitchen. Depending on how well you know the family, while you're here this may be the only room that you're in. Bedrooms are private space, kitchens are not really public space. This is where you socialize. If you are a business visitor, this is where you come. This is where you celebrate holidays. If you come back at Christmas, we have a wonderful Methodist 1870 Christmas in here. This is where you have funerals and wakes – we have one every October. But that is the reality of Victorian life.

Now you also have more mundane things. Like our doors here. Number one, this is our closet door. Everybody's got closets at home. Again, not much has changed in 150 years. You put stuff in your closet, and they put stuff in their closets. They just didn't have as much of it as we do. Which necessitated only two closets in the house. One here and one upstairs.

Door two does go upstairs, but the stairs are steep and narrow so I'm not taking you up there. If you guys fall down, I'm in big trouble. Which also means, surprise, surprise, we don't keep any furniture upstairs. So if you want to picture this room with nothing in it, you have the room upstairs.

Now there would be about six people at any given time sharing those two bedrooms. Duke did have five children and from 1855 to 1860 they owned one enslaved person named Caroline. We talked about how most enslaved persons would be living their lives on a plantation, but there were small farmers who did own enslaved persons, and most likely their lives would have looked similar to Caroline's experience. Caroline most likely would have taken care of those small kids.

FV1: Where did she live?

JR: Most likely upstairs. Especially because you've got Buck, Ben, and Mary all born in close succession of one another. A whole lot of small kids under foot. If you're Artelia, you've got a farm to run. So Caroline would have been instrumental in keeping the household and this farm running, working alongside Artelia.

We also know that she is probably here when Artelia and Sydney pass away, meaning she would be a constant and steady presence in the life of these children. And again, incredibly important. We do know that aunts came to stay, both on Washington Duke's side and Artelia's side, to help the family out, so at any given time there were probably eight people in this home on and off. So it feels really nice and spacious, but adding people you realize it's not as big of a house as you think it is.

MV2: So how did they deal with all of the things that you have to deal with when you don't have plumbing? Washing dishes? Household facilities, that sort of stuff?

JR: Behind us, when we head back out, there is a well house. There's a well on site. Ellerbe Creek runs through his property so there is fresh water and a natural spring on the property, though that wasn't used until the 20th century. The Dukes didn't use it. Then in the kitchen you have, before they have the concept of a dry sink. Basically a dry sink but nothing hooked up to it, no plumbing. You'd have to drain it yourself and add water yourself. You also just have really big tubs for washing. And if you want to head into the last room I can answer your question about the bathroom plumbing. That is a wonderful transition.

MV2: I figured either the spittoon came first or the toilet. I don't know. Probably the toilet.

JR: Watch your step.

[48.53.600]

JR: Chairs here if you want to sit.

Okay, the beds are pretty self-explanatory. But the question was about living so over here we have the bathroom. Our chamber pot is on display, but you probably would not put your chamber pot on top of the dresser. Most likely in a corner, under your bed. This is mostly for night. In the day time you would use an outhouse, ours just no longer stands.

Another thing, this marble top furniture here, here, and here. This belonged to the Duke's in the middle 1870s. This is where their money is moving as they move off this property. They are moving up in status. They can purchase items like these for their home.

What are you doing sink wise? Pitcher and basin. We get this myth that everybody stunk. Nobody bathed. Everyone was dirty. We don't have middle ground. People are not bathing in the same manner we are today. That is true. I get to go home and take a hot shower at the end of the day, and that is just not an option for them. But, you would have been bathing every day. You pour hot water into the basin, you'd grab your lye soap, and you'd wash off at the end of the day, at the very least. And then maybe once a week you get out the big tub and do the whole work of getting the bath heated up.

The other thing is, we get people asking about teeth. That's along the line with bathing. Were everyone's teeth rotting out of their heads? No. You had tooth brushes. Tooth brush number one, is a store bought option. We get a lot of people grossed out by this one because the bristles are horse hair. Tooth brush number two is homemade. You can brush your teeth with a twig or you can brush your teeth with horsehair. Those are your choices, but you really want to brush your teeth, because you don't want them to come rotting out of your mouth. And what you would use is baking soda, essentially. They'd be called tooth powders or tooth pastes. You can buy this in a store or make it from the ashes in your fire place.

[...]

For fancy historical tooth powder. Seriously, what we have is baking soda, salt, and you can add mint if you want a very baking soda and mint tasting powder.

Last but not least, getting pretty. This is another one of my favorite items because I love examples of good design that stay the same. The sewing machine is a good example of design that persists. So is the curling iron. You squeeze it, it opens. You wrap your hair around. You hold it, and you get a curl. Mine at home plugs in. This one doesn't. You hold this over fire or lantern or stove, test on cloth to be sure it doesn't burn. I'm sure if I had to curl my hair with this, I would burn it all off.

But this is an everyday object. People worry about fire safety. How come they didn't burn their hair off? They just knew how to do it. In the same way, think about all the things you just know as part of your daily routine, that's where this falls in. It's also one of those things a farm wife would own. She might not use it every day but she would own one, and probably use it for special occasions. And then you fast forward and you've got Buck Duke marrying Georgia socialite Nanaline Holt. She would definitely have a curling iron and probably pay someone else to curl her hair for her. It's one of those objects that pervades social economic class and time. That's kind of like the Dukes. They span every social and economic class you can imagine throughout their lives

[52.35.975]

The best part is, even if they stayed here. Even if this had been farmers the whole time, they would have witnessed a great deal of change.

Hi guys, if you want to come in please come around the back.

MV2: I don't remember what time period, but the East Coast was really heavy with ticks, and parasites, till DDT came on to clear them out. So what were they faced with during this time period.

JR: One of the things we've got and effects the mosquito population. One of the things you have is seeing very large ships that have lots of standing water. Especially in worldwide shipping, that brings in invasive species. So you have a couple of ways to combat that. You could have wet grass to create a smoky smudge if there was. You could do that. They had types of mosquito netting and fly netting that you could hang on your windows.

MV2: So mosquitos and flies were a problem?

JR: Chiggers are a problem if you make the mistake of putting Spanish moss in your bed. Spanish moss is so pretty and in Charleston everyone loves it. Don't touch that. Are you crazy? I don't know about chiggers here.

FV1: I got chiggers here. It was in the summer, and tobacco was growing, and I was in the grass. I had bites here, and here, and it spread. I was allergic to it. It spread all up my leg, and I know hot water is not the way to treat it, and we were doing water aerobics in hot water, and I this was getting worse. And I got it here. Chiggers.

JR: They're throughout the south though I've never gotten them here. As far as ticks, I'm not sure about the history of insects here.

JR: I've gotten ticks being here before. It's the reality of the East Coast and in the South in the summer. I do know a lot of our mosquitos have changed. It used to be they were evening species. If you ever spend the time letting one bite and you look at it. If you see that have banded legs, those apparently aren't native to North Carolina. They come from somewhere else and those are out throughout the day. But no matter what there are people coming up with Malaria. Huge during the Civil War. Yellow fever in Wilmington was a huge problem. So sometimes they come on bugs. But sometimes coming in with people who are physically sick with them in the same ways we see these problems in port cities all around the world today. So not sure about the DDT thing.

[55.52.600]

MV2: I think, in general, a lot of the pests we had problems with in the US, some of them were knocked out with DDT, especially ticks and things like that, until it was made illegal. But it was so effective, it had a good 20, 30 year run on that.

JR: We're going to be seeing the long terms effects of that coming up.

MV2: Mainly it just effected the eggs of water fowl. Made them soft and they broke up. I don't think it effected many things other than that.

JR: Alright, so we are going to head back through the kitchen and head on out. And if you have any questions, if you see anything you want to know about, let me know.

[...]

[56.40.41]

JR: This is where I turn you guys lose. It's a beautiful day, so feel free to keep exploring.

[...]

JR: The sky in North Carolina is alive with the sound of I-85.

MV1: This is Caroline blue.

[...]

JR: Enjoy the rest of your time in Durham, and come back and visit us.

MV2: I have one last question. How many days of the year is it always that color sky?

JR: I've seen it this color in the middle of winter. I've seen it this color in the middle of summer. Though, I have heard that we actually get, along the lines of Seattle with the amount of rain fall we get each year. That has a lot to do with hurricane rain.

RK: The UNC student says the sky is always Carolina blue.

MV2: When you have as many days of sunshine as Arizona.

MV1: Do you know where Tar Heel comes from?

RK: Correct me if I'm wrong. It's from the Civil War. The soldiers were so stubborn it was as though they had tar on their heels. They would not abandon their land.

MV1: They were tough fighters. They didn't really want to go into the Civil War.

RK: But they defended their land.

MV1: For a long time. But once they were in, they were considered the best fighters.

JR: North Carolina sent more men to the Civil War than any other state in the Confederacy, and maybe even than the Union. Over two-hundred thousand? Then in the western part of the state, Western North Carolinians? All hell broke loose.

MV1: But there were a lot of Unionists in the west?

JR: There were unionists everywhere. We were the last state to join.

MV2: But you were also on the frontlines. It's easier to be a rebel rouser when you're far away.

JR: Yeah, hold on a second. They're taking down our railroads.

MV1: Same thing in the Revolutionary war. Lot of loyalists. Here in Hillsborough there's a whole community called Cornwallis.

JR: If you look at the NC coast, a lot of our Unionist leanings had to do with the fact that we are a maritime state. Then the west was just the west. Wild mountain people. Not backwards. They just do what they want. There were some highly educated people up there. They just do what they want.

It was easier if you're on the coast to get to Boston on ship than to get to Raleigh. So a lot of times you had people who felt like they had more politically in common with people who were in the North. So you have these huge divides. Especially with England.

[...] [*continued conversation about accents*]

APPENDIX G: INTERVIEW, EMMA SMITH, MARCH 25, 2015

Interviewee: ES Emma Smith

Interviewer: RK Rachel Kirby

Interview Date: March 25, 2015

Notes: This is a partial transcript, not the interview in full.

Rachel Kirby: So, is it strange being the only person who is not white working here?

Emma Smith: Oh yeah, definitely. Because people think that they can just, especially because most of the clientele here is white. Like having that black man? Besides school trips, we probably get one black visitor every two or three weeks. It's a very white space.

So I think that also makes visitors think that they can speak to you in a certain way, or complement you on the way you talk. And 'you did such a great job of projecting your voice,' and 'where did you learn to talk?' And different things like that. So I definitely get comments that Julia would not get.

RK: Disgusting.

ES: Yeah, like "where are you from?" Yesterday, or not yesterday. What's today? Today's Wednesday. Last Friday when I worked, this woman was like, after the tours 'Where are you from?' And I was like, 'I'm from Cary. It's about thirty minutes east of here.' And she was like, 'Oh. I thought you were Haitian.' She was like, 'I know this woman and she is from Haiti and she sounds just like you.' She was like, 'You know, she speaks, she grew up speaking French but you guys sound just alike.' And I'm in my head, 'Do I sound like I speak with a French accent?' I don't think so. I've never taken French in my life, and so it's just, you get people comparing you to other black people that they've met and questioning your identity and where you're from. And when you're like, 'Oh, I'm from thirty minutes down east,' they're like 'Oh.' Completely shocked. 'You're from the South? You're from here?' I'm like, 'Yes, I am.' So I do encounter that a lot, especially with older people, which is the base of our clientele.

Yeah, for sure. One time this old woman came in and she was like, 'Where are all the slave cabins? Where are all the slave cabins?' And Mia was in her office and she gave this look, and I just walked up to her and I was like, 'This is not a plantation.'

And Julia, someone was telling me that, maybe it was Kayla. Maybe Kayla got this person. But one person was like, 'I drove all the way from Virginia to here to see slave cabins and there aren't even slave cabins here.' And she was highly upset. And I [thought], you could easily have called us or looked at our website to know that this was not a plantation. And so, it's also weird because you get people who I don't even think are historically interested. It's some kind of weird desire to be like, oh, slave cabins. It's hard to describe. It's not from them wanting to say how horrible this period was. It's

more like a fetish. It just seems like they're fetishizing this time period, and I've definitely gotten people like that here.

RK: Fetishizing?

ES: Yeah, it's weird. That might not be the exact right word to use, but it's like, idealizing this time period, and not understanding the politics, or the history, and not understanding that at all. So I've definitely encountered many of those kinds of people who don't understand how hard life actually was here. People are strange.

APPENDIX H: GUIDED TOUR, OMAR HAMAD, MAY 28, 2015

Recorded Event: Guided walking tour

Tour Guide: OH Omar Hamad

Recorder: RK Rachel Kirby

Date: May 28, 2015

Notes: This was the 12:15pm tour. Attendees on the tour included JR Julia Rogers, an Irish man and woman (IM, IW), AK Anna Killian, and myself. We were joined later on by additional visitors.

Recording starts briefly after the tour began.

Omar Hamad: Bahama, North Carolina. And his first wife who isn't pictured here was Mary Carolina Clinton, and then later on Mary passes away in 1847. In 1852 he remarries to Artelia Roney who you see pictured here on the left. And with Artelia he has three children, Mary Duke, Benjamin Duke, and James Buchanan or "Buck" Duke. And I should have mentioned that with his first wife Mary, he had Sydney and Brody. And then in 1858, Sydney and Mary both passed away from typhoid fever.

And so Washington Duke moves to this specific property in 1852, which he inherits from his father in law through Artelia, and he starts out primarily as a subsistence farmer of tobacco, growing enough for the local market. And then around the time of the Civil War, so he served in the Confederate Navy. And then after the Civil War when he was released as a prisoner of war, he walked back from New Bern back here, and we actually had someone reenact that walk just last week. And at that point he decides he wants to switch to the manufacturing side of tobacco. So he starts his first company, the Washington Duke and Sons Company.

And so his first factory was in this corn crib that you're going to see on the tour here on the right. Then later, he moved to his second factory which was in a converted horse stable, and then finally in 1869 he moves to this building on the left which was his third factory. And finally, in 1874, he shifted the center of his operations to downtown Durham.

And so during the 1870s he was primarily producing pipe tobacco under the brand name Pro Bono Publico. And then by the 1880s he started switching over to the manufacturing of cigarettes. And by 1890, he forced his three major competitors to merge with him and found the American Tobacco Company which constituted the Tobacco Trust and dominated the tobacco industry in the United States until 1911 when it was broken up by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. And I'll talk to you guys a little bit more about that in detail as we go along to different buildings on the tour.

[2.01.553]

Rachel Kirby: And, I want to introduce myself really quickly, if that's okay. My name is Rachel Kirby, I'm a graduate student at UNC and I'm doing my thesis work with Duke Homestead about historic interpretations. Do you all mind if I'm taking notes and recording this tour?

Irish Woman: Of course not.

Irish Man: Please do.

RK: Okay. Thank you.

Julia Rogers: I'll let you guys go.

[Conversation begins as we walk towards the curing barn. At times, conversation is inaudible].

OH: So you guys traveling through the local area?

IM: No, we're from visiting here from Ireland.

OH: Where in Ireland?

IM: Near Dublin.

OH: I watched an interesting documentary recently, I forget the guy who did it but it was called *[inaudible]*. This guy went around Ireland and was trying to figure out if anybody still speaks Irish as a living language. He wanted to see if you could go around the country and only get by speaking to people speaking Irish. And he walked around Dublin 95% of the people looked at him like he was speaking pig Latin.

IM: It depends on the---.

OH: I tried showing it to my girlfriend but she got sick of it after two episodes. She was like, this is hopeless.

IM: it depends on what age they are because---.

OH: Yeah.

IM: ---At our school, we all spoke Irish. But now, the kids don't have to do it. It's not compulsory, and they have less interest in it really---.

OH: I feel like it's probably like us in the United States trying to learn Latin or something. I know some people speak it.

IM: There is a TV program in Irish, which is quite good. It's state run, of course.

OH: I only know like [...felta?]

JR: Slow down a little bit.

[inaudible]

OH: Yeah, but it was a good documentary. I think the guys name, I'm blanking on it now.

IM: He wasn't a comedian, was he?

OH: I think he was the granddaughter of Shelia Humphrey's or something like that.

IM: There was a young American guy who traveled, comedian. I can't think of his name. He learned Irish... [Inaudible]

[04.35.98]

OH: So the first building that you see here on the tour, this is the tobacco curing barn and the barn dates to 1870. It's not original to this property. It was moved from another tobacco farm here in North Carolina.

So your process of producing the tobacco was a labor intensive and time intensive process. It was also called the thirteen month crop. And so, yeah, like I said it would take about a year between the time you would start preparing your fields to the time you would harvest your tobacco. You would start preparing your fields in the fall and be ready to plant your tobacco seedlings by December. And in the mean time you would be topping, and suckering, and worming your leaves. And finally when you were ready to harvest your tobacco you would carry your leaves from the field and then place them...

[OH pauses as he walks to the side of the curing barn].

...Inside of what's called, in this thing here, which is your tobacco sled. And then from the tobacco sled you would carry your leaves from the field and then tie them around the looping horse you see right here. And then from the looping horse, the tobacco would be hung up in sticks inside of the curing barn. So inside of the curing barn, this is what's also known as flu cured tobacco. And so, your flues are connected to a central furnace, and that furnace would be heated at about 180 degrees and you would heat it for about five or six days. And so eventually after its been heated for that long, it's going to turn this bright golden color that you see right here, which is where the term bright leaf tobacco originates, which is the specialty type of tobacco from the area. Some other kinds of tobacco that you have burley tobacco, fire cured tobacco, and in Louisiana you have perique tobacco. And so like I said, it's going to take on this consistency right here.

IW: So it dries in a week?

OH: Yeah. About five or six days for the curing process. And so, after that when you are getting it ready for market.

[OH begins walking as he talks]

OH: The next place that you take it would be the packing house.

[Inaudible, people talking in the background as we walk]

IM: Is this the actual place?

OH: This was their property. They worked on this property from... *[inaudible]*

[07.22.09]

OH: And so, this building was called the packing house. And so, once your tobacco had finished curing after it was in the curing barn, the leaves would be very dry and brittle. So you would want to allow the leaves to get moist before you would send them off to market. So you would place them down inside what's called the ordering pit. You would allow them to get moist overnight. And then once you'd done that you would take the leaves out and place them over here on what's called the grading bench.

[08.07.637]

OH: And so you'd want to grade each leaf according to size, color, and texture, with the brightest leaves being the most favorable. And then once you'd done that, you would take the prettiest leaf and wrap them around the rest of the leaves and that's what you call a hand of tobacco. And then you'd send them off to market. And the hands when be stored in this room up here, and that's how they would be sent off to market.

And so, like I said earlier. Originally Washington Duke, before the Civil War, he's primarily just a subsistence yeomen farm of tobacco. So during the Civil War he served in the Navy and his son Sydney who was too young to serve in the army, he was only 16, served as a prison guard in Salisbury, North Carolina.

After the war, that's when Washington Duke really decides he really wants to get into the manufacturing side of tobacco. And so after walking back from New Bern to Durham, he goes into business, in the tobacco manufacturing, and started the first tobacco factory which you see was in that corn crib over there on the right.

Then later on he moved to a second factory which was in a horse stable that's not here anymore. And then finally in 1869, he moved to the factory over here that you see on the left. And so that's where he had his main center of operations until he moved into downtown Durham in 1874.

So we can go ahead and go on to the third factory.

[Discussion of the tour. Difficult to understand in full. Anna Killian talking about Duke having 60 cents in his pocket, but not wanting to portray it as a rags to riches story, and about the Soldier's Walk Home reenactment. Anna Killian is talking with the Irish Woman, and Omar Hamad is talking with the Irish Man].

[11.01.165 sound of the door of the third factory being opened]

OH: And if you guys get too humid in here, I know it's getting hot outside. If you need me to go outside to talk to you about the stuff I'm talking about in here, just let me know and I'd be happy to do that.

Yeah, I know the aroma of tobacco is just wafting out. So this was their third factory, and like I said it does date to 1869. So originally they were primarily making pipe tobacco here under the brand name Pro Bono Publico. So when you were producing your pipe tobacco, you would have your bundle of tobacco leaves right here. First you would flail them with the sassafras leaves you see right here. This was supposed to give your tobacco an added sweetness, like the sassafras that we find in root beer. Then you would want to take out the stems and place it inside the sieve here. And you would want to grind it up to a finer consistency. And then eventually you would want it to be this fine consistency like you see here inside of the muslin sack. And so this was how your tobacco would be placed inside of a pipe.

And so, around the 1880s that's when the Duke Company starts switching over to the manufacturing of cigarettes. So originally the Duke family is hesitant to manufacture cigarettes for a couple of primary reasons. One was that cigarette smoking at this time wasn't widespread in the United States. It was still seen as more of a European phenomenon. Second was that the people who were primarily specializing in the hand-rolling of cigarettes at this time were eastern European Jewish immigrants. So you would have to recruit laborers from that background to come from New York to North Carolina and hand roll the cigarettes. And I think they generally could roll about 3 cigarettes a minute using that process.

What really revolutionized the process was, I think in 1881, a guy named James Bonsack invented the Bonsack Machine. So using the Bonsack Machine you could now produce over 100 cigarettes a minute which was far more efficient.

So the way that the Duke Company capitalized on this process, was that they went out and found the guy with the patent for the machine, a guy named Tim O'Brien. And they asked him to make an exclusive contract with their company. By doing that, they were able to monopolize cigarette manufacturing. By 1890 they were able to force their competitors to merge with them and form the American Tobacco Company. As I said earlier the company dominates cigarette manufacturing in the US until 1911 when it was broken up by the Sherman Antitrust Act. At which point it broke up and split into several different companies.

So after the company was broken up, the Dukes had already made a substantial amount of their wealth so they invested in different companies. They invested in several different industries. They invested in textiles, investing in a number of the textile mills in North Carolina. They invested in energy. Later on money that they used helped to found the Duke Energy Company. And of course, most famously in 1924 they did make an endowment of \$40-million dollars to a small Methodist college called Trinity College, as the Dukes were devout Methodists, and that changed its name to Duke University.

[14.46.575]

OH: Do you guys have any questions?

Female Visitor 1: Did they start their manufacturing of textiles because of the fact they were making bags?

OH: I'm not sure about that. Aside from tobacco, textiles was the other major industry prominent in the piedmont of North Carolina. Like were already the Holts in Alamance County, and other families had several local mills. I think that was the big thing to get into. So after they got out of tobacco, I think that was the natural place for them to turn to.

I'd also like to point out, if you look over there you'll see that barrel-like object over there. That's called a hogs head and that's what you'll use to transport tobacco during the colonial times.

IM: What went through the screen was waste?

Anna Killian: No, what went through the screen was the tobacco itself. The finer stuff is what you would smoke.

IM: Small and leafy. Very fine, wasn't it?

OH: Yeah, very fine.

IW: [*inaudible*] ...plug tobacco for pipes was moist, sold in squares of hard tobacco. Known as leaf.

[16.06.189]

JR: We actually have a plug press in the museum. It's kind of standing there without any interpretation. But if you went back around the back of the museum near the photograph museum. There is a giant plug press back in there. So they literally made cakes and compacted all of the tobacco together.

OH: So whenever you guys are ready we can go on to the house.

IM: Warm day in here working.

[People talking about their father being a smoker. Conversation as we move towards the house]

OH: And so, here you see the house where the family would have been living between 1852 and 1874. *[difficult to hear]* and the kitchen was separate and added on in 1860. *[others talking as we walk]* And here you can see the root cellar... *[too far away to hear]*

[...]

OH: This is where they would be getting their water for various chores around the farm. And then over here on the right would be their smoke house.

[OH inaudible at this time]

OH: And then if you follow me all the way to the far right. You will see our small vineyard which his growing scuppernong grapes, native to North Carolina.

