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The *Journal for the Society of North Carolina Archivists* seeks to support the theoretical, practical and scholarly aspects of the archival professions by publishing articles and reviews related to curatorial issues (e.g., collection management and development), technical services (e.g., cataloging, processing, digital collections, EAD, preservation, conservation, etc.), and public services (reference, instruction, outreach) for special collections and archives.

The *Journal* accepts a range of articles related to research, study, theory, or practice in the archival professions. All members of the archival community, including students and independent researchers, are welcome to submit articles and reviews. Contributors need not be members of SNCA or live in the state of North Carolina. The *Journal* will not reprint or republish articles submitted to and accepted by other publications.

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ABOUT THE COVER

Donna Baker

“History for All the People”

North Carolina Office of Archives and History

Logo for the Centennial Celebration of the State Archives of North Carolina, March 2003.

Created by Michael T. Southern, State Historic Preservation Office

“History for All the People” is the theme for the March 2003 Centennial Celebration of the Office of Archives and History of North Carolina. This event marks the one hundred year anniversary of the establishment of the North Carolina Historical Commission. The symbol for this logo is the 1840 State Capitol building, prominently featuring the portico and dome. Creator Michael T. Southern suggests that the State Capitol, an easily recognized symbol for all North Carolinians, best represents the pride in North Carolina history and culture shared by the Office of Archives and History and all North Carolina agencies.

The Office of Archives and History, located at 109 East Jones Street in Raleigh, is the repository for the official records of state, county, and local governmental units. It also holds private papers, maps, pamphlets, sound recordings, photographs, and motion picture film of North Caroliniana.

The North Carolina State Capitol, located on East Edenton Street in Raleigh, is one of the finest and best-preserved examples of a major civic building in the Greek Revival style of architecture. It is designated as a National Landmark. Visitors can view the legislative chambers, the first state library and works of art displayed throughout the building.

novices interested in learning about jazz music, jazz enthusiasts may find it lacking in historical information about the development of jazz in North Carolina.

Some entries include considerable information regarding a musician's life history, whereas others offer very little biographical information. For example, the entry for musician Harold Edward Vick consist of five lines, merely featuring a link to the "All Music Guide Entry" online database, his vital statistics, the instrument that he played, and a list of two scholarly sources. However, the entry for Billy Strayhorn is fully fleshed out in twenty-eight lines. It includes the following information: a link to the "All Music Guide Entry," the artist's nickname, his major contributions as an artist, vital statistics, an extensive description of his life history and role in American jazz music, an extensive list of scholarly sources, links to web sites featuring additional information, and a list of selected CDs. This leaves the user wondering: was Strayhorn a more influential jazz figure, making Vick an obscure artist who left little historical information behind, or did Sinclair devote more attention to Strayhorn because the web author had more sources to draw upon for bibliographical information? Moreover, not all entries feature the link to the "All Music Guide Entry," an online database providing considerable depth and breadth of information, including thoroughly researched biographies, artists' influences and followers, complete discographies, song highlights, and other features. Finally, instead of merely providing a list of selected CDs, Sinclair could increase the guide's usefulness by providing complete discographies for each artist.

This streamlined reference guide provides a wealth of information about some influential American jazz musicians who experienced their heyday in the twentieth century, while including only minimal information about other important jazz artists. Most entries, however, feature links to web sites that contain additional information about a particular musician. The North Carolina Jazz Musicians research guide is user-friendly, informative, sensibly organized, and well designed. Analysis of the development of jazz music in North Carolina and the inclusion of fully fleshed out entries (or at least accounting for the dearth of biographical information for particular musicians) would enhance this guide.

Jane Veronica Charles

Journal for the Society of North Carolina Archivists

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"Like A Ship Laboring in the Storm": Salem, North Carolina in the Civil War

Sarah Chapman

Sarah Chapman delivered the following essay as the keynote address to the Society of North Carolina Archivists on October 11, 2002 at Winston Salem State University, host for the Fall 2002 SNCA Meeting.

The story of Salem, North Carolina during the Civil War is very much like that of any other Southern town. Once war was decided upon, men enthusiastically went off to fight, ladies formed societies to support the troops with uniforms, monetary contributions, and hospital work, the local mill supplied cloth to the state of North Carolina, and the town church observed hours of prayer requested by the president of the Confederacy. As the years wore on and hardships increased, the town became weary. Like other Southern towns, Salem hoped for an end to the war, but remained optimistic and loyal to the Confederate cause. At the close of the war, the town experienced invasion first-hand when cavalry under Major General George H. Stoneman's command occupied Salem. However, a look at Salem's history prior to the war offers an interesting picture of a town with close religious and familial ties to the North, a town with a past as a theocratic congregation town regulating the personal and professional lives of its citizens, a town whose citizens had been pacifists in its early years, and a town with German ancestry. As the nineteenth century progressed Salem became firmly rooted as a Southern town ready to defend its adopted way of life.

Salem was founded in 1766 as a Moravian congregation town. The Moravian church, or Unitas Fratrum, is a Protestant denomination with roots in pre-Reformation Europe. The Unitas Fratrum was founded in 1457. Its earliest constituents were from the areas of Moravia and Bohemia and followed the martyr John Hus who died in 1415. The renewed church of 1727 created a congregation on the Saxon estate of Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, called Herrnhut. By mid-century the German-speaking Moravians sent settlers to America to form new towns and congregations. Their first attempt at colonization was in Savannah, Georgia, but upon its failure they moved to Pennsylvania and established the towns of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz, among others. Eventually congregations were formed in other locations like Lancaster, Philadelphia, and smaller towns. In 1753 the

features of the office's 100 years of operation. This centennial web site clearly documents these aspects and is further evidence that the office intends to continue to reach out to North Carolinians for many more years to come.

*Greta Reisel Browning
The University of Georgia at Athens*

North Carolina Jazz Musicians

<http://toto.lib.unca.edu/sounds/ncjazz.html>

Last updated: October 29, 2002

Reviewed on December 6, 2002

The Ramsey Library Special Collections Department at the University of North Carolina, Asheville, sponsors the online research guide, *North Carolina Jazz Musicians: Bio-bibliography, Selected Recordings, Research Guide*. Bryan T. Sinclair, Public Services Librarian and Electronic Resources and Government Documents Coordinator, created this valuable online resource.

The web site is structured in a logical and user-friendly way, featuring a simple, yet engaging overall design. The research guide is comprised of an alphabetically arranged list of jazz musicians with ties to North Carolina. The names of the musicians are listed in bold and are arranged alphabetically by surname. Each entry generally includes vital statistics, biographical information, a list of scholarly sources and selected CDs, and links to web sites providing further information. A single image of John Coltrane playing saxophone is repeated on every page of the web site.

In the guide's well-written and promising introduction, Sinclair briefly mentions several influential twentieth-century jazz musicians who emerged from North Carolina, including well known artists such as Thelonious Monk and John Coltrane, obscure jazz musicians, contemporary recording artists, and jazz educators. Sinclair notes that the research guide is intended to "aid students and other researchers in uncovering some of North Carolina's great jazz heritage and introduce some classic recordings along the way." Although the guide largely delivers with its exhaustive list of important American jazz figures with ties to North Carolina, Sinclair could improve this resource by filling in some biographical gaps; describing how each artist informed jazz music; and determining each musician's overall contribution to North Carolina history. Although this guide will benefit

umented through their daily work of providing preservation and access to the elements of the North Carolina's past, these sections salute both noted and lesser-known public historians in the Office of Archives and History through the years.

The "Exhibits" section features information about a traveling exhibit created for the centennial. The exhibit, "History for All the People: The North Carolina Historical Commission: One Hundred Years of Public History" was written by Charlotte Brow and Patricia Samford and will be on display at the State Capitol and the Museum of History during the Centennial Celebration, March 7-8, 2003. For those who are interested in the exhibit in advance, the exhibit text is provided in this section. The "Events" section describes plans for the Centennial Celebration to be held in downtown Raleigh in March and upcoming events around the state.

The "Map" link refers the viewer to an interactive map denoting major historic sites and museums across the state. Viewers can click on specific names to read more about the work of the Office of Archives and History in those counties. One can also explore the state's cultural resources by region. The final link from the home page, "Buy the Book," takes the reader to information about Ansley Herring Wegner's forthcoming book, *History for All the People*, due out in February 2003.

The strength of this web site lies in its appeal to many levels of interest and learning styles. The web surfer can view images, read narrative text, view a timeline, or read exhibit text to learn about the office's history. Individuals who have worked in the Office of Archives and History, those who have used or visited the office's resources, and others who would like to learn more will all be interested in this centennial site. The site design, layout, and quality of research and writing are additional strengths. For example, Mark Anderson Moore's design lends itself to easy navigation, and the Research Branch's superior research and presentation create a pleasant and educational web experience. Perhaps links to the site's main sections on each page would better serve the ultimate web surfer who wanted to flip back and forth between sections. Currently, the viewer must return to the home page to link to other sections.

In Dr. Crow's introduction, he states that the staff's dedication to the public service aspect of public history and the commitment that North Carolinians have shown to their past have been outstanding

Moravians, or Brethren, came to North Carolina and settled on a 100,000 acre land grant from the Lord Proprietor Granville in present-day Forsyth County, naming their tract *Wachovia*.¹ They called the first settlement Bethabara meaning "house of passage," as they planned to build another larger town in the area. An agricultural village, Bethania, was founded in 1759. The intention of the Moravians was to situate a profitable endeavor in the form of a "trades town" in their new locale. Finally, in 1766, the long-awaited central town of Salem was begun. Three other Moravian congregation towns were later founded in present-day Forsyth County: Friedland, Friedburg, and the English congregation of Hope.²

Salem, as with other Moravians towns, was a theocracy. The church established several boards of administrators to oversee various aspects of daily life. More importantly, the church owned all of the lots in town, giving it total control over the town and its residents. Only Moravians were allowed to lease lots, and although they owned the house on the lot, the church retained ownership over the actual lot. In this way they governed the activities that took place in town and the people who lived, worked, or stayed there.

Congregations were very structured, placing each member in a choir, or group, according to their common place in life. A Children's Choir for boys and girls up to age 14, Older Boys' and Older Girls' choirs from ages 14 to 17, Single Brothers' and Single Sisters' Choirs over 18 years old and unmarried, Married Men's and Women's Choirs, and Widowers' and Widows' Choirs. In the early years of Salem these groups sat together in church and worshipped together in separate services; furthermore, the Single Brother's Choir lived together in a common choir house until 1823, and the Single Sisters' choir in their house until the early twentieth century. The one aspect of choir organization that has retained significance even in the present day is burials. Church members buried in Salem's God's Acre are still buried according to their choir.

The structure also resonated in the continuation of the formal guild system as found in Europe. At the appropriate age (usually thirteen or fourteen) a boy was indentured to a master craftsman to learn a given trade. In Salem that trade was determined by a combination of the boy's interest and abilities, the master's willingness, and the church's permission based on the number of practicing craftsmen already established in town. The boy typically served a seven-year apprenticeship and became a journeyman. After perfecting his abilities he be-

came a master craftsman and began to operate his own shop. The town leaders ordinarily would not allow a man to marry until he could prove his ability to support a family.

The church boards and structure echoed the older towns in Pennsylvania, and the two regions operated together as the American Province of the Moravian Church. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania served as the center of the Northern District, and Salem as the center of the Southern District.³ The exchange between the two American districts was significant. The Great Wagon Road extending from Pennsylvania through the Piedmont of North Carolina offered the two districts relatively easy access to each other. Students traveled north to study and tradesmen south to fill vacant positions, and vice versa. Ministers also traveled between congregations of the two districts. In the early years immigrants from Europe frequently settled in both places. Most of the North Carolina congregations were originally settled by Moravians from the Pennsylvania towns, so familial ties between the two places were not uncommon. Synods were held to bring together the leaders of the North and South to decide important church issues. The Moravian belief in the church as a brotherhood fostered a sense of fraternal attachment between the two areas. Not only were the Moravians of the North and South closely tied in matters of governance, but also personal devotion.

Despite the control the church exercised over the town and its people, Salem inevitably became more Americanized. Salem in the nineteenth century began to differ greatly from the more homogenous town of the eighteenth century. The somewhat unsettled backcountry that the Moravians first came to was becoming filled with non-Moravians in close contact with the town. As a trades town Salem played host to the traffic of buying and selling goods, and providing the services their largely agrarian neighbors needed. Salem also traded through large cities with shipments coming from Petersburg, Virginia, Charleston, South Carolina, and Cross Creek (Fayetteville), North Carolina. The German-speaking town of the eighteenth century was inclined to learn English to communicate with outsiders, and soon English became the norm in town.⁴ In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the residents of Salem were almost purely American by birth, and mostly Southern. No longer were they so closely connected to the zealous Moravian movement of the mid-eighteenth century. As Michael Shirley points out in his study of Salem's transition, "Salem was changing rapidly after 1825, moving from the theocratic congregation village united by a single religious ideal and social

Branch of the Office of Archives and History.

The site consists of eight main sections that are linked from the home page. Dr. Jeffrey J. Crow, Deputy Secretary for the North Carolina Office of Archives and History, introduces the site. He comments that the accomplishments of these 100 years have revealed two major features: that North Carolinians love their history, particularly as this appreciation has translated into funding from the General Assembly, and that the staff of the office has been dedicated to that history through service and professionalism in their fields. In the sidebar of Dr. Crow's introduction (the same buttons are available from many of the site's sections) is an "A&H in a Nutshell" button, which leads the reader to a concise history of the Office of Archives and History, from its beginnings on March 7, 1903, as the government-legislated North Carolina Historical Commission, through the present day.

Coupled nicely with the summary of the Office of Archives and History's development is the more detailed "Timeline" section. This page contains a chronological listing of key years in the office's development, divided by decade. When applicable, hotlinks are provided to referenced organizations and Office of Archives and History websites, such as the Historical Publications and the State Archives sites.

The "Images" and "Features" sections provide the bulk of information about the office's history through visual and narrative presentations, both arranged by decade. The office's esteemed forbearers, such as R.D.W. Connor, the first archivist appointed by the North Carolina Historical Commission (1907) and the first Archivist of the United States (1934), and Christopher Crittenden, who began as the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission in 1935 and continued his association with the office for thirty-four years, make their full appearances in these sections along with other notable individuals. Significant topics and events are also documented through images and text. Subjects include: the raising of the Confederate ironclad *Neuse* from the Neuse River in 1961, the *North Carolina v. B. C. West Jr.* replevin case in 1977, the Museum of History's "The Black Presence in North Carolina" exhibit in 1978, and images of historic sites in eastern North Carolina that were damaged by Hurricane Floyd in 1999. Although notables and notable topics in the office's past are described here, interwoven and recognized as well are many of the less high-profile employees of the office who have served to preserve North Carolina's past for her people. Whether caught on film or doc-

authenticity that will surely delight the archivist reader. Other examples of an archival ambiance include a long passage about painting selection from a donor and the research involved (one of the primary reasons for his being in the Southeast), as well as a clear love of history and its relationship to the physical remnants of human activities. The archival connection is most clearly seen in the examination of a “collection” left behind by the victim that Reese uses for clues to understand who she was and who might have wanted to kill her. He investigates the cards, photographs, clippings and notes saved by the victim to uncover the hidden truths about her life. Each reader will be able to clearly envision the piecing together of lives and emotions through the collection represented in this story; and the question Ben Reese asks himself so readily, “Why did she keep this?”

So an archivist unravels the past and comes to some clearer understanding of the who, the why, and the wherefore. No surprise, we do that sort of thing everyday. The glory of this novel is the mystery, the characters, and the imagination of what we, as archivists, are capable of when we apply our skills to the trials of everyday events. As if murder were an everyday event! Turn the lights down low and enjoy!

Katherine Wisser
North Carolina State University

Archives and History Centennial Celebration: 100 Years of Public History in North Carolina.

<http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/centennial/default.htm>

Reviewed January 24, 2003

The Office of Archives and History has preserved North Carolina’s cultural resources for the last 100 years and is no doubt looking forward to 100 more. The Tar Heel state boasts the third oldest state archives and history department in the country after Alabama (1901) and Mississippi (1902). Currently, the Department of Cultural Resources’ Office of Archives and History encompasses three major sub-departments: State History Museums, State Historic Sites, and Historical Resources. The centennial web site provides an attractive and educational overview of these three sub-departments’ 100 years of history and a guide to the commemorative events scheduled in 2003. The site also serves as a preview for the forthcoming book, *History for All the People: 100 Years of Public History in North Carolina* (February 2003) by Ansley Herring Wegner of the Research

ethos to a secular commercial town caught up in an extensive trading network.”⁵ As the nineteenth century progressed, Salem adjusted its congregational views on the issues of pacifism and slaveholding, and eased its structure to allow for the changing times and attitudes of its citizenry.

At its founding, Salem adhered to a belief in pacifism. As Wellman notes, “This opposition was not a tenet of Moravian faith; as was repeatedly stressed in representations to the colonial government, pacifism was a matter of individual conscience with members.”⁶ In 1779 the North Carolina General Assembly and the Moravians agreed on an affirmation of allegiance that exempted them from Revolutionary War service at the expense of a triple tax.⁷ Residents of Salem generally did not attend muster, but Moravians from the country congregations did sometimes join up. Tangible contributions, however, were given in the form of lead, cloth, meat, and grain, along with other items paid for with paper currency.⁸ In an 1806 act by the North Carolina General Assembly, the Moravians were granted exemption from militia service along with the Quakers and Mennonites.⁹ By the War of 1812 the Moravians had eased their collective stance of pacifism. They still discouraged actual involvement in the army, but advocated aiding the American troops with supplies and hospitality. As the *Aufseher Collegium*, or Board of Supervisors, recorded on February 16, 1813, “As small parties of soldiers have marched through our town the Single Brethren and some of the Married Brethren have demonstrated their friendship by giving them food and drink. We encourage and favor this, partly out of human kindness, and partly to show our appreciation of exemption from militia duty, at least for present.”¹⁰ Displays of militant attitudes continued to be condemned by the church. When on July 4, 1814 the Single Brothers fired guns from the windows of their house onto the square, the church viewed it as contrary to their stand on military actions: “Their repeated marchings, led in pseudo-military fashion by fife and drum, seemed more un-Moravian still.”¹¹

As with many changes in nineteenth-century Salem, militia service was not far off. In 1830, the Act of 1806 providing the Moravians exemption was repealed, but the men of Salem reacted quite differently than the earlier Moravians. Rather than paying the \$2.50 annually to be exempted, they formed the Salem Light Infantry Company as a part of the South Regiment of Stokes County Militia on January 25, 1831. Several of the men in town between the ages of 19 and 25 were quick to join, and a military band was organized. Shoemaker John Henry Leinbach joined the band as a flautist, and recorded the compa-

ny's first parade presentation on February 19, 1831: "At two o'clock the Town company paraded . . . The company kept a good step through Town, and everybody appeared highly pleased with our appearance. In fact, we were much praised for our regularity and uniform appearance."¹² A muster ground was cleared for the company,¹³ muskets and uniforms were obtained for the militiamen, military music was prepared for the band, and the leaders of the company learned drilling techniques. On July 4, 1831, "Being the great day of American Independence the Salem Light Infantry company appeared for the first time in full uniform." The group "fired thirteen rounds in honour of the thirteen good old states," paraded through town, drilled, and delivered an oration. Demonstrating the drastic change in attitude toward military practices, Leinbach recorded that "A large number of people having collected by this time, they crowded on us, and it [was] difficult to keep them at a proper distance; also on the muster ground they could not be induced to give way till several men were ordered to clear them off to a proper distance."¹⁴ After their Fourth of July appearance, the company was reviewed by General Polk on September 24, 1831. Leinbach stated, "I think there were about fifteen company's [sic] present, but the Salem Company outdone them all. The General honoured our company considerable by selecting it as his escort in town."¹⁵ In May, 1832, Captain Emanuel Schober traveled to West Point, New York "in order to attend the examinations of the Military Academy there."¹⁶ This newfound enthusiasm in military affairs highlights the secularization of nineteenth century Salem. Perhaps the militia's most serious service occurred on September 26, 1831, when slave uprisings in the wake of the Nat Turner revolt were rumored throughout the South. The Salem Congregation diary reported that "in the morning a report was circulated that a considerable number of Negroes were on the way here to commit excesses against the white people, as it happened in Virginia a few weeks ago, where they murdered and pillaged. Our volunteer company as well as the district militia were ordered to be in readiness."¹⁷ Leinbach recorded the proceedings of the day:

This morning we heard the negroes had risen in Montgomery County and after a few hours we were informed that they were up in Lexington, not more than twenty miles from us, which occasioned an uncommon uproar and excitement, such as I never before witnessed. Every musket and shotgun was immediately put into requisition, as also nearly all the powder, and all the buckshot; cartridges were made at three or four different places, and immediately distributed, scouts were sent to Lexington, in

transgressions. Through the descriptions of these acts, Wright deals with difficult issues, such as euthanasia, land development and eminent domain, greed and revenge in adept ways that make the issues themselves integral to the story, rather than sprinkled on top. Her masterful way of handling these issues ensures a surprise ending and an enjoyable journey to its conclusion.