[...] *[Group joins us as we enter the house]*

OH: And so, here in the kitchen one of the first things you'll notice is the stove here in the center. Originally they were cooking in the fire place, and I believe the stove was added in 1870. If you'll notice closely, you'll see the word "success" is written on the stove. This is the Duke family's way of letting people know that they were a little better-off than the typical subsistence farming family in North Carolina. When they moved into this house they were still a modest farming family. As they accumulated more wealth from tobacco they would have ways like this to let people know that they were successful.

You'll note here on the left and the right, the pie safes that they were using to store most of their food. And if you look closely you'll see small holes that allow air to help the food maintain consistency. But they're small enough so that insects can't get in there and cause the food to spoil.

Some other things you see. The oil lamps you see here would be the primary source of light in the house. My favorite item in the kitchen is the corn husk mop that they would have used to sweep around here. And if you look over the door you see the hunting rifle that they would have used to hunt wild game in the area that they would have used to supplement the diet. Some other objects you note around here. Behind Anna right there is the old fashioned coffee grinder they would have used for their morning cup of Joe. And then, the mortar and pestle and the butter churner over here to the left. And whenever you're ready we can go on into the dining room.

[20.53.784]

[inaudible question]

JR: That actually is, we have a volunteer who does woodworking and he keeps those tools here. They're not old but they're designed. He was here this previous Saturday doing some demonstrations. If you notice the little curlys outside, those are all leftover because they're great for starting fires with.

OH: And so here in the dining room, you'll note all the wood here that you see on the side, this is all heart of pine from pine trees here in North Carolina. And so obviously at the dining room table is where they would have served their meals. And also the Duke children, if they had homework would have sat here to do school work. And usually in the corner we have a sewing machine on display, but it's not here right now. You can still see the sewing kit in the corner. This represents Mary Duke's role in the family. She would have sat here in this corner sewing the sacks that they used to carry the tobacco.

And you'll also note the opposing windows and doors for cross ventilation. And then also you can see examples of the kinds of china and dishes they would have used to serve their meals. And then if we move on into the parlor.

So here in the parlor, this would be your equivalent of a modern day living room. This is where they would have entertained most of their guests. Because they were devout Methodists, they probably would have had Bibles stacked here next to the walls.

And then over here in the corner you'll note that leads to the staircase that leads to the bedroom where the children of the Duke family would have slept. Also with the children, they would have had one slave girl and her name was Caroline Barnes. She was purchased in 1855. She primarily would have been a house keeper as well as a playmate of the children. She was the only slave reported to be owned by the Duke Family during this period. We lose track of what happens to her after 1860, although we do believe that she moved to the Hayti neighborhood here in Durham, which is a historically African American neighborhood.

So yeah. A lot of people will also ask on the tour, come here with the mistaken notion that the Dukes were plantation magnets. So I want to take the time to also dispel that myth, because they were really modest farmers when they started out unlike Stagville or some of the other places you'll see around here. They didn't really rely on enslaved labor as a primary means of farming and growing the tobacco around here.

And so whenever you're ready we can go on and go into the bedroom.

[inaudible talking as we walk]

[24.44.80]

OH: And so, here in the bedroom, one of the first things you'll note is that this bed is a little bit smaller than a typical king or queen bed we'll be sleeping on today. Some people have the mistaken notion that this is because people were a little bit shorter. I believe that is not actually true, it's mostly urban legend that people were short at this time. The two primary reasons were that one, beds generally only came in one size during the mid-nineteenth century. The second reason is that some believed that if you slept upright, you'd be less likely to get tuberculosis or consumption, which was a leading cause of death at this time.

One of the other things you'll note is this object right here. So instead of having springs inside your mattress you would have bed ropes, and so you would use this to tighten the ropes of your bed. Some people believe this is where we get the expression "sleep tight" from, but we don't really know for sure.

And you'll also note that there's no indoor bathroom in here. So for using the restroom in the middle of the night, obviously they had an outhouse. But if you needed to use the restroom in the middle of the night you had the chamber pot here.

And then for getting ready in the morning, you had the wash station here. You'd use the pitcher of water right here to wash your face in the morning. And then, hair brushes and combs haven't changed too much since the mid-nineteenth century, however thankfully tooth brushes have changed. Originally you would have used this twig here and dipped that in water and a little bit of baking soda and brushed your teeth like that. And a little later on, you would have used this tooth brush used from fine horse hairs that you see right here.

And Mary Duke would be the only one to use this curling iron that you see here. And then as far as soap goes, you would have had this soap right here that is a mixture of lye and pig fat, and you strain that with cheese cloth in what is called an ash hopper, and the ash hopper used to be on the property as well.

Some other things that you'll notice, if you look at the fire place, on the ground you'll see a spittoon right there. That is where you'd spit your tobacco which is kind of gross, I know. Also, if you look above the fire place you'll see a portrait of Washington Duke's namesake, the first president of the United States. Washington Duke was a big admirer of George Wash. As far as Wash Duke and politics, he wasn't too active in local politics but there is evidence that after the Civil War he changed his politics from the Democrats to the Republican Party. And of course we didn't have the politics as they are now with Democrats left and Republicans right. It was quite the opposite. The Republicans were the party of Lincoln and abolition. As you can imagine, this didn't make him popular in the reconstruction south. There are stories of him walking through the streets of Durham and being spat upon by passersby as he would go along about his business.

Does anyone have questions?

[28.17.90]

IW: I think you're doing a great job telling us everything.

OH: Thank you for sharing this portion of North Carolina's history with me. If you have any questions for me or any of the other staff just let us know. You're free to wander around the grounds and take pictures or come back to the visitors' center. Thank you for coming and enjoy your time in the states.

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW, JULIA ROGERS AND OMAR HAMAD, JUNE 18, 2015

Interviewees: JS Julia Rogers, OH Omar Hamad

Interviewer: RK Rachel Kirby

Interview Date: June 18, 2015

Notes: This interview was initially between Julia Rogers and Rachel Kirby. It took place in Rogers' office, and we left the office door open. Omar Hamad joined the conversation mid-way through, and at one point Jessica Shillingsford stepped in.

Rachel Kirby: It is the 18th, and it has been, what, three weeks since I've seen you? Something like that.

Julia Rogers: All kinds of crap has been happening.

RK: So let's talk about all kinds of crap that has been happening. In general, how has stuff been post [A Soldier's] Walk Home?

JR: I actually did the after action report yesterday. I came back and I was like, I've got to prepare all this stuff before I leave, and I didn't even think about the report.

RK: What is an after action report?

[Section not transcribed, picked up again at 7:08]

RK: So we talked some, I guess at the end of the semester, about the idea that the tours and the events are kind of the space for interpretive control and creativity since the site is kind of restricted physically?

JR: Yeah.

RK: So I was wondering if you could talk more about that.

JR: Let's start with the beginning. We have a very old museum. I was actually talking about this with the new manager Jessica yesterday. A lot of the things in there are older than I am. Which is not that old. I'm 27. But still.

RK: But in terms of history.

JR: But there's a lot that has happened since 1980, especially in the tobacco industry. And at the time, understanding how our museum was built. In 1980 in NC tobacco was still the lifeblood of our state in many ways. Most people knew somebody who worked in tobacco in some way shape or form. So it assumes a huge amount of knowledge on your part. And you fast forward even ten years, and that's changed. And you fast forward 27 years, 30 years, and it's really changed. So you have a situation where the museum

assumes you know all this crap. Have you seen an introductory panel in there at all? Have you seen anything that introduces you? The real introduction is “here are tobacco seeds.”

RK: Yeah

[8:50]

JR: And you’re like, okay tobacco seeds. Then it’s immediately a family album of the Dukes.

You go from tobacco seeds and how much they cost whenever those are on display, immediately into a diorama of the house and a really crappy hand drawn portrait of the Duke family. And oh, smell tobacco. And oh, there’s a tiny bit about Native Americans? Like, teeny tiny. And here’s a curing barn and this is how we discovered bright leaf tobacco. So we jump from Native Americans. You jump from at least ten-thousand years to 1830s in Caswell County. And then you go in, and you go from the 1830s, and then the pictures they’ve got range from really, really super old hand-drawn things or photographs all the way through to the 1920s.

You’ve got this farmer and the farmer could be any time because over-alls were invented in the late 19th century, so the date we’ve got on that farmer is anywhere from the late 19th-century to today. Which maybe is a good thing because the things he talks about are things farmers do every single year. Like yes, every year you plant. Yes, every year you deal with topping and suckering. And yes, every single year you are harvesting. And now, most people are going back to the auctions. And yes, every winter you’re already planting and the modern farmer is.

Then you go into the auction area. You’ve got all these tools. But the tools are so out of time and place and, do they still use these? I don’t know. I have no clue. You look at the big barrel. Oh cool, it’s a really big barrel. Do they still use really big barrels? No, they don’t. They use the bailing system now. Then you go into the auction and its so picture based and sound based. And then you have a temporary exhibit that’s been there since before I started. And the auction is cool if the DVD player works but it currently doesn’t.

[Distracted by something on the computer]

[11:53]

JR: That’s things that have happened since you’ve been gone. And generally, there’s no transition, and it would make sense, even if we had to keep the exact same layout and do the exact same thing. Oh god. People like it, I think, because there’s not a lot of text and they can just look at stuff and walk around. But the option to know more isn’t there. But what if somebody actually wants to know about this? It doesn’t have to be super text heavy but we do have to explain crap to people. And of course there’s the beautiful map that still has the Soviet Union on it, like you do. Because the Soviet Union exists.

[...]

[14:03]

JR: We are getting R&R money that should renovate the gift shop which would leave us space to put in welcome panels. Things to summarize the site, what we do, what we can see here. Yes, yes Jessica. Welcome panels, 100%.

RK: Will the R&R money also fix the whole in the ceiling?

JR: Yes, R&R money won't go to welcome panels. [...] The other thing I asked for? I said, kinship chart. Duke family kinship chart. Like actual thing where Artelia doesn't look weird. I don't know who designed that. What I want, all I want is Washington Duke, and a real kinship chart that has him next to Mary Caroline Clinton. All we need is a female silhouette. We don't have a photo of her but we can explain the dates and have a line down to Brodie and Sydney. Then we explain that Washington Duke remarried, and you connect him on. [...]

[15:42]

JR: Or we go to Elon and we get the actual copy of the portrait of Artelia that sits in the Artelia Roney Duke Building.

RK: Not a bad idea. Does Caroline end up on the chart?

JR: I would like her on the chart, yes. I don't know if we can get pictures of her. I have this one photo on the porch that the woman sitting on the porch might be Caroline, but it may be the African American woman who worked for Ben Duke and his wife for most of her life. Because Benjamin Newton Duke paid for her grave stone in the Geer street cemetery. And it's one of the few gravestones that survives.

[...]

[17.17]

JR: Geer Street cemetery was the African American cemetery and it's no longer in use and not cared for and it needs to be cared for. Caroline could go up there [on the chart]. She asked me to bring in ideas of what we could do. I talked about using the "your opinion counts" space as an actual temporary exhibit space. I would love to bring up the fact that you've actually done research for us. You've reminded me of all these things I can talk to Jessica about.

RK: Hate to make your to-do list longer.

JR: It has to become longer.

[...]

JR: Now we have a little bit of lee-weigh. Can we put down projects and say every year, every two years we want a different temporary exhibit. Which would mean we could talk about what it was like to be an enslaved person on a small farm in Orange County. We could talk about what we know about Caroline. We could talk about Orange County in general. What did slavery look like in Orange County before the Civil War? Because a lot of enslaved persons would have been working in tobacco. In Orange County have this weird situation where you have enslaved persons who are, this is apparently a very unique situation. You have people who owned enslaved persons solely to rent them out. I had no clue that even happened until I was working here. That's not a part history that gets told. So suddenly, suddenly we might have that opportunity.

RK: That's great.

JR: But, in lieu of the fact that it's going to take forever because it's the state. I think that the tour is the best bet for talking about those things. I was going over materials yesterday, our training materials for the tour. And I was making sure Caroline was in there as something you need to talk about with the students in the parlor. And we talk about it in the parlor mostly because we talk about the bedrooms. "Who would be sleeping in this home?" Washington Duke and his wife would be sleeping in this home. His children would be sleeping in this home. The enslaved person owned by Washington Duke would probably be sleeping in this home.

Yeah, the tour is the best bet. And little things like, I know this sounds really weird. I'm trying to find a way to say this that doesn't come off strange or racist. So I'm just going to say it and then you can ask me to clarify.

RK: Okay.

[20:48]

JR: [Emma's] not always in costume in the home but I like when she is, because Emma is never interpreting an enslaved person when she is in costume in the home. She is interpreting a person in the 1870s who is in a farming family. And I would hope that long term, what is implied there, is that there are free African American families who were working and farming and living specifically in this neighborhood. Washington Duke had African American neighbors via the census. When she's there at Christmas, she's never interpreting an enslaved person. She is simply an African American person in costume. What I want to be implied there is that yes, obviously African American people had different traditions, based on the fact that not every African American person was Methodist. But the likelihood that there was an African American family, small farming

family, free small farming family in this area that celebrated Methodist Christmas is historically possible.

It's not that I don't want to interpret enslaved life. I just don't want the only African American life we have interpreted here to be enslaved life. Because we have the opportunity to say "Washington Duke had African American neighbors. Their lives would have been very similar in terms of farming. Obviously they didn't start a giant tobacco business, so that's different." But just saying that, recognizing that, if you are doing history and you are African American, you are not relegated to the realm of slavery in your interpretation.

Even if all they take away is "oh, there's a black girl who worked here," that's probably possible. But just getting beyond the assumption that an African American person of a person of color in historic dress is automatically an enslaved person. That, to me, is also an important part of how we do our interpretation.

[23:00]

JR: God, it would be really cool to have an event where we talk about being a small farmer and being black in the South. And how do you deal with the fact that you are living in a county where there is a large small farming population and there is actually a large free person population that is African American by the Civil War? But also that you would be interacting with people who are enslaved and this is race based slavery. That's a really really really hard thing. Everybody talks about the sheer violence of being enslaved. People talk about violences that aren't actually physical. Mental violence, emotional violence. There has to be a huge psychological violence to being a free African American person in the South during the antebellum period. What is it to reconcile with yourself your own freedom and your inability to do anything for someone else? And there all these concepts of "the good black person," that historians have studied that really did come about because of that.

So yeah, that's our best way to interpret. In the house, talking about slavery and how it existed on a farm like this. Having people understand, always saying that slavery was a complex thing. It is not easy or simple to explain. This is how it existed here. There was a great many different experiences when it came to being an enslaved person or a person who owned enslaved persons.

Little things like using the term enslaved person really matters, because it is the simple act of reminding and assigning personhood to people who were property, and reminds people that these were people, even if they were owned by somebody else. They had hopes, dreams, all these things that they were dealing with. Just little things making sure everyone says not slaves but enslaved person.

It's like the psychological concept that a person is not the disease have. You are not a schizophrenic, you are a person with schizophrenia. You exist beyond your disease. You are not a slave. You are an enslaved person. You have a life that belongs to you, even if you physically are enslaved. There's little things. There's big things.

[25.43]

JR: Even if teachers or parents shift uncomfortably when you ask kids if they know about slavery. If they're big enough boys and girls to come to Duke Homestead, they are big enough boys and girls to know about slavery. And I used to not think that. I used to wonder, how early is too early? Emma made a very good point that if you are old enough to be discriminated against based on the color of your skin, you are old enough to know why.

And you can explain it simply. And I've had kids who really, when I explained it, just couldn't get it. They were like, 'but why would you do that to someone?' Which is awesome, that they don't understand why another person would A- be allowed to do this or B- want to do this. That is proof that racism is taught. These are not things you're inherently born with. Yet we're still dealing as society with the fall out. You don't want them to lose that innocence, but you hope that while they have the thought in their head, yes. You are right. This is bad. This was wrong, which is an objective truth for me.

Presenting Caroline's situation and saying, this is what it was like here for her. You need to make your own choice about the Duke family. Are they good people or are they bad people because they owned enslaved persons? That is something we definitely have to let other people decide.

But. Slavery was wrong. It was a bad thing. It was not a good thing. And yes, it built our entire country, essentially. It was still wrong. I'm 100% okay with things that are objective truths. Slavery was bad, mmmkay.

[Omar Hamad had been sitting in the open visitors' center area just outside of Julia's office. We had not closed the door to her office, allowing for sound to travel between the office and the reception area. At this point, Hamad joined the conversation.]

Omar Hamad: To be fair, and obviously no one is saying slavery was right, but I feel like America, or the United States takes a big portion of the blame for the practice of slavery when Brazil continued its enslavement of people far beyond when we did.

JR: Oh yeah.

OH: And also, you can't deny that Britain, France---

JR: No. No one is denying culpability. This is just a situation where we are discussing that often, historical relativism often doesn't want to touch hard subjects. Historical relativism, in the same way that cultural relativism, saying "well this culture valued this thing so who are we to say whether this was bad or good?" However, to me, cultural relativism and historical relativism is saying, within the context of history, it is recognizing that there were people who had no moral qualms with slavery. There were people who did have moral qualms with slavery. Washington Duke was a member of a church, the Methodist church had a big moral qualm with slavery, and yet he was a slave owner.

[28:58]

OH: The Methodist church split over the issue of slavery, did it not? The northern Methodists were more---

RK: Most denominations split around the time of the Civil War. And that's why you have southern denominations and northern ones that are still just now coming back together---

OH: You don't have United Methodist Church until much later.

JR: The 1960s is when you get the United Methodist Church.

RK: PCUSA came back together, maybe around that time. Maybe a little later even.

JR: And doling out blame for slavery is, in my mind, almost useless. Because, what you're doing is if you say "oh the United states is to blame" then you're forgetting that there were other countries who enslaved people all over the world who were actively involved in other countries in the slave trade. But if you say that---

OH: In addition to local African kingdoms that relied on that as their principle economic lifeline.

JR: Yes, and it is also important to remember that culture shifted. There are a lot of people who say Africans enslaved Africans. Yes. And the institution of slavery in African, culturally within different communities, within different kingdoms was very, very, very different than the institution of slavery after you were sold to someone who was white. It was not race based. There were different concepts of family. There were different concepts of community. And to say that it existed in the same manner there as it did here is not a good way to say "Oh, we're not to blame because all these other people did it too." That's---

OH: Well the main difference here is that it became a racial, basically a race identified institution where to be black was to be enslaved.

JR: So in my mind, it's one of those things that while others were culpable, if you're doing a long history about how slavery came about, you never want to place the onus on one

particular thing, because, in my experience in history, there is hardly ever one single catalyst. But the United States was not, after it became a country and in many ways because of trade, was not bound to. Morally, we are not able to say that other people were doing this too so we are absolved morally of this wrong. To me that's not how it works.

[31:18]

JR: It is acknowledging that we were a part of a greater larger global wrong. And that the part we played into it. That we were a huge economic fuel for the slave trade. We played a larger part in the global trade mechanism that made slavery 100% viable. And saying that yes, while we did eventually outlaw the, essentially importation of slaves, it's one of those things that we have to recognize within yourself, your participation in the wrong.

And you cannot say that you are less wrong because someone else was doing it to a greater degree. That, to me, does not exist when you're talking about healing wrongs. I don't think it, it doesn't heal anybody to say Brazil did it too, or England did it too, or they did it too. Because if you look at the way Brazil exists, you're looking at a culture that is incredibly different from ours. That healed from slavery or didn't heal from slavery in a different way than we did. That has dealt with race issues differently---

RK: And that used slavery differently than we did. The institution looked different there.

JR: The institution was inherently different, so we can't even apply our own methods of repair and reparations and healing. And we sometimes can't apply theirs, because theirs was inherently tied into their native population in a different way than ours was.

For me, it's still, this is wrong. It was wrong in Brazil. It was wrong when Great Britain did it. It was wrong when we did it. And the nitty-gritty of historical relativism and cultural historical relativism is recognizing that for a guy like Washington Duke, his Methodist beliefs would probably have been telling him this was wrong. His personal situation, the culture of the South would have been telling him this is totally a fine thing to do. He had African American neighbors. He was probably also Unionist. It's presenting these truths to people. What we know about this man, what we know our culture inherently defines as right or wrong---

OH: Even many abolitionists had racist views, they just couched them in paternalistic desire---

JR: Oh yeah. Right. That's 100%.

RK: Even Washington Duke is a fine example of that.

JR: He's a really wonderful racist paternalist.

RK: He's a really nice racist man. But he was very paternalistic with his understandings of race.

JR: He's a "those poor folks" racist.

OH: To be fair, I mean, not to make any excuse, but there's a human tendency to conform to whatever the normative belief at the time is.

RK: Well you can't really exist in that society outside of influence of that society.

JR: And my opinion is we present these things. We present the cultural rights and wrongs of the days. We help people understand that, no matter what the cultural right and wrong was, the greater. There's no real truth with a capital 'T,' but the nice truth with a really bit lowercase 't'---

RK: Bolded.

JR: The bolded truth is that we as a society have decided that this is wrong no matter what time period you exist in.

[34:31]

OH: It's interesting also, in terms of faith, to look at how the Bible was used as both a justification for as well as an argument against, since both sides couched a lot of their arguments in Biblical language.

RK: And you can see that in pretty much any social controversy. Both sides of gay rights are using that. I'm using it on the pro gay-rights side, but I use it. And our society is so linked to Christianity that politics and the Bible are never actually separated.

JR: Never, never, never. Ultimately, my goal for interpretation at Duke Homestead is to help people understand that. Help people understand that this is not a simple matter. That when you're on tour, if someone asks you about slavery, depending on how much time you have, you're willing to say 'Well this is really complicated. Here are a few things that we know about Washington Duke. Slavery is still wrong.' And let that person decide if they think Washington Duke is 100% evil or is a really nice racist man who was paternalistically racist. That's where we sit in terms of our interpretation, I think. But not presenting the facts, that's when you get into bias.

[Phone Ringing]

JR [to Omar]: Would you get that?

OH: Yeah.

JR: And if it's for me, it's cool, I can take it.

OH: [*Hi, Duke Homestead. This is Omar.*]

JR: I think that's, well there's our learning moment. It's totally cool to tell people these things. If you've got the time, and time is important on a tour. We really want to help people understand that it's a complex issue. Ideally, it's that Tilden thing, you are supposed to provoke people into thinking about it. And you have to let them come to their own conclusion. If you're purposely omitting things like "Washington Duke owned an enslaved person" or "African American labor was paid less in the tobacco industry" and therefore you have lots of African American people in the tobacco industry. You come to this juxtaposition of 'we can pay you less because you're black, because you're female, because you're young.' Look at all these workers. It's the "oh man, Durham is a diverse city" and today we benefit from that diversity and arguably always have. But it's that wonderful venn diagram. There was racism involved here. But this was also the only place you could get a job if you were African American.

[37:07]

OH: One of the major themes of that book I was talking about, the one about CP Ellis, *Best of Enemies*. One of the major themes was how Durham was portrayed in the post-Civil War era as a symbol of the New South. Kind of like Atlanta, it was a representative of progress.

JR: But was it really?

OH: You have the Life End Mutual. You have a black elite.

RK: And black Wall Street.

OH: But really it wasn't that much different than anywhere else for most people living there.

JR: It's like, yeah, we had a black elite. Did the black elite really rub shoulders with the white elite?

OH: But also, poor whites were told that the only thing separating them was their race, but they were also being oppressed by the same system.

JR: That's the hard part. That's a larger issue it would be nice to address. There's no way we could give a tour that addresses that because---

OH: Most people don't want to hear it honestly.

JR: They don't want to hear that.

RK: Although that's never an excuse for me.

[JR and OH responding]

JR: We'd have to have something to show them to represent it. We can't just have someone talk at you, that's a lecture. And the people who would be willing to come to that lecture would already agree with you.

[38.32]

OH: I mean, if this was my classroom I would be willing to talk about all that, but this is a state historic site. I'm not sure where we draw the line between just giving tours and actually trying to, are we supposed to enlighten people or just provide them with an entertaining experience? How do you combine the two?