But this mystery will distinguish itself from others because of the archivist. From dealing with university administrators to painting verification and donor relations, Wright consistently mixes professional interest with personal activity in the character of Reese. His own research, his duties to his institution, his love of history, and his professional training all lead him to clues that help him unravel the mysterious death that occurs.

The first glimpse of Reese as an archivist is an interchange between himself and the university president. In order to sort out pressing university concerns, President Harper has asked for the counsel of his archivist, who is a long-time faculty member familiar with the university board and independent of academic departmental bias. Foremost in the president's mind is the desire to sell a building, which came to the university as the result of a century-old bequest. It is Reese, university archivist and historian, who reminds President Harper of the conditions of the will, which strictly disallow the university from selling the building. At first glance, it is obvious that the president is willing to "destroy the evidence" of the will that stands in his way. Reese avoids direct accusation, but quickly removes the will from the archives to ensure its safety. While this kind of action may send shivers down the archival spine, when understood in the larger circumstances, we at once recognize the pressures on archivists to maintain integrity of papers under their care, even when it would be seemingly unpopular to do so.

There are several passages that ring true in the ears of archivists without extending our archival sense to extremes. A search of the bookcases in the cottage in which Reese is staying turns up several southeastern gems, including a copy of Mark Catesby's *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands*, and he loses "track of time for the next four hours" (p. 60). That his hostess is unaware of the gems in her library establishes more firmly the expertise that the archivist plays in the identification. Wright deftly sprinkles in other legitimate archival and book treasures and includes many historical details to imbue the story and particularly Reese's role with an

REVIEWS

Wright, Sally. *Out of the Ruins*. Sisters, Ore: Multnomah Publishers, 2003. 270p. \$10.99 (ISBN 1590520319). LC 2002009317.

It is not often that an archivist pops up in the pages of a mystery. While mysteries have been set in libraries and museums involving many different kinds of professionals often guilty of nefarious conduct, Sally Wright brings us an archivist we would all be proud to call colleague. It is clear that Wright has respect for and interest in the profession she has chosen for her protagonist, but *Out of the Ruins* provides even more food for thought when considered in light of the various aspects that make a good mystery: characters, setting, and, of course, dastardly deeds. In addition to this, she has carefully woven in the constructs that archivists will easily recognize as familiar joys and challenges of a profession not always well understood.

The characters in *Out of the Ruins* are carefully constructed. Because this is the fourth novel in the series, Ben Reese, our protagonist archivist, is by far the most developed and complex of the work. The novel is set in the early 1960s, and he has a past that is both interesting and painfully real. A World War II veteran and widower, the self-reflection of the character extends well beyond the topic at hand into deeper and more complex emotions. Wright, however, does not rely solely on the development of Reese to carry the novel. Many of the other characters are well developed and encompass the whole spectrum of human behavior and integrity. There are enough malevolent people throughout the story to infest a whole series of mysteries, but in that mix are wholly good, surprisingly complex foils to these antagonists who provide Reese with a fascinating puzzle to unravel.

The setting is equally important in *Out of the Ruins*. Wright does a masterful job of drawing her readers into Cumberland Island, Georgia, as well as other locations in the Southeast to which Ben Reese takes us. Her ability to craft a descriptive element allows the setting itself to become a character. The island takes on its own personality, moods, and actions as the characters settle into the events happening around them.

Finally, dastardly deeds are the stuff around which mysteries revolve. Characters are scheming to gain control of property, taking things out from under the nose of the victim, and are guilty of despicable past

*order to ascertain wether [sic] there was any truth to the rumors we had heard. In the evening the Town company met at the Tavern, waiting orders. Col. Winston also arrived ready for Action; patroles [sic] were appointed for the night, after which we began to steal off for home and bed. After eleven o'clock the scouts returned with the news that it was all a fabrication. From Lexington they had been sent to Salisbury, to learn wether [sic] the reports were which came from below, which also proved false. All the Families within three miles sought protection with us in town, the Men bringing their guns along, prepared to defend this place and their families.*¹⁸

As illustrated by the people's reaction to the possibility of a slave revolt, Salem's attitude toward the ownership of slaves modified in the early years of the nineteenth century. Similar to other Christian groups, the church was never opposed to the concept of slavery. In 1739 Count Zinzendorf visited the Moravian mission on St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, and spoke to the enslaved community, explaining slavery as "God's punishment for the 'first negroes' [a reference to Ham], and their recognition of Christ as Savior, although not freeing them from earthly chains, removed all evil thoughts, deceit, laziness, faithlessness, and everything that makes your condition of slavery burdensome."¹⁹ In fact, the church's main opposition to allowing slave labor in its communities was that it would encourage idleness among its white members. The Moravian church in Pennsylvania employed slave labor beginning in the early 1740s.²⁰ Bethabara, North Carolina began renting and assigning slaves "on behalf of the community" as early as 1764.²¹ In 1769, the Wachovia Moravians consulted the Lord by use of the "Divine Lot" on the question of owning a slave, and upon drawing a positive response, the Elders purchased their first slave, Sam.²² At first, residents of Salem, like those in Pennsylvania, were forbidden to purchase slaves on their own account; however, the church purchased slaves and in turn leased them to tradesmen and church businesses as necessary.²³ Africans and African-Americans brought into the community as slaves were encouraged to attend church services, and were allowed to become baptized communicant members of the congregation. Under increasing pressure from residents the ruling boards soon changed the slave regulations to adjust to Salem's growing alignment with the surrounding state.

The eighteenth-century community was largely integrated. Black church members worshipped with white church members, and they

were buried together in God's Acre; however, by the first quarter of the nineteenth century changes in these policies lead to the further segregation of the black and white communities. As of 1816, deceased African American Moravians could be buried only in the Stranger's Graveyard on the southern end of town rather than with their European-American brethren.²⁴ In 1823 a log church was built to house the newly formed African-American Congregation, and the black Moravians became separated from the white congregation in worship.²⁵ The first adjustment of the slave regulations came in 1814 when the town decided to allow exceptions to slave ownership by approval of the ruling boards.²⁶ To meet the demands of the growing market driven economy and the continual requests of residents, the Salem Congregation Council voted in 1820 to approve using slave labor in households, hiring slaves as day laborers, and teaching slaves trades so they could serve as assistants.²⁷ The initial compromise on slave regulations shows a desire to preserve the congregational way of life through adaptation to the surrounding society. In January, 1847, all rules regarding slave ownership and use were abolished, and it became evident that there was a "growing commitment to the liberal values of individual freedom, private property rights, and the pursuit of personal economic opportunities free of external restraints at the same time as there was a greater commitment to slavery."²⁸ Outside of Salem, the Moravians of Forsyth County were more lax in their regulations. Bethania, for example, was an agrarian society with several large plantations worked by slave labor. In 1850 the population of Forsyth County was 86.5 percent white, 12.1 percent slave, and 1.4 percent free black.²⁹

Salem was becoming more integrated with the surrounding society in other ways as well. Ambitious entrepreneurs in town wanted to form a manufacturing presence in Salem. The concept of a manufactory went against the Moravians' traditional reliance on the guild system as a means of earning a living. Each man, once established, operated his own business. A manufacturing economy would place the head of the household in the position of working for a wage. It would also further immerse the Moravians in the economy of the South. The first venture came in 1836 with the construction of the Salem Mill. Its implementation again illustrates the church's determination to hold onto a thread of their former existence and influence over the town. Although the Mill operated as a company with men of the town like Francis Fries, John Blum, and Edward Belo investing, the Salem Diacony³⁰ was the primary shareholder, with 100 out of the 250 shares available.³¹ To operate the cotton mill, the company hired Thomas Siddall, an Englishman working in Pennsylvania, as principal machinist.³² Opening in 1837 with 1,032

evaluate the results of our efforts. We keep statistics on our patron characteristics and numbers of visits and queries, but when these change, we do not have any way of knowing whether they changed because of our actions or because of some factors beyond our control and, possibly, completely beyond our knowledge. It is difficult to find the time to work on outreach in a rational manner. When someone has a great idea for an event, we do not want to squelch it by saying that it does not fit in our organization's strategic plan. We are typically not trained to do market research, though perhaps we should be. In the end, we simply keep up a continuous, multi-faceted effort.

Note

1. I adapted the ideas related to the factors that we control and those that fall outside our control from the materials provided to attendees of the Society of American Archivists Preconference, "Archives and Marketing: New Techniques and Strategies for Building a Successful Program for the Future," held in Washington D.C. in August, 2001.

century ads and trade cards to a wide public in such a way that repeated usage would not damage the originals. What has occurred is that their presence on the Web has alerted patrons worldwide to their existence, and they request scans or photographic reproductions of the originals over and over to use in their documentaries, textbooks, museum exhibits, and other projects, so in fact the originals are receiving far more use. This effort has been, therefore, extremely successful, and a bit of a mixed blessing.

What does not especially further our goals is catering to special interests. A tiny exhibit of materials related to Brigham Young during June of 2001 in honor of the 200th anniversary of his birth brought in around eight hundred people in a two-day period, but they came in only to pay homage and not to support or use the collection in any way. If LDS material were a special strength of our collections this would have been a fabulous event, but the people who visited saw everything we have in one tiny case, so there is no need for them to come back. Likewise, it is not especially helpful to bring in a class just to see interesting documents if the students are not required to follow up with a research assignment. Sometimes a faculty member will ask to arrange a session in Special Collections because she or he will be out of town for a conference and wants to fill the class time. We generally try to avoid this situation because the professor's presence and a related research assignment are the elements that lend these sessions long-term value.

Working in a university setting means that every year the group of undergraduates we have been cultivating for four years graduates and moves away. Most graduate students move on after a few years. Some of our most enthusiastic professors fail to get tenure, leave to take jobs at other universities, decide to quit assigning primary source research, or conclude that there is so much available on the Web that there is no need for students to handle the real thing. This can be frustrating, but also reminds us that outreach is an ongoing process, not a goal that can ever be finally accomplished.

Ultimately, everything we do is in some way related to outreach. We put a tremendous amount of energy into encouraging use of our materials and then following up with the best service we can manage. In addition to being an ongoing process, outreach is an area in which one can always improve. We could learn a great deal from the marketing gurus. There are additional steps we could take to research our market, decide upon a formal, carefully considered strategic plan, and

spindles, the mill produced five hundred pounds of yarn a day and employed thirty-five to forty operatives. In 1840 it had grown to two thousand spindles valued at \$53,000. The average North Carolina mill of 1840 had 1,917 spindles valued at \$39,812, making the Salem mill a profitable situation.³³ Other mills established by entrepreneurial residents would follow in Salem and its vicinity. Francis Fries and his brother Henry built a woolen mill that used slaves as part of their workforce.³⁴ Men like the Fries brothers cooperated in the 1850s to bring more roads connecting Salem with the surrounding area and market centers, and created an investment institution to provide capital for further development.³⁵ Salem in the second quarter of the nineteenth century was looking far beyond its boundaries and integrating its economy to compete with that of its state and region.

Along with their economic acclimation, the residents of Salem became more socially tied with the surrounding community. Membership in the congregation was no longer the only feeling of belonging that the people desired. Joining the Order of American Mechanics and fraternal organizations like the Odd Fellows and Masons became popular among Salemites. Young men became affiliated with the Salem Light Infantry Company and the Salem Vigilant Fire Company. In the 1820s and 1830s, some Moravians, especially the younger ones, joined in the evangelical religious movement sweeping the country by attending Methodist camp meetings.³⁶ This activity was, of course, frowned on by the Moravian leaders, but the ruling boards were losing their control and influence over the town as it became more secularized. An example of the effort to regain moral control over the town was the prevalence of Temperance Societies. The first was organized as early as 1829, but disbanded only to be reorganized in 1842.³⁷ Where formerly the Moravians looked to their church family and choir groups for a sense of association, the nineteenth century residents of Salem were increasingly going outside the confines of the church to find social organizations that appealed to them.

The politicization of nineteenth-century Salem naturally followed. Contrary to the eighteenth-century Moravians who avoided secular political activity and affiliation as much as possible, the nineteenth-century Moravians participated in elections and some ran for office themselves. Initially, the militia companies were the springboard for introducing politics into town, hearing the latest news and witnessing debates while attending muster. By the 1830s, Salem's citizens became reactionary to the prior control exercised over them by the

church boards, and politics were one arena where “the efforts of the citizens to gain control of the institutions that directed their lives”³⁸ could be played out. Church leaders attempted to allow only a small amount of political rhetoric into town. As late as the 1840s, the Aufseher Collegium objected to the publication of a newspaper printing the views of the political parties, but “as with other matters facing the community, it was futile for church leaders to attempt to push back the tides flowing in Salem.”³⁹ The turning point came in 1849 when Forsyth County was formed from Stokes County, and the Congregation Council and Aufseher Collegium considered it a positive move to sell land immediately north of town to establish the new county seat of Winston. To further enhance the benefit of its proximity to Salem, they specified “that the courthouse had to be located in the middle of this land, and that streets laid out on this land were to be a continuation of Salem streets.” The Salem Concert Hall would serve as the provisional courthouse.⁴⁰ The pieces were now in place for a complete change from the congregation town of the early years to a secular town.

The most definitive single act of change took place in 1856. The population of Salem was more than twelve hundred, but only slightly more than half were Moravian.⁴¹ In light of this fact, and other changes to the original Brotherly Agreement used to unite the original congregation town, the Aufseher Collegium ended the lease system on January 31, 1856, allowing that “lots in town be held in fee simple.”⁴² Residents would own their home and lot, ending the control of the church board, however arbitrary it had become, over the activities taking place there. The proposal then passed through the Provincial Elder’s Conference and Congregation Council unopposed, and was ratified by the Provinzial Helfer Conferenz.⁴³ Francis Fries presented a resolution on November 28, 1856, at a town meeting to petition the General Assembly for incorporation. The North Carolina General Assembly ratified the petition on December 13, 1856. The transformation was complete; however, the residents of Salem were still very loyal to the Moravian church as a religious institution. “That they dismantled the congregational structures of life in Salem and embraced the civil and economic institutions of a secular society does not demonstrate a decline in piety or religious feeling among the Moravians.”⁴⁴ Salem entered the decade of the Civil War as a newly incorporated town with a vital economy linked to the entire nation, but more importantly linked socially, politically, and economically to the South.

committees on campus, and attending their public lectures. Being active in the larger community is useful, too. One meets faculty at elementary and secondary schools, children’s soccer games, church or synagogue, meetings of political and activist organizations and elsewhere. It is very easy to work in an enthusiastic description of materials related to a scholar’s research and teaching during a casual conversation.

In order to facilitate all these outreach efforts, we have formed a Public Relations Team, comprised of representatives of each of our Research Centers, staff of our Research Services and Technical Services areas, and Ilene Nelson, the Director of Communication for the Perkins Libraries. The PR Team meets monthly to plan exhibits, readings and other special events, and coordinate publicity for Special Collections.

All of these initiatives work, slowly and incrementally, to raise our profile. It is useful, however, to examine which approaches work best. In an academic setting, faculty is key to student involvement. Faculty decides whether to encourage, or even require, the use of primary sources in research. Students emulate their professors’ attitudes towards research. If the professors value primary research, the students will do it and, generally, find it rewarding. Often exhibits work very well, attracting the attention of visitors, faculty and students. This is apparent when we are asked to remove something from the cases for a researcher or when someone comes months or years later asking about an item they saw displayed. If you can manage to create a virtual exhibit to accompany or follow the actual one, the effectiveness of an exhibit for outreach is vastly extended.

It is not always clear how effective the open houses, receptions and special events are. For example, if we hold the papers of the author who is reading, that probably has more impact than a reading by an author whose papers we do not collect. Sometimes the outreach has the effect of inspiring an important donation of material. Perhaps a photographer with a collection that needs a home attends a lecture by a documentary photographer who has already donated his/her collection. Those connections are invaluable and one can never predict what might transpire. Some of our events seem to attract only Special Collections staff. These can be stimulating and informative, but are not effective outreach efforts. Sometimes our marketing efforts have unanticipated results. For example, our advertising websites were intended to make available fragile, late nineteenth and early twentieth-

evant materials. We hold sessions during the class period in our Mary Duke Biddle Rare Book Room during which we give an overview of our collections, describe the logistics of using special collections and show examples of materials in a variety of formats related to the specific subject of the course. We suggest possible paper topics supported by these materials. Thanks to the largesse of the late Chester P. Middlesworth, we are able to offer an additional incentive for student research in Special Collections, the Middlesworth Awards. Faculty members nominate the students who have written outstanding papers for their classes during a given academic year. A committee comprised of Duke professors and librarians evaluates the papers that are submitted and chooses as winners the undergraduate and graduate students who have written the best papers using Special Collections materials. We hold a reception and award a certificate and a check for \$400, with \$100 for the runner-up in each category.

Like many archives, we regularly hold exhibits to promote our collections. Two small cases always display Special Collections materials and we hold extensive exhibits in the library lobby at least twice each year. We view the exhibits as a potentially effective form of advertising and strive to make our exhibits eye-catching and timely. They are often mounted in conjunction with a conference, new acquisition or current event such as the new millennium. It is important that our exhibits highlight distinctive and interesting parts of our collection, so viewers will associate us with the aspects we wish to celebrate.

During the fall of 2002, we held several open houses, one for the scholars at the National Humanities Center and another for the first-year Duke students. We invited the entire library staff, many faculty members, including the entire faculties of the English and History departments and selected individuals in other disciplines. An invitation to a third such event for the campus community appeared as an ad in the student newspaper. We use our pretty Rare Book Room as a space to hold open houses and gatherings such as author readings, receptions celebrating exhibit openings, and faculty and guest lectures. These events offer a great opportunity to meet faculty and members of the community and to discuss our holdings in an informal setting.

One of the best ways to open doors with faculty is meeting them on their own ground through assisting with their research questions and needs for illustrations for their books and articles, participating in

The election of 1860 witnessed a change in Forsyth County politics. The strongly democratic county of former years now backed the Whigs whom they saw as preservers of the Union. Some in Forsyth County still supported the democrats and, on the whole, viewed the Whigs and Democrats “as the best defenders of slavery and southern rights, thereby acknowledging a popular commitment to these issues.”⁴⁵ Forsyth’s newspapers chose sides, the *Western Sentinel* supporting the Democrats and *The People’s Press* the Whigs. Local offices were taken by the Whigs, and the county majority voted for the Bell and Everett ticket of the Constitutional Unionist party for president. Like most of North Carolina, support for John Bell and his party was based on their commitment to preserve the Union while at the same time supporting Southern issues of states’ rights and slavery. When Abraham Lincoln won the election, Charles Bahnson, then living in Philadelphia, wrote home to his father, George Bahnson, Bishop of the Southern District in Salem, “The election has turned out badly for us; all are looking anxiously for news from the South, and many different opinions are expressed as to how the affair will terminate.”⁴⁶ At the Watch Night service⁴⁷ on New Year’s Eve, 1860, the Moravian tradition of reading the Memorabilia of the Congregation for that year was kept, revealing the effect of the election on the town: “. . . we cannot conceal from ourselves the mournful fact that we are now through the madness of political strife between two different sections of country, in the most fearful and perilous crisis which has occurred in our history as a nation. The triumph of a sectional majority in the election of their candidate to the presidency has strained to the utmost the cords which during three fourths of a century have bound together our growing republic—if indeed it has not already caused them to part asunder forever. Like a ship laboring in the storm and suddenly grounded upon some dangerous shoal, every timber of this vast confederacy strains and groans under the pressure.”⁴⁸ Remaining allied with the rest of the state, Salem took a wait-and-see attitude concerning secession.

Early meetings to discuss the issue ended in opposition to secession as long as the Lincoln administration did not act against the South. Following a meeting on January 4, 1861, they were “firm in the resolve that the people of Forsyth County would brook no interference with their Constitutional rights.”⁴⁹ Lincoln’s call for troops following the April 12, 1861 bombardment of Fort Sumter, South Carolina disappointed many Salem citizens, who had trusted his pledge to preserve the Union. Charles Bahnson wrote to his father from Philadelphia on April 16, “At last war has commenced, if we can place reliance on the

reports that are continually arriving. Here, active preparations [sic] are making to 'crush' the rebels as they derisively term Southerners; many are enlisting in military companies already formed, while others are forming new ones for the occasion. . . I am getting awfully disgusted with the North, a person dare not go on any prominent street, and speak in favor of the South. Several have been very nearly killed for uttering their sentiments."⁵⁰ He wrote again the next day, "Now I want your advice as to what I shall do if our good old North State secedes. . . . Please write as soon as you can and tell me what to do, and also what the sentiment is at home."⁵¹ Salem's Whig newspaper, *The People's Press*, stated the town's position on April 26: "The border states have 'watched and waited,' and had reason to hope for a peaceable settlement of our troubles, but the 'die is cast,'—war is inevitably upon us, and there is no alternative left. — We have been grossly deceived and insulted by Lincoln."⁵² Rufus Patterson and Thomas J. Wilson were elected as delegates to the secession convention that ratified the Confederate States' Constitution and entered North Carolina into the Confederate States of America officially on May 20, 1861. Active preparations then began for war.

The town of Salem enthusiastically supported the early mobilization of Confederate troops and supplies. On April 27, 1861, the district militia spoke on Salem's square "upon the present critical state of the country, and urging the formation of volunteer companies."⁵³ Initially two volunteer companies assembled with around fifty members each. The "Forsyth Rifles," or "Forsyth Riflemen," organized on May 22 with Alfred Horatio Belo as their captain.⁵⁴ They became Company I, 11th Regiment North Carolina Volunteers, Company D, 21st Regiment North Carolina Troops.⁵⁵ On May 24, Captain Rufus Wharton headed the second company, the "Forsyth Grays,"⁵⁶ Company E, 11th Regiment North Carolina Volunteers, 21st Regiment North Carolina Troops. The men prepared for war by drilling with Mexican War veteran, Colonel Joseph Masten of Winston.⁵⁷

The civilians of Salem did their part to ensure the readiness of their men to join the Confederate army. On May 3, 1861, *The People's Press* reported, "With commendable spirit, the Messrs. Fries have presented the two volunteer companies formed in this place and vicinity, numbering about 100, the material, and the ladies of Salem are busily engaged in the Temperance and Odd Fellow Halls, in making up the Uniforms and preparing other supplies, thus contributing to the defence [sic] of the State."⁵⁸ In addition to uniforms, Bettie and Laura Lemly, Mollie and Carrie Fries, and Nellie Belo made a flag for the

grated Special Collections that combines rare books, manuscripts and other formats, including photographs, posters, audiotapes, and audiovisual materials. We are in a university setting, but are not a university archive. We house a wide range of materials in terms of chronological breadth, historical and current collecting areas and three distinct research centers focusing on Advertising, Women's Studies, and African and African American Studies, respectively. We employ an unusually large staff (27 f.t.e.'s, 4 interns and around 22 student assistants) each of whom performs distinctive functions, so the various tasks are decentralized. It is important for each of us to identify what is distinctive about our respective institutions in order to focus our outreach efforts and identify the target audiences most likely to be receptive to our overtures.

What motivates our outreach efforts? Outreach is identified as important at every level. It is an important aspect of our departmental mission: establishing contact with ever more faculty and community groups, providing library instruction sessions for more Duke classes in more different disciplines, and spreading the word about our resources through creating real and virtual exhibits and by participating in OCLC and RLIN and various Web projects. It is part of the larger library system's goal of ensuring that the library is the heart of the university. It is part of the university's goal of furthering town-gown relations and enhancing our local, national and international reputation. Point five of the Association of Research Libraries (ARL) Task Force on Special Collections states: "Promote special collections as fundamental to the mission of the research library." The Triangle Research Libraries Network (TRLN), comprised of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina State University, Duke University, and North Carolina Central University, is working toward local implementation of the ARL Agenda. The TRLN Special Collections Working Group has drafted an agenda that includes outreach obliquely in its suggestion for cooperative digitization projects. Informally, though, outreach is a shared mission among TRLN institutions, resulting in cooperation with Web projects, document delivery and other initiatives.

Outreach in Duke's Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library takes several forms. One of the traditional approaches is library instruction. Research services staff members check the course listings every semester and contact the instructor of each course that seems like a possible candidate for library instruction--courses that require a research paper or project in a subject for which we have rel-

product offered by our competitors, and establishing some notion of brand loyalty in our patrons. Members of SNCA work in diverse institutions with different goals, customer bases, budgets and products. We are all, however, engaged in outreach to our respective audiences. Why is outreach, or marketing, important? It is fundamental to assuring our viability within our larger organization. In Duke's Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, the number of patrons who visit or submit queries each year and the distribution of their demographic characteristics (genealogist, undergraduate student, visiting researcher, etc.) are crucial statistics in our annual report. Positive feedback from our faculty, students and other patrons is cherished and communicated to those who evaluate us and control our budgets. Any negative feedback would result in immediate action: an apology, an examination of our policies and procedures to see if we were in the wrong or another appropriate response. We strive to have the maximum possible number of satisfied customers given the available resources.

As in all enterprises, there are aspects we control, and factors beyond our control.¹ We control our organizational objectives, our level of service and the pricing of services. We do not control the patron. We can select, target, evaluate, appeal to and react to, but not control patron characteristics. We do not control the competition. We have to establish a product or service differential from the product/service of the competition in the patron's eyes--basically, establish a brand loyalty that differentiates what we offer from what is available in the university library's open stacks or via a Google search. We do not control the nature or pace of technological changes. This is an especially important factor in marketing special collections, as the disincentives presented by our limited hours and intrinsic challenges of using primary sources seem more discouraging when compared to the 24/7 availability of online materials. We certainly do not control the economy. Economic downturn can, in our case, result in a dramatic reduction in our ability to provide our core staffing and services, alter the number of graduate students enrolled in our programs and make it difficult for scholars to secure funding for travel to archival repositories. How to cope with the challenges presented when an organization has established a loyal following with expectations of a certain level of service and then is forced by cuts in funding to reduce services would require a separate paper.

Outreach/marketing positions an organization in the mind of the consumer, communicating what we want to be identified as our distinctive characteristics. Duke University's Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library is distinctive in a number of ways. We are an inte-

Forsyth Rifles to take to camp with them. In his memoir, Alfred Belo recalled, "My company was the color company, and the young ladies of Salem had given me a very handsome silk flag, the presentation of which took place on the steps of my father's homestead."⁵⁹ On June 6, Caroline "Carrie" Fries wrote to Dr. John Francis Shaffner, with the Forsyth Rifles illustrating the viewpoint of the young ladies in town, "You spoke of the bravery of the women of the South,—I think their hardest struggle is after the excitement of preparation is over and they are left to await the future as best they can."⁶⁰

Other aspects of Salem's life were disrupted by the early excitement and uncertainty of war. On May 14, the Provinzial Aeltesten Konferenz⁶¹ discussed "whether it might not be advisable, due to the threatened war between the North and South to have the brethren and boys from Wachovia who are studying in Bethlehem and Nazareth return home." The question was held over to learn the parents' wishes.⁶² Charles Bahnsen, one of the Salemites then living in Pennsylvania, wrote home to his father, George on April 17, 1861, telling of the situation for Southerners in the North, "it is said that a Vigilance Committee will be formed, and all Southerners warned to leave; they also say that they know the names of all the Southerners in town, and if that is the case mine will be on the list for I have been a great deal at the Hotels with the merchants, and introduced to many persons as a Southerner."⁶³ The Salem Female Academy, a boarding school for girls from across the South and East, closed on May 29 for the term as usual, but "The examinations this year were limited to one day on account of the numerous departures of scholars for their homes during the last weeks, the present unsettled and alarming cord of the country having caused many persons living at a distance to prefer having their daughters at home."⁶⁴ A June 19 decision by the Provinzial Aeltesten Konferenz amended the wording of the prayers and litany of the church to reflect the new Confederate government, and "the prayer at times of war, that they would be consistent with our present circumstances." Copies were sent "to all ministers in Wachovia, directing them to make use of them when they pray the church litany."⁶⁵ This action was put into practice when June 13 "was observed as a day of fasting, prayer, and humiliation upon the recommendation of the President of the Confederate States. We conformed with the request of the Congress of the same. At 10 a.m. there was a public service, which was numerously attended."⁶⁶ Outward support for the Confederacy was seen in town. *The People's Press* reported "a Southern Confederacy flag flung to the breeze at Mr. Jos. O. Hall's corner, on

Main Street” on May 3, 1861.⁶⁷ Salem was reacting to the impending war as many other communities in the South—their eager desire to support their troops, their state, and the Confederacy permeating daily life.

Finally, on June 17 the preparations were complete and the Forsyth Rifles and Forsyth Grays headed off to war. Captain Belo of the Forsyth Rifles described the scene as “pathetic.”⁶⁸ The companies were first bound to Danville, Virginia, in wagons loaned to them by the townspeople. On June 21 *The People’s Press* gave an account of the departure of the first troops from Salem:

About 7 o’clock a long train of wagons, to the number of some 40, passing through Main Street, announced the advent of the soldiers into town. The wagons passed on to the ‘Bridge,’ but the Volunteers marched in regular order, headed by the Brass Band, and halted in front of the Female Academy, where, in the presence of a large concourse of people of ‘all ages, sexes, and conditions’ the Rt. Rev. Geo. F. Bahnson delivered a brief but pertinent address, encouraging the soldiers to the performance of their duty, warning against the temptations of a soldier’s life, and commending them to the God of Battles. He then introduced Rev. Michael Doub, who, in a very appropriate and feeling address, also spoke words of comfort and encouragement to our soldier friends, warned them to beware of the temptations incident to the life they entered upon, and commended them to the keeping of an allwise Providence. The ceremony was closed by Bishop Bahnson with a fervent prayer and benediction. It was truly a solemn and affecting scene to witness this religious ceremony on the eve of the departure of our brave Volunteers to a neighboring State,—(generally conceded to be the battle ground)—surrounded, as they were, by a large number of distressed and weeping relatives and friends. And, at the close of the ceremony, when the order of march was given, a scene presented itself which will long be remembered: It was the parting of husband and wife, brothers and sisters, parents and children, perhaps forever. A large number of persons accompanied the Volunteers to the ‘Bridge,’ where the wagons were waiting to convey them to their destination. At the final parting there, cheer upon cheer rent the air in honor of those brave men who were going forth to peril their lives in defence [sic] of Southern soil.⁶⁹

Marketing Special Collections to Faculty, Students, and the Rest of the World

Elizabeth Dunn

This essay is a revised version of a talk delivered by Ms. Dunn at the Fall 2002 meeting of the Society of North Carolina Archivists in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, October 11, 2002.

Abstract

The author describes the motivations for outreach efforts in archival repositories in academic settings; explores some of the issues involved in outreach; outlines the various initiatives pursued by Duke University’s Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library; and highlights those approaches that work and those that are typically less successful.

Twenty years ago, when university students were required to pursue research using primary sources, their institution’s library stacks and archival collections were the only game in town. Historians and other advanced researchers knew that their chosen profession would require lengthy visits to musty repositories to examine old documents and take detailed notes. This era has long since passed. The options for current researchers at all levels are numerous: microfilm sets, available locally or through Interlibrary Loan; subscription databases providing extensive collections of primary source material; and attractive websites which often provide both facsimiles and transcripts of documents. Archives in college and university settings have competition and must find creative ways to reach out to potential users, persuading them to visit our reading rooms and websites.

It is not much of a stretch to realize that outreach is simply marketing. When we talk about attracting patrons, it is really another way to describe attracting customers, convincing them that we have something to offer that is distinctive or superior in some way to the service or

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women's recruitment brochures, and fifty images of artifacts. If time allows, some letters and diaries may be included in the project.

Another collection of World War II stories has been jointly created by the University of North Carolina at Wilmington's William M. Randall Library and the Cape Fear Museum and funded by a grant from North Carolina ECHO is a web page titled *World War II: Through the Eyes of the Cape Fear*. Interviewers collected stories about their World War II experiences from people connected to or now living in southeastern North Carolina. All of these interviews are videotaped, transcribed and are housed in the Special Collections Department of the Randall Library. Transcripts (and in certain cases audio and video clips) of the interviews are mounted on the web at <http://capefearww2.uncwil.edu/voices/voices.html>. In addition to the interviews, the web site includes art, maps, and items relating to daily life during World War II.

These efforts, as few others, encourage the participation of all citizens in telling the stories of their experiences or in preserving the recollections of community members whose wartime service should be remembered. Explaining the rationale behind the Veterans History Project's reliance on volunteers, senior program officer Sarah Rouse said:

Congress wanted the project to be 'process' as well as 'product'—the process of intergenerational dialogue about citizens' wartime experience, about a meeting between various communities such as the military veteran community and the historian—professional and amateur—community, and about the process of public learning about wartime, veterans, and historical methodology in a way that people of all ages and interest could become involved. The professional historians are doing a fine job of interviewing veterans and home front supporters in many academic and community-based veterans history projects, and it was felt that ordinary citizens with curiosity and desire to take action could be well served by having an entree into the rewarding task of recording history.

These projects provide opportunities for Americans of all ages and backgrounds to play a personal role in the preservation of our national collective memory.

Note

Much of this information came from web sites for the projects described. For more information on the Veterans History Project, see <http://web.loc.gov/folklife/vets/>; on the Women Veterans Historical Collection, UNC-G, see <http://library.uncg.edu/depts/archives/veterans/index.html>; and on the UNC-W project, see <http://capefearww2.uncwil.edu/>.

This demonstration in support of the troops illustrates the Moravians' dedication to their region, and the blessing of the Southern Bishop, George Bahnson, provides a definite act detaching Moravians from their former adherence to pacifism.

Salem moved into the Civil War full forward, with more companies following the first two. On June 24, Reverend Bahnson went into the camp of the "Forsyth Southrons" to address the men before they joined the 21st Regiment in Danville as Company K. Captain Francis P. Miller organized the company in Forsyth County on June 11.⁷⁰ The fourth company, "The Confederate Stars," organized in July and August in Pfafftown, Forsyth County under George Stowe. They mustered into service October 30, 1861, becoming Company I, 33rd Regiment North Carolina Troops.⁷¹

The early summer began much like any other, but sentiments in town depict excitement and fervor over the current state of affairs. Carrie Fries and John Shaffner continued their correspondence, and on July 7, Carrie refers to the flag she and her friends sent with the Forsyth Rifles, "I was anxious to hear what flags the other companies had, and am glad that those we made are not surpassed by others; also that yours is much admired. I always like the motto and 15 stars better than the other."⁷² The Fries sisters, Carrie and Mollie, continued their work through the summer to supply the troops. On June 23, Carrie wrote, "conclude to fix a box to send to Danville. I go to church, Mother and Mollie attend to the baking, and when I get back they are marking Captain Miller's blankets."⁷³ They made more uniforms: "Mother cuts out a uniform coat for Doctor. . . . I sew on the machine all afternoon."⁷⁴ Other necessary items were also made, as mentioned in the entry of July 15: "Mollie moulded bullets this afternoon and mother cut out."⁷⁵

Most sentiments in Salem were allied with the Southern efforts, and Northerners, even if connected to the Moravian church, were frowned upon. On July 10, Samuel C. James, 21st Regiment, wrote to Christian Thomas Pfohl, an employee of the F. & H. Fries Woolen Mill, "Hy. Fries refused to receive a certain young gent from Bethlehem, that must have cut him pretty deep, but I think that is just the kind of treatment he deserves [sic] at the hands of his former friends in Salem, especially if it be true that he has taken the oath of allegiance to support the North, if that can be ascertained [sic] to be true, no man ought to pay him a cent of money, but on the other hand, confiscate

his property and take him a prisoner of war.”⁷⁶ Efforts continued to raise more volunteer companies for the Confederate Army, as illustrated in an advertisement running in *The People's Press* for “100 Young Active Men of Good Character” and offering a fifteen dollar bounty.⁷⁷

With the departure of the first troops, the reality of war began to settle on Salem, the first real signs coming in July 1861. On Tuesday, July 23, the Salem diarist recorded that, “In the afternoon the report reached us that a bloody battle had been fought on Sunday near Manassas Junction, Virginia between the Confederate troops and the soldiers of Lincoln. The former are said to have gained a decided victory. As it is pretty certain that the regiment to which our young men belong was on the spot, the anxiety is very great on their account.”⁷⁸ The 21st Regiment, with three companies from Forsyth, was indirectly involved in the battle of First Manassas. On July 18, the regiment was assigned to General M.L. Bonham’s brigade at Mitchell’s Ford, Virginia. They were involved in brief skirmishing on that day, but only participated in the pursuit after the Confederate victory at Manassas Junction on July 21.⁷⁹ Letters from the front illustrate the determination and high morale of the men following their victory. Captain Alfred H. Belo wrote to Carrie Fries, “Carrie I assure you that it is magnificently grand to hear the continued rattle of musketry, the clash of bayonets, the shouts of exultation rending the air when any point is attained, mingled with the booming field pieces, and no one can adequately realize it, unless by actual experience.”⁸⁰ First Sergeant William J. Pfohl wrote to his cousin Christian Pfohl, “If I think of the easy times I might have at home, I begin to long to be away, but if I look upon the cause in which we are engaged, I am nerved up to any emergency.”⁸¹ At home, reactions were of concern, but also thrill over the Confederate victory. The Salem Diary recorded a prayer meeting on July 26, “in which we returned thanks for the preservation of those near and dear to us,” and a public service on Sunday, July 28, where “we offered up our thanksgiving and praise for the great victory gained by the Confederate States troops on Sunday last.”⁸² In September, ladies from town traveled to Manassas Junction to nurse the sick men of the 21st Regiment. Carrie Fries noted, “I went down to aunt Emma and Mrs. Lemly to see what they are giving to send with the nurses that intend leaving for Manassas Junction.”⁸³

Efforts to support the troops continued in Salem. The church diary records the collection of funds to provide the soldiers with copies of

The collection so far has focussed on World War II, the first war in which women served in large numbers. It does, however, contain some items relating to other wars, most notably, the collection of Dr. Anna Maria Gove, college physician and professor of hygiene at the State Normal and Industrial School (now UNC-G) from 1893 to 1937, who served in France in 1917-1918. The Gove collection includes maps, newspapers, and mementos of her service in the Red Cross, as well as photographs taken in France during the war, and her World War I uniforms. The Women Veterans Historical Collection will be expanded in the future to include materials relating to women veterans of the Korean, Vietnam, and Persian Gulf wars.