JR: You can. And the idea is, you should be speaking in such manner and presenting your information in such a manner that it is engaging. Entertainment is such a hard word. What is it to be entertained? Is it circuses? Is it watching TV? From my point of view for a tour guide, if you are entertaining, you are somebody who engages people. Who is willing to speak to their level of understanding. But you are also there so that they come away with a greater understanding. And what that greater understanding is always depends on the visitor.

But in terms of telling history? We have the responsibility to tell the entirety of history. Now, we only have 45 minutes to do it in. Which means by telling the entirety of history we aren't going to start at the beginning. When you only have 45 minutes and your purview is this family, is the impact they made, how they transitioned from farming. But you have these opportunities.

When you're at the curing barn, if you want to focus on who is doing this work. If you're on a small farm like this, the people doing the work are often the farmer, his family, like Duke did, you would be trading labor with neighbors and with your family. During your planting and harvest periods, that's when often if you had the money, you would hire labor or rent enslaved labor. That's what enslaved labor would look like on a farm like this. You can always say, on a plantation system this would be very different. And there were plantations and there were larger farms and there were enslaved persons would be doing this labor. And that's a really good way to have people, to put that thought in their head. Slavery isn't all one thing. Okay. Enslaved workers do the labor, and this is what slavery looked like in Orange County. Instead of straight up just saying it.

[40.56]

JR: When I get into the factory, I'll mention the fact. Who is doing this labor? There were free African Americans, there were women doing this labor, and there were young children

because we didn't have labor laws. It's important to remember that it's a good thing to hire these people. Not because they believed in equality but because they could be paid less based on their race, gender, age. It's a good place to say these things that doesn't provoke an angry response. That gets an "oh yeah," I take for granted the fact I get a lunch break, eight hour work day, and that someone theoretically has to pay me the same as everyone else.

OH: If not in reality.

JR: Theoretically, even if not in reality. Those are ways I add it in. You don't have to have an agenda. The agenda is that somebody gets something out of it and learns something.

Jessica Shillingsford: Hi person I don't know.

RK: Hi yes, I'm Rachel Kirby. Warning, there's a recorder on.

JR: Oh you haven't met yet! This is Jess. She's getting some questions about the end of the walk. And interpretation. We were just talking about interpretation.

JS: Fun. I won't interrupt you but it's nice to meet you.

RK: It's nice to meet you too

JR: Does that make sense? I hope you got to record some of Omar's stuff because he asked good questions.

RK: I know we've had this on a while so we can pause, we can get back to the walk, we can talk some more.

JR: I think we need to pause so I can check some emails.

APPENDIX J: GUIDED TOUR, OMAR HAMAD, JUNE 26, 2015

Recorded Event: Guided walking tour

Tour Guide: OH Omar Hamad

Recorder: RK Rachel Kirby

Date: June 26, 2015

Omar Hamad: Welcome. We're going to start off by talking about who would have been living here between 1852 and 1874. The patriarch of the Duke family started the tobacco business here. Washington Duke, pictured center right. He was born in 1820 in what was then Orange County, North Carolina. There was no Durham County until the 1880s so this area between modern day Wake and Guilford County would have been Orange County.

Washington Duke moved to the area in 1842. His first wife, who you don't see pictured here, was Mary Caroline Clinton. She had two children, Sydney and Brody. In 1847 Mary passed away, and so five years later he remarried to this woman that you see pictured here on the left, Artelia Roney. That's when he moves to this specific property, which he inherited from her father.

With Artelia he has Mary, Benjamin, and James Buchanan, who is also usually known as "Buck" Duke. In 1858 unfortunately tragedy struck again. Both Artelia and Sydney passed away from typhoid fever. A few years later in 1861, the Civil War begins and so North Carolina, which reluctantly joined the Confederacy, ultimately did send men to the Confederacy, among which was Washington Duke who was drafted into the Confederate Navy even though he was in his 40s by this point. His son Brody served as a prison guard in Salisbury, North Carolina. He was about 15, 16, or 17 when he entered the service.

After the Civil War, that's really when the Duke family decides they want to switch from being farmers of tobacco to manufacturing tobacco. At this point they start their first tobacco manufacturing company, the Washington Duke and Sons Company. Their first tobacco factory which you will see on the tour, was in this corn crib that you see in the right of the picture. Later on, they moved to a second factory slightly behind it and then in 1869, they moved to a third factory that you see here on the left. They stayed in this factory for about five years, and by 1874 they shifted the center of operations into downtown Durham.

Initially they were primarily making pipe tobacco under the brand name Pro Bono Publico. By the 1880s they started switching over to the manufacturing cigarettes, and by 1890 they had made enough money manufacturing cigarettes that they were able to force major competitors to merge with them and form the American Tobacco Company which constituted the Tobacco Trust, and essentially monopolized the tobacco business in the US until it was broken up by the Sherman Antitrust Laws. I'll explain that a little more

about that in detail as we go along the tour but for now we can go outside and start walking around the grounds.

[03.08.761]

Male Visitor 1: Can we ask questions?

OH: Oh, of course.

[...]

MV1: Tobacco, was there anything going on in Europe tobacco wise, or everything started here?

OH: You know, that's a good question and I should read more about that. I'm not exactly sure what was going on in terms of if tobacco was being grown on the European continent. I do know that there was a lot of tobacco grown in Cuba also and in other west-Indian islands especially the eastern part of Cuba. I've read a little about that, but I'm not as familiar with.

MV1: But what was first, though? Cuban tobacco? Or here in Durham?

OH: It's hard to say because both were colonized and tobacco was grown pretty early on by Native Americans and Indigenous peoples before Europeans even came here.

MV1: And then second question, who provided the tobacco? In WWI we saw the film that all those guys were smoking. Were the cigarettes coming from here? From Duke?

Female Visitor 1: So did the government contract with the American companies to provide?

Rachel Kirby: That's a really good question.

MV1: You saw in the first the First World War, everybody was smoking. So who's giving them the cigarettes?

RK: It was part of rations during the war.

OH: I'm sure there was some sort of contract that the military had with the major cigarette makers.

MV1: Which one?

OH: I know the major one was lucky strike.

FV1: Now who had lucky strike? I know they still have the water tower?

OH: Lucky strike was part of the American Tobacco Company. They had several brand names of cigarettes that they sold.

FV1: And was lucky strike, I forget, was that the one that they put the baseball cards?

RK: I know it was one of Duke's companies, I think that one had the cards.

[...]

OH: By the time World War I had started, the American Tobacco Company had already broken up. It was broken up in 1911, so at this point the Dukes would have obviously maintained some involvement in tobacco but they were also investing in other industries by that point. I'm not sure to what extent they were involved in WWI and the military.

FV1: Do you know when they started the energy company?

OH: Do you know, Rachel?

RK: It was before the breakup and everything...

[06.48.888]

FV1: So 1905?

RK: I would guess around then. They didn't like paying other people to help their company, so they started energy for providing for their own production, but that was after they moved into Durham.

MV1: So more for you to research.

FV1: You said we could ask questions.

MV1: And now, we're from Florida and Duke Energy is now our energy company. It's starting to spread.

OH: Feel free to ask any questions, but I can't guarantee that I have all the answers.

Male Visitor 2: We were invited to join your group.

OH: The first building that you see here on the property is the tobacco curing barn. This barn dates from 1870. It's not original to this property but was moved from another tobacco farm here in North Carolina. Your process of growing and harvesting tobacco was a pretty labor intensive and lengthy process. It's also known as the 13 month crop. You'd

begin preparing your fields in the fall and then you would start planting your tobacco seeds by December. In-between planting and harvesting you would top and sucker your leaves, as well as worming them to make sure hornworms don't call into your plant and cause it to completely wither away.

So once you're ready to harvest your tobacco, the first thing you're going to do is take the pants from the fields, and you're going to load them onto this object that you see back here which is called a looping, I'm sorry, a tobacco sled. And then from the tobacco sled you'll bring them over here and then tie them around onto what's called a looping horse. And then from the looping horse you would hang the tobacco plants about five hundred and fifty sticks, here inside of the curing barn.

And so, this is also called flu cured tobacco. And the tobacco is going to be connected to a furnace. You're going to keep that at around 180 degrees and after about five or six days, once the curing process is complete you're going to see the tobacco turn this sort of bright golden color that you see here in this region. This region is known for what's called bright leaf tobacco, and that is where the term originates from. You've seen bright leaf square here in Durham, that is the kind of tobacco this region is known for.

So originally like I said, the Dukes were primarily subsistence farmers growing tobacco for the local market. So your next stop after the tobacco had been cured would be to ready it for the local auction, so your next stop would be the packing house that you see down here so we're going to go over there.

[09.49.002]

RK: [*directed towards man and woman who just joined the tour*] Hi, I want to introduce myself quickly. I'm a graduate student at UNC. Is it alright if I'm doing an audio recording of this tour?

MV2: Certainly.

RK: Alright, thank you.

MV2: what's your field?

RK: Folklore, which is part of the American Studies department here. Where are you all from?

MV2: We're from around here. Wake County.

RK: Okay, great.

MV1: Any of those things ever catch on fire?

OH: The tobacco curing barn? Not on Duke Homestead's property but I'm sure there were places where. Usually you'd have someone out to watch.

MV1: Oh, because it's awfully close.

OH: I'm sure that would be a primary concern. Usually you'd have someone sitting out there to make sure that didn't happen. Because if you had an entire crop lost that would be a major loss of money for tobacco farmers. So they probably would do their upmost to make sure that didn't happen, but I'm sure that it did happen in some cases.

This would be your tobacco packing house. This is where you would get your tobacco crop ready for the auction. And so once your tobacco leaves and has been cured, they would be very dry and brittle. You would want to allow them to get moist before you would send them off to the market.

The first thing you do is place them down in what's called an ordering pit. You're going to allow them to sit there for overnight, and then your tobacco leaves will get moist and pliable. Moisture from the air will seep in there and make the leaves more moist than when they finished the curing process. After that you would bring them out here on what's called a grading bench. And so you're going to sort each leaf according to size, color and texture. So once you've found about fifteen leaves of a similar size, color, and texture, you take the prettiest leaf and wrap it around the others, forming a hand of tobacco. And then your tobacco hands are stored up here in the top part of the packing house. And from there auctioneers will come and load the hands onto the wagon and take them down to the various auctions in the city of Durham that were developing at that time.

And so, as I mentioned earlier, the Duke's start out primarily as subsistence yeomen farmers of tobacco growing for the local market. After the Civil War when Washington Duke was released from his prisoner of war status, he decided he wanted to start his first tobacco manufacturing company. So after he walked back from New Bern to Durham, he began his first tobacco manufacturing company, which was called the Washington Duke and Sons Company.

So his first factory which you see here in the right was in that converted corn crib. Then he moved to the second factory slightly behind that. Finally in 1869 he moves to this building that you see here on the left, his third tobacco factory. Then finally, in 1874, he leaves this property entirely and moves his operations into downtown Durham.

MV2: someone was reenacting Washington Duke's walk from New Bern back here. Did he make it and how long did it take him?

OH: It took him a few weeks, didn't it?

RK: Ten days of walking, but he did make it, with quite a few more blisters than when he left.

OH: 160 miles?

RK: 166 miles. It was a Sunday to a Saturday. He had two days of rest in the middle. But not one week, two weeks. Two days of break. Averaging 15 to 20 miles a day.

[... *inaudible section*]

OH: So here in the third factory, they were primarily making pipe tobacco under the brand name Pro Bono Publico. They used this factory between 1874 and 1879. Your first step in the process is to take sassafras sticks, and you're going to flail the tobacco leaves with the sticks. This would give the tobacco an added sweetness, a sweet flavor that people would want when they would smoke their pipe tobacco. Sort of similar to the sassafras that we find as a natural added sweetener in root beer.

After that, you take the stems out of the tobacco leaves and place them right here. Then you would place the tobacco into the sieve that you see here, and grind it up until it was a fine consistency, similar to the way you see it here inside of the muslin sack. Once you see it about this consistency, that's how your tobacco would be placed inside of the pipes that people would smoke.

After they moved to Durham in 1874, into the downtown area of Durham, they continued making pipe tobacco for around another ten years. In the mid-1880s they began switching over to the manufacturing of cigarettes, spurred on by other competitors who were also manufacturing cigarettes at this time. Initially the Dukes were hesitant to manufacture cigarettes for a couple of reasons. One is at this time cigarette smoking was still seen as a predominately European phenomenon. It hadn't been popularized in the United States just yet. Another reason is that the primary people who had cigarette hand-rolling as their niche industry were Eastern European Jewish immigrants. Labor recruiters from NC would have to go up to New York and get them to come down to North Carolina. And each cigarette was individually hand rolled and you could only roll about 3-4 cigarettes a minute. Obviously this was a time and cost-intensive process.

What revolutionizes this is that in 1861 a man named James Bonsack, who was very humble, invented a machine which he named after himself. And so, using the Bonsack machine you are now able to mass-produce about 200-300 cigarettes each minute, rather than three or four each minute when being hand-rolled. The way the Duke Company capitalizes on the process is that in 1884 they purchase their own machine. Also they sought out the one man who had the patent for the machine, named Tim O'Brien. They asked if he would form an exclusive contact with him, and this way they were able to gain the upper hand over competition. By 1890 they were able to force their major competitors to merge and form the American Tobacco Company which essentially

dominates the industry until 1911, at which point, the Sherman Antitrust Laws broke it up and it splintered into different companies after this.

By this point, the Dukes were one of the wealthiest families in Durham. They began to invest in other industries. They invested in textiles; they bought several of the textile mills in the area. They invested in energy, like we talked about earlier they helped to found the Duke Energy Company. And of course most famously in 1924, they did make an endowment of about \$40million to a small local Methodist college here called Trinity College. The Dukes were themselves Methodist and obviously Trinity College then changes its name from Trinity College to Duke University, which it remains today.

And also while we're in this building I want to point out here on the right, this barrel like object that you see. That's called a hogs head. That's what you would use to transport tobacco during colonial times and the early 19th century.

MV1: Didn't they also do a good business selling loose, unrolled tobacco? After the war, isn't that where the Bull Durham brand came from?

OH: I think they did also do some business in loose tobacco, but I think the predominant way they were making their money was mostly cigarettes by the period of the First World War

MV1: I meant loose tobacco that you purchase to roll your own tobacco? I thought that's where the Bull Durham brand came from during that period?

OH: Yep. When you guys are ready to walk up to the house.

[21.03.254]

Female Visitor 2: They had slaves, didn't they?

OH: Before the Civil War the family owned one slave. And I'll talk about that a little bit in the house.

I'm not exactly sure about the origin of the Bull Durham brand. I'll have to do research on my own.

And so here is going to be the house that the family lived between 1852 and 1874. Originally the house was just this front section with two rooms downstairs and two rooms upstairs. And then later on in 1860, this section back here with the kitchen and the dining room added on. Here on the left would be the root cellar.

[22.10.99]

[walking]

OH: In the back on the left is the well house. That's where you would be drawing most of your water for various chores around the farm. And then, here on the right is the smoke house. That's where you would be curing most of the meat that you would be consuming. And if you follow me all the way to the far right, [pause]

So this would be a small vineyard of scuppernong grapes, which are local to this area that the Dukes would have cultivated primarily for making table wine and vinegar. And then if you'll follow me on into the house.

You guys hopping on the tour?

Male Visitor 3: Yeah.

OH: We're about to go into the house.

[...]

OH: And so here in the kitchen, first off all, I'd like to point out on the left and the right, we have two chairs right here so if anyone is tired of standing and wants to sit for a little while, feel free to do so.

The first thing I'll point out here in the center is the stove. If you look very closely you can see the word success is written right here. This would be the brand name of the company making the stove, however, you can also link this to the fact that having a stove at this time is a considerable sign of material success. This would be one way that the Dukes would show off that they are a little better off than the typical farming family in the area.

You can also note on the left and the right, these are the safes where the Dukes would store food. You can note the holes, they are just large enough to allow air to get in, but small enough so that bugs don't crawl in and allow food to spoil. The oil lamps that you see on top of the pie safes would have been the primary source of light in the household.

If you look above the door you can see the hunting rifle that the family would have used to hunt local game to supplement their diet. And over here next to the fire place, you can see this sort of unusual looking object. It's a corn husk broom which you would have been using to sweep up around the house. And above the fireplace you can also see some of the herbs they would use to cook their meals.

Also on the shelf over there, one of my favorite objects in the kitchen is the old fashioned coffee grinder. I've had people tell me that their relatives have grinders similar to those that they still use.

If you guys will go ahead and follow me into the dining room. Just let me know if you guys have any questions as I go along.

And so, in the dining room, obviously this is where you would have served most of your meals, but also the dining room table would have functioned as the primary classroom of the Duke children. They would have received instruction in reading, writing, and basic math, here at this dining room table.

Usually we have a sewing machine on display, however it's not here right now. You can see the sewing kit. Mary Duke would have been sitting in this room with the sewing machine, sewing the sacks they would have used to carry the pipe tobacco used to carry the tobacco to market when they were living here. You also notice the floors and walls are all heart of pine, from trees local to this area of North Carolina. You'll also note the opposing doors and windows for cross ventilation. You can also see examples of the kinds of china and dishes that the family would have used. Most of these items are replicas, but they approximate based on research, the types of dishes that the family would have had at this point and time. And then the next room that you see here in the house...

[27.20.40]

OH: So this was their parlor. This would be sort of the equivalent of a modern day living room. So if you had guests over and you wanted to entertain them, perhaps play cards, drink tea after dinner, this is where you would bring your guests for a little bit of entertainment. Also because the Dukes were devout Methodists, you would have had Bibles stacked on the table that you see here, and then on Sundays when Methodist circuit riders would come through the area, they would hold Bible studies here in this room.

The door over here behind you, behind that is a staircase which leads up to the room where the Duke children slept. I'm not allowed to allow people to go in there because of safety reasons. Also in the same room with them would have been their one enslaved person. Her name was Caroline Barnes. She was purchased by the family at the age of 13 in 1855, and she was primarily a housekeeper for the family and not a laborer in the tobacco fields. And she is the only slave that the family is reported of owning. We lose track of what happened to her after the time of emancipation, but we do believe she moved to the Hayti neighborhood here in Durham, which has unfortunately ceased to exist because of urban renewal but that's a completely different story.

And the last room that you'll see here in the house...

[29.02.70]

OH: This would have been the bedroom where Washington Duke slept. One of the things that you'll note about the bed is that it's smaller than a typical king or queen bed than we sleep on today. This is for a couple of reasons. The first one is that there was no uniform bed size at this time, so beds would have tended to be a bit smaller. The second reason is that there was a common urban legend that if you slept upright rather than flat on your back you'd be less likely to catch particles that would spread tuberculosis or consumption, which was a leading cause of death at this time.

You'll also note this object here. Rather than having springs inside of your mattress you would have bed ropes and you would use this object to tighten the bed ropes. Some people believe this is where we derive the expression "sleep tight" from, but there's no way of knowing this for sure.

You'll also note that there is no indoor bathroom inside of the house. You would have an outhouse for using the restroom during the day. Then if you needed to use the bathroom during the middle of the night, you would use the chamber pot that you see down here. Then for getting ready in the morning...

You would have your wash station right here. So you have your pitcher of water for washing your face and body in the morning. As far as some of the other objects that you see here, hairbrushes and combs haven't changed too much since the mid-nineteenth century. However, thankfully toothbrushes have changed. Initially you would be using a twig like you see here, and dipping it in water and baking soda and brushing your teeth that way. Later on, you would use a horse hair toothbrush like what you see here. Then finally Mary Duke would be using a curling iron similar to the curling iron that you see like this. And then as far as soap goes, you would have ash soap made from lye and pigs fat. And then if you look next to the fire place, on the ground the object you see on the right is called a spittoon. That's where you would spit chewing tobacco.

So, if you look above the fireplace you can see Washington Duke also had a portrait of his namesake, George Washington. As far as Wash Duke was involved with politics here in this region of North Carolina at the time that he lived here, he wasn't super active politically. However we have some evidence that after the Civil War he changed from the Democratic to the Republican Party. Of course at this time the Republican Party was the party of Lincoln and abolition, and the Democratic party was the party of the South and of slavery. This affiliation didn't make him popular during the reconstruction south. There are stories of him being spat on by passersby on his way to work in downtown Durham in the late 1860s.

This is the end of the official part of the tour, but if you have any questions for me, Rachel, or anyone else here feel free to ask and we'll do our best to answer. I would like to thank you for coming out today and sharing this part of North Carolina's history with me. Thank you.

[32.43.180]

MV1: I noticed the roof on the building is in pretty rough shape.

OH: Yeah, we're trying to repair it. It's just, it's taking a lot of time. We don't get a ton of money from the state.

MV1: Do they keep the yard free of brush because of tics and snakes?

RK: We have snakes and tics and various rodents. The idea was that if the yard was clear they wouldn't get into the house.

[...]

Female Visitor 3: I came years and years and years ago I remember them telling that on the tour, keeping the front door.

RK: Such the opposite today when you want your nice green lush yard. Yeah.

FV3: Waste a lot of money on it.

RK: Of course.

[*sound of door closing*]

RK: So what brought you back here today then?

FV3: Grandchildren

RK: Visiting from out of town?

FV3: They live here but they've just never been. The parents today have to arrange one summer camp after another, but this is one week they couldn't find a summer camp.

RK: Camp with grandparents. That's always fun. Have you gone to other sites around?

FV3: We're planning to go to the tobacco town trail.

RK: Okay.

FV3: We have been to Fuquay

RK: Getting the whole experience this week.

FV3: To the capital, and Duke Chapel.

[...]

FV3: Hard to imagine they would have had 300 acres of tobacco with no slaves. So labor intensive.

RK: Right. Yeah. One, they switched pretty, well I guess that's after the war so they wouldn't have had slaves anyway. There is some suggested evidence that Washington Duke would have rented the labor of enslaved people owned by others to help with some of the labor, but, you know I'm not super sure on what that looked like. But I think he would have hired, I think there is a story of someone he had rented who ran away and he had to figure out what to do because he was under his care but owned by someone else. So he was a part of the system but not a large slave owner. Now Stagville plantation, which is here in Durham.

FV3: We were thinking about going there today, but decided we didn't have the full time and it is so hot.

RK: Well it's an interesting site if you need another one. It's North Carolina's largest plantation. I've read estimates from 900-1500 enslaved people on site at Stagville.

[...]

[37.37.80]

RK: So how did you pick which sites you wanted to take them to and what you wanted them to see?

FV3: Well, in part, Bennett Place, they had not been. And as I said we were thinking about going to Stagville today, but we didn't have the time to do it justice, and it was so hot we would not have enjoyed the hiking trails, so we thought this was a good fallback.

RK: Yeah, there you go. I hope they enjoyed it.

FV3: I'm sure. It's a revelation to get into these old structures and realize people lived. Thrived. In conditions. I find it difficult to think.

RK: Just the ten minutes in the house and I'm ready to not be in it.

FV3: Of course the windows weren't open.

RK: Right, yeah.

FV3: We were talking last night about how much time and effort families in colonial times spent just on preparing their meal. Doing everything from scratch. They'd grow it and cook it.

[The woman and I, at this point, had gotten inside the visitors' center and the recording became inaudible.]

APPENDIX K: GUIDED TOUR, SARAH PATRICK, JUNE 26, 2015

Recorded Event: Guided walking tour

Tour Guide: SP Sarah Patrick

Recorder: RK Rachel Kirby

Date: June 26, 2015

Notes: Two of the visitors on the tour were Mary An and Christina Rodoski, who agreed to do a follow up conversation later in the afternoon.

Sarah Patrick: Like I said, I'm Sarah. Is this everyone's first time?

Group: Yeah.