The current collection contains letters, photographs, diaries, uniforms, medals, posters, training manuals, dog tags, shoes and sheet music—approximately 150 linear feet of material. Nearly every branch of service available to women is represented: WASP (Women Air Force Service Pilots) wings and a patch pin of their mascot, Fifinella; a photograph of a SPARs (Coast Guard Women’s Reserve, from the motto, “Semper Paratus”—Always Ready) training group; WAC (Women’s Army Corps) service medals; a uniform jacket of the Women Marines; blue and white seersucker uniforms worn by WAVES in World War II; along with many other items.

In addition to the papers and memorabilia in the collection, University Archives staff has extended the project to include oral histories with approximately 175 women veterans. Former Jackson Library research assistants Hermann Trojanowski ’98 MLIS and Eric Elliott and Assistant University Archivist Janis Holder visited women to record their stories. Most of the women interviewed served during World War II; many were graduates of the Woman’s College of the University of North Carolina (now UNC-G). The interviewees recounted their experiences doing secretarial work, serving coffee and doughnuts or working as dietitians, librarians, recreation leaders, nurses, or airplane mechanics.

The most recent addition to the Women Veterans' Historical Project is a digitization project, funded by a LSTA North Carolina ECHO (“Exploring Cultural Heritage Online”) grant administered by the State Library of North Carolina. The Women in the Military in World War II Resource Project will make approximately 125 oral history interview transcripts available on the worldwide web. Also scanned and mounted on the web will be about 250 photographic images, thirty World War II women's recruitment posters, twelve

used by researchers at the Library of Congress and to be included in exhibitions and presentations on the Library's web site. A biographical data form for interviewees provides the information needed to include interview subjects in the National Registry of Service. Audio and video recording logs, photograph logs and manuscript data sheets furnish information that assists the Library in preparing descriptions of the material for inclusion in the national catalog of the National Veterans History Collection. Materials donated to local archives, libraries or historical societies may be considered part of the National Veterans History Collection if information is submitted so that it can be included in the National Registry of Service and the national catalog. The Project Kit also contains interviewing and recording guidelines, suggested questions for interviews, transcribing and indexing tips, suggestions for finding or creating a home for interviews, bibliographies and other resources and descriptions of model projects.

Among the stories collected and cataloged by the Veterans History Project will be stories like those collected for the Women Veterans Historical Collection in the University Archives, Walter Clinton Jackson Library, University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNC-G). The Women Veterans Historical Collection contains correspondence, newspapers, photographs, published materials, uniforms, medals, memorabilia and oral histories. These materials form a research collection documenting the female experience in the Armed Forces of the United States. The nucleus of the collection is comprised of uniforms and other memorabilia donated by Woman's College (now UNC-G) veterans of the WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service – Navy) to the university's Alumni Association in 1992 and transferred to the University Archives in 1997. Since 1998, the University Archives has purchased additional material, has received materials donated by other women veterans and has conducted oral histories.

The idea for the Women's Veterans Historical Collection arose when members of the university's class of 1950 told University Archivist Betty Carter about veterans in their class and the impact the veterans made on classmates at the Woman's College, as well as on military organizations, family, and friends. University Archives staff searched wartime student and alumni publications to identify veterans. Carter then wrote to 180 women to ask them to donate war paraphernalia and to participate in taped interviews about why they joined the war effort and how it affected their lives.

the Old and New Testaments, and also the daily tracts used as a part of Moravian worship.⁸⁴ Services were held throughout the fall, observing days of thanksgiving and prayer as requested by Confederate and State government officials. In August *The People's Press* reported a barbecue given in the hopes of raising another company of men.⁸⁵ A fifth company from Forsyth and surrounding counties was organized under Captain William H. Wheeler on September 16, 1861. They became Company G, Second Battalion North Carolina Troops in January 1862.⁸⁶ Some of Salem's ladies made a flag for the Wheeler's company, based on the first national pattern. Addie Shober, Bettie Lemly, Lavinia Boner, Laura Lemly, and Kate Kremer privately presented the flag to Captain Wheeler and his adjutant, Charles Bahnson, as sudden marching orders precluded the arranged public presentation.⁸⁷

The People's Press also published several appeals for aid to the soldiers. On August 16, "A Call to the Ladies" proposed "that the ladies of Salem and Winston immediately organize a 'Relief Association,' . . . for the purpose of getting a supply of Blankets, Socks, &c., to be sent forward at the proper time to our patriotic band of volunteers."⁸⁸ On September 10, the Salem Ladies' Relief Society gave a concert with the proceeds going toward equipment for Forsyth County's Company I, 33rd North Carolina Regiment.⁸⁹ A letter written by the Central Committee, composed of many of Salem's leading citizens, was printed in the August 23 issue of *The People's Press*, asking for contributions to send to the Forsyth companies at Manassas, specifically shoes, socks, shirts, gloves, comforts, drawers, and blankets.⁹⁰ In keeping with these requests, *The People's Press* began to print a regular column enumerating the donations of the citizens.

Support for the Confederacy took on other faces as well. Carrie Fries wrote to John Shaffner describing her sister Mary's outward endorsement: "Today Mollie went to school with a 'Confederate Apron' on. I wish you could see her wear it. It is made of very bright colors, the three bars form the apron and the body is made of blue with 12 yellow stars in a circle. When we commenced making it, I thought it would look gaudy and out of place, but since it is finished it really makes a very pretty and neat appearance. Father admires it exceedingly. He wanted her to wear it to church yesterday, but she was afraid she would disturb the congregation. She is making quite a show of her devotion to the Southern cause, but it is not all show, for she works for the soldiers in every spare minute she has. We are all knitting and as soon as she finishes one thing she has another on the needles."⁹¹

Curiosity abounded in Salem. Along with almost daily reports from the men in the field printed in *The People's Press*, the Salem Museum advertised "a BOMB, said to have been shot at and passed over the Forsyth Volunteers at the Battle of Manassas, and to have been thrown a distance of three miles."⁹² Henry W. Barrow wrote to John W. Fries, "I have been trying to find you a very nice Bomb Shell, if I succeed I will try and send it by the first opportunity I saw a peculiar one the other day it was all scolloped [sic] out it was a butiful [sic] one but the young man would not let me have it."⁹³

Of course, not everyone in Salem was in favor of the Confederacy and the war effort. Samuel James addressed the issue in his letter to Christian Pfohl on September 5, "What do the old abe union men of Forsyth have to say now, about the union and there being no use of going to war, since the enemy have a foot holt [sic] in and are now treading on the soil of North Carolina. I should think it ought to be a good time for the right kind of man to make up a company in Forsyth."⁹⁴ Alfred Belo wrote Carrie Fries on September 15, "You mention the arrival of some just from Yankeedom. Southern men converted after the battles of Bull Run and Manassas Plains, are certainly entitled to some consideration!"⁹⁵

The year 1861 passed, and Salem entered 1862 supporting the Confederate effort. On the first day of 1862, Carrie Fries wrote to John Shaffner, "Last night at the 12 o'clock meeting, my thoughts wandered to camp, I wonder whether any there were awake thinking of us. Mr. Bahnson kept [the service]. His address was good, but his prayer the first in this year was far better. He remembered everything, but our cause and our friends above all else."⁹⁶ Confidence soared in the seemingly invincible Confederacy, as shown in a letter from John Shaffner to Christian Thomas Pfohl on February 4, 1862: "The Lincoln Government has exhibited its weakness, and neither Louis Napoleon [sic] nor England will longer have anything tangible to fear.— Meanwhile, we should make strenuous efforts to achieve a few more decisive victories.—All the world stands surprised and in admiration of Southern valor and heroism, and even one more successful rout of the Yankees will throw the weight of European interference into our balance."⁹⁷

Salem's *The People's Press* was adamant over defending their loyalty to the South. On January 17, 1862, the *Press* published a letter originally appearing in the *Richmond Examiner*: "There is a strip of country in North Carolina which is largely disloyal. Beginning with Ran-

projects can become Official Partners of the Veterans History Project. Teachers and students, participants in after-school programs and youth groups can become Official Youth Partners. In 2002, AARP (formerly known as the American Association of Retired Persons) became the founding corporate sponsor and partner. AARP will inform its 35 million members and its national volunteer network about the project and the importance of getting involved. Through 2005, AARP will be sponsoring national- and state-level events to raise awareness and encourage involvement in the project.

Other partner organizations agree to promote the project in various ways, such as recruiting volunteers to identify and interview war veterans; distributing or reproducing brochures and how-to kits; training volunteers; providing or lending equipment or materials to record interviews; increasing public awareness of the project; creating events to present the stories and materials collected; and preserving veterans' histories and making them accessible to the public. Currently, 54 organizations are listed on the Veterans History Project web site as national partners. These include the American Association for State and Local History, the American Folklore Society, the American Historical Association, Oral History Association, Society of American Archivists, as well as numerous veterans' organizations, military organizations and other groups. State partners in North Carolina are the Camp Johnson Young Marines, the Combat Infantrymen Association, the Graveyard of the Atlantic Museum, Sandhills Community College, the Sandhills Family Heritage Association, Southern Oral History Program, the UNC-Wilmington Gerontology Program and the Women Veterans Historical Project at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Individuals are encouraged to interview veterans or war workers or to collect war letters, diaries, photographs and other materials and donate them to the Library of Congress or to another repository. The Library of Congress will create a National Veterans History Collection and a catalog of all the oral histories and documentation collected, including items preserved at other sites by participating partners. The Library will also develop presentations of selected portions of the collection on its American Memory web site.

The Veterans History Project web site provides a Project Kit, which includes information and forms for volunteer interviewers. The Project Kit contains release forms to be signed by the veteran or civilian interviewed and by the interviewer in order to allow materials to be

leaders to advise the project, recruited partner organizations, collected interviews and other materials documenting the experiences of more than 2,400 veterans, mounted a web site with information about how to participate in the project as well as a few veterans' stories and promoted the project in other ways.

The goals of the Veterans History Project are:

- To stimulate opportunities for public learning by inviting, advising and supporting individuals and groups participating in the Veterans History Project;
- To engage veterans, military, history, educational and civic organizations as partners to identify, interview and collect documents from war veterans and civilians who served to support them;
- To preserve and present the collected materials to the public through the Library of Congress's exhibitions, publications, public programs and web site;
- To identify veterans' oral history programs and archives; to recognize and work with them to expand the Veterans History Project initiative; and
- To create a comprehensive and searchable national catalog of all oral histories and documents collected as a result of this project.

To date, the Veterans History Project has collected interviews and documentary materials for more than 2,400 veterans. Most of the interviews donated to the project were recorded by family members, friends, neighbors, students or other volunteers and touch on all aspects of America's war experiences at home and abroad. Excerpts from several interviews are available on the Project's web site at www.loc.gov/folklife/vets. On Veterans Day, 11 November 2002, the Project added a National Registry of Service to the web site. For all those military veterans and civilians whose oral history and other personal wartime accounts have been donated to the Library of Congress, the National Registry of Service (www.loc.gov/vets/vets-registry.html), lists name, date and place of birth, branch of service, war(s), unit and location of service, interviewer or donor of material and the donor's institutional affiliation, if any.

The Veterans History Project encourages organizations and individuals to participate in collecting the stories and experiences of the 19 million war veterans living in the United States today. Libraries and archives, museums, civic groups, veterans associations, military and history organizations, institutions of higher education and oral history

dolph and Guilford, it extends through Davidson, Forsyth, Davie, Yadkin, and into Wilkes. But the hotbed of toryism is in Forsyth county. The county votes about 2,500; and has furnished but about 250 to 300 men. The town of Salem is a Moravian settlement, and, while the people are honest and worthy in ordinary affairs of life, politically they are rotten to the core. No one can read the *Press* without discovering, under the editorials on 'Conservatism,' the spirit of disloyalty to the South."⁹⁸ The letter goes on to accuse Salem's citizens of "ridiculing" Confederate bonds, and corresponding with the Lincoln government. The writer states that a Winston tailor, probably Peter Wilson, receives numerous government contracts for uniforms, but totally opposes the Confederacy. The *Press* quickly rebutted, claiming that "Traveler," the author of the original letter, was probably a citizen of the Salem vicinity. Along with defending the paper's innocence against charges of anti-Confederate sentiments in the form of conservatism, the editor enumerates the contributions of the county to the war effort:

This 'disloyal' County through the Central Committee has expended for our five volunteer companies the sum of \$11,287.47; assistance to volunteer's families, in monthly payments to the sub-committees, \$2,213.32. For the above figures we are indebted to Mr. Vogler, of the Central Committee, who also informed us that he packed and forwarded from his house alone, in the way of contributions, &c., between two and three hundred boxes in all; paid freights for such as did not go free, amounting to \$251; expenses incurred by nurses, having free transportation tickets, \$200.75. Also, about 200 pair of homemade Socks, 119 Blankets and Quilts were handed in for general distribution, besides numerous bundles and boxes, contents not enumerated, but far exceeding the other in variety and amount.

Other contributions, from town and country, such as shirts, gloves, drawers, &c., were also given with liberal hand.

We must content ourselves with the above brief summary of the contributions for the soldiers of this county, (not forgetting to give special credit to the Trustees of the Salem Female Academy for the very liberal donation of \$1000 to the Central Committee, at a time when most needed,) which will suffice to show the spirit which animates the citizens of Forsyth.

The Ladies of Salem, Winston, and vicinity, spent weeks in making clothing for the volunteers. And when the 11th (now 21st) Regiment N. C. Vol., was almost entirely prostrated with disease, a number of ladies formed a relief society, five of whom volunteered as nurses, leaving comfortable homes for the toils of a life in the hospital. Several gentlemen with their ladies accompanied them, and after ministering to the wants of the sick for about two months, with the most happy results, they returned home, with the assurance of having done their whole duty.

Does this look like there was any secret organization in this community to give aid and comfort to our enemies, or in any way opposing the Southern Confederacy? Let the tree be judged by its fruit.⁹⁹

This excerpt not only shows the paper's resolute denial brought about by the charges of the "Traveler" letter, but also specifies the physical, monetary, and material contributions of Salem and Forsyth County's citizens in the first year of war. Not only were people making clothing to send to the troops as earlier references discussed, but women traveled to the hospitals to nurse the sick, and cash donations were made to assist the soldiers and their families in a time when money was becoming scarce. *The People's Press* makes it clear that the town is dedicated to the Southern cause.

A somewhat different viewpoint on Salem's situation in 1862 is given by "Miss L," a Bethlehem, Pennsylvania student studying at the Salem Female Academy. Edmund de Schweinitz, editor of *The Moravian*, the official church newspaper in Bethlehem, printed an article entitled "Returned from the South" on January 9, 1862. As Miss L reported, "a few leading merchants in Salem were madly bent on separation from the north," but "the mass of people are still attached to the Union. . . . Few dare to proclaim Union sentiments, them of the Church without exception. . . . One Moravian from the north drills with the Home Guard because he fears not to do so would bring him persecution."¹⁰⁰ Although this statement, taken along with Traveler's letter, calls into question the alignment of Salem early in the war, the actions of the citizens and many of their letters sharply contradict these indications. Evidence shows that there were some individuals in Salem supporting the Union, but plainly not a majority, or even a largely significant amount. Miss L's report may have been skewed by her own allegiances, or perhaps to better suit the editor's purposes: at any rate it presents the fascinating

Stories of War: Collecting and Preserving Experiences of American Veterans

Linda Sellars

Abstract

With cooperation from individuals and organizations across the United States, the Veterans History Project of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress is collecting and preserving oral histories and other documentary materials of veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean, Vietnam, and Persian Gulf wars and those who served in support of them. This article describes the Veterans History Project and two North Carolina projects that are collecting veterans' stories. These are the Women Veterans Historical Collection in the University Archives, Walter Clinton Jackson Library, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and "World War II: Through the Eyes of the Cape Fear," jointly created by the University of North Carolina at Wilmington's William M. Randall Library and the Cape Fear Museum.

With cooperation from individuals and organizations across the United States, the Veterans History Project of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress is collecting and preserving oral histories and other documentary materials of veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean, Vietnam, and Persian Gulf wars and of those who served in support of them. Items include audio and video oral histories, letters, diaries, maps, photographs, and home movies of any participants of those wars. The Project documents the contributions of volunteers, support staff, and war industry workers, as well as military personnel from all ranks and all branches of service, including the Air Force, Army, Marine Corps, Navy, Coast Guard, and Merchant Marine.

The legislation authorizing the Veterans History Project, sponsored by Representatives Ron Kind, Amo Houghton and Steny Hoyer in the U.S. House of Representatives and Senators Max Cleland and Chuck Hagel in the U.S. Senate, received unanimous support and was signed into law by President Clinton on 27 October 2000. Since then, the Library of Congress has established a Five-Star Council of prominent

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218. Diary of Carrie Fries Shaffner, May 10, 1865, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
 219. Entries of May 25, July 2, July 9, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
 220. Entries of July 13, July 16, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
 221. Entry of July 4, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
 222. Diary of Carrie Fries Shaffner, May 20, 1865, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
 223. Edward Rondthaler, *Memorabilia of Fifty Years: 1877-1927* (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1928), x.
 224. Bradford L. Rauschenberg, *The Wachovia Historical Society 1895-1995* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: The Wachovia Historical Society, 1995), 30. Annual Report by the Secretary of the Young Men's Missionary Society, January 19, 1867, collection of the Wachovia Historical Society.
 225. Scrapbook, Julius A. Lineback Papers (#4547), SHC.
 226. Bahnsen, *Days of the War, 1861-1865*, 32.
 227. *Salem's Remembrancers: Seven Moravian Historians Who Presented Their Papers before The Wachovia Historical Society of Salem, North Carolina, 1898-1910* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: The Wachovia Historical Society, 1976), 66-79.

juxtaposition of the Moravians during the war due to their divided obligations between their church affiliation and their sectional alliance.

As shown in the rebuttal made by *The People's Press*, Salem's citizens contributed a significant amount to the state of North Carolina's war effort. The F. & H. Fries Woolen Mill had a government contract to produce cloth for North Carolina's soldiers. According to John W. Fries's *Remembrances of Confederate Days*, the mill sold a total of 221,850.51 yards of cloth to the state valued at \$724,665.59.¹⁰¹ A ledger book for the state of North Carolina in account with the Fries Mill lists "black mixed and cadet" cloth received by state quartermasters, cloth paid for by P. A. Wilson, a Winston tailor with a government contract to make uniforms, and sewing thread being sent to Raleigh.¹⁰²

In addition to the woolen mill and the tailoring of P. A. Wilson, Forsyth County held several other government contracts to sell supplies to the state of North Carolina. A November 10, 1862 letter from Agent Hal W. Ayer to Governor Zebulon Vance illustrates a portion of the work being done: "I visited the Shoe Shop of Messrs. Kerner & Gentry at Kernersville, Forsythe Co. find the working 13 hands—12 whites, 1 Blk. 11 Conscripts, Contract with the State for 1000 prs pegged and sewed shoes. . . . Enclosed find . . . the report of Messrs Fries & Fries—Salem, for woolen goods—and Messrs Hine & Co—for Leather. The report from the Cotton factory of Gray & Wilson Salem has not been made out yet owing to the absence of Mr Gray—It will reach me at Greensboro—and will be ford. in my next."¹⁰³

The town of Salem served as a refuge of sorts during the war. The Salem Female Academy, which experienced declining numbers in 1861, saw an increase in enrollment during 1862 of girls seeking safety from war torn areas of the South: "parents now believed that their young daughters would be safer at the school than in their own homes."¹⁰⁴ Wartime enrollment at the Academy included 126 North Carolinians, forty-eight of whom were from Salem, along with twenty-nine students from Tennessee, twenty-six from Virginia, twenty-three from Mississippi, twenty-one from Georgia, eighteen from Alabama, fifteen from South Carolina, ten from Florida, three from Texas, one from Louisiana, and one from Arkansas.¹⁰⁵ The Academy worked diligently to procure supplies for the students, petitioning Governor Vance throughout the war for passes to seek out food and other supplies. For example, in 1864 Robert de Schweinitz, President of Salem Female Academy wrote to Governor Vance requesting "In view of the fact that there are but few schools like ours still existing and that we have under our care so many

homeless ladies from all parts of the Confederacy, I trust the authorities will grant me permission to procure such supplies of corn and pork and I would very respectfully beg of you to help me in getting such permits.”¹⁰⁶ “There was always food on their tables, clothing on their backs, warmth in their rooms, the security of constant loving care. And not for one day in the course of those difficult years were classes suspended.”¹⁰⁷

Religious affairs in town continued to be affected by the war. The Salem diarist noted on Sunday, January 5, 1862 that “Upon the whole the attendance at church, especially on the male side, might be improved.”¹⁰⁸ The abundance of men away serving the army was noted again on Friday, August 29 when the Single Brother’s Festival was unable to be held “due to the absence of nearly all Single Brethren.”¹⁰⁹ The Moravian tradition of holding lovefeast services where coffee and a lovefeast cake are served was curtailed by the inflated prices during the war. The estimated cost for a service with the smallest cake and no coffee was \$125.¹¹⁰ Services continued to be held at the request of President Jefferson Davis. A letter written to Rt. Rev. George F. Bahnson on September 13 requests “that divine service be held in our church in the morning and also at night, one of which sermons we would be pleased to hear delivered by yourself,” in response to a call by Jefferson Davis. The letter also states the purpose of the service is “to bow ourselves at the feet of Him who so richly deserves a nation’s gratitude for the great victories so recently achieved by our armies.”¹¹¹ On Sunday, August 24, “Rev. Alfred A. Watson, a minister of the Episcopal Church recently stationed at New Bern and now chaplain of 2nd Regiment N.C. troops, preached at 10 a.m.”¹¹²

Enlistment continued in Forsyth County in 1862, due in part to new conscription laws.¹¹³ The “Confederate Guards” became the sixth Forsyth company under Jesse Atwood, in March. They mustered into service on April 16 as Company K of the 48th Regiment North Carolina.¹¹⁴ Salem’s famed brass band was prepared to enlist in the Spring of 1862. Initially intended to accompany the Second Battalion, Chief Musician Samuel Mickey met Colonel Zebulon Vance in New Bern after the Second Battalion was captured on Roanoke Island, and the band enlisted with the 26th Regiment North Carolina Troops on November 1, 1862.¹¹⁵ Salem and Forsyth County sent several other musicians to the Confederate army, including the 21st and 33rd North Carolina Bands. A seventh company raised by Captain Aurelius C. Blackburn, the “Fighting Boys,” mustered in as Company K, 52nd Regiment North Carolina Troops on April 28, 1862.¹¹⁶ On July 6,

168. Clewell, John Henry, *History of Wachovia in North Carolina* (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1902), 254. Henry Clewell’s age from 1860 *Census*, 118.
169. Diary of Mary E. Fries, March 14, 1864, Mary E. Fries Patterson Diary (#1170), SHC. Mary Fries’s grandfather was John Vogler, age 76 in 1860. (1860 *Census*, 113). His house still stands on the corner of Main and West Streets, on the square in Old Salem. It is one of the museum buildings of Old Salem, Inc.
170. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 141.
171. Diary of Mary E. Fries, March 5, 1864, Mary E. Fries Patterson Diary (#1170), SHC.
172. Entry of July 7, 1864, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
173. Entry of August 4, 1864, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
174. Griffin, *Less Time For Meddling*, 265. Zebulon Vance commanded the 26th Regiment early in the war and had an affinity for the Salem Band.
175. Entry of May 5, 1864, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
176. Entry of May 25, 1864, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives. A synod is the highest legislative body of the Moravian Church, composed of clergy and lay members (*Moravian Meanings, A Glossary of Historical Terms of the Moravian Church, Southern Province*, 2nd ed., [Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Moravian Archives, 1996]).
177. Diary of Mary E. Fries, April 8, 1864, Mary E. Fries Patterson Diary (#1170), SHC.
178. Samuel C. James, 21st Regiment.
179. Diary of Mary E. Fries, May 7, 9, 10, 23, June 6, Mary E. Fries Patterson Diary (#1170), SHC. Belo was wounded in the left arm by a minie ball. The doctors “removed three inches of humerus and fastened the two ends of the bone together.” (Wright, *Memoirs of Alfred Horation Belo: Reminiscences of a North Carolina Volunteer*, 27.)
180. Wright, *Memoirs of Alfred Horation Belo: Reminiscences of a North Carolina Volunteer*, 24fn (Alfred Belo to Carrie Fries May 25, 1864).
181. Henry W. Barrow to John W. Fries, April 9, 1864. Blair, *Civil War Letters of Henry W. Barrow to John W. Fries*, 81.
182. Wright, *Memoirs of Alfred Horation Belo: Reminiscences of a North Carolina Volunteer*, 28fn.
183. Caroline Fries Shaffner to John Shaffner, March 13, 1865, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
184. Chris E. Fonvielle, Jr., *Last Rays of Departing Hope: The Wilmington Campaign*. (Campbell, California: Savas Publishing Company, 1997), 167-168.
185. Henry T. Bahnson to George F. Bahnson, February 23, 1865, Author’s collection.
186. Charles F. Bahnson to George F. Bahnson, April 6, 1865, Author’s collection.
187. Charles F. Bahnson to George F. Bahnson, April 6, 1865, Author’s collection.
188. Entry of April 2, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
189. Griffin, *Less Time For Meddling*, 267.
190. John W. Fries, *Remembrances of Confederate Days*, Fries Papers, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 12.
191. Diary of Carrie Fries Shaffner, April 2 and 9, 1865, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
192. Entry of April 3, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
193. Wright, *Memoirs of Alfred Horatio Belo: Reminiscences of a North Carolina Volunteer*, 29.
194. Fries, et al., *Forsyth: The History of a County on the March*, 141.
195. Actually Colonel Palmer.
196. Entry of April 10, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
197. Entry of April 11, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
198. John W. Fries, *Remembrances of Confederate Days*, Fries Papers, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 10, 12.
199. Griffin, *Less Time For Meddling*, 269.
200. Frank V. Tursi, *Winston-Salem: A History*, (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair Publisher, 1994)
203. From Edward Blum’s “Last Years of the War: Stoneman’s Raid in North Carolina,” Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
201. Tursi, *Winston-Salem: A History*, 103.
202. John G. Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 356.
203. Fries, et al., *Forsyth: The History of a County on the March*, 138.
204. Entries of April 13 and 14, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
205. Entry of April 23, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
206. Henry T. Bahnson, *Days of the War, 1861-1865* (Hamlet, North Carolina: 1902), 30.
207. Wright, *Memoirs of Alfred Horatio Belo: Reminiscences of a North Carolina Volunteer*, 31.
208. Wright, *Memoirs of Alfred Horatio Belo: Reminiscences of a North Carolina Volunteer*, 33.
209. Carrie Fries Shaffner Diary, April 17, 1865, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
210. *The Moravian* (Bethlehem, Pa.), April 20, 1865, Myers, *The Moravian Church and the Civil War*, 247.
211. Myers, *The Moravian Church and the Civil War*, 248.
212. Entry of May 21, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
213. Entry of May 14, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
214. Carrie Fries Shaffner Diary, May 14, 1865, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
215. Entry of May 21, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives. “Were you a slave when you were called? Don’t let it trouble you—although if you can gain your freedom, do so. For he who was a slave when he was called by the Lord is the Lord’s freedman.” 1 Corinthians 7:21-22. (*The Student Bible*, New International Version. [Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992.]
216. Entry of May 21, 1865, St. Philips Congregation Diary, Rohrer, *Freedman of the Lord*, 140-141. Maximillian Grunert is serving as minister of the St. Philip’s Congregation under the agreement following Rev. Holland’s remaining in Pennsylvania. The congregation diary was more than likely written by Grunert.
217. Entry of May 14, 1865, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.

110. Fries, et al., *Forsyth: The History of a County on the March*, 135. Other prices listed are salt \$20 per sack, corn \$10 per bushel, and bacon \$2-\$3 a pound.
111. Unsigned letter to Rt. Rev. G. F. Bahnson, September 13, 1862, Author's collection. (The victory is probably referring to Second Manassas, 29-30 August 1862.)
112. Entry of August 24, 1862, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
113. A Confederate conscription law was passed in September, 1862, requiring service of all eligible men ages eighteen to thirty-five. The law expanded to include men up to age forty-five in 1863, and again in 1864, to include ages seventeen to fifty.
114. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 11:484.
115. Harry H. Hall, *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem, The Pride of Tarheelia* (Raleigh, North Carolina: The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, 1963).
116. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 12:511.
117. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 2:686. Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-1865*, 5 vols. (Goldsboro, North Carolina: Nash Brothers, 1901), 71-72 (hereafter cited as Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions*). This company from Forsyth and Guilford Counties was Company C, 75th Regiment North Carolina Troops, 16th Battalion North Carolina Cavalry, 7th Confederate Cavalry.
118. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 9:112.
119. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 6:530.
120. John F. Shaffner to Christian T. Pfohl, October 3, 1862, Christian Thomas Pfohl Papers (#3331), SHC.
121. Caroline Fries to John Shaffner, April 25, 1863, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
122. Caroline Fries to John Shaffner, February 25, 1863, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
123. Caroline Fries to John Shaffner, June 7, 1863, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
124. Diary of Mary E. Fries, October 13, 1863, Mary E. Fries Patterson Diary (#1170), SHC.
125. Diary of Mary E. Fries, October 27 and 30, 1863, Mary E. Fries Patterson Diary (#1170), SHC.
126. Diary of Mary E. Fries, December 19, 1863, Mary E. Fries Patterson Diary (#1170), SHC.
127. Entry of September 10, 1863, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
128. Diary of Mary E. Fries, September 9, 1863, Mary E. Fries Patterson Diary (#1170), SHC.
129. Entry of September 10, 1863, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
130. Salem Diary, 10 May 1863. Transcriptions at the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
131. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 6:534, and 3:67.
132. Entry of May 11, 1863, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
133. Entry of May 13, 1863, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
134. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 14:23.
135. Caroline Fries to John Shaffner, June 7, 1863, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046) SHC. Salem had a connection to Jackson's family through his wife, Mary Anna Morrison Jackson, a former student of Salem Academy. (Griffin, *Less Time for Meddling*, 262.)
136. Wright, *Memoirs of Alfred Horation Belo*, 16.
137. Wright, *Memoirs of Alfred Horation Belo*, 17.
138. *The Moravian* (Bethlehem, Pa.), October 3, 1861. Myers, *The Moravian Church and the Civil War*, 227.
139. Caroline Fries to John Shaffner, May 26, 1863, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
140. Caroline Fries to John Shaffner, June 7, 1863, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
141. Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 11:6072-6073.
142. Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 11:6073.
143. Entry of May 12, 1863, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
144. Bahnson is referring to Edmund de Schweinitz's paper in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.
145. Charles Bahnson to George Bahnson November 25, 1863, Author's collection.
146. Entry of June 27, 1864, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
147. Fries, et al., *Forsyth: The History of a County on the March*, 136.
148. Charles Bahnson to George Bahnson, June 13, 1863, Author's collection.
149. *The Moravian* (Bethlehem, Pa.), June 23, 1863. Myers, *The Moravian Church and the Civil War*, 236.
150. *The Moravian* (Bethlehem, Pa.), June 25, 1863. Myers, *The Moravian Church and the Civil War*, 236.
151. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 3:67.
152. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 3:260-261.
153. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 6:535.
154. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 9:115.
155. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 10:365.
156. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 11:115.
157. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 14:28-30.
158. Wright, *Memoirs of Alfred Horation Belo*, 21-22.
159. Entry of March 7, 1864, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
160. Diary of Mary E. Fries, March 7, 1864, Mary E. Fries Patterson Diary (#1170), SHC.
161. Entry of October 26, 1864, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
162. Christian Thomas Pfohl Papers (#3331), SHC.
163. Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions* 4:355-356.
164. Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions*, 4:38-40.
165. Diary of Mary E. Fries, May 20, 1864, Mary E. Fries Patterson Diary (#1170), SHC.
166. *The 1860 Federal Census and Supplementary Schedules of Forsyth County, North Carolina* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: The Forsyth County Genealogical Society, 1988), 106 (hereafter cited as *1860 Census*).
167. Stephen D. Bradley, *North Carolina Militia Officers Roster* (Wilmington, North Carolina: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1992), 192-195, 314.

1862, Captain James E. Mann, a Methodist minister, organized an eighth Forsyth Company, Company D, 57th Regiment North Carolina Troops. A ninth company consisting of men from Forsyth and Guilford Counties was a part of the 62nd Georgia Cavalry, and by Special Orders Number 161, Paragraph 8, Adjutant and Inspectors General Office, July 11, 1864, became Company H, 16th Battalion North Carolina Cavalry.¹¹⁷

Soldiers already on the front from Forsyth County were experiencing the hardships of war first-hand. The 2nd Battalion was captured at the Battle of Roanoke Island February 7 and 8, 1862, and released at Elizabeth City, North Carolina. The Battalion re-enlisted in the Fall. The 33rd Regiment was also involved in the fighting on North Carolina's coast in March 1862. In the late Spring they moved to Virginia to support the army there.¹¹⁸ The 21st North Carolina Regiment with its three Forsyth Companies joined General Stonewall Jackson in the Spring to assist in the Shenandoah Valley. In April Company E, under Captain Rufus Wharton, was transferred to the 1st Battalion, North Carolina Sharpshooters. They became Company B of that Battalion, but temporarily continued to serve with the 21st Regiment. Salem's men of the 21st received their "baptism of fire" on May 25 when they lead the advance on the Federals at Winchester.¹¹⁹ The 21st Regiment was also involved in the Battle of Sharpsburg on September 17, 1862. While the battle was a tactical draw, General Robert E. Lee withdrew the Confederate Army on the 18th. This allowed United States President Abraham Lincoln to claim the victory he needed to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. Reaction to the proclamation by Salem-ites mirrored that of other Southerners. John Shaffner wrote to Christian Thomas Pfohl on October 3, 1862, "The recent Junclamations [sic] of Lincoln have infused new determination among our soldiery, and therefore cannot do us additional harm.—The cloven foot has at last reached full development, and exhibits his Satanic highness in all pomp and majesty.—To declare our slaves free—and free them are quite different thing."¹²⁰

The year 1863 loomed ahead of Salem and its men in the field. Major confrontations awaited the troops from Forsyth at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. At home morale was still good, but citizens became concerned about the length of the war. Carrie Fries wrote to John Shaffner on April 5, 1863, "At home I know there are none who do not long for it to stop. Before Lincoln goes out of office I have no idea it will end, even then I have but faint hope of its termination."¹²¹

Salem's ladies continued to work for the war effort. On February 25, 1863 Carrie Fries proudly wrote to John Shaffner about an Operetta they produced for fifty cents a person and earned \$121.15 clear, and that they would perform it again.¹²² During the summer she wrote that the ladies had established a hospital with a few beds in the former Post Office "for the accommodation of sick soldiers." The ladies then cleaned up Town Hall for use as a hospital and "made out a list of the married ladies, two of whom are to take a week in which they will board and visit such sick soldiers as may happen to be there."¹²³

Carrie Fries's younger sister, Mary, began a diary on August 31, 1863, and recorded many of the contributions she and her friends made to the soldiers. On October 13, she wrote "Mother and I walked over to the hospital this morning."¹²⁴ Evident of the continuing efforts to outfit soldiers from Salem she wrote, "After dinner Carrie worked on the machine on the coats, Mother & I cut out 8 more," and on October 27, and again on October 30, "Carrie worked on the machine."¹²⁵ In December, the ladies started planning a Tableaux to raise funds to aid the war effort, as Mary recorded on December 19: "This afternoon Carrie and I went to society. . . After supper we went to Nellie's to make our arrangements for the Tableaux."¹²⁶

The rest of the town displayed their support when "The 21st Reg't N.C. Troops, in the Confederate States service, passed thro' Salem on their way to the western part of the state, probably to put down the Union demonstration in the counties of Yadkin and Wilkes, etc."¹²⁷ Mary Fries wrote, "We all went to the store and Nellie's [Belo]. C[arrie], N[ellie], and I threw bouquets as they passed. . . Invited Gen. Hoke, Capt. Adams, AAG, Maj. Wharton, Capt. Bell, Dr. Mr. Murray and Capt Pfohl to take dinner with us."¹²⁸ The Salem diarist recorded that "Dinner was served to the regiment, numbering between 300 and 400, in the square."¹²⁹

Salem also showed concern for the troops in the field, especially following major battles involving local troops. On May 10, the Salem Diary reveals, "General suspense prevailing in regard to the fate of the relatives and friends engaged in the recent battle [of Chancellorsville] near Fredericksburg, Va."¹³⁰ The 21st North Carolina Regiment and 1st North Carolina Battalion "[were] engaged only slightly" as a part of General Robert Hoke's brigade on May 3-4, losing fifteen men killed and sixty-three wounded from the 21st Regiment.¹³¹ On Monday, May 11, the diarist recorded, "Intelligence has today been received from the 21st Reg't N.C. troops and the 1st Battalion, from