SP: Okay, great. Then I'll give you a little background on the Duke family then, before we head out and see the site. So here is Washington Duke, born in 1820. He married his first wife in 1842, her name was Mary Clinton. And they had two sons named Sydney and Brody. This is Brody right here. There's no pictures of Mary or Sydney, unfortunately. Mary ended up passing away in 1847, and Washington remarried in 1852. He married Artelia. 1852 is also the year he built the house we will see today and it's the year he started becoming a subsistence farmer here and really getting himself settled down on this property.

Artelia and Washington had three more kids. They had Mary, Benjamin and James. James was also known as Buck Duke. His middle name was Buchannan, so they called him Buck. And he is a big name in tobacco. He ended up sort of taking over his dad's business and being the head of the American Tobacco Company. He's also the one who gave the Duke Endowment, which was \$30million to Trinity College, and that's where we get Duke University today, so he's a good name to remember.

In 1858, Artelia and Sydney both caught typhoid fever. Sydney was the son from the first marriage. Artelia was trying to nurse him back to health and she caught it, and they both ended up passing away. Then in 1864, Washington was drafted into the Confederacy Navy during the Civil War, so he had a few unfortunate years there. But when he got back from the war in 1865, he stopped being a farmer and instead started to focus on manufacturing. He started a company with his sons producing pipe tobacco, and eventually that would grow into the American Tobacco Company, and he would be a millionaire. Any question about the family?

Alright, we can go ahead and head out these doors and down to the historic area.

[01.56.270]

[talking in the background as we walk to the historic area]

[...]

SP: Alright, so we're going to do a little bit of an abbreviated tour today due to the heat. Just real quick, I want to point out this building to you. This is our curing barn. When Washington Duke was a farmer before the Civil War, he was growing tobacco and curing it and packing it away and then selling it at auctions. So after he harvested his crop, he would have brought it over here to his curing barn. He would have tied it to sticks like the one over there called a looping horse. They would have laid the leaves on the stick and tied it with twine, and then hang the sticks up inside the barn and get ready to cure them.

The type of curing Washington used was called flue curing. There are different ways to cure tobacco to give it different colors and flavors, but flue curing gives you bright leave tobacco which is a brighter color and a milder flavor, and that is what was the most popular kind in this region.

So we'll go ahead to the pack house but if you want to peak your head in as we go, you can see some tobacco hanging in there.

[people talking as we walk]

SP: *[responding to a question]* I totally forgot to mention that because I'm trying to give a short tour but the tobacco barn here is not the original. The roped off area here is where his building was. The rest of the buildings are original, but this is the one that didn't survive over time.

[05.50.90]

[...]

SP: Alright, awesome. So this is our pack house. After you cure your tobacco, it's really dry so you have to store it down here in the ordering pit to get moisture back in the leaves. Once you've done that, you can get ready to sort out your leaves based on quality. You do that by sorting it between these posts. The quality depends on things like its smell, its texture, the color of the leaves, whether there are holes in them or not. There are a lot of factors that go into determining quality, but the farmers would have known how to determine that.

Once sorted out, they take about twelve leaves of the same quality and you wrap one around the top like you can see here, and this is called a hand of tobacco. So this is what they store in these baskets up in the pack house and then taking and selling at the auctions. So this is what Washington Duke was doing prior to the Civil War.

He was curing, packing away, going to auctions and selling his crop, and that is where it stopped. Then after the war, he switched and was doing the opposite. He was going to

auctions, buying the already cured tobacco and bringing it back here to produce pipe tobacco. So he did a little switch there after the war. Any questions so far?

Okay, you can look around here for a minute and we'll head down towards the factory.

[inaudible conversation]

SP: He had 300 acres of farm land out here. He was growing mostly food for his family, but he also had a tobacco crop as well.

Mary An: And did he own slaves?

SP: He owned one slave. She lived in the house and did cooking and cleaning and stuff. He would have hired boys from the town and had his sons and all helping with the farming.

[inaudible...]

SP: In this area, it was the Dukes. They really grew Durham into what it was. There were a lot of guys who started making a lot of money in the tobacco business. Because the American Tobacco Company was actually five companies merged together. It was Duke's company and four others that had grown up around that time.

Christina Rodoski: Were his cigarettes called Dukes?

SP: They all had different brands. There were all different kinds.

[09.26.050]

SP: So as we're walking, I'd like to point out this big building right here. This was the factory they used in which they produced their pipe tobacco. So the factory was built in 1869. Before that he had two other factories. There's a small building over there that was his first factory. It was originally a corn crib and it became a factory. The second was a stable he converted to a factory, but it's not here anymore. That big one there was his third factory and at that point he was doing well in his business because he was able to have this built just to be a factory for him. Any questions about that?

CR: so what happened in there exactly?

SP: So they were making pipe tobacco. If I wasn't doing a shorter tour, I would show you exactly how that worked. Basically they were laying out their leaves, breaking them into smaller leaves with bundles of sticks. They would just hit them with sticks, and they would grind up the leaves into a fine powder, and that was the pipe tobacco. It was a pretty simple process that made him pretty good money. We'll head towards the house.

[walking]

SP: So this house was built in 1852. Washington built it the same year he married his second wife, Artelia. He and Artelia lived here with five kids as well as a slave. Her name was Caroline and she did cooking and cleaning for them.

It's going to be hard to fit everybody into one room at once so I'm going to let you just wander through it and ask me questions as you go. I'll tell you a few things before you head inside.

The first room here is going to be the kitchen, and originally the kitchen was actually a separate building. The room next to the kitchen is the dining room, and that was an add-on in the 1870s. When the Dukes became wealthier, they added the dining room to connect the house to the kitchen, because they were able to afford a stove which reduced the heat and fire hazard from an open fire.

Then the other two rooms you'll see will be the parlor and the master bedroom. I'll go ahead and let you walk through, and if you have any questions let me know.

[12.11.90]

Female Visitor 1: Are there pieces in there that were the Dukes?

SP: We have very few pieces of theirs because two families moved here after the Dukes moved out. The only one that I know for sure belonged to Duke family members is the green thing in the kitchen, it's called a pie safe. Sort of like a cabinet. Most of the stuff dates from the time period but wasn't Duke original.

[people walking through, difficult to transcribe]

SP: I don't think there's any way to fit 25 people in each room.

Rachel Kirby: We wouldn't all fit in here. It would be so hot.

MA: Was this built before the war?

SP: Yeah, it was built in 1852.

MA: So this is where he came back to?

SP: Yup.

CR: This is the pie safe?

SP: Yeah.

MA: Is it for pies?

SP: It's for baked goods. It has holes in it so bugs can't crawl in but the food can air out.

RK: I think the marble top stuff in the bedroom, I think that's Duke stuff too?

SP: Is it? That stuff showed up last summer, so I'm not sure.

RK: There's something else that's Duke. Maybe it's that?

SP: I've been told there's a chest that's Duke but I'm not sure if it's the bedroom chest or this chest.

CR: What's upstairs?

SP: Two bedrooms where the kids slept.

Child: Can we go up?

SP: No, I'm sorry. It's not safe. Fire codes.

Child: I didn't know they had fire alarms back then?

SP: Oh yeah, ye old fire alarms.

RK: All the wood except for the floors is original.

CR: really?

RK: All except for the floor and the roof outside.

MA: This is all old, at the time?

SP: The walls are original.

MA: It's in amazing condition for what it is. That's crazy.

[14.45]

MA: I love the old, tiny, little people bathroom. They were shorter, weren't they?

SP: Washington Duke was supposedly 6 feet tall?

CR: then he would like to curl up?

SP: Someone told me they would sit propped up to prevent pneumonia.

MA: In the Netherlands, the beds are super short and they keep them in the closet, and it's because they all sit sleeping up to avoid catching stuff.

RK: In a closet?

MA: yeah, it was really creepy.

RK: are you all locals?

MA: she's nearby.

CR: I've been living for about a year in Durham, and Mary came down from New York to visit.

RK: Had you been here before?

MA: Yeah. Are you doing history?

RK: I'm in the folklore program.

CR: cool. Is that like, literature?

RK: It's with the American Studies department. A cultural studies degree. I'm interested in the way history gets constructed and told.

MA: So, this is perfect.

[16.16.699]

[SP: you've got the well house, so you have the well and then...]

CR: so are you working with others or here specifically?

RK: My focus is on this site, so I've been on the tour a lot.

SP: To keep it cold. And the smokehouse is where they would hang meats to dry.

Child Visitor 1: did they have an outhouse?

SP: They did, but it's not here anymore. And you might have noticed the chamber pot in the bedroom.

CR: Not a soup terrine.

SP: Alright, well I know that was short so if anyone has questions at all, just let me know. But thank you for coming out today.

MA: thanks for coming out and talking to us.

[16.52.054]

MA: So were the fields down there?

SP: We have a tobacco field down there. And then these fields would have been acres of fields.

MA: cleared out, so I guess it's been 100 years or 200.

SP: Waiting for everyone to get out of the house.

MA: so are you doing a masters or PhD

RK: Yeah, it's a master's thesis. A PhD is a little intimidating, but who knows.

MA: she's finishing her dissertation now.

CR: in literature, yeah.

RK: Almost done. What is your focus?

CR: it's comparative literature focusing on French poets.

RK: Cool. And why did you pick this place as your tour stop?

MA: she gave me the option of this or the botanical gardens and I love history. I feel like if I'd read it in a tour book I'd have come here.

CR: I think it's really interesting to understand the history of a place when you're visiting for the first time. Being in Durham, understanding the Duke history is really important.

MA: I didn't even know about that. Of course I knew about Duke University, but I had no idea.

RK: Yeah, Durham wouldn't really exist if it weren't for them.

[18.08.838]

SP: Anyone ready to head back, I'm going to start walking this way.

MA: so what folklore stuff are you working on?

RK: I guess, my broader interests are material culture and architecture, but for the thesis I'll focus in on this narrative presentation of history.

MA: So how material culture affects architecture?

RK: Two separate things, but architecture can fall under material culture. I like folklore because it's kind of a catchall, you can do whatever you want as long as it's related to culture in some way.

MA: Well I feel like the South is all about stories and folklore and story telling

RK: Yeah, creative ways of finding those stories and cultural meaning and things.

CR: that's really cool.

RK: Thanks. I always get interesting responses when I say I study folklore. People are, oh fairytales? No.

MA: Are you looking at tobacco folklore? Just southern stories? Durham stories?

RK: Mostly the construction of this story, this site and the history of it. So why, does this story matter and what does that do for the public engagement?

MA: The public imagination

RK: Yeah, and history is all constructed in some way and mediated.

MA: It seems like they would think about that with how Durham has to deal with it for all the marketing. I'm sure the story is all very tailored by Buck.

CR: Did you analyze the film at all?

MA: Did you watch it?

RK: I've seen it a few times, yeah.

[19.55.226]

MA: There is no mention of anything negative.

RK: Right, well, and there's not really in the museum either. And I'm intrigued by what gets told and what doesn't.

MA: they completely gloss over.

CR: No mention of slavery.

MA: And interesting how they spun the whole "cigarettes are bad for you and people are dying" but even with these setbacks history is still rich. They just gloss over.

RK: The museum was put up in the 80s and hasn't been updated since then. Which is why, there's so much that has happened in the tobacco history here since then. Government buy outs and subsidies for farmers. That doesn't get included.

MA: When the industry shut down in the 60s was that because of regulation or supply and demand?

CR: I thought it was in the 80s?

RK: The government bought out a lot of it

MA: was it low sales? Or was it the government regulating it?

RK: I think maybe a combination, but I actually don't know much about that part of the history here, because it's not really talked about. My lens is why this story and how did it become this story as opposed to all of the different facets that could be told within it.

CR: That's great. Maybe. Do you think it will be applied? Are you giving feedback to the museum? Or grants for the museum to update?

MA: that's a good idea.

RK: I don't want it to become a critique or anything. And a lot of it is stuff that the site knows. They know that they don't talk about stuff. And it's, there's red tape being a state site. Limited staff, limited money. It just takes a lot of work to make those sorts of changes. So it's less me trying to fix anything, and more just, what's really going on here and how is this working?

MA: do you look at how this is translated as a folklore myth through history?

RK: I've never thought about it quite like that. I'm also still in the early stages of sorting all of this out.

CR: Mary has a lot of questions.

MA: I'm so curious about the industrial startup part. Because they make it seem like "oh he was smart enough to begin manufacturing cigarettes" but that's a really difficult thing to do. He must have had money. He must have had capital. He must have had distribution. And I'm sure other people in the neighborhood were trying to do it too and not succeeding.

RK: Yeah, and you've got the Reynolds family in Winston Salem. They were really big tobacco family. Yeah it's a lot of, being the right guy in the right time. White male, wealthy.

MA: Being really business savvy and having some money. The story also makes it sound like he came back from the war and had nothing. But no, he had some capital.

RK: And Buck was really the business savvy one. He was the one who was like "dad, no really, we should start cigarettes."

[23.12.400]

RK: He's the one that secured them exclusive control over the Bonsack Machine. It was invented, but it sucked and didn't work well. So they found the one guy who could fix the machine, patented that, and made exclusive contracts.

MA: That's a big thing not to mention.

RK: Usually that's mentioned in the third factory, but they were trying to cut it down. The third factory gets really hot. So if you have exclusive control over the mechanization of a product, you can make a lot of money off of it. They could undercut the sales of partners by like a third or something, in terms of selling that much lower and still make more profit.

CR: Well, cool. That's really cool.

RK: So I'm going to be the weird grad student now and ask if you all would mind, or if I could get information to do a follow up conversation at some point.

MA: We love weird grad students since we were, are them.

RK: If you want to write down names and emails or however I should contact you.

MA: It was a wonderful tour.

RK: Got to tell me what you really think

MA: I'm curious because so much of the story is A, about sales and then about pride for the region. But then with the whole story of the south and everything in the 20th-century, and then cigarettes become not celebrated. What happens to that story? It's really fascinating.

RK: And that's the whole "tobacco debate" section. It's not really a debate. It's proven fact. This isn't good for you. But when it was funded a lot of the supporters were tobacco farmers. And so, they haven't totally gotten away from that legacy.

[25.18.794]

[...]

RK: You can tell me what you thought about it.

MA: It was cool. I just loved the history about it. Definitely when we finished watching the video, the first thing I said was this is a really great, in terms of entertainment and learning.

CR: And isn't it a good introduction for learning a good introduction to Durham?

MA: Yeah, you all keep saying Durham. It's not even just Durham, but the whole region and North Carolina

RK: North Carolina's whole economy was tobacco money.

Ma: It was a huge thing.

[laughter]

CR: well there's some good. I want to show her the animatronic farmer.

RK: Oh, you haven't walked through yet? The animatronic farmer is quality. You all wander through and I might bug you again when you're on your way out. Thanks.

APPENDIX L: INTERVIEW, MARY AN and CHRISTINA RODOSKI, JUNE 26, 2015

Interviewees: MN Mary An, CR Christina Rodoski

Interviewer: RK Rachel Kirby

Interview Date: June 26, 2015

Notes: I met An and Rodoski on Sarah Patrick's tour of the historic area. We talked briefly as we walked from the historic area back to the visitors' center. They had not yet gone through the museum, but said they would find me to talk more after they saw the exhibits. This is the conversation that followed. At times they spoke simultaneously, not always reflected in this transcription.

Christina Rodoski: I think there's a lot of interesting displays in there that are very informative. It seems maybe a little bit disjointed, but you have to spend the time reading through everything. But, there's a lot. I think it's cool for kids too because it's so visual.

Mary An: I agree with Christina, I think it's a little uneven. You know, some pieces are really good and some pieces are a little, like, not as interesting. I think the history of manufacturing is really interesting. And then the very end, the marketing and mass culture. I think they do a good job of getting into it. And there's good artifacts.

CR: Yeah, that's cool. The packaging, and the labels, and prints and stuff.

MA: And the machines. It's really cool to see the old machines.

CR: They're huge.

RK: What did you think of the farmer?

MA: It didn't work.

CR: I'm really bummed about that actually.

RK: I'll have to let them know he's not working. That's not good. He's really creepy.

MA: I haven't seen it in action so I guess I have a hard time judging but I was kind of like... This is such an interesting use of funding, because they're expensive right? Then to put a person in there?

CR: He was probably state of the art in the 80s. I mean, that's when Chuck-E-Cheeses and---.

MA: And all the other one? There's another pizza place that was famous with animatronic performing animals.

RK: So weird.

CR: Aren't these good? [*Referencing her coke in a glass bottle*]

Mary: They're really good.

RK: Everything is better out of the glass bottle.

MA: Okay, so you can ask away.

RK: I don't have super solid questions, I'm just curious to hear your takeaways of the overall experience.

MA: I just think for someone who has no history of the region and just came out of nowhere, I feel like I learned a lot. I have some overview of the South kind of. But being dropped in and not even knowing anything about the Duke family or understanding the economy of the region, it fits into a lot of the meta-story that I have.

[02.31.391]

RK: Good.

MA: And it's interesting too because it's kind of a story of how the South had to industrialize after the Civil War. Because up until that point I'm sure most of it was produced here and then manufactured somewhere else, which is why the South stayed pretty poor even though there was a plantation culture. And how they were trying to create the wealth in the region. Which, hasn't been too successful over time.

RK: No, it hasn't. Working on that.

MA: That's really interesting.

RK: That's a pretty good takeaway, I would say. I'm trying to think through my thoughts. Think through my thoughts. That's a really weird phrase. In terms of the story told, you talked outside a little about the pieces not quite mentioned or what was mentioned, what do you think of the overall takeaway that's shown here?

MA: I think what was really apparent right after the video ended was that they really glossed over the man power, the power that powered all of this. The part of history they don't have is that you couldn't have had this farming industry without slavery and that the Civil War was about the economy more than anything else. And that after the Civil War, there was still Jim Crow and all of that, but a lot of the economic downturn was because of that. And they don't have to go over all of that history, but they didn't get into it at all.

And the history of the health situation wasn't addressed at all. At all. I didn't expect them to go too much detail of it. But the fact that it was mentioned and then completely turned around into a story of positivity.

CR: Oh, at the end?

MA: Yeah, at the very end where they bring it up and they're like "Even despite the setback, you'll still understand that it's given us a legacy." Which I think is true. I definitely think it's true, but I just think it's interesting that they didn't go more into that. Because there's a morality with that.

CR: They needed to a little more into those pockets that were kind of glossed over. That would have been good. And also, I think you touched on an important point by thinking about the man power because it was a very laborious industry. She went through the process, but if you think about picking the leaves, drying the leaves, making the leaves moist again, and then drying them again, and batting them to make them break apart. That took a lot of work and a lot of time and a lot of man power. And who was doing all of that?

MA: And the fact that if they had to pay people wages, they probably wouldn't have been able to be, the economy wouldn't have been able to flourish before the war.

CR: And I think it would be interesting to contextualize the Duke story with other stories. I think that's maybe what we're thinking is missing. How is this working in all of North Carolina? What about, even though the Duke family had this domestic slave, and they had kind of gotten out of the "dirty labor" part of the tobacco farming. It's kind of like they don't have to talk about the difficult story of slavery because the Duke family didn't really... Their success story is based on the manufacturing.

MA: And their success story is based right after the Civil War.

CR: Right, but it would be interesting to hear how that was playing out in other tobacco farms in North Carolina.

MA: And I think to piggy back. We're definitely not the right people for an interview. And to piggy back on the contextual part. I think the part that was missing for me, we were talking about it inside. I would have loved to know a little about, was this happening all over the region? Were there other people who were trying to start it up but they couldn't? Were there other big families that started it up? And then, what was their comparative advantage over other people in the region?

[06.57.385]

MA: And the fact that obviously they became successful not just because he decided to manufacture, but because he knew how to distribute and [marker]. And again, we don't need that whole history but I was very curious.

CR: We're a particular audience too, that wants to know everything. So it's probably hard to create maybe a narrative that speaks to all ages and to all visitors.

MA: I really want to go use Wikipedia now.

CR: I think also given our backgrounds.

RK: In academia?

MA: She's in academia and you do a lot of critique?

CR: It's a lot of history. To be in any field of humanities you're always contextualizing history. So you have that habit of thinking that way and wanting to know all the details. And same for Mary.

MA: I studied public policy and I look at the economy. So when I look at this, I think of all of the failed stories of industrializing. Why Guatemala can still only produce coffee, and not process coffee, or roast coffee. Why Brazil tried to industrialize certain things and they couldn't.

What's interesting about history being told is that it's very matter of fact. "And then they were successful." Like the revolutionary war "and then they were successful." But in reality everything was against this happening, so what made them the special case?

[08.41.131]

MA: Thanks for letting us process our museum experience.

RK: Thanks for letting me record you processing it

MA: Can you be at the end of every museum we go to?

RK: If you can fund that, I'll write the grant application. And it's okay that I have it recorded?

MA/CR: Yes, of course.

RK: Thanks. I just have to have a record of you all saying that. And what are your names? I know I wrote them down.

MA: Well my name is Mary. And my last name is An. It's just to letters. A like apple, N like Nancy.

CR: And my name is Christina Rodoski.

RK: Thanks, and are you all okay with me using your names and all?

MA: Sure

CR: For your research or for publication? It's okay for research but I don't know about publication. I don't want my name in a publication.

RK: The thesis will be available through UNC libraries.

CR: That's fine.

RK: But if I did go to publish it, I will ask.

CR: You will ask? Okay.

RK: That's my protocol, to ask.

MA: It's because you're in academia. Me, I'm like whatever. You, you can't put your name on it unless you review it. That's interesting.

RK: Well thanks for processing through this with me.

CR: Good luck with your research.

RK: Thanks. We'll see what I come up with.

CR: It's a cool project.

RK: Thanks, I'm enjoying it.

[...]

[We continued for about eight more minutes, discussing Duke tobacco history, the structure of the state site, and various aspects of my research.]

APPENDIX M: GUIDED TOUR, OMAR HAMAD, JULY 10, 2015

Recorded Event: Guided walking tour

Tour Guide: OH Omar Hamad

Recorded by: RK Rachel Kirby

Date: July 10, 2015

Note: Only the section of the tour that took place in the parlor and the bedroom of the house are included in this transcript.

[26.22.499]

Omar Hamad: The next room here in the house, this would be the parlor. This would be similar to what we would think of as a living room. This is where you would bring guests, if the Duke family had guests over throughout the week and if they wanted to entertain them, have conversation after dinner. This is where you would bring your guests.

Because the Dukes were very devout Methodists, you would have had Bibles stacked on this table here. And then on Sundays when circuit riders would come through the area they would have bible studies in this room.

Over there behind that door is a narrow staircase which leads up to a room where the Duke children would have slept. Sleeping in the room with them would have been Caroline Barnes. She was the one enslaved person owned by the Duke family, and she was purchased at the age of 13 in 1855. She was primarily a house keeper for the Duke family, and did not work in the tobacco fields. And it's worth emphasizing that she was the only slave that the family ever owned. The Duke family didn't rely on slaves as their primary source of labor, unlike some other farmers in the area. We lose track of what happens to her after the Emancipation Proclamation, although we believe she might have moved to the Hayti neighborhood, which is a historically black neighborhood here in Durham.

And then the last room that you will see here in the house... *[begins walking towards bedroom]*

This would be the bedroom where Washington Duke himself slept. One of the things that you'll notice about the bed is that it is quite a bit smaller than a typical bed that we would sleep in today. This is for a couple of reasons. One is that there was no uniform bed size at this time during the mid-19th century, so beds would have tended to be a little bit smaller, not necessarily because people were smaller. That's kind of an urban legend.

The second reason is that there is a belief by some people during the mid-19th century that if you slept in an upright position rather than a flat position, you'd be less likely to contract particles that cause tuberculosis or consumption, which is a leading cause of death at this time.