61. After 1858 the Provincial Helpers' Conference became the Provincial Elders' Conference. (*Moravian Meanings, A Glossary of Historical Terms of the Moravian Church, Southern Province*, 2nd ed. [Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Moravian Archives, 1996]).
62. Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 11:6061. Minutes of the Provinzial Aeltesten Konferenz, May 14, 1861.
63. Charles Bahnson to George Bahnson, April 17, 1861, Author's collection.
64. Entry of May 29, 1861, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
65. Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 11:6062. Minutes of the Provinzial Aeltesten Konferenz, June 19, 1861.
66. Entry of June 13, 1861, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
67. *The People's Press* (Salem, N.C.), May 3, 1861.
68. Wright, *Memoirs of Alfred Horatio Belo*, 5.
69. *The People's Press* (Salem, N.C.), June 21, 1861, "Departure of the Soldiers." Carrie Fries offers another description in her diary entry of Monday, June 17, 1861: "All get ready to go to Aunt Amanda's where we see the two companies pass. First all their wagons, then the riflemen, and then the Greys. Follow them to the church where Mr. Bahnson and Doub address them. Mollie, Willie, and I go to the other side of the bridge where we again bid a great number of our friends good-bye." Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
70. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 6:620.
71. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 9:220.
72. Carrie Fries to John F. Shaffner, July 7, 1861, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
73. Diary of Carrie Fries, June 23, 1861, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
74. Diary of Carrie Fries, June 28, 1861, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC. "Doctor" refers to Dr. John Shaffner.
75. Diary of Carrie Fries, July 15, 1861, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
76. Samuel C. James to Christian Thomas Pfohl, July 10, 1861. Christian Thomas Pfohl Papers (#3331), SHC.
77. *The People's Press* (Salem, N.C.), 12 July 1861 (the advertisement ran in several editions).
78. Entry of July 23, 1861, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravians Archives.
79. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 6:530.
80. Alfred H. Belo to Carrie Fries, July 21, 1861, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
81. William J. Pfohl to Christian Pfohl, July 24, 1861. Christian Thomas Pfohl Papers (#3331), SHC.
82. Entry of Friday, July 26, 1861 and Sunday, July 28, 1861, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives. None of the men from Salem were killed in the battle.
83. Diary of Carrie Fries, September 18, 1861, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
84. Entry of July 26, 1861, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
85. *The People's Press*, Friday morning, 16 August 1861.
86. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 3:259.
87. Charles Bahnson pasted a newspaper query and answer from September 1898 concerning the flag in his opticians notebook, the contents of which can be found in Appendix B. The flag is now in the collection of the Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. It was mislabeled as a second flag for the Forsyth Rifles until August, 2000. See Appendix A.
88. *The People's Press* (Salem, N.C.), Friday morning, August 16, 1861.
89. Wellman, *The War Record*, 18.
90. The letter is signed E.A. [Elias] Vogler, E. [Edward] Belo, H.W. [Henry] Fries, L. [Lewis] Belo, and H.A. Holder. *The People's Press* (Salem, N.C.), Friday morning, August 23, 1861.
91. Caroline Fries to John Shaffner, September 9, 1861, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
92. *The People's Press* (Salem, N.C.), September 20, 1861. Advertisement for the Salem Museum. (Ran in multiple editions).
93. Henry W. Barrow to John W. Fries, August 28, 1861. "Civil War Letters of Henry W. Barrow to John W. Fries," ed. Marian H. Blair, *North Carolina Historical Review* 34 (Jan. 1957): 73-74.
94. Samuel C. James to Christian T. Pfohl, September 5, 1861. Christian Thomas Pfohl Papers (#3331), SHC.
95. Alfred H. Belo to Carrie Fries, September 15, 1861, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
96. Caroline Fries to John Shaffner, January 1, 1862, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), SHC.
97. John F. Shaffner to Christian T. Pfohl, February 4, 1862, Christian Thomas Pfohl Papers (#3331), SHC.
98. *The People's Press* (Salem, N.C.), Friday, January 17, 1862, "The Demand for Vigilance" written to the *Richmond Examiner* by "Traveler."
99. *The People's Press* (Salem, N.C.), Friday, January 17, 1862, response to "The Demand for Vigilance."
100. *The Moravian* (Bethlehem, Pa.), January 9, 1862, "Returned from the South." Richard E. Myers, "The Moravian Church and the Civil War," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, Vol. 20, part 2 (1965): 242.
101. John W. Fries, *Remembrances of Confederate Days*, Fries Papers, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.
102. State of North Carolina in Account with F. & H. Fries, Fries Papers, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina.
103. Agent Hal W. Ayer to Governor Zebulon Vance, November 10, 1862. W. Buck Years and John G. Barrett, eds., *North Carolina Civil War Documentary*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 163-164 (taken from Frontis W. Johnston, ed., *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance* Vol. 1. [Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1963], 330-331).
104. Griffin, *Less Time For Meddling*, 263.
105. Myers, "The Moravian Church and the Civil War," 244.
106. Robert de Schweinitz to Governor Z.B. Vance, December 13, 1864. Years and Barrett, *North Carolina Civil War Documentary*, 199 (taken from Governor's Papers, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina).
107. Griffin, *Less Time For Meddling*, 264.
108. Entry of January 5, 1862, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.
109. Entry of August 29, 1862, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives.

36. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 103.
37. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 99-100.
38. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 105.
39. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 106.
40. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 112-113.
41. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 116, 118-119.
42. Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 11:5982. The Aufseher Collegium Minutes for January 28, 1856 give the following reasons for dissolving the use of the lease system: "Then there followed another free discussion of the paragraphs [part of the "Rules and Regulations of the Congregation of the United Brethren at Salem"] under consideration. In it the general admission was made that the provisions contained in them had not really been followed to the letter for years. Moreover, if one should try to compel compliance with them by force, that is chiefly by giving warning of the cancellation of the lease, the Gemein Diakonie in its present condition would be totally unable to carry this out, since it lacks the means to do so. Thus in reality these regulations had become dead letters years ago. It was realized further that for a number of years now the state of affairs in regard to the continued preservation of the congregational settlement—or what might in some sense have the same significance—of the lease system had become, if not entirely impracticable, yet at least so involved in difficulties and deficiencies that under the present state of affairs one would yield to a delusion—though one which many find pleasure in cherishing—if one would consider this still to be a congregational settlement. This development had been brought about by regulations being rescinded due to the force of circumstances at the time—e.g. the regulations regarding negroes and the abolition of monopolies; also by the expansion and extension of trade and commerce; also by allocating a great many town lots during the past 25 to 30 years." On January 31, they go on to say, "... And considering further that we already have a considerable population living in our midst, not members of our Congregation, whereby the original idea of a Town-Congregation (Orts-Gemeine) or place where the members of our community, unmixed by others, could build themselves up in their most holy faith, has for a number of years already been lost sight of." (Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 11:5980-5981.) These statements neatly summarize the changes in Salem's composition and character in the first half of the nineteenth century.
43. Between 1823 and 1858, the executive board of the Southern District was known as the Provincial Helpers' Conference (*Moravian Meanings, A Glossary of Historical Terms of the Moravian Church, Southern Province*, 2nd ed., [Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1996]).
44. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 119.
45. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 123.
46. Charles F. Bahnson to George F. Bahnson, November 11, 1860, Author's collection.
47. The Watch Night service takes place late in the evening of December 31, allowing the congregation to "watch the old year out and the new year in." (*Moravian Meanings, A Glossary of Historical Terms of the Moravian Church, Southern Province*, 2nd ed., [Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1996]).
48. Frances Griffin, *Less Time For Meddling: A History of Salem Academy and College 1772-1866*, (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair Publisher, 1979), 261 (hereafter cited as Griffin, *Less Time For Meddling*). Memorabilia of the Salem Congregation, 1860, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
49. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 127.
50. Charles F. Bahnson to George F. Bahnson, April 16, 1861, Author's collection.
51. Charles F. Bahnson to George F. Bahnson, April 17, 1861, Author's collection.
52. *The People's Press* (Salem, N.C.), April 26, 1861, "Our Position."
53. *The People's Press* (Salem, N.C.), May 3, 1861, "Salem District Militia, &c."
54. Louis H. Manarin and Weymouth T. Jordan, *North Carolina Troops 1861-1865, A Roster*, 14 vols. to date (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1966-), 6:564 (hereafter cited as Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*).
55. When the six-month volunteers began re-enlisting, some of the original "volunteer" numbers, such as 11th N.C. Volunteers, had been taken by newly enlisted North Carolina Troops. Upon their re-enlistment the 11th Regiment, N.C. Volunteers became the 21st Regiment North Carolina Troops.
56. Manarin and Jordan, *North Carolina Troops*, 6:574.
57. On May 17, 1861, the Salem Diary lists the following enlisting men as connected with the Salem Congregation: "Co. A [Forsyth Rifles] communicant members Wm. J. Pfohl (1st Sergeant), Samuel C. James (2d Sergeant), Henry W. Barrow (2d Corporal), J.F. Shaffner, Gustavus E. Sussdorf (ensign), Benjamin F. Atwood; (parents members) Alfred H. Belo (Captain), Edw. A. Brietz (2d Lieutenant), James A. Reich, Alexander Rights, P.T. Shultz. Co. B [Forsyth Grays] md. Br. Wm. Francis Carmichael, and Single Brn. Thos. Byron Douthit, Lewis B. Eberhard, Sam'l G. Hall, Joseph H. Reich, James Edw. Shultz, Cornelius A. Shultz, Julius R. Vogler, (parents) David Murchison, Augustus B. Butner, Reuben L. Chitty, Augustus A. Clewell, Francis Edw. Keehn, and Henry Shore, suspended from Communion." (Entry of Monday, May 17, 1861, Salem Diary, transcriptions, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The transcriptions have now been published as Volume 12 of the Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, Crews, C. Daniel and Lisa D. Bailey, eds., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Vol. 12 (Raleigh, North Carolina: Division of Archives and History North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2000).
58. *The People's Press* (Salem, N.C.), May 3, 1861, "Salem District Militia, &c."
59. Stuart Wright ed., *Memoirs of Alfred Horatio Belo: Reminiscences of a North Carolina Volunteer* (Gaithersburg, Maryland: Olde Soldier Books, Inc., 1992), 8 (hereafter cited as Wright, *Memoirs of Alfred Horatio Belo*). The flag was presented to the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia at Belo's death in 1901 by his widow.
60. Caroline Fries to John F. Shaffner, June 6, 1861, Fries and Shaffner Family Papers (#4046), Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (henceforth SHC).

which it appears that all men of the congregation in those bodies are safe, though the loss in killed and wounded, especially the 21st Reg't, is severe. We have great cause of gratitude for the very distinct preservation thus far vouchsafed to our young men." The relief was short-lived, however, as the diarist reports on May 13 that it was learned "through a letter from Br. Jos. H. Reich to his parents that Br. Charles I. Clauder had fallen on the battlefield near Fredericksburg on Sunday morning, May 3. He was found dead by the litter bearer with his testament lying open on his breast."¹³³ The 57th Regiment North Carolina Troops with Company D from Forsyth was also involved in the battle of Chancellorsville as a part of Hoke's Brigade, losing 27 killed, 59 wounded and 50 captured.¹³⁴

Another loss in the battle of Chancellorsville affected the citizens of Salem. With the death of General Thomas Jackson, the 21st North Carolina Regiment and the 1st North Carolina Battalion lost their brigade commander, and the Confederacy lost one of its champions. Carrie Fries expressed her sorrow to John Shaffner on May 12 just two days after Jackson's death: "The greatest national calamity which has befallen us since the war commenced, is now upon us. Not one person in the whole Confederacy, can do otherwise than to mourn the death of Gen. Jackson. Every child knows something of his glorious career and even their mirthful faces wear a sad and apprehensive expression when they are told the dreadful tidings."¹³⁵

In another incident on the field, the cavalier Alfred H. Belo fought in a duel to defend the honor of the North Carolina Regiments. Belo, now with the 55th North Carolina Regiment in the area around Suffolk, Virginia, was involved in the capture of Fort Stribling in April by the Federals. Captain L.R. Terrell of Alabama accused the North Carolinians of cowardice, and "had made the assertion that the fall of Fort Stribling was owing to the failure of North Carolina troops to support the Alabamians, though our action was entirely voluntary."¹³⁶ The result was a duel between Captain Terrell and Belo's superior, Colonel John K. Connally, and between Belo and Captain John Cussons. Belo recounted the incident in the memoir: "Upon the word to fire we both shot without effect. On being asked if I were satisfied, I said 'No,' and the guns were reloaded. The second round resulted in the same, except that his ball went through my coat. At this time a messenger from the other part of the field came up and asked for a truce, saying that he had tried to save the second shot. He said that the matter had been settled between Colonel Connally and Captain Terrell by the complete retraction of all offensive language. Of course, Captain Cousins [sic] said he

would do the same thing, and there the matter ended.”¹³⁷

Back at home, the relationship between the Northern and Southern districts of the Moravian church felt the strain of war due in a large part to a breakdown in communications, but differences in opinion over slavery and opposing allegiances heightened tensions. In 1861, the Bethlehem paper, *The Moravian* printed “In the name of the Moravian Church, therefore, we are ready to express our abhorrence of slavery,”¹³⁸ an issue which previously had been avoided out of concern for retaining solidarity among the Brethren north and south. By 1863, the conflict of ideals was definite, and it is illustrated by the actions of Salem’s minister, Reverend Francis Raymond Holland and his family.

On May 26, Carrie Fries wrote to John Shaffner, “Mr. Holland went to Raleigh yesterday to try to get passports for himself and family to go to Bethlehem Pa. Mrs. Holland’s father died a short time since and they have written for her to come on immediately at almost any risk, and they feared her mother was becoming melancholy, etc. Of course she is anxious to go, and perhaps it is better they should. They say they will return in the fall and bring the old lady with them.”¹³⁹ Although the official reason for Holland’s request to return north involved family obligations, rumors circulated that his true motivation was Unionist sentiments. On June 7, Carrie Fries defended Holland’s purpose to John Shaffner: “If reports are true, you are mistaken in him, as nearly everyone else is. He now receives the credit of having said that if he could not go North without taking the oath of allegiance he would not go and moreover if he could not come South again he would not go.”¹⁴⁰ The Provinzial Aeltesten Conferenz reported on October 19 that “after prolonged efforts, [Holland] has finally received the necessary travel permit.”¹⁴¹ The arrangement is made that “If he should return by May, 1864, he would resume his office. Otherwise, his failure to return would be considered his resignation.” He also made arrangements for his sons to study in Pennsylvania.¹⁴² Sunday, October 25, 1863 was Br. Holland’s last sermon in Salem. The pastoral post and diary was taken over by Bishop George Bahnson, who wrote, “Br. and Sr. Holland and family, about to leave on a longer visit to Bethlehem, were commended to the kind care and protection of our gracious Lord and Saviour.”¹⁴³ Still, Holland’s intentions were questioned. In a letter to his father, George Bahnson, Charles Bahnson wrote, “. . . that the people are well pleased at the change effected by the departure of Bro. Holland, I do not wonder at all; I

- May 2, 1831, Aufseher Collegium Minutes, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, N.C., translation by Dr. Douglas L. Rights and Rev. Herbert Kant; transcriptions at Old Salem, Inc.)
14. Journal of John Henry Leinbach, July 4, 1831, transcriptions at Old Salem, Inc.
 15. Journal of John Henry Leinbach, September 24, 1831, transcriptions at Old Salem, Inc.
 16. Entry of May 26, 1832, Salem Congregation Diary, Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, N.C., translation by Dr. Douglas L. Rights, transcriptions at Old Salem, Inc.
 17. Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, 8:3972.
 18. Journal of John Henry Leinbach, September 26, 1831, transcriptions at Old Salem, Inc. The Journal of the South Regiment, Stokes County Militia recorded at their annual meeting on October 1, 1831: “By resolution Capt. Shober was allowed the amount paid for ammunition during the Negro insurrection the fall before.” “Journal of the South Regiment of Stokes County from the *Winston-Salem Journal* (April 10, 1910),” *Forsyth County Genealogical Society Journal* 13, no.1 (fall 1994): 23.
 19. Jon F. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1998), 34.
 20. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 52.
 21. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 62.
 22. Sam was purchased for 120 pounds N.C. currency. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 65. By consulting the Lot, the Moravians prayed and then drew from a bowl one of three possible responses to their request, positive, negative or neutral. They felt that this was the Lord’s word.
 23. The early rule which was re-adopted in 1803 read: “In general no one may or shall be permitted to keep in this congregation town Negro slaves of either sex which they may own. Exceptions to this rule may be made only in special cases and under certain circumstances, and with the approval of the Aufseher Collegium and Aeltesten Conferenz.” Minutes of a Meeting of the House-fathers, Masters, and Brethren of the Congregation Council, Salem, August 22, 1814. Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* 7: 3544.
 24. S. Scott Rohrer, *Freedman of the Lord: The Black Moravian Congregation of Salem, N.C., and its Struggle for Survival, 1856-1890* (Old Salem, Inc. Research Report, 1993), 6 (hereafter cited as Rohrer, *Freedman of the Lord*).
 25. The Congregation is often referred to as the Saint Philip’s Congregation, but that name was not given to the congregation until the Christmas lovefeast on December 20, 1914. C. Daniel Crews, *Neither Slave nor Free: Moravians, Slavery, and a Church That Endures* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Moravian Archives, 1998), 46-47.
 26. “It appears that a number of the Brethren in Salem are planning to buy Negresses for service in their households. In order to stop that in time it will be well to agree that the rules made in former times shall be renewed, and only when it is very necessary shall this be allowed, and each case shall be fully discussed in advance.” Aufseher Collegium Minutes, August 16, 1814. Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* 7: 3238. A meeting of the House-fathers, Masters, and Brethren of the Congregation Council held in Salem on August 22, 1814 adopted the following amendments, “That the old general rule be retained, and that the keeping of owned slaves in the congregation town of Salem should not be permitted. . . That exceptions to this general rule, in most necessary and satisfactory circumstances, shall in future not be made by the Aufseher Collegium and the Aeltesten Conferenz, unless previous approval has been given by the majority of the house-fathers, masters, and Brethren of the Congregation Council, who shall in each case consider the reason and necessity for the request. . . In each case where an exception is allowed, or may be allowed in the future, the owner of a slave is obligated to remove him or her [if a ruling by the] congregations boards makes it inadvisable to keep him or her here. Specifically if a Negress bears children, for the breeding of Negroes would be very injurious. Also if the circumstances change under which the exception is allowed. . . That each resident in town is obligated, before he takes this step [“renting Negroes or Negresses”], to secure permission from the Aufseher Collegium; and also to guarantee that he will send the slave away if the congregation boards should find themselves obliged to request it because of the slave’s behaviour [sic]. This stipulation shall be part of the rental contract.” (Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 7:3544-3548)
 27. Rohrer, *Freedman of the Lord*, 6, and Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 47. Minutes of the Congregation Council February 2, 1820 stated that “The Aufseher Collegium presented for consideration a revision of the rules regarding the presence of slaves in the place-congregation. The recommendations of this Collegium were based upon the conviction that trades and handwork in Salem ought to be continued by residents of the town. Experience in other places in this country has proved that even if at first the introduction of slaves into trades and handicrafts seemed profitable, in the end it led to their ruin. If someone needs help in his family and can secure it in no other way, he shall apply to the Aufseher Collegium to get the assistance through a slave.” Minutes of the Congregation Council, February 24, 1820, confirm that these amendments were passed (Fries, *Records of the Moravians* 7:3446-3447).
 28. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 50-52.
 29. *The 1850 Census and Supplementary Schedules of Forsyth County, North Carolina* (Winston-Salem: The Forsyth County Genealogical Society, 1984), 8 (hereafter cited as *1850 Census*).
 30. The financial organization of the church.
 31. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 63.
 32. Siddall’s salary was \$900 a year plus \$100 for board (Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 63).
 33. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 63.
 34. John W. Fries, son of mill owner Francis Fries, wrote that in 1840 the mill was operating in wool and cotton wool jeans manufacturing (John W. Fries, *Remembrances of Confederate Days*, Fries Papers, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina). In 1860, the mill worked 47 slaves, half of its workforce (Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 52). A letter from Francis Fries in Pennsylvania to his brother Henry, speaks to the use of slavery at the mill, “Last winter, when in Richmond, I looked through the market, then well supplied [with slaves] and found nothing better than we have at home” (Francis Fries to Henry Fries May 25, 1860, Shaffner Diary and Papers, North Carolina Office of Archives and History). John W. Fries, recalled the following slave laborers: Al, engineer; Matt, wool carder, grinder, and overseer; Pink and Wash, spinners; John, fuller (John W. Fries, *Remembrances of Confederate Days*, Fries Papers, North Carolina Office of Archives and History).
 35. Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*, 115.

with First Manassas and ending with Appomattox and Bentonville. They served in Virginia, Pennsylvania, eastern and southeastern North Carolina. The citizens of Salem supported the war effort with countless hours of work in making uniforms and serving in hospitals, and contributed to the effort with money and material items. The town experienced firsthand the Union army as a contingent of General George Stoneman's cavalry raided the town, and as they were occupied by the 10th Ohio Cavalry after the Confederate surrender. Given Salem's early history and theocratic nature, its evolution in the first half of the nineteenth century to a town capable of fully supporting a war for Southern independence is all the more interesting.