This object right here. So rather than having springs inside of your mattress, you would have ropes inside of the mattress. You would use this object to tighten the bed ropes. Some people believe this is where we derive the expression “sleep tight” from, although there is no way of knowing if this is true.

[29.29.00]

OH: You’ll also notice there’s no indoor restroom or plumbing in here. You would have an outhouse for use during the day, and then for the middle of the night you would use the chamber pot that you see under the bed right here. And then for getting ready in the morning, you have your wash station over here.

So you would have this pitcher of water for washing your face and body. As far as some of the other objects that you see here, this comb and hairbrush don’t look too different from the way they do today. However, tooth brushes have fortunately changed a lot since the mid-19th century. Originally you would have just used this twig dipped in water and baking soda and brushed your teeth with that. Later on, you would use a horse hair toothbrush like the one you see here. And Mary Duke would be the only one in the house to use this curling iron like the one that you see here. As far as soap goes, you’d be using this ash soap. It’s made from a mixture of lye and pig fat strained through cheese cloth inside of what’s called an ash hopper.

And then, if you look here at the fire place, the object you see on the right on the ground is called a spittoon. That’s where you would spit chewing tobacco once you were done with it. Pretty gross habit, but that’s what you would do. And actually the Duke Homestead happens to have, if I’m told correctly, the largest collection of spittoons in the country. Not sure if that’s something to be proud of, but it’s true.

And then if you look above the fire place, you can see the Washington Duke also had a portrait of George Washington, his name sake. As far as Wash Duke was concerned with politics here in North Carolina during the time that he lived in Durham, he wasn’t super active politically. Although, we do have evidence that after the Civil War he changes his political affiliation from Democratic to Republican Party. Of course, at this time you didn’t have modern political affiliations where Democrats are the left and Republicans are the right. In fact, it was quite the opposite. Republicans were the party of Lincoln and abolition and Democrats were the party of the south and of slavery. So as you can imagine, Washington Duke’s Republican affiliation didn’t make him too popular during the Reconstruction Era. There are even some stories of him walking through the streets of Durham on his way to work and being spat at by passersby as he would go along during the 1870s.

So this concludes the official portion of our tour. I’d like to thank you for sharing this part of North Carolina’s history with me. If you have questions for me or Rachel, please

let us know. You're free to wander around the grounds and take pictures, or to follow me back to the visitors' center.

Male Visitor: Thanks very much. You mentioned Olivia? Or, the slave?

OH: Caroline Barnes?

MV: Caroline Barnes, excuse me. What, who helped with, or did Washington Duke do all of the fire places and set the fires each day?

OH: I think the family probably worked together. They probably, you know, did. I don't know how it would have come down, but they probably did pretty equal division of labor both in the house and on the farm. And I'm not really sure if they had hired help to assist with the tobacco farming and curing, but I assume that they might have.

MV: Thank you.

[33.01.01]

APPENDIX N: GUIDED TOUR, OMAR HAMAD, JULY 23, 2015

Recorded Event: Guided walking tour

Tour Guide: OH Omar Hamad

Recorder: RK Rachel Kirby

Date: July 23, 2015

Omar Hamad: My name is Omar and I'll be leading you around the grounds today. If as I go along you have any questions for me, you need me to clarify anything, just let me know and I'll be happy to answer to the best of my ability. Do you want to introduce yourself?

Rachel Kirby: My name's Rachel, and I'm a graduate program at UNC in the folklore program. I'm doing my thesis here and I wanted to ask if it was okay for me to do a recording and take some notes during the tour?

Visitors: Fine.

OH: I'm going to start off by talking to you a little about who would have been living on this property between 1852 and 1874. To start, in the center you see Washington Duke. He was born in 1820 in what was then Orange County, North Carolina. Durham County didn't come into existence until, I believe, 1881.

His parents were Taylor and Dicey Duke. They were from Virginia, and then the Duke's ancestors had come to Virginia from England during the 17th century. When the Dukes were initially on this property, I should preface that by saying Duke grew up in Bahama, North Carolina. Then he came to what was then Durham Station in 1842. In 1842, that's the year he married his first wife, Mary Caroline Clinton. And so, with Mary he has two children, Sydney Duke, who you don't see pictured here, and Brody Duke, born in 1846. In 1847, Mary passed away and so five years later in 1852, he remarried to Artelia Roney who you see here on the far left. And so, with Artelia he has three more children. From left to right you see Mary Duke, Benjamin Duke, and James Buchanan who is also referred to as Buck Duke.

Initially when Duke lived on this property, he was a subsistence farmer of tobacco, just growing enough tobacco for the local market. In 1858 unfortunately tragedy struck, both Artelia and Sydney passed away from typhoid fever. A few years later, of course, the Civil War breaks out. And during the Civil War, Washington Duke was drafted into the Confederate Navy, and then his son Brody served as a prison guard in Salisbury, North Carolina. And so after the Civil War, it ends in 1865, Washington Duke basically decides he wants to switch from farming to manufacturing tobacco.

So in that year he begins his first tobacco manufacturing company. He calls it the Washington Duke and Sons Company. And so the first factory which you're going to see on the tour was in a converted corn crib that you see here in the picture on the right. A

little bit later one he moved to a second factory, slightly behind that. Then finally in 1869, he moved to this building here on the left, that was the third factory. He used that for five years and then in 1874, the family left this property all together and moved the center of their manufacturing operations into Downtown Durham.

Initially when the Dukes were manufacturing tobacco, they were mostly making pipe tobacco under the brand name Pro Bono Publico. And so, by the mid-1880s, spurred on by competitors, they began to commercially manufacture cigarettes. By 1890, they were making enough money from cigarettes that they were able to force their major competitors into a merger, forming what's called the American Tobacco Company. The ATC essentially dominates the tobacco business in the United States until 1911 when the antitrust laws broke it up. And I'll explain a little more about how and why the ATC formed as we go along. But for now we can go ahead and go outside and get started.

[03.49.188]

OH: So where are you guys all traveling from today?

Female Visitor 1: We're actually from Texas but I'm here for the month.

[Mower obstructs conversation as we walk]

[...]

[05.41.084]

OH: And so out here, the first building that you see is the tobacco curing barn. This is where the Dukes would bring the tobacco crop after it was planted and harvested. And so your process of planting and harvesting the tobacco was a pretty long process. It took about 13 months from beginning to end. So it's sometimes also known as a thirteen month crop.

You would start preparing your fields for the tobacco to be planted in the fall. You would want very dark soil. You would start planting seeds by December. In between planting and harvesting time, you would be topping and suckering your leaves and you would also be worming them. In other words, checking for hornworms to make sure they didn't eat your crop. You would begin harvesting in August, and the harvesting process would take about six weeks in all. So the first place you would bring your tobacco plants once you had harvested them would be to take them from the fields...

And then place them here in what's called a tobacco sled. And then from the tobacco sled, you would carry it over here. You would tie your tobacco around with twine onto this object, which is called a looping horse. From the looping horse, your tobacco would be hung inside the curing barn, around 556.

This is what's called flue cured or bright leaf tobacco. So the process of curing bright leaf tobacco was actually discovered in 1839 by a slave named Elisha, on the slave plantation in Caswell County, North Carolina. It basically involves having holes down here that heat a furnace at 180 degrees, and that furnace is supposed to blaze for about five or six days. And so, at the end of that process, you're going to want your tobacco to, the tobacco is going to turn this bright golden color you see here inside the curing barn, and this is where we get the term bright leaf tobacco from.

This whole area of the northern north Carolina piedmont and Southside Virginia is often also called the old bright tobacco belt, because this is basically where the growing and curing of bright leaf tobacco started. Some of the types of tobacco that you see in the US include burley tobacco, fire cured tobacco, and in Louisiana you also have perique tobacco.

And so this isn't the original tobacco curing barn. It dates to 1870 but it was brought from another farm here in North Carolina. The site of the original barn is over here to the right. And so after the curing process was complete the next place you would be bringing your crop would be to the packing house where the Dukes would prepare it for auction. And so, follow me to the packing house.

FV1: Can I ask a question?

OH: Of course.

Male Visitor 1: No.

FV1: Is this. That's real tobacco in there now curing?

OH: Yeah, that's real

FV1: You mentioned the worms. The worm is not part of the process? That's a bad thing? I'm wondering because I saw it in the gift shop and thought that may have something to do?

OH: No, that's just a silly thing that we do. Because the farmers definitely wouldn't want the worm.

Female Visitor 2: They can strip a plant.

FV1: I didn't know, because with silk or something you need a worm to help.

FV2: They can get up to four inches long. If a bunch of them come, they can just strip the leaves in a day.

FV1: Okay, I thought maybe they had something important to the tobacco. And prior to the tobacco and what not, were people smoking?

OH: Smoking cigarettes?

FV1: Or not smoking, but like in Europe before they came, did they have tobacco? Were they smoking in Europe?

OH: You mean before the rise of commercial tobacco production? I believe pipe smoking was popular in Europe before, but I'm not sure about cigarettes.

FV1: So that's an American thing?

Rachel Kirby: I think cigarettes were more popular in Europe before they were popular here. But I don't know the process of how that all happened.

FV1: Okay, just curious.

FV2: I was wondering about WWI and what effect that had on cigarette smoking, and I thought I need to read up on that.

RK: Well cigarettes were part of the ration in the wars.

FV1: Who was the first person to think "let's put this in our math and smoke it."? Sounds like Americans.

FV2: And the film that we watched said something about Columbus coming over and the Native Americans were smoking, so I think that may have been what took it over to Europe.

RK: I'm not sure about that time line.

OH: Here at the packing house, this is where the Dukes would bring the tobacco after the curing process. Your leaves would be very dry and brittle after the curing process was complete. So the first thing that you would do is place them down here inside of what's called an ordering pit. I like to compare that to sort of a damp basement. Inside of the ordering pit, moisture from the air is going to seep in and allow your leaves to get moist and pliable.

After that, you're going to bring the leaves out here and place them on what's called a grading bench. On the grading bench each leaf is graded according to size, color and texture. Once you had about fifteen leaves of the same size, color, and texture, you would take the prettiest leaf and wrap it around the others, forming what's called a hand of tobacco. And then from there, the hands would be stored up in the upper part of the packing house. Auctioneers would come and inspect the tobacco. They would load it onto a wagon like you see here, and it would be carried off to one of the auctions. There

were notable tobacco auctions in Hillsborough, which was the county seat of Orange County, which this was still a part of. Then I think later on there was one on Harris Street in downtown Durham.

[12.32.90]

OH: As I mentioned earlier, the Civil War really marks a pivotal turning point for the Dukes and the way they relate to their production of tobacco. Before the war, they are primarily growing tobacco on this property to sell for the auctions. At the time of the Civil War, Washington Duke, as I mentioned, was drafted into the Confederate Navy. Then his son Brody served as a prison guard in Salisbury, North Carolina. After the war ends Washington Duke was released from his prisoner of war status and he walked all the way back from New Bern, North Carolina to Durham, North Carolina, which is a walk of about 160 miles, more or less. At this point he asked Brody to go into business with him and so they formed the Washington Duke and Sons tobacco manufacturing company.

And so the first factory here on the right is in this converted corn crib. And then, as I mentioned, a little bit later they moved to a second factory which was slightly behind that. And finally in 1869 they move over to this building on the far left.

And so they used this factory for five years before in 1874 leaving this property all together and shifting the center of operations into downtown Durham. And so if you follow me on up to the third factory... *[walking]*

You'll note here on the left, we have a small vegetable garden, where we grow cucumbers, tomatoes, radishes, various other vegetables. The Dukes would have had a vegetable garden similar to what you see here. And then down on the right in that field over there, you can see we also have a small model crop of tobacco to give our visitors an idea of what it looks like when it's grown in the field.

[...]

Male Visitor 2: Is this the original structure, [of the third factory]?

OH: Yes, it is.

MV2: Wow.

OH: Here in the third factory the Dukes mostly would have been producing pipe tobacco under the name Pro Bono Publico, which is Latin "for the public good." Your process for pipe tobacco would begin by flailing the tobacco leaves with the sassafras sticks you see here. This was supposed to give the tobacco a natural added sweetness, similar to the sassafras we find as a natural sweetener in root beer. People would want that sweet taste when they would smoke the pipe tobacco.

After that, you would be taking out the stems from the tobacco leaves. And then you would place the tobacco here inside of this sieve. You would be grinding it up until it was a very fine consistency, similar to what you see here inside of the muslin sack. Once it was about this consistency, that's how you place your tobacco in your pipes.

FV2: How did they make it? By hand?

[16.26.469]

OH: So, you would just shift the sieve around and it would. It was a very long and labor intensive process.

FV1: what did they do with the stems?

OH: I'm not sure what they did with the stems.

RK: I've heard they were reused in fertilizer, but you didn't smoke the stems.

OH: After the Dukes leave this factory and property in 1874, they were still mostly making pipe tobacco for another ten years after that. And so by the mid-1880s, spurred on by several competitors, especially the Blackwell Company, they started to begin manufacturing cigarettes. Until that time they had been rather hesitant for a couple of main reasons. One is that cigarette smoking up to that point was still seen as a mostly European phenomenon. It hadn't quite caught on in the United States just yet. The other reason is that the primary group who specialized in hand rolling cigarettes were Eastern European Jewish immigrants, so labor recruiters would have to go from North Carolina to New York to bring these laborers down here. Also each individual cigarette would have to be hand rolled, and you could only roll about three or four cigarettes each minute. Obviously all of these factors made the manufacturing of tobacco a very time and cost intensive process.

What really revolutionizes tobacco manufacturing in America is that in 1881, James Bonsack, a man from Virginia, invented a machine which he named after himself. He called it the Bonsack Machine, and using the Bonsack Machine, they were now able to mass-produce somewhere around 2-300 cigarettes each minute, rather than having them be individually hand rolled. Obviously this revolutionizes tobacco manufacturing in the US to an unprecedented extent.

The way the Duke Company capitalizes on this is that in 1885 they purchase their own machine. They also sought out the mechanic for the machine, William T. O'Brian, and they asked him to form an exclusive contract with them so that they were the only ones able to fix the machines if they broke down. Obviously, this gave them a hefty advantage over their competitors. So that by 1890 they are able to buy out their major competitors,

forming what's called the American Tobacco Company. And the ATC quickly comes to constitute what was known as the tobacco trust, and dominates big tobacco in the United States until 1911. At that point the Sherman Antitrust Laws break up the ATC.

By this point the Dukes are already one of the wealthiest families in Durham, so they began to invest their money in other areas. They invested in textiles heavily. They bought several textile mills in the area. They invested in energy. In 1905 they started, or helped to start, the Southern Power Company, which later becomes Duke Energy. And of course most famously in 1924 they gave an endowment of about \$40million to a small Methodist college called Trinity College, that then changed its name to Duke University in honor of the Duke family.

And also, while we're in this factory, I want to point out here on the right. The object that you see is called a hogs head and that is what you would use to transport tobacco to market in colonial times and in the early 19th-century.

FV2: When they were in here doing this process, people were just making the pipe? How many people would have been in here doing that?

OH: I would imagine, and I don't know for sure. You would have workers on both levels of the factory. And I would imagine you would have two to four workers at each table. And I would say if you had four at each table, maybe like 30 in the whole factory? But then again I don't know for sure.

FV1: But they weren't? They were these Jewish immigrants? So it was really just a small thing. These weren't slaves?

OH: No. I don't imagine the wages would have been high, so it would have been low wage labor. But not slave labor. For sure.

FV1: interesting.

RK: Well this is happening after the Civil War.

FV1: True. I'm getting mixed up.

[Exiting the third factory and walking to the rear of the house]

[21.04.052]

OH: In front of you, you see the house where the Dukes lived between 1852 and 1874. And at first, the house was just the front section with two rooms downstairs and two rooms upstairs. Later on in 1860 the family adds on the back family, the kitchen and the dining room.

Here on the left, you see the root cellar used by the family...

Then here in the back of the house, on your left is the well house so that's where you would draw your water for various chores around the farm. And then here on the right is the smoke house. That's where they would cure most of the meats they would consume throughout the week. And then if you follow me all the way to the far right...

This would be a small vineyard of scuppernong grapes that they would harvest for making table wine. Scuppernong grapes are a particular kind of sweet grape used for making white wine. It's pretty common around the south, especially in this part of North Carolina you see scuppernong grapes a lot. And then if you follow me on inside the house...

[23.06.90]

OH: Here inside of the house, I'll first point out here on the left and the right, there are two chairs so if anyone wants to sit instead of standing, feel free to help yourself.

Here in the center, you see the stove and if you look closely you can see the word "success" written here on the front of the stove. Success would have been the brand name of the company that produced the stove, however, you can also link this back to the fact that having a stove at this time would have been a sign of considerable material success. It wasn't very common for farming families in this area to own a stove. Initially, the Dukes would have done their cooking in the fireplace back here, and then I believe they added on the stove several years after they moved into this house.

Here on the left and right, you can see the pie safes. This is where they would have stored most of their food. You'll note the holes here. They're just large enough so that air will get into the pie safe and allow food to keep its consistency, but small enough so that bugs don't crawl in and cause food to spoil. On top, these oil lamps would have been the main source of light inside of the house. If you look above the door over here you can see the hunting rifle that the family would use to hunt wild game in the area.

Here in the corner next to the fireplace, you'll note this corn husk mop. This is what the family would use to sweep around the house. This is my personal favorite object. Not something you see in many houses these days.

If you look above the stove, you can also see the different types of herbs that the family would have been cooking with. Rosemary, basil, thyme, oregano.

If you look on the shelf over here, you can see several items. My favorite to point out is the old fashioned coffee grinder you see here. I've even had some people tell me that their family still have grinders similar to this one. And then, of course over here in the

corner, you see the butter churner. And if you look over here on the shelf you can see different types of cast iron cookware that they would have been using. The next room that you see here in the house...

[26.01.692]

MV1: Are these all artifacts original? Or have they been replaced?

RK: Most of them are time period, but not necessarily Duke family. There are some things that are reproduction, but I think this is actually a Duke family piece.

OH: Here in the dining room, this is where the Dukes would serve most of their meals throughout the day. However, the dining room table would have also served as the main classroom of the Duke children. On the days they weren't helping the family on the farm, they would sit at this table and receive instruction in reading, writing, and basic math from either Artelia or a private tutor.

Also in this room there would have been a sewing machine. We usually have one on display, however it hasn't been here for a month now. You can still see the sewing kit over here, and this represents Mary Duke's role in the family. She would have been sitting in this room sewing the sacks that they used to carry tobacco to the market.

You'll notice the ceiling and the floor are all heart of pine from pine trees that are all local to this region of North Carolina. And then you'll also note the opposite doors and windows for cross ventilation purposes so the air will get in here in the humid summer months that we're experiencing now. And then, here you can also see examples of the different types of china or dishes that the family would have used for serving their meals. And then, if you follow me here into the parlor.

[27.33.075]

OH: The parlor would have been similar to how we would think about a modern day living room. This is where the Dukes would bring guests if they had company over to entertain after dinner. If they wanted to entertain guests, they would sit here and have conversation and do other entertaining activities.

Because the Dukes were very devout Methodists, you would have Bibles stacked here on this table. On Sundays when Methodist circuit riders would come through the area, they would also hold house bible studies in here.

The door over there, behind that is a staircase which leads up to the room where the Duke children would sleep. Sleeping in the same room with them would have been Caroline Barnes. She was the one slave owned by the Duke family, and she was purchased by Washington Duke in 1855, I believe when she was thirteen years old.

I've seen, or I've read about some conflicting reports. I actually was just reading on Wikipedia the other day that some sources were claiming that Washington Duke purchased her and then set her free, but as far as I know this isn't actually true. I believe they owned her until the emancipation proclamation would have set her free.

We lose track of what happens to her after the Civil War, although we do believe that she moved to the Hayti neighborhood here in Durham which unfortunately has been destroyed by urban renewal, but that's a completely different story.

Then if you follow me here to the last room...

[Enters bedroom]

OH: This is the bedroom where Washington Duke himself slept.

MV1: Small bed.

OH: Yeah, I was about to say, one of the things you'll notice is this bed is quite a bit smaller than a bed we would be sleeping on today. There are a couple of reasons for this. One is your typical bed size at this time would have been a lot smaller. Another reason was that there was a common urban legend that if you slept upright rather than in a flat position, you would be less likely to inhale particles that would cause you to contract tuberculosis or consumption, which was a prevalent cause of death at this time.

You'll note this object here. Rather than having spring inside of your mattress, you would have ropes inside of the mattress. You would use this object to tighten the bed ropes. Some people believe this is how we derive the expression "sleep tight," although I can't say for sure whether this is true.

You'll also notice there's no indoor restroom in here or plumbing. You would have an outhouse to use during the day, and then, for at night, you would have your chamber pot under the bed here. For getting ready in the morning you have your wash station over here. You have this pitcher of water for washing your face and body in the morning.

As far as some of the other objects you see here. Combs and hairbrushes haven't changed much since the mid-19th century. Thankfully toothbrushes have changed. Initially you would use this twig right here, and then you would dip that in water and baking soda and you would brush your teeth with that. And then a little bit later on you would use the horsehair toothbrush you see here. Mary Duke would be the only one to use this curling iron, as you see here. As far as soap, you have this ash soap made from a mixture of lye and pig fat strained together with cheese cloth inside of what's called an ash hopper.

If you look over at the fireplace. To the ground on the right, that's called a spittoon, and that's where you would spit your chewing tobacco when you were done with it. Kind of gross, but that's what you would do. The Duke homestead happens to have America's largest collection of spittoons. I'm not sure if this is something we should be proud of.

And then, if you look above the fireplace, you can see the Washington Duke had a portrait of his namesake George Washington, the first president of the United States. As far as Washington Duke was involved in regional politics here in North Carolina after the Civil War, he wasn't super active politically, but we do have some evidence that after the Civil War he changed his party affiliation from the Democratic to the Republican Party. Of course, at this time, the Republican Party is the party of Lincoln and abolition, the Democratic Party is the party of slavery and the solid South. Obviously, this didn't make him too popular of a figure in the Reconstruction Era in North Carolina. There was a lot of Klan activity going on in Orange County, I was actually just reading for some research I'm doing. There are even stories of Washington Duke being spat on by passersby as he was on his way to work in the 1860s and 1870s

[32.48.828]

OH: This concludes the official portion of my tour, but if you have any questions for me or Rachel or anyone else here feel free to ask and we'll be happy to answer.

FV1: Beside the fire place there's a little door. Do you just throw wood there?

OH: Which door are you talking about?

FV1: Beside the fireplace out here?

OH: This door right here? I think that was just a storage closet, as far as I know. And thank you for coming out to the homestead today. It was great to have you guys and enjoy the rest of your time in North Carolina.

FV2: Thank you.

RK: Are you all local to Durham?

MV1: I am. Yeah.

RK: Is it your first time here?

MV1: yes

FV1: I'm his mom and he's my friend. We're here from Florida.

RK: What brought you here today?

FV1: We wanted a house museum and he said have you ever been?

[...]

MV1: Thanks. It's pretty neat. The reason we're all here is because of this family.

FV1: It's amazing. Initially they weren't a wealthy family.

RK: No, not really to start. He was your average farmer prior to the war.

FV1: And to think that in 50, 60 years, he made this fortune.

MV1: So this kind of house, at the time, this was a very, a home for an affluent family? Or was this more before?

OH: I would say this was middle, better than most. I mean I haven't been to Stagville, but I would imagine it would have been a lot more, I don't know.

RK: Stagville is actually surprisingly small considering it was the wealthiest plantation in North Carolina.

OH: They were probably definitely planters in Eastern North Carolina, I would imagine, who had homes that were a lot more opulent than what you see here.

MV1: But this is before they got real wealthy?

OH: This is before the ATC before they were super wealthy.

RK: The setup of two-over-two is a pretty standard farm house for the time. But when they moved into Durham they had much larger houses. Those, unfortunately, don't still stand, which would have made for interesting comparisons.

APPENDIX O: INTERVIEW, JULIA ROGERS, JULY 23, 2015

Interviewee: JR Julia Rogers

Interviewer: RK Rachel Kirby

Interview Date: July 23, 2015

Notes: This interview was scheduled in advance with the intentions of discussing summer festivals and special events. After the tour with Omar Hamad, I had some questions to raise with Julia Rogers concerning my role on the tours when I had concerns with the information presented. The first half of the interview was not related to the tours, and is not transcribed below. The “it” mentioned by Julia references previous tours where Hamad has stated that the Dukes were not involved with slavery, or did not use the labor of enslaved people to run their farm.

[29.27.940]

Rachel Kirby: I think potentially the most, the place where I have felt the most challenged figuring out my role is related to his tours.

Julia Rogers: What? Did you go on a tour this morning?

RK: I went on a tour again today. It’s the kind of thing, in that moment, when we were talking about him saying the Dukes weren’t that involved with slaves, what is my role? Do I step in? Do you want me to step in?

JR: It’s a weird thing because. I don’t want to have to follow another one of his tours. Has he done it again?

RK: No. He didn’t do that today. Let me look back at my notes.

JR: But there was something.

RK: Well. There were a number of little things that aren’t wrong, but he doesn’t, he just doesn’t say it in the same way as other people, so I just don’t know.

JR: It comes off weird?

RK: It doesn’t necessarily come off weird to anyone who hadn’t been on the other tours to know that. Like, let’s see. Like sometimes he’ll say Brody was a guard because of his age not his weight. And do I interrupt to say no he was of age, he was just too small? Or do I let that slide?

JR: That’s one of those things because it’s weird because you have to think about the long term repercussions. Because there were young, young kids were fighting. And what our record says is that he was so underweight that they didn’t put him in. But is that even correct?

He was young. And I think, you don't even have to say the "because." You can just say. It's like, in the long term will somebody think that everyone who was really young was not out fighting? Will that lead to a larger misinterpretation of the facts? That's the question you ask there.

[...]

RK: Oh, this is what it was. When he was talking about Caroline Barnes, he mentioned that there were conflicting reports as to what happened to her. Which is true. That's true. And he said "I even read one report on Wikipedia that Washington Duke freed her before the end of the Civil War, but I don't know if that's true."

JR: You've got to be...

RK: And it was one of those moments of, why do you mention that, even if you're going to recount it, it still suggests the fact that. It still is an effort to better them. And so, I don't know. I just don't know. Because I have, I really.

[33.03.163]

JR: Okay. So, here's the background of that. He was doing research. He comes in and says oh the Wikipedia page on Washington Duke says this, this, and this. Is the Wikipedia page wrong or are we wrong? And I was like, the Wikipedia page is wrong, Omar. And we had this long conversation about. Oh my God. Long conversation about. This was probably somebody who was a family member of the Dukes, and wanted to make the Dukes look good. He was like, they're quoting Durden. And I was like, did you not read the first two chapters in Durden like every volunteer is assigned? If you had, you would have actually seen what was in Durden.

RK: I need to read that.

JR: What was in the Wikipedia article is that he bought Caroline to free her. There is zero record. Zero record of her manumission.

[*Distracted by loud machinery*]

JR: It also says that he purposely, purposely rented the labor of enslaved person to give that person time to run away. There is zero record of this.

RK: That's what I thought.

JR: Bad information that you mention on your tour, the way you mention it matters.

I'll talk about "everybody's heard this historical myth" it's actually not true. That's important, the way you say it. Because it's like, were everybody's teeth falling out of their heads back then? Actually no they weren't. And I think that's a good thing to preface because you're admitting that this was a common misconception. It's okay you've held that misconception, because there's a lot going on that would lead you to believe that. However, everybody actually had toothbrushes.

RK: Here's one.

JR: And baking soda. This is baking soda and salt. Those are two things that you can come by naturally or buy. I make mention, the Dukes are not as isolated. They are near. That's okay. I mention that. There's no reason to mention.

We had a long conversation about the damage it does to assign these---. Washington Duke was not an abolitionist. There's no record of him being an abolitionist. And also, the thing is, I have seen very, very, very, very few actual historical instances of people purchasing slaves with the purpose of freeing them. It's a myth.

RK: Statistically didn't happen.

JR: Statistically, I'm sure somebody did somewhere. But a large portion of abolitionists were in the North. We had this conversation.

[...]

JR: This is a legitimate problem and I would like you to let me know. This is a great thing to write a paper about.

RK: I know. I've got to have a chapter on this.

JR: I've talked to Jess a lot about it and she kind of feels the same way I do. And Mia is just, Omar slipped through the cracks. I don't care if he slipped through the cracks. You still have to go in and correct that. I think we're just keeping him because he's just a body here to give tours. And we tried really hard to fix what was going on with him by giving him a research assignment.

[...]

[37.47.396]

JR: The fact that he seriously looked at a Wikipedia page, looked at a source he knew he could check it with and believed that Wikipedia page could be right. I think he really wants to believe in the myth of the good white dude in the South.

We're going to be changing, we need to edit this. And he was like, "I'm willing to edit it." And no, Omar. I have no clue what you'll put. I'm going to edit it. I'm going to use our history page on the website to edit it, copy and paste .and I may even make a blog post about why we felt it was important to edit this Wikipedia page. And why it is a lovely thing to think that Washington Duke was so progressive.

He would be putting himself in an extremely tiny portion, tiny percentage of the population in terms of beliefs. Not just in the South, but the entirety of the United States. There is a large myth that everyone in the North was an abolitionist and everyone in the South was pro-slavery, and God if only it had been that simple.

Then, there would've been a large enough number of representatives voting for constituencies that were very pro-abolition. There weren't. That's why it was very hard to get the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments passed. It wasn't just post-Civil War with the southern states. There were problems in the northern states too.

To paint Washington Duke as a person he was not, gives us a very rosy picture of history, but it also devalues the lives of the people who were enslaved. What they're saying is, "oh he was a good slave owner." Jesus Christ, that's the low end of the rung right there. That was not the life Caroline led. To tell a lie about her life because you, because your ancestor, or the person whose life you interpret, you are embarrassed that they owned slaves? What a disservice you are doing. And what a disgusting thing you are doing to a person. Slavery was horrific, no matter what.

I don't care if you were basically. Caroline may have been like a mom to the young Duke children. And there's a high likelihood she filled some sort of role there when her mom died. But they weren't her kids and she didn't have a choice. Putting aside, there's a lot of good points. Besides the problematic instances of African American stories told through the eyes of white people. *The Help* and *To Kill a Mockingbird* make an excellent point on both things. They both have African American house keepers who the kids love and adore, more than their own parents in some instances. And the point is, you're not my kid. And I have to leave my child every day to take care of you.

And it's like, you know. If Caroline continued working for the Dukes and she got married and had kids, she had to leave her kids every day to take care of someone else's kids. It is demeaning her life. And I just, I can't. We had this conversation.

RK: Sorry to anger you.

JR: No, no. No. This is a thing.

[...]

RK: So. I can't help you decide what to say to Omar.

JR: I almost want to get Jessica in here.

RK: Okay.

JR: Or I'll talk to her when I have a meeting. We'll close the door.

RK: And I want to talk to her soon anyway. I'm going to ask her if we can schedule an interview. So if you want to tell her, and she can ask me that's fine. I guess, I'm curious to know. I'm thinking back to our conversation in April?

[41.58.838]

RK: We talked about the decision not to have me give tours because we didn't want there to be an overstep of my role into an interpretive role, because I was studying the interpretation and not doing it. But, people ask me questions on the tours all the time.

JR: And you can answer.

[...]

RK: But what is my role, not when it's a question being posed, but when there would be a corrective? Because I don't want to just undermine him? But I also have really great issue with the way he's telling Caroline's story. Or the way he's not.

JR: He's not telling Caroline's story. He's finding every avenue he can to make the Dukes into good slave owners.

RK: And it eats me up. Every time.

JR: Seriously, you need to watch Game of Thrones. The oldest Stannis Baratheon brother is a character on game of thrones known to being honorable to a fault, and ruthless in the same way. Justice matters. Justice is black and white for this guy. During a war, a smuggler. He's on an island and a smuggler saved him by smuggling in beef and food during a blockade. And for that, the smuggler who is one of the best characters in Game of Thrones, he cuts off four of his fingers because he was a smuggler and that's illegal. But he also knighted him. And he explains saying the good deed does not erase the bad, neither does the bad blot out the good.

[45.09.918]

JR: The good deed doesn't erase the bad deed you've done. It doesn't make it okay. But the bad that you've done does not blot out the good you have done either. They must be weighed accordingly.

The bad things you've done in life does not make a kindness you've done to another person less of a kindness. Because they're not related to one another in many, many ways. In terms of who experiences them, they're not. They may be related in motivation, but party A and party B may have nothing. The good that occurs in party B's life and the bad in A's, never the two may meet. Or they will. For me, that's a really good was to view Washington Duke. Because you have to say alright, does the massive amount of benefit, is it all singularly blotted out by his ownership of Caroline?

RK: No.

JR: No. Yeah, that's the thing. Does one outweigh the other?

RK: Or the destruction of health from tobacco consumption? Maybe?

JR: Or do you actually have to sit there and weigh them on a separate set of scales?

RK: Or the term good and bad are not helpful in this setting?

JR: It was a bad thing, objectively a bad thing, that he owned another person. And I have no clue the kind of moral gymnastics he had to do to reconcile his Methodist faith with owning another person. Or his later self. And who knows, who knows? Maybe the amount of support for the African American community was his atonement. Maybe he spent the rest of his life atoning for it.

RK: Maybe.

JR: Maybe not. Maybe he had zero qualms. Maybe it was legal and okay. And then when it was decided that it was not legal and not okay he said it's not legal and not okay, my church is against, move forward. Maybe for him there was zero connection. And that's so much harder to explain than "Washington Duke was secretly a hero." Washington Duke was not a part of the Underground Railroad. Washington Duke, Schindler's List. Not Washington Duke. There's never going to be Washington Duke's List. He wasn't hiding people in attics, okay?

RK: Right.

JR: It is not necessary. It's one of those things where I'm not sure. Because this was a discussion that we actually had in my group in my documentary workshop.

RK: Wait, what?

[48.20.733]

[...] *[JR talks about a documentary workshop she completed. The documentary focused on a young boxer and his coach. The coach spoke of the young athlete being the next Olympic champion, but JR and the other documentarians were concerned that the coach was giving this young man unrealistic dreams, since he had been injured and not recently competed.]*

JR: I was talking to our advisor, and I was like, do we say something? And she was like, you can't, because you're supposed to be the fly on the wall.

[52.40.558]

JR: And it's like that baby elephant in The National Geographic. They talk about they watched this baby elephant get lost from its mom. They were filming it and they really wanted to nudge it back towards its mother, but they couldn't. They had to follow that baby elephant and film it until it collapsed and died.

RK: Well I'm not following in any baby elephants. I don't believe that I'm a fly.

JR: Because that's your decision. Do you want to be a fly?

RK: No. But I don't want to be a pesky gnat either.

JR: I don't believe you are, because you didn't make me mad by saying this.

RK: But what do I do on Omar's tours? Do I pull back and not going on his anymore?

JR: No, I think you have to.

RK: I almost didn't want to go on his tour today but I thought that was probably reason to go.

JR: I would talk to him after the tour. The first step, people really react badly when you correct them in front of people.

RK: Right. So we just accept what those people are getting that information?

JR: I don't like that. There are steps you take. And I think the first step is, I'm going to talk to Jessica about what you've said to me and we're going to make a together decision.

RK: He's told me before that he's not the one to talk to kids about slavery, it's not my job.

JR: No, it is your job.

RK: That's what I thought.

JR: I really thought we were on the same page. That Wikipedia page is wrong.

RK: That's the thing. I'm trying to think about, short term maybe I talk to him about it. But we've talked about this stuff before. Not quite in the sense of, "you did this wrong." But in the sense of "no, I've read these documents" and... I just, I don't want to, I don't want to come across as a tattler or a corrective, but there's some role I need to play, I just don't know what that is.

JR: He's the reason I'm following tours again. That's important to do period, and it's part of the new plan going forward. It's a game of telephone with him. And it's not like telephone. It's like, he's the fifth person down the chain, if we're lucky.

[56.12.077]

JR: I'm glad you said it because that's really important.

RK: And after last time you asked me to tell you when stuff comes up.

JR: Now we have to make a decision. I think the first step in terms of "Hey Omar, I noticed you said this on your tour. I'm not entirely sure that's accurate," post tour. And I hate accepting that these people are going to get bad information. But if we correct him in the middle of it will he even respond? Will he be so reactive?

RK: It is very clear that there is a routine and if one piece of it is missing, he stalls.

[...]

JR: I don't think he likes doing any visitor services at all even though Mia made it incredibly clear that is what he would be doing. Okay. I'm going to talk to Jessica.

RK: And we'll chat again.

JR: Because this is what has happened in the wake of him reading and Wikipedia page and deciding it could be right. And he was like you know there are some really well sourced Wikipedia pages, and I'm like, this isn't one of them.

RK: And it's one of those things that's just like, I mean he didn't say it was correct. He said there were conflicting reports. And he said "oh I don't know if we have a reason to believe that," but he brought it up for a reason. If he fully dismissed it, then he wouldn't have mentioned it unless it was very clearly a joke. Which it wasn't.

[58.50.526]

JR: He was trying to plant the seed in someone's mind. So no, when I talk about stuff like Caroline. The only Caroline conflicting report is that we don't know.

RK: The census. That's where it's conflicting. Because she disappears and then reappears, right?

JR: Yeah, she disappears and reappears. Then I make it clear. I say look, census data is not as clear. If people are really into it we'll talk about what was the census back then? What did it look like? Who took it?

RK: And I've seen you give that spiel.

JR: It helps people understand. We have said that there is someone who read a book that said during the Civil War that Caroline went with the children.

[1.00.23.39]

JR: Which makes sense. Were Caroline to have been on the farm during the Civil War and the children are all going, Caroline would have gone with them. In the context of we believe Caroline was on the farm after 1860, that is what would have happened 100% period. There would be a very statistically low. But we don't have the data. And I'm just like.

RK: But we definitely don't have the data to say that she was freed.

JR: No. Highest likelihood. Caroline was purchased to take care of the small children who lived there and help Artelia. And she was incredibly important to the running of the farm. And then, like, maybe she was freed? Maybe?

RK: She was eventually, because everyone was. Or as eventually as people are free now, but that's another issue.

JR: Maybe she ran away. That would be a higher likelihood than being freed, because statistically they have found that house slaves ran away more often than field slaves.

RK: Learned that yesterday reading the article about the twitter. The African American twitter article. I was like oh, that's interesting.

JR: And that makes sense, because if you are a house slave you are more likely to be literate. You are more likely to understand what is going on beyond your own house.

RK: And you have access to transport and knowledge

[01.01.53.997]

JR: Access to transport. You can steal. There is something you can steal that you would get money out of. Being freed, being sold was there above being freed in terms of statistically likely possibilities. If your wife died.

RK: Dying. More statistically likely.

JR: More statistically likely than being freed. We know she didn't die. We can eliminate death. Unless Caroline Barnes is legitimately another black woman named Caroline. Also a possibility. We've got to go talk to Jess.

RK: So my game plan now is to wait for you and Jess but potentially prepare to talk to him if it happens again?

JR: I'm hoping he goes on the 2:15.

RK: Does that mean I'm going on the 2:15?

JR: That's something you can say. I kind of feel like I'm the lowest on the totem pole. And making this decision without my colleagues feels weird.

RK: Oh you might go on the 2:15?

[...]

JR: They're supposed to come out of it. When Sarah started here she was so much more timid and so was Kayla. And like, Kayla and Sarah. I watched them transform into people who spoke with authority about things.

RK: And I get that talking about slavery is awkward and it's sticky and it's uncomfortable, and it should be all of those things because it was all of those things but that doesn't mean you shy away from it. But in my opinion that's more reason to talk about it.

JR: I'm never comfortable giving a tour talking about slavery. I'm more uncomfortable when there are African American people. But especially when there are African American people, I make damn sure to get it right.

APPENDIX P: INTERVIEW, JESSICA SHILLINGSFORD, JULY 24, 2015

Interviewee: JS Jessica Shillingsford

Interviewer: RK Rachel Kirby

Interview Date: July 24, 2015

Rachel Kirby: It is July 24th at 3:30 and I'm here with Jessica. I just want to have it on record, is it okay that I'm recording this?

Jessica Shillingsford: Yes.

RK: Thanks. To start, if you wouldn't mind introducing yourself and explaining your relationship with the site.

JS: Sure. I'm Jessica Shillingsford and I am the site manager of Duke Homestead. Is that working?

RK: Yeah.

JS: I'm the site manager as of June 1st 2015. So just coming on board to see what we can do with the site.

RK: Welcome.

JS: Thank you.

RK: What brought you here?

JS: That's a tricky question. Emotionally. Literally, I just really. I didn't need [the] job, but I had left the public history field, which is my educational background, and wasn't really looking for anything in particular. I was working at Oxford University Press and was happy there. But this opportunity came up and I took a shot at it because working in this field is really where my heart is. So when the opportunity to go back to that came up, I just jumped on it.

RK: Good. So, as kind of a new set of eyes on this site. Well, I don't know. Were you familiar with the site? No. Had you been here?

JS: I visited once in anticipation of doing an interview.

RK: So what was your impression of the interpretation and the history done here?

JS: It's kind of funny. The one time that I did come as a visitor, but for me it was sort of a prep just to feel like I knew what I was getting into. I knew that the interviews were going to

be here on site and I wanted to have a sense of what was here, period. So when I came in that mode, it was a kind of cold semi-rainy spring day. So I had a tour guide who I now know is Emma, but my tour guide, instead of doing a tour-tour, because it was just me, she sort of did a really casual, I'll take you around and tell you things, but it will be more of a conversation rather than the tour. Which was fine by me. So, I don't have a whole lot of memory of the content of that specifically. But she was really knowledgeable which was obvious.

But I didn't have any thoughts about interpretation, period. Just because I didn't know enough about the story to judge is this good or bad? And that style, it's hard to tell anyways because we were just having more of a conversation about "Here's this building and this is what it's used for. Do you have questions?" It was hard to judge what is their interpretation based on that type of tour.

I did walk through the museum and that was, to me, the glaring. Okay. That isn't a thing. It needs to be addressed. For me, the museum was the big, I don't know what to say. Not a problem but just, clearly outdated. Clearly missing some major issues altogether. So, that was my initial impression, not working here. If that answers your question?

RK: What were some of those glaring obvious things? What jumped out as missing?

JS: [...] My initial gut reaction was not that it was pro-tobacco, but not not pro-tobacco. I know that's not a very eloquent way of putting it.

RK: It makes sense though.

JS: It did really seem that there was a tension of, you know. Wanting to focus more on its agricultural significance as a good thing for the state. So it's sort of hard to get anything else out of it. So I think some of those more critical stories could be there. Just with a little bit more conscientious effort.

[05.10.667]

It's just very, again, not as an employee but as a person walking through it. To me it was very, good old southern nostalgia. Days gone by. That kind of thing. So that's the tone that I walked away with. But, it's remarkable to me now that I work here how many people just love it. Come in and say this is so great, this is so interesting. I don't know what they're getting when they walk through it.

RK: Maybe they like that nostalgia?

JS: Sure, nostalgia's a very happy place to be. And I'm also, I'm not a North Carolinian. I don't think of myself personally as Southern.

RK: Where are you from?

JS: Virginia Beach.

RK: That's the South.

JS: It's the South, but it's a military town. There's a lot of flux. There are people who serve who are more from-from there with a couple generations being from there who feel a little different than me, but both of my parents are from west of the Mississippi, so I just never felt any particular nostalgia for the south. That's all I'm trying to say. So to me I'm a little disconnected from our local audiences who have really strong actual memories of the sights and sounds of the auction, or the smell of tobacco, or the misery of working in a tobacco field. So those are things that I'm sort of coming to appreciate a little bit more now that I'm here. So, in my mind, this, oh this museum just needs to be redone. This is horrible. It's not critical. And so now it's not that I'm changing that thought but I'm sort of thinking more about the other purposes that it serves to different audiences, I guess.

RK: Like that nostalgia? Is that what you mean?

JS: Yeah, or even just preserving. I struggle with the word "way of life." But preserving this sort of economy that was so crucial that is now so different. So it's not to say there's not still a tobacco economy in North Carolina. But it looks so different. So I think there's more value in preserving that than I had originally really thought about. And probably more, just, oral history, memories out there to grab. That's kind of what I think about it.

[07.53.498]

RK: There could be great oral histories done around this.

JS: I kind of want to get an iPad for harvest and hornworm and set up a little memory station where people can just sit down and give a few thoughts based on their reaction to being there.

RK: Well depending on my September schedule, I have an iPad and I'm a trained folklorist.

JS: Maybe, if you wanted to do that. That could be your volunteer station.

RK Yeah.

JS: If you want to. I just feel, so many people come and already feel "Oh man, I remember my family. I grew up on this. This is my teenage job." And it would be great to get some of that down. And it would be really neat to work into a temporary exhibit or a website.

RK: There are a lot of. We're getting off topic here. But,

JS: I know, sorry.

RK: No, no. I'm just saying, now my brain is like "look what can be done with all that." There are a lot of great platforms to do that kind of thing online with free formats and websites that can make something almost the Bitter Southerner style with audio and video pictures. That could be a great physical exhibit and online exhibit. We'll keep in touch about that.

JS: That sounds great. Those are things, my background is not economic history or agricultural history. I wouldn't say my background is in anything too particular, but definitely not those things. A lot of my projects have really revolved around memorialization and memory studies. So it's kind of funny that initially my gut reaction is to be hyper-critical of any type of memory discussion and nostalgia is like, no good. So that's, I came at it very, kind of, hostile. In my non-action, just sitting there watching things. But I'm sort of coming around to trying to figure out what place that can really have here. Because I think it deserves a place, but alongside some more critical scholarly interpretation.

[10.06.282]

RK: What are your thoughts now about those places? How would those negotiate? If you could, you know, gut it and re-do it, how would that look?

JS: I don't know.

[...]

[11.42.249]

RK: And that's what I feel like I've encountered for the most part. At least the employees and staff here know that there's a map of the Soviet Union. You know? It's not a secret. But there are obstacles to getting a new map. As a metaphor.

One of the documents you handed me and I was scanning. I haven't read through it yet, but one of the letters signed by Dale or someone that is a museum early letterhead paper is the North Carolina Tobacco Inc. letterhead. So that relationship wasn't a secret.

JS: No. [...]

RK: And we were printing Duke Homestead stuff on Tobacco Inc. letterhead paper.

JS: Yeah, so if you ask the question of what would it look like to really blow it up and start again? I truly don't know. It's so hard for me to envision anything else. I have flashes of things. We have thousands of cigarettes. I can imagine a whole wall behind plexi of just wall to wall cigarettes.

RK: Instead of spittoons?

JS: Yes.

RK: The farmer needs to go first.

JS: He's an icon of this place. You don't know that yet because you haven't read the postcard.

RK: My research clearly isn't done. [laughs]

JS: No. It's not. So I have flashes of things like that, but again, I personally would like to see it be less about how it's farmed and how it was produced and a little bit more about the narrative of how tobacco became so integral to society. Because to me that's the missing piece. That's the so what of why we have a museum about tobacco. And that's the reason why the Duke Homestead site is significant in any way. Is that story of the ascendance of tobacco via cigarettes.

I'm trying to do some reading. It's so easy to get bogged down in administrative stuff. But I'm really liking the narrative in *Cigarette Century*. Which is,

RK: I know I've encountered it

JS: It's a great read. It's really good.