Notes

1. The name "Wachovia" was adopted because it reminded Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg, one of the founders of the tract, of the Wachau Valley in Austria.
2. For more information on the founding of Moravian towns in North Carolina see: Manly Wade Wellman, *The Founders. Winston-Salem in History* Vol. 1 (Winston-Salem: Historic Winston, 1966); *A laudable example for others: the Moravians and Their Town of Salem* (Winston-Salem: Division of Historical Programs, n.d.); C. Daniel Crews, *Villages of the Lord The Moravians Come to Carolina* (Winston-Salem: Moravian Archives, 1995); C. Daniel Crews, *My Name Shall Be There: The Founding of Salem* (with Friedburg, Friedland) (Winston-Salem: Moravian Archives, 1995); *Bethania: A Fresh Look At Its Birth*, C. Daniel Crews, ed. (Winston-Salem: Moravian Archives, 1993).
3. In the preface to *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* Volume XI, Kenneth G. Hamilton states that until 1899 Salem and Bethlehem were districts of the American Province of the Moravian church. After 1899 they were referred to as provinces of the Moravian Church in America. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, 11 vols., ed. Adelaide Fries, et al. (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1922-1969), 11: preface (hereafter cited as Fries, *Records of the Moravians*).
4. Although some sermons were delivered in English quite early, the official records for Salem were kept in German until 1856. The Provinzial Aeltesten Conferenz minutes remained in German until 1858, and the administrative board for the Southern District kept their records in German until 1879 (Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, 11: preface).
5. Michael Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City: Culture and Social Change in a Southern Community* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 58 (hereafter cited as Shirley, *From Congregation Town to Industrial City*).
6. Manly Wade Wellman, *The War Record*, in *Winston-Salem in History*, Vol. 2. (Winston-Salem: Historic Winston, 1976), 3.
7. Adelaide Fries, Stuart Thurman Wright, and J. Edwin Hendricks, *Forsyth: The History of a County on the March*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1976), 8 (hereafter cited as Fries, et al., *Forsyth: The History of a County on the March*).
8. Wellman, *The War Record*, 8. For more information on Salem during the Revolutionary War see C. Daniel Crews, *Through Fiery Trials: The Revolutionary War and the Moravians* (Winston-Salem: Moravian Archives, 1996).
9. On February 21, 1815, the Aufseher Collegium recorded the following concerning military service: "The subject for consideration was what steps should be taken by the congregation in view of the law which includes the Brethren among the men liable if a general draft is ordered by the President of the United States." It was decided to form a society to which Brethren would pay dues, and the society would in turn pay for their exception. The proposal for the society stated, "The last session of the Assembly passed a new law, revoking the freedom from all military duty hitherto enjoyed by the Brethren in Wachovia. The act provided that the Brethren continue free of ordinary militia duty, musters, and drills, but hereafter all Brethren between the ages of 18 and 45, not exempt by physical infirmity, or as ministers of the Gospel, are liable to militia duty in the state, if ordered by the President of the United States." In other words, men were not subject to militia service unless in the situation of a draft. This was a threat, as the War of 1812 was just coming to an end. The Aufseher Collegium went on to say, "The younger Brethren shall be informed that no Brother, as such, can take the field, nor attend muster. This will not be expected of them, and can be avoided by each Brother who joins this society and pays a suitable fee." Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* 7:3548-3549.
10. Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* 7:3032.
11. Wellman, *The War Record*, 14.
12. Journal of John Henry Leinbach, February 19, 1831, transcriptions at Old Salem, Inc.
13. An entry in the minutes of the Aufseher Collegium on May 2, 1831 locates the muster ground: "Capt. Emanuel Schober requests, in the name of the Salem Light Infantry Company, permission to use the premises between Schaffner's field and the Belew's Creek Road for their military drill. . . we had no objections to this request." (Entry

always thought his friends, and for the credit of Salem am happy to say, were few and far between; he will have a terrible tale to tell, and no doubt the Moravian will have voluminous articles on 'The State of Affairs in Rebel-dom' by a very reliable gentleman, who after much persecution effected his escape; we would advise our readers to peruse carefully, as they will find it worthy of their attention &c. &c.¹⁴⁴ Well, I hope he will have a good time while he is discoursing on our troubles; his better half while enjoying a cup of 'Yankee' coffee can give them a list of articles we use instead."¹⁴⁵ The fact that Br. Holland did not return by his set date in May 1864, and sent no communication to Salem lends validity to the suggestion that he was a union sympathizer. The Salem Diary for June 27, 1864 reported, "mention should have been made sooner of the fact that Bro. Holland, according to an understanding with the [Provinzial Aeltesten Conferenz], resigned his office of pastor of this congregation by extending his long visit to Pennsylvania beyond the close of the month of May."¹⁴⁶ The situation with Reverend Holland in Salem depicts the divided allegiances of the Moravian church during the war.

The relationship was further strained by the Confederate army's movement north toward the battle of Gettysburg. Overly optimistic soldiers from Salem predicted a sweeping victory. On May 18, Edward Peterson, a musician in the 26th North Carolina Regimental band wrote:

We received orders last night to be ready at a moment's notice to move. I expect it to be up towards Fredsburg, at least the troops are moving, that way. . . . I expect they are to invade Maryland again. If we take Wash., Baltimore, Phila., Bethlehem, and all those cities and towns, I will let you know. . . . New York is bound to fall, Boston, too. I will send you some soda, too, if we conquer the North, and we are bound to make mash with all the free states. There is no other chance for them. I am a little uneasy about Canada. We'll be in such a sweep when we take New York, that we can't stop ourselves. We'll be apt to take Canada and that will be accomplished in a short while. England will soon back up, but I think we can put her down—we'll tell her she can't get any cotton anymore and all will be right, as you know—"Cotton is King" and we'll have a powerful time from now till cool weather; you know the Northern army is almost disbanded, all gone home; so we will find no opposition and it will be quite an easy task to annihilate the vandals. I feel

*for them. The South is bound to have her rights. Had the North let the South alone, we would now show mercy, but that day is passed. If we shouldn't have success in annihilating the North, we'll starve them out and that we can do before fall.*¹⁴⁷

Other soldiers, like Charles Bahnson, had a more realistic forecast of the coming days. He wrote to his father from Culpeper Courthouse, Virginia on June 13, "we are now on a grand raid & on the eve of a great battle. I am of the opinion it will be one of the most bloody and decisive fights we have ever had."¹⁴⁸ The Moravians in Pennsylvania were also preparing for battle.

In June 1863, the pending arrival of the Confederate army in Pennsylvania disrupted students at the Moravian College and Seminary, where examinations were "not as thorough or satisfactory as usual owing to the interruption occasioned by the war alarm and the absence of a considerable number of students at Harrisburg."¹⁴⁹ The Moravian also reported excitement in the Moravian town of Lititz on June 25, "In the morning the young men were canvassing to raise volunteers, but by noon an order arrived from Colonel Franklin in which General Couch had directed him to call the people to arms to defend the line of the Susquehanna River bordering our country, and the feeling became intense. Church bells were rung, business was suspended and measures were taken to go to war."¹⁵⁰

Most of the companies from Forsyth County were involved in the fighting on July 1-3, 1863 at Gettysburg. While occupying the town of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Major Rufus Wharton, now the commander of the 1st Battalion North Carolina Sharpshooters, served as military governor. The 1st Battalion remained a part of Hoke's Brigade, now commanded by Isaac E. Avery, Jubal Early's Division, and as a result of the reorganization following General Jackson's death they joined Richard S. Ewell's Corps. Ordered to remain behind to bring up the rear, the Battalion was not directly involved in the battle.¹⁵¹ The Second Battalion fought on the first day as a part of Junius Daniel's Brigade, Robert Rodes's Division, and Ewell's corps, losing 29 killed and 124 wounded.¹⁵² The 21st Regiment, in the same brigade as the 1st Battalion, aided Robert Rodes's Division on July 1, and were involved in heavy fighting on Cemetery Hill late in the evening of the second, where they lost their brigade commander Isaac E. Avery.¹⁵³ The 33rd Regiment was involved all three days as a part of James Lane's Brigade, William D. Pender's Division, and A.P. Hill's Corps. On July 1 they were involved in the fighting on McPherson's Ridge,

aftermath of the war was hard on Salem. According to Bishop Edward Rondthaler in his *Memorabilia of Fifty Years: 1877-1927*, "When you came to Salem in 1877 you found two quite small neighboring towns. You found a people depressed by the trials of the War Between the States and the dread Reconstruction Days, and you found a Moravian congregation whose invested funds had been swept away in the great cataclysm."²²³ On January 19, 1867, the Young Men's Missionary Society in Salem held its first meeting since 1862. They reported, "A considerable number of the members of the Society were with the army in the late unfortunate struggle, and we with many others, mourn the loss of those of our most worthy members, viz. the Brs. Chas. J. Clauder, Saml. C. James & Wilm. J. Pfohl."²²⁴ Meetings and reunions of Confederate veterans took place in Forsyth County. Julius A. Leinbach, veteran of the 26th North Carolina Regimental Band, compiled a scrapbook containing programs from the Norfleet Confederate Veteran's Camp in Winston-Salem, the unveiling of a Confederate monument in 1905, the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1911, and the 1912 North Carolina Confederate Soldiers Reunion in Winston-Salem, along with various ribbons from meetings and reunions.²²⁵ Henry T. Bahnson delivered the address to the 1912 North Carolina Reunion on behalf of the Norfleet camp. In his conclusion he said, "Dear comrades, soldiers of a lost cause, we fought for our beloved state and section. . . Confederate Veterans of North Carolina, followers of the immortal Lee, the godly Jackson, the dashing Stewart, the modest Hoke, the fearless Gordon, of Rodes and Ramseur, of Branch and Pettigrew, of Pender and a galaxy of glorious and beloved leaders; isolated fragments of the thin gray line which for long months held the powers of the world at bay; in the Name of Norfleet Camp, and on behalf of the dear people of Winston-Salem, I bid you welcome."²²⁶

The memoirs written by Bahnson and Alfred Belo, along with other speeches and papers like that of Julius Leinbach presented to the Wachovia Historical Society on November 23, 1906, "Scenes at the Battle of Gettysburg," also attest to the desire to preserve the Confederate and Civil War heritage of Salem.²²⁷ Exhibits in Salem's Hall of History celebrating the town's Civil War contributions were on display at various points in the twentieth century.

In the end, the town of Salem and the county of Forsyth sent men to eleven companies serving the Confederacy, and an additional two companies of Home Guard units. As members of various North Carolina Regiments, these companies participated in battles beginning

great, and diseases begin to show themselves. Dead horses are not removed far from town by the soldiers, and spread a very unpleasant and unhealthy smell.”²¹⁹ The sisters became afraid to go out with the soldiers around. The entries of July 13 and 16 summarize the feelings of many of the citizens of Salem concerning their occupation:

Everybody, or at least a vast majority of the people, rejoiced that the 10th Ohio Vol. Cavalry left this morning. In more than one report their presence had been productive of unpleasant results. May they have been the last of northern troops quartered upon us. On Monday they had been paid off and since then many had not seen a sober moment. They were as a body most fearfully profane and a poor specimen of the vaunted superiority of northern morals. Though professing to be the friends and liberators of the colored people, they treated some of them with unheard of barbarity, hanging them up by their thumbnails, etc. The officers of the regiment were, with very few honorable exceptions, extremely immoral men, and the privates followed suit. Their influence upon the community was evil, and only evil, and that continually.

*During the week a number of rather unwelcome northern soldiers lingered about here. A great many females around here—and even some of our single sisters in town—have become somewhat familiar with them. Marriages—not a few—have taken place through the country. Foolish virgins!*²²⁰

Thankful to be out from the bonds of occupation, Salem was ready to move forward in the next years. With the hardships experienced all over the South brought about by war devastation and Reconstruction, times were hard, but only a year after the war Salem celebrated in grand style the 100th anniversary of its founding, an event that lifted spirits in town.

The citizens of Salem welcomed the American flag as a symbol of the end of the war, hardships, and deprivations, and the return of their friends and family from the army, and on July 4, 1865 they celebrated with cannon and bells.²²¹ An undying devotion to the Southern cause, and a want to remember fallen comrades, however, lingered in Forsyth County as it did in many places throughout the South. Carrie Fries Shaffner remarked on the first raising of the United States flag in May, “This afternoon the citizens raised the ‘Stars and Stripes’ on the courthouse with great parade. Thus ignobly it waves over us, not placed on high by the conquerors but by citizens of our town.”²²² The

and on July 2 they were involved in skirmishing where Pender was mortally wounded. For July 3 they were put under the charge of Isaac Trimble, as Division commander. Lane’s Brigade, to which the 33rd Regiment belonged, was chosen to support James J. Pettigrew’s Division (formerly Henry Heth’s Division) in the Confederate charge on the Federal position at Cemetery Ridge, known as “Pickett’s Charge” or the “Pickett-Pettigrew Charge.”¹⁵⁴ The 48th Regiment was a part of John R. Cooke’s Brigade, Robert Ransom’s Division, James Longstreet’s Corps. Cooke’s Brigade remained in Virginia to guard Richmond during the Gettysburg campaign.¹⁵⁵ The 52nd Regiment participated at Gettysburg as a part of Pettigrew’s Brigade, Heth’s Division, A.P. Hill’s Corps. They were involved on the first day fighting the Federal Iron Brigade at the Wheat Field, where Heth was injured and Pettigrew took over command of the Division. Aurelius Blackburn, the captain of the Forsyth company, was killed on July 1. On July 2, the regiment was in reserve and saw no action. The dawn of July 3 found the 52nd Regiment waiting to take their place in the “Pickett-Pettigrew” Charge. Seventy-seven men were killed, sixty-three were wounded, and 206 were captured from the 52nd Regiment at the end of the day.¹⁵⁶ The 57th Regiment, along with the 21st Regiment, was a part of Avery’s Brigade assisting Rodes’s Division on July 1. On the second day the 57th Regiment participated in the attack on Cemetery Hill, and on July 3 they were on the outskirts of Gettysburg.¹⁵⁷ Alfred Belo, now with the 55th Regiment North Carolina Troops, was hit by a shell fragment on the first day of fighting at Gettysburg. Gangrene eventually set in and he returned home to Salem to be cared for by his family.¹⁵⁸ In letters home to his father following the Gettysburg Campaign, Charles Bahnson listed man after man from Forsyth County killed or wounded in battle, and *The People’s Press* printed many death notices of young men from the area killed at Gettysburg.

The year 1864 dawned with the citizens of Salem expressing some weariness over the war, but still striving to support the Confederacy, and more specifically, the men from their town serving the army. With the Confederacy searching for replacements for injured, killed, and imprisoned soldiers, the practice of conscription became more unforgiving. On March 7, 1864, George Bahnson recorded in the Salem Diary, “During this week the examination board of surgeons with the enrolling officers were busy at Winston, conscripting a good many persons who had heretofore been exempted. At first the conscripts were treated very harshly. They were marched about under guard, kept like prisoners in the guard houses, and not allowed to go home without a guard, nor to give security for their appearance. After

a while, though, milder measures were adopted. We learn to see strange sights in our once fine and highly favored land.”¹⁵⁹ The same day Mary Fries reported, “There is a great deal of excitement in town today on account of the enrolment [sic].”¹⁶⁰ Later that year Bahnson recorded, “Some of our men are hurried off to the army. May the Lord graciously watch over them and bring them back in safety. Some 30 men from Guilford Co. who had attempted to go North were carried through town with numerous guards on their unwilling return to military duty.”¹⁶¹ Christian Thomas Pfohl, previously exempted from service due to the essential nature of his job as bookkeeper at F & H Fries Mill went into active military service in November, 1864.¹⁶²

Company G of the 74th Regiment, Senior Reserves mustered into service with E.E. Holland as their captain.¹⁶³ Young men were also enlisting to join the fight. Forsyth and Alamance Counties sent boys to form Company B, 4th Battalion North Carolina Junior Reserves, the eleventh Forsyth company. On May 30, 1864, this company organized near Raleigh.¹⁶⁴ On May 20 Mary Fries wrote in her diary, “We expected John would start to the army tomorrow, so got some things ready. But tonight were dejected to hear that he need not go.”¹⁶⁵ Her brother, John W. Fries was 16 in 1864.¹⁶⁶ There were also Home Guard units in Forsyth County. The 71st Regiment contained men for the Salem area under the leadership of Colonel Joseph Matsen, veteran of the Mexican War. The 121st Regiment also operated in Forsyth County. Both regiments were part of the 17th Brigade.¹⁶⁷

Support continued on the homefront during 1864. John Henry Clewell, who was four years old in 1864, remembered in his 1902 History of Wachovia in North Carolina, “The residents of Salem, in 1863 and 1864, will recall long lines of cloth tacked to the fences, in the avenue, or around the private lots in town. These long strips were being painted and made into ‘oilcloth,’ to protect the soldiers from the weather, and to serve them in other ways. The Fries mills were running day and night to weave the famous gray cloth used in the army. The clatter of the wooden shoes was heard, as the boys and girls came and went from school; and while the children rather liked them, because they did make so much noise, the real object of this use of wood instead of leather was to send so much more leather to the soldiers. Even the little folks picked quantities of lint for the wounded, while their elders wound numberless rolls of bandages for the surgeons.”¹⁶⁸ Although this account is somewhat romanticized, it shows that contributing to the effort was important to the people of Salem.

gel's house. . .

At 7 ½ p.m. [Br. Bahnson] kept singing meeting with prayer. Almost as many federal soldiers in as other persons. The arrival of the former causes naturally some excitement and disturbance. . . . The federal camp is just in front of Bro. Augustus Fogel's dwelling house. Officers occupy the houses of Brn. Jas. Lineback and Ed. Hege. The stars and stripes are again hoisted in our midst; may they bring back good old times.”²¹³ Carrie Fries Shaffner recorded the arrival of the Federal cavalry: “They came in town for the purpose of garrisoning the place. This is Head Quarters while they operate in adjoining counties. The sight of them here as conqueror puts an indescribable feeling on us.”²¹⁴

The arrival of the Ohio Cavalry proved to be a joyous occasion for the African American Congregation. The formal declaration of their freedom came on May 21, 1865. Reverend S.G. Clark, the chaplain of the 10th Ohio Cavalry “preached to the negroes from 1 Corinthians 7:21.”²¹⁵ The diary of the St. Philips Congregation recorded that Rev. Clark “reads two orders from Gen. Schofield, Army of the Ohio: ‘In the first it was made known that according to the proclamation of the President of the Un. States, the slave population of this State was now free. 2nd . . . He then proceeded to give them good advice, told them that now they would have greater responsibilities, & encouraged them to industry, honesty, & piety. . . . May this great change turn out to the eventual well-being of these people, & the furtherance of the kingdom of God among them.”²¹⁶ The situation of the newly freed slaves was also addressed on May 14: “The negroes, having been declared free on May 5 by proclamation of some federal general, were seen strutting about in their newborn freedom. Some, but not many, have left their former masters and set up for themselves. Whether they are fit to do so successfully time will show. There might be some doubts.”²¹⁷ Carrie Fries Shaffner also commented on the newfound freedom of Salem’s African American population: “This morning the first of our Negroes left. I have no doubt that most of them will go. For many of them I feel very sorry, for I know they will never again live as comfortably as they have done heretofore.”²¹⁸

As the Ohio cavalry remained in Salem their behavior became less exemplary. The Salem Diary reported that on May 25 “one of the soldiers was killed . . . by the accidental discharge of a pistol in the hands of a drunken comrade.” The summer brought even more complications. On July 2, the Diary reported, “The heat is unusually

the assassination of Abraham Lincoln on April 14. The Moravians in Pennsylvania, however, were quite moved by the event. *The Moravian* reported on April 20, "A week ago the heavens were bright with glorious hope. Today they are shrouded with a pall of darkness. No events during the last years have so shocked the people's hearts as this most unprovoked and diabolical murder."²¹⁰ A Bethlehem, Pennsylvania businessman by the name of B. E. Lehman wrote to a relative serving in the federal army:

*Suppose the death of Uncle Abe has had the same effect with you in the army as it had with us. Of course, it has cast a gloom over the whole community, but it has the effect of making the people a unit on one thing, and that is, in the words of our President Andy, "fitting punishment for treason." I certainly hope that Johnson will be firm on that point and hang every leading rebel he can catch, Lee included, for in my opinion he is as bad as Jeff Davis and deserves the halter as much as any of them. I hope the report that he was put under arrest is true. Poor old Abe. Yesterday was a general holiday in commemoration of the President's funeral. All business was closed. At 10 ¼ o'clock the citizens were addressed by Dr. Frickard on Market Street, from which place we marched in procession headed by the band over to Broad Street, down Broad and Main, and then into the Moravian Church where addresses were delivered.*²¹¹

Prayer meetings were also held at Lititz. The fact that the Northern Moravians reacted so swiftly in mourning the loss of Lincoln and appear quite passionate about punishing the responsible party, in contrast to Salem's brief mention of the "late Abraham Lincoln" in reference to the Emancipation Proclamation on May 21, shows the continuation of divided allegiances among Moravians North and South.²¹²

Even after the first invasion of federal troops and the return home of most of the survivors, Salem was not yet finished with their war privations. As martial law was declared in the South, Salem's occupation began on May 14, with the 10th Ohio Cavalry arriving into town. The Salem Diary recorded the events of the day:

Bro. Bahnson prayed the litany (omitting, as Br. Robert Schweinitz did last Sunday, that part which refers to governments, etc.). . . A report that federal cavalry soldiers would arrive shortly kept many from church. . . . Several hundred cavalry arrived during the afternoon, and took up camp above town near Bro. Aug. Fo-

When the band of the 21st Regiment came to town to play benefit concerts, the Fries family was anxious to support them. Mary Fries wrote, "This afternoon we all went down to Grandfather's to hear the 21st Reg. Band perform in the Square. A large crowd was present. They concluded their concert this evening in the Court House, but we did not go up."¹⁶⁹ Excitement also stirred in town over the election of 1864, when Governor Zebulon Vance was re-elected with 54.5% of the vote in Forsyth County.¹⁷⁰ The interest of Salem's citizens over politics parallels their support for the Confederate government. Mary Fries "read Gov. Vance's speech at Wilkesboro,"¹⁷¹ and on July 7, Vance visited Salem. The Salem Diary recorded: "Governor Vance addressed the people in the square. Such an audience has not been seen here for many a day. The speech occupied 3 hours, but no one complained of its length."¹⁷² On August 4, the diary stated, "Governor's election as also of other officers of the state government. All went off very peaceably and without any disturbance whatever."¹⁷³ Members of Salem's community supported North Carolina and the Vance administration in more creative ways as well. Edward Leinbach, a music professor at Salem Female Academy and member of the 26th North Carolina Regimental Band, composed the inaugural march for the governor and performed with the rest of the band.¹⁷⁴

Church affairs continued to be affected by the war. On Ascension, May 5, 1864, the Salem Diary lamentably stated, "The males were illiberally represented as has been the case, alas, for years. O Lord, revive our days of old, but in the best sense of the word."¹⁷⁵ The May 25 entry recorded a Bible lecture by Br. Bahnson, who "remember[ed] in his prayer the Synod of the Northern Prov., which was to convene today."¹⁷⁶ Despite their boundaries and differences, the church fraternity continued. Prayer services requested by the Confederate government continued to take place in Salem. On April 8 Mary Fries wrote, "Today having been appointed by our President as a day of fasting and prayer we all went to church and heard a good sermon by Mr. Bahnson. Isaiah 59 ch. 2 v."¹⁷⁷

The Spring of 1864 found the companies from Forsyth County involved in heavy fighting with the Federals, leading up to the siege of Petersburg. In May and early June, 1864 men from the Salem area fought in the battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania Courthouse, and Cold Harbor, along with other skirmishes, and the loss of life was great. Mary Fries recorded the events of the month in her diary:

Saturday, May 7, 1864: We heard the first rumor of the Great Battle.

Monday, May 9, 1864: On the way up we heard of Henry Belo's death and went over immediately. He fell on the 5th. The family are very much distressed.

Tuesday, May 10, 1864: Heard nothing from Alf[red Belo], but had partly good news from the army.

Monday, May 23, 1864: Tonight Uncle Henry got a letter from Col. Pfohl bringing the sad news of Mr. James death.¹⁷⁸

June 6, 1864: Tonight we hear that Alf was wounded in the arm.¹⁷⁹

During this period Alfred Belo wrote to Carrie Fries, expressing his dedication to the Confederate Army, "I shall not quit the field until absolutely necessary. I consider it the duty of every man at this time, to stand at his post and do his whole duty."¹⁸⁰ Henry W. Barrow wrote, "We think this summer will end this cruel war."¹⁸¹ Men from Forsyth were also involved in the Valley Campaigns and Jubal Early's raid on Washington, D.C., along with serving in eastern North Carolina. Following the tragic events of early June, one joyous occasion occurred in Salem—the marriage of Mary Fries to Rufus L. Patterson on June 14, 1864.¹⁸² Her diary entries cease after her marriage.

In 1865 the fatigue of war hit Salem. Carrie Fries married Dr. John Shaffner on February 16, 1865. She wrote to her new husband on March 13, 1865, "The [Spring] of '61 called upon us to send forth our noblest and best friends to have untried and unheard dangers. Even then we must acknowledge that our friendships grew finer and we learned to feel like brothers and sisters embarked in our common cause. Since then the first balmy days of each year served but to herald the appearance of Mars demanding new victims to be slain upon his bloody altars, and being satisfied with nothing but the best our land afforded. Is it any wonder then that instead of exhilarating [sic] us as it once did, it causes us to grow sick and faint with dread of what may be in store for us?"¹⁸³

Many of Salem's men were involved in the siege at Petersburg, and some would meet Sherman's march through the Carolinas. The 4th Battalion of Junior Reserves, with Company B from Forsyth and Alamance Counties, was stationed at Sugar Loaf in the Wilmington, North Carolina area, and received the first bombardment of Fort Fisher by Federal Navy and Infantry. Their commander, Major John Reece, surrendered the boys to Federal troops without a fight. Eight

We got them hid in the cellar."²⁰¹

Palmer stayed in Salem only a short time, leaving on April 11 to move toward the larger prize in Rowan County. Salisbury, North Carolina appealed to Stoneman and his men because it held an important military depot and a six-acre Confederate prison that at one time held around ten thousand Union prisoners.²⁰² Some of Forsyth's men, particularly the company of Senior Reserves, may have helped defend Salisbury, but the federal troops easily overtook the city.²⁰³

With General Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House on April 9 and General Joseph Johnston's surrender at Bennett's farmhouse near Durham, North Carolina on April 26, Confederate soldiers began to stream through Salem on their way home, and men from Salem returned to their families. On Maundy Thursday the Salem diary recorded, "Parties of Southern soldiers passed through town almost continually." The next day, April 14, it stated, "Our meetings here were only interrupted by numbers of soldiers passing through and rendering it necessary for brethren to remain at their homes."²⁰⁴ On Sunday, April 23, the congregation enjoyed fuller ranks than in prior years, "The audience was uncommonly good. It did one's heart good to see so many male hearers. Many of our sons and brethren had returned during last week. . . . May the Lord soon bring a desired end [to] this horrible war."²⁰⁵ Henry Bahnson recalled his return home to Salem: "I had lost thirty-eight pounds in three weeks, and was so emaciated and filthy that my father at first failed to recognize me."²⁰⁶ Some soldiers like Alfred Belo refused to give up the fight. In his memoir he recalled returning to his father's home in Salem to find the "house filled with officers who had returned from Lee's army. We formed a plan to go South together."²⁰⁷ Belo and his comrades later heard of North Carolina's surrender and headed west to serve with the Army of the Chattahoochee, and after the Trans-Mississippi was surrendered they aimed for Texas. While in New Orleans they were allowed to wear their Confederate uniform as they were in transit, and Belo bragged that it "gave us great prestige and we had a glorious time."²⁰⁸ The surrender affected civilians in Salem as well. Carrie Fries Shaffner noted, "On Wednesday we heard that Gen. Lee had surrendered. The unbounded confidence everyone had in him, in a measure softened the blow, still the feeling of despondency as we saw the foundation of all our hopes departing, was overpowering."²⁰⁹

One event of April, 1865 failed to be mentioned in the Salem Diary:

teacher, Albert Butner, but they were soon paroled. Some of the officers had been at school in Lititz, and spoke feelingly of that time. During the afternoon a large number came back from the railroad, where they had caused destruction. They passed, by mistake of some kind, into our graveyard avenue, and finding it closed above, turned into the graveyard itself. But most of them dismounted, leading their horses through the hallowed spot. It is said that some men even took off their hats. They did not in any way spoil the walks. Before dark all left, passing through Winston towards the river. We thanked God and took courage.¹⁹⁷

John W. Fries remembered the mob breaking into the Fries mill:

*This warehouse (SW corner of Academy and Marshall) was looted by the mob, when Stoneman came. I did not see the mob, but it was said to collect, as though it had sprung out of the ground, to consist of all kinds of folks, reputable and disreputable, men, women, and children. . . . Some of Stoneman's men had broken open the doors and told the assembled mob to help themselves. They not only took the finished good, but cut the cloth from the looms, and cut the belts off the machines. After a few days Mr. S.E. Butner was sent to collect what he could of this scattered property. Much of it found in the hands of persons whom we had thought good and friendly neighbors. Some of them surrendered the property with appropriate willingness and said they had taken it because they felt sure it would be burned. Others surrendered what they had under pressure and much of the stuff was never recovered.*¹⁹⁸

Other anecdotal accounts of the invasion included the story of a "hothead student from Alabama" who, as the federals rode by the Salem Female Academy, "waved a Confederate flag from a third story window and gave a rebel yell, but was quickly suppressed by her teacher before the Yankees could respond."¹⁹⁹ There is also the description of the Single Sisters' reaction to the troops. Edward Blum remembered that, "At the Sisters House, the good sisters were considerably excited. . . . Some gesticulated in their excitement, showing their white handkerchiefs. A report was made to [Colonel Palmer] that the inmates of the women's lunatic asylum were out on the street and needed looking after. A general laugh followed upon the explanation and readily understood as several of the staff and the general himself were acquainted with Moravians in Bethlehem."²⁰⁰ The town clerk, C.L. Rights's son, told the raiders, "You can't get our horses!

members of both the 4th and 8th Battalions, Junior Reserves refused to surrender and walked away back to the Confederates at Fort Fisher.¹⁸⁴ The remnants of these Battalions formed the 72nd Regiment, Junior Reserves.

Men in the field who once had been very optimistic about a Southern victory, now doubted that the war could last much longer, and felt sure that it would end in the defeat of the Confederacy. On February 23, 1865, Henry T. Bahnson wrote home to his father George, "If Sherman is not soon stopped, however, I am afraid my promotion will be of short duration."¹⁸⁵ Henry's brother, Charles, wrote to their father on April 6:

*Many are the rumors that have unwelcomely [sic] rung in our ears for the past few days—and alas! some if not all are too true! Richmond and Petersburg gone! many brave officers and men lost. . . . Does it not appear to you, my dear father, that a good and all-wise God, can never protect such a cause—such fiendish acts—and that in spite of all the gloomy fears that pervade our breasts at present, will make us come out successfully, and reward our wearied efforts with success, giving us freedom and independence for our reward! The fall of our Capitol [sic] has of course been a heavy blow to our army, but knowing what is the lot of those who fall into enemy hands, it has nerved their arms, and if soon called on to face the hated foe, will meet him with a desperation and fury hitherto not experienced.*¹⁸⁶

Just prior to writing this letter, Charles Bahnson, now with the 40th North Carolina Regiment, 3rd North Carolina Artillery, was present at the Battle of Bentonville, North Carolina on March 19-21 as the Confederates met General William T. Sherman's men as they marched through the state. The 72nd Battalion, Junior Reserves was also involved in the Battle of Bentonville.

Salem began experiencing the war firsthand in April, 1865, when a band of federal cavalry commanded by Colonel William Palmer occupied the town as a part of General George Stoneman's raid through eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, and southern Virginia. In his April 6 letter Charles Bahnson expressed concern over the situation in Salem: "the news that has troubled me more than all these heavy blows, is that you have been, if not now, in the power of the fiends—for they are unworthy of the name of men—that are waging cruel war against us. God grant that they only passed through quick-

ly, for if they tarried I shudderingly await news from you. . . Please let me know what has been your experience during this troublous times, and what damage the enemy have done you.”¹⁸⁷ Rumors spread on April 2 that Stoneman was on his way with forty-five hundred men and four cannon, and citizens set about “moving things of every description to safer places. The Academy was a favorite spot. Cotton was stored in a number of houses increasing the danger of fire to a very high degree.”¹⁸⁸ At the Academy they “cached valuable papers under the stone flooring in the cellar of the Inspector’s House and the Schools money under the sitting room floor boards. The Academy’s two fine black horses were hidden in the basement of Main Hall.”¹⁸⁹ In his *Remembrances of Confederate Days*, John W. Fries wrote, “One night Uncle Henry and I packed these tubes [from a boiler] with what gold coin we had, loaded them on a one horse wagon and buried them.”¹⁹⁰ Carrie Fries Shaffner packed her belongings to send to her sister Mary’s home in Caldwell County to avoid the invaders.¹⁹¹ On Monday, April 3 it was reported that the number had been exaggerated and that Stoneman had turned toward Danville, Virginia.¹⁹² Alfred Belo was at home in Salem when rumors of the first invasion circulated:

I had not been in Salem more than a week when the report came that Stoneman, with five thousand federal cavalry, was coming through the western part of the State, burning and destroying everything before him. Great consternation resulted in the calling of a public meeting, in which I made the proposition that if the citizens would provide me with good horses, I would gather the soldiers here on furlough and go out in the direction of the enemy and keep the town informed of their movements. This was agreed to, and the horses were promised to be ready at the public square that evening. I recruited as many men as I could and started with about thirty men. We rode sixteen miles that night to the shallow ford on the Yadkin River, where we found about two hundred home guards assembled. They had thrown up a little breastwork on the east side of the river and at daybreak we presented quite a formidable appearance.

*That morning the enemy’s pickets appeared on the other side. They made some demonstration, but finding us entrenched and not knowing our numbers, they moved off toward Virginia.*¹⁹³

The town had escaped invasion, but on Monday, April 10, 1865, the raiders appeared. Robert de Schweinitz, President of Salem Academy, and Joshua Boner, Mayor of Salem, rode out to meet them. Stoneman’s entire division, numbering around 5,000, had already visited Bethania, the Moravian town northwest of Salem in Forsyth County, where “The towns [sic] inhabitants were all in church, it being Monday of Easter Week . . . and by the time the Reverend Jacob Siewers dismissed the congregation, the streets were already filled with soldiers. Locked doors of private homes had been broken down, drawers and closets ransacked, but no serious damage was done.”¹⁹⁴ Boner and de Schweinitz wanted to ensure that this situation would not occur in Salem, and that private property would be respected. The cavalry occupied the town, and George Bahnson recorded the events of April 10 and 11 in the Salem Diary:

*Monday, April 10, 1865: General Palmer and staff took up their quarters at Joshua Boner’s and in very great comparative silence and with the strictest order, about 3000 cavalry passed through town and pitched their camp on the high ground beyond the creek.*¹⁹⁵ *Had it not been for the noise their swords and horses made it would have been scarcely noticed that as large a number of troops was passing through town. The strictest discipline was observed, guards rode up and down every street, and the violation of mild and gentlemanly conduct were very few indeed. The night was as quiet as any other, except that there was a good deal of riding to and fro in the main street. Providentially, government stores were here in considerable abundance, so that individuals were not called upon to contribute any thing except breads, for which they would ask politely and thank in the same manner. Fears were of course entertained by some whether they would continue this good behavior to the last, and no doubt many a fervent prayer ascended this evening. The meeting was of course dropped.*¹⁹⁶

Tuesday, April 11, 1865: While the conduct of the federals continued to be very good in town, they did not treat all our neighbors as gently as they did us. Horses were taken everywhere and represented by them as a measure of necessity. [It was] understood that even the factories should be spared, and nothing be touched except government stores, but some soldiers opened the factory of Hy. Fries, and a mob entered, destroying the inside very thoroughly and carrying off a great deal of property. Several persons were taken prisoner by the federals, among them our