[14.52.319]

JS: The first chapter is relevant to this site. And then, you know, after Buck Duke sort of says, now after the breakup of the trust and he sort of phases out. That's all within the first chapter or two. And then it just takes off, but it really talks about why cigarettes weren't popular. Why cigarettes became popular and it wasn't just miraculous. It was a real industrial push to make them popular. You know, the lucky strike packaging. There's just so many little elements. What I hear a lot of people say is things like "Well they didn't know that it was bad." "Nobody knew until the 1960s." But that's not really true. I would like to deal with some of those more core threads of the story rather than focus on, tobacco is grown this way. That's fine, that's important, sure. But I just think that there's a big disconnect for me between why we have a museum about tobacco farming at this place which is not really about farming.

[16.15.299]

RK: And even half the tour is about that process as well.

JS: Right. The tour is also on my list.

RK: Oh, really?

JS: Oh yeah.

RK: That would be. Some background on where I'm coming from. I foresee more conversations in our future.

JS: I've got big plans, Rachel. We'll see how far I get.

RK: I'm interested in, I told you a little about this, but about the idea of a narrative. That there's a narrative attached to this site. What is that narrative? Why that narrative? And what other narratives could it be? You used the word narrative, and those ideas of this is presented as a tobacco agriculture site, except it's not. It is, but it's not. And that's not why it made its money or anything. So I'm really interested in that and why it has become the focus.

JS: Yeah. Everything I've heard so far, and this is to no one's fault. But everything I've heard so far is well, this is the tour we've always done. This is the way Dale did the tour.

RK: and I know Julia and Emma overhauled it at some point and made some big changes.

JS: I think they've overhauled their tours.

RK: And maybe the manual? But I don't know if it's been communicated. I don't think Caroline was in it until Julia added her.

JS: I believe. I believe. And I think they have taken the initiative to read more. They've taken the initiative to really think about, Julia likes to talk about labor history. Which is really interesting because in my mind that's really not relevant to Duke Homestead the site.

RK: But if you think larger effect it's hugely relevant.

JS: Exactly, yeah. So I think they take the initiative to really take their tours to the next level. But I think the basic outline of it is a hold over form when Dale gave tours here.

RK: Okay. Which is when it opened? Right?

JS: Forever. Until Jennifer came. But I guess my big struggle with narrative here, well not to mention museum narrative which is a whole other nonexistent thing. But to me, this sites narrative, is really messy and confusing and confused. That's my view of it.

RK: What do you mean?

JS: Walking in from the outside. What are we interpreting here? I think we really need to think about that and meditate on it and come up with some core themes that are, this is what we're here to interpret.

[19.11.450]

Because it covers a lot. Being here from 1852 to 1874, there's a lot to cover there. And what is the real focus? Because the tour as I've taken it and as I've read the manual, is sort of a mish-mash of how is tobacco farmed and let's talk about what these buildings do and we'll talk about the processes. And then there's a parallel narrative of, you know, bright leaf tobacco and sort of the Civil War. And it becomes popular. And the Dukes were here. There's just lots of different parallel threads happening and for me, I think visitors walk away. I don't think visitors walk away with a really clear understanding of things. That's my perception. And that could be totally misguided. And I've never heard a visitor say they didn't enjoy the tour.

RK: I think it really depends on who gives the tour.

JS: Well, yeah. There's a lot of facts. Like, fact overload. Dates. And then, to me I struggle with standing at the third factory and your tour is making perfect sense, you're going through time. You're going through process. You're at the third factory and you can say here's the key, here's the shift from farmer Washington duke to industrial Washington duke. He builds this for that purpose. That's the pivotal moment on the site right there. And you're standing there and it all makes perfect sense. But then, the tours I've followed. You sort of go off on this tangent of things that happen after 1874.

RK: And then you jump back when you go in the house.

JS: And then you jump all the way back to the beginning because you have to set the house up as being built in 1852. But then when you're inside the house, you're interpreting the 1870s. Which is what they have it, that's the furnishing plan is for 1870. And that's moving on up Dukes.

RK: But it's still not all the way up Dukes.

[21.28.463]

JS: Exactly. So to me, it's just very messy. And, I would just like to see it tightened up. Just tighten it up. You know, I think, to me it would make more sense to cut tobacco farming out of it so that you can really devote your energies and your audiences' energy for understanding things to the historical narrative. Or do one that really focuses more on the tobacco farming process and talk about Washington Duke as a farmer, and then say, but then he wasn't a farmer. It would be super great if we had a museum that could support us so we could say "if you want to learn more about what the Duke's did in the tobacco

industry, there's a great exhibit where you can learn more." We're sort of left without a good alternative.

My goal would be to work on really overhauling the general tour to just make it a little more concise and logical and trim out some unnecessary extras and beef up the manual. Because I'm a new employee. To me it's not helpful. It is but it isn't.

RK: And if it's not any helpful to you, it's not doing its job.

JS: Well, I think it just leaves too much room for error. I'm not naming any names.

[...]

It's also very prescriptive. I mean, I'm obviously kind of speaking of several minds here. But I would like to see us have more of a solid script for an overview tour.

RK: So that everyone's getting the same thing?

JS: Yeah, so that at least the same basic narrative and content is sort of standardized throughout that. And that would be more of a short-term fix. Hey, let's just tighten this up and make sure we're all accurate and everybody's telling the same information in a slightly similar way. As a short term thing. But I also believe that people give better tours when they're able to digest and then, not regurgitate, but spit it back out in their own logical way. Because I just think that it's easier for you, so then it's easier for the people who are with you to follow you. Whereas if I'm struggling through someone else's script, then it's probably not making that much sense.

[24.15.334]

So I'm also of the mind, while when we have some time to really beef up our source materials so that we can hand people a packet and say, when you give tours you can say it how you want to say it, but here's the information you need to cover and here's where you can find all of that information. Put it together and let us know how you're going to put it together. Give a couple sample tours. So that they have the opportunity to do it the way it makes sense, but again, that information is checked and cleared and solid. And I need that too, desperately. I'm having. I'm struggling to get the right information. And, from a reliable place.

But I also would like to see some more thematic tours. Because, A: why would you come back here if it's the same tour you've been giving since 1960-whatever? The museum's the same that it's been since at least five years ago. None of these temporary exhibits have changed. I think that's nice for people to come and get a little different flavor. I think it's be really fun to do a duke's in industry tour where you start at the third factory.

RK: You can let Julia do her labor tour.

JS: Labor tour, yeah. She can duke it out with people over labor history. To do tobacco and labor and talk about enslaved labor and rented slave labor and factory labor. There's just so many different tangents to take it. To do a tour that's more about home life on a homestead and really focus on what that would have looked like at the house. I just think there's a lot of different ways to make it interesting and more concise and draw people in more deep. Those are all things that I'd like to have happen. We'll see. Got to be patient.

Got to map it out and carve out the time to make that stuff happen. Which seems to be. There's no lack of interest from what I've gauged. And the people here, everybody wants to make it better. And everybody's "oh man, there's this cool fact." Or "that's not really the best." But nobody's had time to address it. So the challenge I think is just carving out the time and dedicating it to doing it.

RK: I have so many things I want to ask you now and I know we're on limited time.

JS: Well I'm not, but you are. It's Friday afternoon.

RK: Well what would you want? I guess, not, you know in a few months when we have all of these beautiful things. But what would you hope is the interpretive take away? If you could boil it down?

JS: For people who come here right now?

RK: Yeah. What do you hope they're getting out of it?

[27.35.216]

JS: God. If nothing else, I would hope that they walk away understanding this place's significance in local, state, and national and international history. I would hope that they just say, wow, all of these things came from here. In some way shape or form. Even if distantly. Like, I started one tour, it was a group of ad, not ad, sales and marketing staff. They did a group outing. It was really interesting. Because their leader, their manager guy had done so much research and he had prepared segways at each tour stop where he could pull in their marketing training based on duke business. It was interesting. I wish you were here.

RK: My gosh, me too. That sounds intriguing.

JS: So that's where I started. Any mad men fans in the house? Thinking about Lucky Strikes and this kind of pop culture stuff. And that can be traced.

RK: yeah, modern advertising is Buck Duke.

JS: You would also really like that bit of *Cigarette Century*. They really talk a little bit of his.

RK: I think that's what I've looked at in that book.

JS: I bet so. I mean, do you pay a check to Duke Energy every month? There's so many things .so I hope that people walk away with that significance, if nothing else. Because I think that's really our purpose for being here is to preserve the place and tell the story. And that is at least the core of that relationship that we have with the public.

If we weren't, if we didn't prove our significance we don't deserve to be here. I guess is the bare bones way to put it. I guess, I think a certain tax payer mindset.

RK: Yeah, the state pays for this.

JS: It's just letting them know. This is your state, or the state is keeping this going. And here's why. There's a whole other lot of things that people could take from it, but to me that's the very basic hope that I hope people walk away with.

RK: Makes sense.

JS: I haven't thought about that enough. That's such a, I need to write that down.

RK: I'll ask you again next time we talk.

JS: Don't. When are we talking next? A year from now?

RK: I guess the other thing that I kind of wanted to ask you about is a total shift.

[30.38.492]

RK: So, you were here for your first on staff event recently. And it's, I haven't seen the harvest and hornworm, but I would guess to say that at least out of May, June, July, August, it has some of the more interesting nuances of interpretation in it.

JS: If any.

RK: Right. Or lack thereof. I don't know. So as we were prepping at one point you asked about the pageant. Do people realize this isn't real? What are we doing? So I just wanted to hear a little more about your thoughts as to that?

JS: Let me start by saying that my understanding of these summer events is that they came from a mandate. Right? Have a second Saturday event.

RK: And they are no longer mandated.

JS: Correct. Right. I absolutely see the value that these sort of festival-y events have because it's a huge percentage of annual visitation. If you combine all of these big events, summer and fall events. And what I've been told is that we are sort of in a, we have moved into this precarious place now where if we take away those events, our visitation dips.

RK: Because we have one of the highest visitations of sites in the state?

[32.41.598]

JS: Right. And those are a big part of it. I mean, it's. If you get 1000 people at each event.

RK: Which we don't

JS: Right, but let's say theoretically. If our visitation is 25,000 a year, and you do 8 events a year. That's a lot.

RK: That's a solid portion.

JS: So that's my understanding. So I sort of understand the genesis of this is, well we need to do these mega-events but they need to have interpretive value because that's sort of the implicit, you need to do events, you need to do events. Well you can't do events that aren't somehow slightly connected to the site.

RK: Like food?

JS: Yeah. So I sort of see how and where this all probably came from. I don't see that as an example of any particular interpretive value. And again, that's, to me it speaks to that messiness that I don't respond well to. And that might just be a personal preference.

Maybe it's a shared preference. Or a personal preference I don't know. So to me it's just super messy and super confusing to have vendors and a contemporary barbecue cook-off and then also, any manner of 1800s-y stuff at the house. Which I know there is more nuance to it than that. But, but it's vague. And it's not directly tied to. Because it's a little more rustic than the Dukes were doing things in the 1870s.

RK: Yeah, I didn't actually make it to the house, but yeah.

JS: It is and it isn't. The house is decorated for the 1870s period which is when the Dukes were coming up and about to move downtown. And we're sort of doing this home canning thing. Which, you know, it's not to say that that's not accurate, but I don't think it's tied directly to that home with those people.

RK: Do you feel that it should have been?

JS: Well I don't know. I would lean that way, personally. But I see how you can't have every single event be able the Dukes. Because that's just so narrow. But then you have the weird 1940s pageant, which.

RK: Which you should have been in with us.

JS: I need to remain from without. That's my feeling on those things.

RK: I was saying that pretty tongue and cheek. Didn't actually expect you to say yeah, I should have been in there.

JS: But you did it because you're a good sport.

RK: The site is giving me a lot for my thesis so I am giving back where I can.

[35.55.586]

JS: So yeah, to me at least, I didn't know how that would go. I know our emcee gave a little "in the..." this was a popular thing. So even if people really heard that, which I don't know that people really absorb. I'm becoming more and more skeptical about what people actually absorb from what you say. You could have the most perfectly crafted, you know, interpretation of something and if people don't really absorb, it just doesn't matter.

And so, people are there. It's a festival-y environment. You have some guy saying something. I don't know. I don't know how much people actually absorbed of what we were doing. And to me it still wasn't clear of why we have that here. I'm not a huge fan of the pageant. I'll just say that.

RK: I don't. From what I have gathered, no one is.

JS: It's kind of funny. I didn't say this because it's rude at this point. It's being planned. Staff was talking about how hard it is to get people to do it and how they stack. That's why I was so confused. We've got to get people to do it. You don't get entrants? No. I didn't get that it was a reenactment. To me, nobody said we do a reenactment.

But, it's like. Why do it? If you have to, you know, goad volunteers and staff into doing it, I don't see its redeeming value. This, I heard, was like the only well attended one maybe ever. Because people, it's kind of near the end of the day and people sort of drift off. They said that was the only time that people was there.

RK: Which I didn't feel like there were many people there.

JS: So if no one's watching, why do it? And I know it ties into the harvest festival, I guess. I'm still unclear.

RK: Well I think at the harvest festival, they had a queen at the harvest festival first. Or this is how Julia explained it yesterday. Because that was a thing during some time period, I guess the 40s. That there would be queen that would be at the auctions and things like that. And they've usually had a queen at the fair, I guess. So they were like oh wouldn't this be fun to have the pageant to pick the queen. So it makes sense scheduling wise, but that connection, I was never super clear as to why that connection was there. And it's not always the same, sometimes they can't come back and do it. And I would. I was in the pageant. I would not put on a dress made out of tobacco.

JS: And parade around.

RK: I would have drawn a line. But I mean, maybe other people are more okay with that.

JS: I guess also really to me this crosses a line. I would like for us to be known as. And this is going to be a challenge with everybody. Audience. Staff. Board. Everybody. I think, to some degree. I would rather have us do events where we're doing a more historical approach and making the sort of scholarly interpretation into something that's inviting and fun. But ultimately educational. To me, that crosses this line. Whereas historic cooking in the house, you can talk about foodways. I don't know if the juniors did. I didn't get up there enough to really judge. But you know, when you're doing a mock pageant, you're not interpreting pageants in a critical way. You're doing pageant. You're not saying why were women expected to be tobacco queens? And parade around in a tobacco dress? In an auction house? I don't know. There's a missing layer there. And I think among the staff its very tongue in cheek to have silly. [...] To be tongue and cheek about women's hobbies.

RK: Right. I knew that I picked mine sarcastically and intentionally.

JS: But other people didn't know that. So that's maybe a little extreme criticism.

RK: I threw in the women's rights. But what does that do?

JS: Yeah. But to what end? I don't know. It's interesting. I'm really pleased with how many people come and have a great time. So I don't want to not have that here. But, among the museum and the tours, we're having a big event reevaluation. And, I have been flat out told by the powers that be that Duke Homestead's events are great but they are plateaued. And they need to be reevaluated.

RK: Well they've been the same thing for quite some time.

[41.38.463]

JS: Yeah, the calendar has been exactly the same for at least three or four, five years? So, there's a lot of things that are done well. And it just is going to take that little extra push, I think, to see what else we can do.

Yeah, I'm excited to see the other events for the year and just see what it's all about. What's the vibe?

RK: I've never seen anything past August. So even if it's not making it into my research, I'll probably try to come to everything in the fall.

JS: I'm more curious about Widows and Wakes.

RK: Sounds fascinating.

JS: One of my friends is another manager at another site has said that has been brought up as an example of innovative historic programming. It was innovative. We've done it for several years. I just, I'm trying to get a sense of is our audience coming every year looking forward to it? Or is it people who want to do stuff with us but are bored of these events. Christmas is sort of the untouchable, I think.

RK: They did restructure it recently with ticketing, which really helped. So I've heard. But The Christmas and the Widows and Wakes this past year, like fell at really unfortunate times in my academic schedule. The October one was probably, I was writing a mid-term paper. And then I think that I had to facilitate an exam on the Saturday of the Christmas. And I was like well, I'm going to go grade some papers. So I'm hoping I can make it this year to those.

JS: I'm looking forward to just sort of seeing the year. How it goes. We're going to have a big meeting, probably in November to think about 2016 events.

RK: Yeah, that's what Julia said. Thanks for your time. I'll probably wrap up for today.

JS: Did we go super late?

RK: It's 4:15 but that's not a big deal. But I may talk to you more about interpretive ideas for this site. Because that's really what I'm trying to think about for the thesis. And the conversations I want to have are around interpretive relevance, essentially. And how to make sites of the past hold contemporary relevance.

JS: Yeah.

RK: That's kind of my big question. All of these conversations around the confederate flag and what we do with that and how we understand civil war memorialize. I feel like popular

society right now is really eager to talk about and negotiate these things. Well at least some people are. And then we have these sites that are our historic sites, but somehow don't seem to be in those conversations. So I'm just curious as to what that relationship is.

JS: Yeah. That's a super interesting question to raise about this site. Just, because it stops when that relevant conversation should have happened. It just stopped. Interpretation wise.

RK: because it stops before the master settlement agreement. It barely mentions the surgeon's general warning. The tobacco buyout in North Carolina. Which is something I didn't even think about until a visitor brought it up. If we're going to do the agricultural side, you've got to talk about the buyout. That still is effecting people. Have you seen the documentary *Tobacco Money Feeds My Family*?

[45.45.351]

JS: No.

RK: That might be one worth watching.

JS: Where's that?

RK: That may be one worth screening here.

JS: I want to do an event where we watch *Bull Durham*.

KR: I've never seen it.

JS: Girl. Do it. It doesn't have anything to do with tobacco.

RK: I've heard it's really bad.

JS: It's kind of silly. You have to watch it a few times to appreciate the nostalgic draw of it.

RK: *Tobacco money feeds my family*. I think you might be able to screen it. There's a website called folkways. It might be on that. If not, there's some other great stuff. But if you can't find it online I know there's a copy of it in UNC libraries that I could get my hands on. It was made by a woman who lives near or outside of Kinston. And it's about the struggle of "it's killing people but it feeds my family." And it's really fascinating. It's worth a watch.

JS: Thank you.

RK: And thank you for your time.

JS: Of course, any time.

RK: I plan to bug you again soon.

JS: to me, this is a super valuable symbiotic relationship. Because I have found that after you, when you're in grad school and you're immersed in all this critical thinking. All of these concepts. It's. Just be glad you don't have a personal relationship. I don't know. Maybe you do have a significant other.

RK: I did but I don't anymore.

JS: I'm lucky that I still do. Because when I was in grad school I was just unbearably obsessed and consumed with all of this information because it just floods you and overwhelms you with how misinformed people are. Or how horrible sites interpretation. Everything is just, oh my god this is damaging society. I must do something. It's remarkable how quickly that leaves you when you leave, speaking personally.

RK: I'll give it back to you, I've got a lot of that right now.

JS: I'm trying to keep that relationship alive. One of my favorite professors at NC State is teaching an agricultural history class and I'm thinking about partnering with him. And having you come by and give us that reality check. Because it's so easy to get bogged down in the day to day, serving visitors, answering emails, doing budgets. It's so easy to be mired down in that and lose that, that passionate critical force that drives you to want to do these bigger things. So I think it will be, just having you come around and have these conversations is really important. I feel like we're lucky among sites that you're here to keep us on track.

RK: well thank Julia for hiring me two years ago as an intern. And I want to maintain conversations throughout the writing stage. So one of my things, while I don't know exactly what I want to write, I have ideas of what I don't want to write. People ask what Duke Homestead thinks about the fact that I'm going to write a big critique of them, and that's not at all what I want to do.

JS: I mean, I wouldn't blame you if you did.

[49.28.364]

RK: Have you read *The Lowell Experiment* or *The New History in an Old Museum*?

JS: I've read *Lowell*.

RK: Well *New History* is ethnographers going into Williamsburg and doing the same thing method wise.

JS: I was supposed to read that.

RK: I skimmed the second half because both of them started with exciting questions of analyzing interpretation and big relevant topics, and then at the end they're just conversations about tours at the site. I felt like they both kind of lost that bigger application, and that's not what I want to do either. So I want to keep you and Julia and the people here involved as I'm sorting through these questions to make sure that I'm writing something and creating conversations that the site is and would want to be a part of. That I'm not doing something totally isolated that you all wouldn't want.

JS: Also, this is selfish motivation. But I think that having a graduate thesis about interpretation here could potentially. I don't want to influence what you're trying to write. But depending on what your final product is, that's something that could be powerful to take up and say "listen, we've got real work to do here. And here's a really nice concise discussion about these issues that we're working with." So it's not just we need money. It's more like, hey we're trying to really shift our interpretive focus and here's some examples of how it's currently problematic. I don't know what you're envisioning writing. And it could be just a nice. Even having examples of tours so you could say, here are some things that have happened on tours.

RK: And that's the kind of thing that,

JS: I'm trying to work my angels with the powers.

RK: And in the way that I said, Duke Homestead's giving me a lot and I want to be able to give back. Even if my thesis doesn't fill in the holes that you want, if you want to draw upon my work, want me to write anything, I've told Julia she can use pictures. Anything I've done that can be useful or anything I can do that can be useful, just let me know. So if sometime you want me to pull up the four most problematic tours you have on record.

[...]

RK: But please let me know if and when I can be helpful.

JS: I will. I will call upon you.

RK: Thanks. This was fun.

APPENDIX Q: INTERVIEW, ANNA KILLIAN, JULY 30, 2015

Interviewee: AK Anna Killian

Interviewer: RK Rachel Kirby

Interview Date: July 30, 2015

Rachel Kirby: What is today? July 30th and I'm in the library of Duke Homestead with Anna. Is it alright that I'm recording this?

Anna Killian: Yes ma'am.

RK: Great.

AK: I feel like I should like right at [the recorder].

RK: It has pretty good range. We'll be good. So, I guess to start, could you just introduce yourself and say what your relationship is with the site here.

AK: Yes, okay. My name is Anna Killian.

RK: How do you spell that?

AK: A-N-N-A, K-I-L-L-I-A-N. And I am, I'm always confused how to say it. I'm a state intern at a state historic site, but it's through the Youth Advocacy and Involvement Office. So the YAIO office. Through the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources. So I'm an NCDCCR YAIO intern at Duke Homestead.

RK: So what is that internship program? Is it all DCR [Department of Cultural Resources]?

AK: No. It's all North Carolina state organizations that want an intern through the Youth Advocacy office. And it's very competitive. So there's 88 spots and they have park rangers at Chimney Rock. They've got park rangers at Wilmington helping with turtles. They've got an intern who, I think he dives out to the Queen Anne's Revenge. Not every day, but a couple of times this summer. And if he doesn't dive every month, then he gets to physically help restore some of the bigger pieces of the Queen Anne's Revenge, which is fabulous. And then they have people in the Department of Insurance, and somebody does grids for the National Guard. I don't know what that means, but they do it. So there's 88 positions and 500 people applied. So only 88 of us were chosen.

RK: So do you apply for one specific internship? Or can you rank a few?

AK: You rank about five. And then you may or may not get an interview with those people, according to how many people ranked the same.

RK: Those sites, yeah.

AK: So I talked to Mia. I talked to the State Historical Museum. I talked to Bennett Place. Somebody else. And everyone in the museum interviews and I'm thinking, shoot. I've ruined the interview. So I did not think that I (*inaudible*)...

RK: Clearly you didn't.

AK: Clearly. When I got the "you've been accepted," "Congratulations, you were chosen" letter, I thought they made a typo. This was not meant to go to me. So I'm very very honored to be down here.

RK: That's exciting.

[02.58.829]

AK: I didn't think I'd get it. I'm quite surprised

RK: Yeah, no. You're doing great. A great person to be here this summer. Not that I can take any credit for you being here.

AK: Well you set the bar. You were one of the first, well maybe not one of the first interns.

RK: And you are a history student?

AK: I am. I'm at Western Carolina. History major with an entrepreneurship minor.

RK: I didn't know that.

AK: That was a fluke, but I love it. It's really helping me. Well, the goal is to have entrepreneurship and help me be more marketable to historic sites.

RK: Yeah, with some business skills.

AK: Not just that I know history but I can also make an advertisement.

RK: So your goal is to work with historic sites?

AK: Yes. Thanks to this internship.

RK: Oh really?

AK: Well, when I came down here, museum work was not even on the radar for me. And I, where I live is a little old town. We have one museum. Lenoir, North Carolina. We have

our heritage museum which is a great little spot. It's in the Old Davenport School. But the man who worked up there was very standoffish. He wouldn't smile at anybody. And in my naivety, I judged most sites and museums according to the ones that I knew growing up so I didn't think that I would want to do that.

So I was thinking I would grow up and be a professor one day, because that just happens, you know. So thanks to this summer, I've met some really cool museum people. And I think public history will be where I want to go. Because I've loved, well I don't love cleaning, but it's even tolerable. And I love giving tours and being in the museum and getting to say "I know what this machine does" because I work here and it's awesome. It's amazing. My life has been changed because of this internship. That can go on the record.

RK: That's good. And so public history as profession or as graduate school?

AK: So public history as my masters and then yeah, probably professionally. One day maybe I'll manage Duke Homestead. Except not until Jessica leaves. When she decides to go.

RK: Oh her own accord. Voluntarily.

AK: Yes, voluntarily. Then I'll step in, maybe.

RK: No revolutions or uprisings.

[05.37.945]

RK: And there are some great public history programs out there.

[discussion of public history programs]

[...]

RK: So, I guess as someone who is interested in going into public history, what would you say is the importance or purpose of public history?

AK: Kind of like my tobacco queen answer.

RK: Sure, give your tobacco queen answer.

AK: Learning where we come from and knowing our state's history, because, North Carolina has some awesome stories to tell. Just knowing that, in my mind, builds a pride in the people. And when you have pride in where you're from, you want to invest in where you're from. And investing, just makes it better. Makes your community, and your town, and then your county and state, to be cliché, kind of like a ripple thing. And so for me, learning

about where we come from and being proud of that, and finding the pieces that make us happy, then that helps North Carolina be better in the future. Certainly, like everybody else. We have bad scars on our history. But we've got some good stuff in there too, and we should be happy about the good stuff, I think.

[10.08.421]

RK: How do you see the scars being negotiated, then, within public history?

AK: Negotiated like with slavery making it, not glossing over?

RK: Yeah or like, tobacco and lung cancer? Anything. If the goal is to create this pride, where is the place for the things that maybe we shouldn't be proud of? Or is there a place?

AK: There is a place. Because, well I mean you don't want to repeat the bad things. Is that everyone's answer? So we do need to know about it, because the bad things happened to people who don't need to be forgotten.

So, like Keith. Who's name, last name, I can't remember. But he's a higher up, I'm sure you know who I'm talking about.

RK: I do, but I don't know his last name.

AK: His answer, is not to take down monuments, but to make more monuments. Like with the Confederacy, like conundrum horrible thing that's happening. Instead of taking things down, make monuments for the enslaved persons and things like that. Which I think is a pretty good idea.

But then, just, just not ignoring it. We don't need to teach a happy history in order to be proud of ourselves. We need to teach the good and the bad, but emphasize what we've done right in our past. So that we can continue to do those right things.

I mean, at one point north Carolina was the education state. We were the roads state. One of our governors was called the sod father. Who, I mean. Those are really good things that we could bring back if, in a perfect world, everything was right. In a perfect world we wouldn't have bad scars.

So like tobacco and lung cancer, here, I think we do a really good job, from what I know, we do a really good job emphasizing the agricultural aspect. And in my tours, I don't even address the lung cancer or whatever. And when somebody does ask, I say it's bad and don't smoke children, and we're the city of medicine now. But acknowledging that it happened, but then rerouting our attention to, to the prideful areas. Not prideful. Things we could have pride in and promote, like the agricultural. And the hard work that it took

to grow tobacco. And the ingenuity it took to say, we'll take this green leaf, put it in heat, and it will make a product. And then today.

RK: Eventually.

AK: Eventually. And then today, thanks to North Carolina and our great tobacco agricultural business, you were in there when that gentleman was saying that a company in Danville is making biodiesel fuel out of tobacco leaves.

RK: Which is so funny to me.

AK: Yeah. But thanks to Washington Duke, we have tobacco. Go North Carolina That's a reason to be proud in our tobacco agriculture, whereas cigarettes are not so much.

RK: Yeah, maybe not.

AK: I'll know more after I graduate

[At this point, our conversation shifted to talk about the Junior Interpreter program for the remainder.]

APPENDIX R: INTERVIEW, SARAH PATRICK, JULY 31, 2015

Interviewee: SP Sarah Patrick

Interviewer: RK Rachel Kirby

Interview Date: July 31, 2015

Notes: This interview took place in the Duke Homestead library. The library shares a wall with the museum exhibit space, specifically with the display of the animatronic farmer. At times, his recorded message could be heard on the recording.

Rachel Kirby: It's recording. And I'm going to have to awkwardly look at it sometimes to make sure we are speaking loud enough. It is. What is today? July 31st, about 2:20. I'm in the Library at Duke Homestead. This is Rachel Kirby, and I am here with Sarah. I want to ask, is it okay for me to have the recorder on?

Sarah Patrick: Yes.

RK: Great. Thank you. To start would you introduce yourself and saying what you do here and who you are?

SP: My name is Sarah Patrick, I am a student at Appalachian State University. I'll be a junior this year. This is my fourth summer working at Duke Homestead. I started as an intern in high school and then the next year, I got hired as part time staff. I guess technically my job title is historic interpreter I. But this is my third summer as that job, fourth summer total here.

RK: That's a lot of summers. What brought you to the site in the first place?

SP: I was part of a program at my high school where we had to do internships before our senior year. It was called AOIT, this program, and we were required to find some kind of internship. I was interested in history, which is now my major, so I was looking for something related to history. I went to Stagville also, and called the history museum, but Duke Homestead were the people who had something for me. That's how I ended up here. I came and talked to Mia and she said yeah, you can intern for us.

RK: What is AOIT?

SP: It stood for Academy of Information Technology. It was a four year program at my high school that has done almost nothing for me now, but it got me this job.

RK: Well there you go. Four years later, still pays off.

SP: We were supposed to learn computer skills.

RK: So was your internship technically a computer gig?

SP: Technically, it had to be about fifty percent technology related, so I scanned all these slides over here and archived slides.

RK: Oh no, I'm sorry.

[2.19]

SP: That was not nearly as fun as giving tours.

RK: Did you give tours as well?

SP: Yeah, I did.

RK: Scanning slides. Just sounds terrible.

SP: The scanner's really slow too.

[...]

RK: What got you interested in history in the beginning?

SP: I guess, probably, I didn't really enjoy history all that much until I had one really good history teacher in 8th grade. She was one of those teachers who tells it to you like it's a story, rather than cold hard facts. She tells you like she's reading a book, instead of "in 1842," the boring kind. That got me interested. I started reading books about history in my spare time for fun, and it grew from there.

RK: Cool.

SP: Really my interest is more in ancient history, classical civilizations, but I like all history too.

RK: Not quite the Duke's time period, though? As your favorite?

SP: No, right now my minor is in classical civilizations, but my major is in general history. So I study all this stuff too, but there's not a lot of ancient history going on in the US.

RK: No, not really. So, can you talk to me a little about your tour and, I guess really any aspect of it that you want?

SP: Do you have a specific?

RK: I'm interested in how you decide what to tell, and if it's changed at all over the past four years, I'd be curious to hear about that.

SP: Probably when I first started giving tours, I was very much just repeating the facts. I followed Julia and Emma my first summer, and I was very much repeating back what I heard them say, and it wasn't really my own thing at all. But then, over the past four summers here, it's sort of become individual. I don't know, it changes sometimes. Like I was telling you earlier, sometimes if people don't ask a lot of questions I'll give a short, half hour basic tour. But if they seem really interested or have a background in tobacco farming, or something, I have more facts I can add, more things I can say. I guess it's changed over the years because when someone asks a question I don't have an answer to, I'll come back and find out the answer and if it's really interesting maybe I'll add it into my tours in the future or something.

[5.17]

RK: Do you have specific examples of things you've changed or made more yours, as opposed to the repetition?

SP: This is probably, this is kind of bad. Emma would tell some jokes on her tours, like the first summer I was here. I don't know if she does it anymore. She used to joke "this is the master bathroom over here" in the bedroom. I started copying her jokes when I first started here, because they made people laugh. But since then I've stopped doing that for the most part. Occasionally I'll still say something like that, if it pops into my head. Now I have my own little things I say, though I can't think of any off the top of my head. I'm sorry.

RK: No, it's okay. I bet it's so routine. It's like a song – you can't start in the middle.

RK: So, what, if you're shortening it, what are the things you know you still want to include? The big takeaway points that have to get in there?

SP: The curing barn and pack house, I pretty much always do the same. I'll go tell them about the growing season for tobacco. This is how the curing barn works, this is what flu curing does. This is how bright leaf is made. Then pack house, they get the ordering bit, grading the tobacco, packing the tobacco spiel.

But down at the third factory, if the group is really interested I'll go into more detail on the James Bonsack thing, and the cigarettes, and how they started out in Europe, and how they got more popular in America, and all the deals that went on there. And more about what happened after 1890. But if people are a little, if it's hot outside, or if people don't have as many questions and don't seem as interested, I'll kind of skim over and say "and they made a really good business deal and they formed American tobacco." I always will tell them, they moved off of the property this year, they got involved in other kinds of manufacturing, they formed the tobacco company. But I don't always go into detail about it.

And then in the house, I'll always have a basic description of each room, but then depending on their interests, I'll point out certain objects. Or sometimes I'll point out objects I think are interesting to try to make them more interested. If people seem really really bored, I'll be like "Look at this really neat water bottle in the kitchen." "Look at this neat, I don't know." "Here's where this term comes from" in the parlor. That kind of thing.

RK: Do those sorts of quips work?

SP: Sometimes. Some people smile. Other people continue to look bored.

RK: How often, would you say, you have a bored tour vs. an engaged tour, if you could simplify them that much?

SP: It really depends on ages, I find. The older people are, the more interested they are, in general. I find that elderly people tend to be very very interested. I don't know if it's just because, like, they appreciate history more because they're old and remember the olden days, I don't know. But.

I guess we get a lot of old tobacco farmers in, and they are, of course, very interested in it. I find older people to be especially interested. But with more middle-aged people, it's kind of 50-50, I'd say. They're either really interested or they're not that interested at all.

And then, with kids, it's kind of hit or miss too. Although I find most of the time, kids aren't usually interested. Usually if the kids aren't interested, their parents are and they brought them to try to make them interested.

RK: I guess school groups is a whole different ballgame.

SP: School groups is different, yeah. There's always a couple kids in a school group that have questions and want to know about it.

RK: There were some cute ones this morning.

SP: Yeah, they were cute.

RK: I liked the kid who wanted to know if it was a "turtle bed."

SP: Instead of a trundle bed. Yeah. I haven't heard of a turtle bed.

RK: Cute though. Um, just lost my train of thought. So what do you see as kind of the takeaway of the tour? What do you hope people walk away knowing or thinking about?

[10.02]

SP: I think, one thing I've always found interesting about the Dukes is, people come in with the idea that they're going to find a big plantation house or a mansion or some really wealthy looking place here. And they're like, where are all the slave houses? Why is the house so small? So one thing I want people to walk away with is that they started as regular farmers. They weren't a big deal. They built themselves up from nothing.

Another thing that I don't know if this always comes across quite as clearly, but sometimes I get people who seem a little bias because it's tobacco. Occasionally if I get people who are pushing the "tobacco's bad for you, tobaccos bad for you" thing, I'll make a point to say something along the lines of, well it's the reason Durham is as big as it is. This is where tons of the money in North Carolina came from. It may be bad for you but it's an important part of the history here.

RK: Does that happen frequently?

SP: Not frequently, but it's happened multiple times. And they're never really rude about it. Occasionally you get a person who, a lot of times it's people who bring their kids, and you'll be telling them how to make pipe tobacco. And they'll be like, remember, tobacco's bad for you. And I'll be like, yes it is, but we're not here to tell you it's good for you. We're here to tell you the history of it.

[11.38]

SP: I did have a lady a couple weeks ago come in and, she said, you don't smoke do you? And I was like, no. and she said okay, well don't ever start smoking. And she gave me a lecture on not smoking. I guess she assumed I smoked because I worked here. It was really weird, she was sort of an anomaly.

RK: Well you got the call, I think it was you one day, from someone who called and wanted to bring their grandkids, but not because she wanted them to start smoking. Because she wanted them to know about the history. To me that was interesting to hear that she felt the need to assert that this place didn't have to be pro-tobacco.

SP: Yeah, that she had to explain that to me.

RK: It's interesting seeing how that's negotiated. Or maybe not quite addressed? Because the agriculture does seem to be emphasized rather than the health?

SP: Yeah, I don't know. That was a weird phone all. It's okay, you don't have to reassure me of that. I work here, I know that.

[12.44]

RK: I haven't noticed people on tours bringing up the health stuff.

SP: It's not often, but it sometimes comes up.

RK: I guess we hear a lot of the, people being surprised that he only owned one enslaved person.

SP: That happens a lot. I have a lot of people asking where are the slave quarters. Where's the plantation?

RK: How do you respond to that?

SP: I just explain that he was not a large plantation owner or slave owner in any sense. They really didn't have a middle class back then, but if they had a middle class, that's essentially what you could have called him. He wasn't super dirt poor but he just had a regular farm here, and regular farmers could not afford a slave house and tons of slaves. The average farmer around here maybe had one slave, or none. Because I guess people seem to assume, it's a farm in the South, slaves, which is not always true.

RK: Well, and a wealthy family in the South.

SP: Because they think of the Dukes being wealthy, but they weren't really.

RK: Not yet.

[...]

[14.45]

RK: So, trying to decide where to do with this. Well you've done the living history side of things too? Can you talk about that a little bit?

SP: Yeah, usually I end up sitting on the back porch doing rag dolls and buzz saws when we have events. I'll dress up in my little petticoat and historic outfit. Most of the time, Mia has me sit out on the back porch and make rag dolls with kids. The past couple years, she also sort of puts me in charge of all the juniors around the house. Just making sure they're not running away and leaving their stations.

That's always really interesting. People seem to be really drawn into the living history thing. It seems like people are much more interested when they see it actually happening in front of them. They think it's really cool. And you see it with kids, they're like, "wow, Mom. They're in costume." And they'll ask, "do you live here?" No. I don't live here.

RK: So why would you say that creates a different level of engagement?

SP: I guess just being able to see something is different than being told it. You know, you tell people, oh they wore petticoats. When I'm in the kitchen [on tour], I'll tell people, "Oh, it gets so hot in here. Imagine you had to wear long sleeves and petticoats and everything. You wouldn't want all that heat." And imagining that is one thing, but seeing someone in all that sweating and slaving away in a hot kitchen, you're like, Wow, she wasn't kidding." It makes it seem more real when you can see it in front of you.

I guess it's like watching a movie as opposed to reading a book. Some people are more imaginative than others when they read a book, but if you watch a movie you can see it all in front of you and it seems more real to some people.

[17.03.916]

RK: What would you say is the benefit there, then? Why is that important?

SP: I don't know, I guess I always feel bias because I think history is really cool and I think people should think history is cool too. I guess, for me lately there's been so much in the news about people getting angry about things in history coming up. You know. It seems like people will just jump on the bandwagon and yell and raise their fists and fight each other and not really stop and think, you know, these were real people that lived a long time ago, what was that really like? Instead of getting up in arms about something and just yelling about things they don't understand, I think it's important to go and visit a historic site and see, this is how people really lived, this is what their life was like. How would I have thought differently if I was them? You know?

Instead of just running around and saying, "well all your people were racist," or whatever they say. Just kind of step into the shoes of people who live a long time ago. And that doesn't mean excusing people's actions, but just understanding that these are real people too I think is really important. Because people will just bring up things in history to make arguments for modern day things. Which is perfectly reasonable, sometimes. But, I don't know, I think living history just helps people to see, oh this could have been me if I lived 200 years ago. How would I have felt? I don't know if that made any sense at all.

RK: Yeah it did. I want you to talk more about that.

SP: What do you?

RK: I'm really fascinated by that too and the relationship between how we do public history and these conversations that we're having in contemporary times. And is there a relationship? Those are kind of the questions I'm toying with.

SP: I'd like to think there is a relationship. It'd be nice to think we can help shape people's thoughts and get them thinking more in a critical way about things by showing them how history was, but I don't know if there's a way to. I guess that's what you're working on. Figuring out if that's true?

RK: I guess. Yeah. It's just interesting .in conversations with Julia where she's like, I can't just post something about the confederate flag point blank. We have to find other ways to do it. Which makes sense, but it also feels like---. I have a hard time sometimes with why can't the historic sites just blatantly be in those conversations? Because it almost feels like they should

SP: I guess you have to be really careful with facts vs. opinions. You can say factually, this is what we know for sure it stood for to this group of people. But we have to be really careful not to accidentally let an opinion slip in there.

But I think it is an important conversation for historic sites to have because people are, like I said, just jumping in and yelling at each other and saying things that they've heard other people say without really always knowing for sure what they're talking about. And historic sites sometimes know more of the facts, which, , I guess people being more educated about the issues would make for more reasonable and educated arguments, rather than just all the hate being spewed back and forth.

[20.37.850]

RK: It's interesting too to think about, like, you said. We can say facts but not opinions. But even when it comes down to the mom telling her kids that tobacco is bad, some people would say that's an opinion when we have scientific evidence that it is unhealthy. So it's interesting in those places where there seems to be a blurred line. And how that gets negotiated in a place like this.

SP: Yeah. I guess we do kind of say both sides of it though. Like, yes tobacco is bad for your health. Science says so. That's not debatable. But it was good for the economy here.

RK: Do you feel like that's said on the tours or through the site? Do you feel like we say tobacco is bad for the health?

SP: No, not necessarily. I don't know if we really talk about that so much. We don't really have anything in the museum about the surgeon general warning, do we?

RK: I think it's mentioned on one of the panels in the tobacco debate through the ages. It just says the surgeon general released a warning.

SP: I think it would be interesting to have a little more about that, because we focus on the economy and how it affected history of Durham, and the South, and the US. And if

people ask on the tour you tell them, yeah, it's bad for you. It might be interesting to add in a little more in the museum. I think Julia was talking about doing tour training twice a year? Maybe let people know, they can add something to the end of the tour. The surgeon general warning came out in this year and this is what happened, because I feel like that's something I don't know much about.

RK: I guess part of the reason, or at least the tours as I've come to understand them, which you can correct me because you are the expert here.

SP: I'm not an expert.

[22.47.035]

RK: But I mean, I'm the one coming in and attempting to understand, so if I've misunderstood something, tell me. But it almost seems that the museum and the tour have very different functions. The tour is agriculture and the Dukes, and the museum is agriculture and economy. So I almost wonder if that's why the health stuff, it gets missed in between?

SP: There's no place for it.

RK: It's not quite agriculture and economy, and not quite production and Dukes.

SP: You're right, because the tour is very much this is how the Dukes lived when they were here. This is how the company started. And the museum is very much advertising and tobacco products and mechanization. And there's no place for.

RK: It just slips through. Which I guess, is simply mostly reflective of the fact that it opened in the 80s and they didn't include it.

SP: It might be interesting to find some way to talk about, even on the front of our brochure it says what are some positive uses of tobacco? Have you ever seen that? It's in the frequently asked questions on the brochure. One of them is "are there any other uses of tobacco?" And it's stuff like pesticides, and wrappers and things like that.

RK: Is there no negative uses question?

SP: No, I guess they assume people know that cigarettes are a negative use of tobacco.

RK: It's interesting that it still not blatantly addressed

SP: Yeah so maybe the tour needs to say, we have to find this balance between tobacco is great for the economy if we can find other uses for it, but after the attack and the surgeon's general warning people are like, no cigarettes. And it's hurting the tobacco farmers. But

helping public health, and are there other uses for it because it was such a good thing for the economy.

RK: There's something Julia points out when they're enough interest. The Dukes funded a lot of public health stuff. Duke hospitals in part is funded by the same endowment. So she says the irony may be that someday a doctor employed by Duke Hospital through Duke money cures cancer. So it's this interesting, not that those negate one another, but they're both real. I don't know. It's just interesting to think about.

SP: I hadn't thought about that.

RK: I've only heard it when people are asking about the university or the endowment. But there's been a couple of times when people will ask about the hospitals and the endowment. It's not a part of her basic spiel.

[25.55]

RK: I feel like I just lost my train of thought again.

SP: It's okay, it's a Friday afternoon.

RK: It is a Friday afternoon and it's your last day, and I'm bugging you with these questions. So what keeps bringing you back, as someone who is interested in history but not this time period?

[...]

SP: I think part of it is, I just enjoy the atmosphere here. I like all the people who work here, and all the volunteers and interns we get are always really nice people. It's just fun to be around. I'm not working in a line in a grocery store checking people out all day or sitting in an office in cubicles where people don't talk to each other.

It's more, we have this open office, and we all talk to each other. It's fun. Part of it is for experience because hopefully I will be going to grad school. So even though it's not the exact right time period, it's history. And I can say, look I can give tours. I can interpret history.

But I mean, even though it's not my favorite time period I still enjoy telling the story. Like is aid before I had that teacher in 8th grade who made history more interesting to me by telling stories, so I enjoy trying to do that for people in return. I don't know how good a job I do of that, but I like to tell stories too. Because I've always liked reading books and things, I like giving tours and telling people about it.

KR: I like thinking about it that way. That you're telling a story.

SP: That's always how I like to think of history. When people say it's boring, no it's not. Pretend it's your favorite fantasy novel. If you just take out all the dates, and it's all good.

RK: So what's the story of the Dukes? Boil it down for me?

SP: So on the spot.

RK: That's a terrible question. Sorry.

SP: This is not going to sound good.

RK: It's okay. I'm just curious. I've been thinking a lot about, this narrative. What is the narrative that this site tells? Because, I'm sure there are, you could tell how many different hundreds of stories from any given place. So what is the narrative of Duke Homestead and how did that become the narrative? So that's why I'm asking, what is the story?

[28.45]

SP: For me, I don't know what it is for everyone else. I guess all the tours are pretty different. I don't know. But, for me, like I said before, it's a story of just a regular farmer growing and becoming something incredible. It's the story of going from nothing to this name that's all over and everybody knows the Duke name, which I just think is really really fascinating. Going from little old Bahama, North Carolina, just Washington Duke one of however many kids. And then someday his name is plastered all of Durham and everybody knows Duke University, Duke Hospital, Duke Energy. So for me it's that story of being a regular farmer, having all this tragedy, people dying, and having to go to war, and coming back and saying well, what can I do now? Let start a business. And that succeeding incredibly.

RK: So it's a success story.

SP: Yeah. In my opinion, anyway.

RK: I would say that summary matches your tours. Or the ones that I've seen at least.

SP: That's what I'm trying to tell, I think.

[30.15]

RK: I guess that's mainly what I wanted to talk about. Is there anything that I should have asked about or that you would want people to know about what you do here or about this site?

SP: I don't know. I've probably said most everything. Just that I think it's more important than people realize for them to have an understanding of at least the basic facts of history in order to understand modern problems better. So I think, that's one very important reason for stories to continue being told.

RK: Modern problems is very connected? Is that what you're saying?

SP: Yeah. Most everything that happens now-a-days has happened in some form or another before. I can't think of anything else.

[...]

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