

CULTURES IN FLUX:

New Approaches to 'Traditional Association' at
Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site

An Ethnographic Overview and Assessment
by

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- 1) There are no groups associated Hopewell Furnace NHS that fully fit the NPS definition of “traditionally associated peoples.” Rather, this study documents a range of groups that conform to some parts of the definition or that overlap with recreational, educational, or other “non-traditional” uses of the park.
 - Descendants of Hopewell workers and area residents do not constitute a “people” in the anthropological sense. However, many individuals and families both in and outside the area do have very long-standing ties to Hopewell Furnace and the history of the immediate area. These ties are not part of any clear-cut and immediate local identity. Rather, they are part of a more diffuse sense of localness and rootedness, linked with a sense of attachment to :
 - small-scale communities such as are still found in the area
 - the practice of handskills (including those used in farming and the metal industries), and
 - long-standing Pennsylvania ethnic populations, particularly Pennsylvania German culture.In some cases, descendants’ relationships with these histories are discontinuous, and have been reestablished in part through the use of the park’s resources. Traditional family knowledge held by these people is not a body of data wholly separate from Hopewell Furnace NHS, therefore, but exists in a mutual exchange with the park.
 - Present-day members of Bethesda Baptist Church retain a sense of attachment to the old Bethesda Baptist Church building now within the park, despite discontinuities in membership and a 1989 move to a new building.
 - Living history volunteers at the park, particularly those in the charcoal-making program, constitute a “neo-traditional group” with many characteristics similar to those of more traditional groups and people.
 - Some state park users and other non-traditional groups also share some of these characteristics and kinds of attachments to the park.
- 2) This park combines elements of industrial history, land reclamation, economic redevelopment, and heritage preservation in complex and often contradictory ways.

In order to understand this layering of traditional, neo-traditional, recreational, and other uses of Hopewell Furnace NHS, the report examines the park’s role in the changing socioeconomic setting of southeastern Pennsylvania over time. The park was an early transitional site in the shift from an industrial to a postindustrial society. From its beginnings, the park has grappled with what one early NPS administrator referred to as the “Hopewell problem”—how to interpret a noisy, smelly, environmentally destructive industrial process within a setting that is forested, peaceful, and highly attractive to people who wish to escape from modern urban industrial (and now postindustrial) life.

- 3) Hopewell Furnace NHS is a co-curator of local and family histories and a site for many kinds of cultural expressions. It is also a participant in the growing cultural economy of the area.

The park's history means that the park and its associated peoples—traditional, neo-traditional, and non-traditional—interact within a complex layering of past and present. This is compounded by the fact that culture and heritage themselves have become highly sought-after and marketable products in postindustrial economies and places. Within these settings, cultural institutions and activities are deeply interwoven with local memory, place-making, recreational and avocational activities (such as living history), and education. Rather than viewing its associated groups and peoples as separate entities who hold information or maintain practices of potential relevance to the park's interpretation and management, this report challenges the park to re-think its role and to see that

- the lines between itself and its associated groups and people are often very blurred
- these groups and people themselves construct their identity and sense of heritage in ways that often make use of the knowledge of institutions such as national parks, and
- these roles and practices have been shaped by the specific histories of the cultural and natural conservation movements of the industrial era and the newer practices of place-making and place-marketing of the postindustrial economy.

This re-thinking of the “traditional association” concept could allow park managers to draw on a wider range of community knowledge and interest in their decision-making processes.

- 4) Hopewell Furnace NHS and other national parks in postindustrial settings could more fully embrace their existing role as co-curators of local memory and identity by
 - cultivating a more active relationship with local people and groups interested in family and local history
 - reestablishing some former community relationships that have weakened over time (for example, with the Bethesda Baptist Church congregation and staff at French Creek State Park)
 - strengthening relationships with associated neo-traditional groups (particularly the charcoal volunteers) in order to heighten local awareness of the park's programs and raise its level of participation within newer regional networks of cultural production and promotion.

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Finally, I am extremely grateful to Dr. Chuck Smythe of the Northeast Ethnography Program in Boston for his continual support and willingness to engage in thinking through the challenges that this study offered. I hope that this report makes some contribution to the evolving work of the Ethnography Program and its important goals of understanding the meanings and associations that national parks hold for many different kinds of people.

Cathy Stanton
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CHAPTER 1 BACKGROUND AND FIELDWORK

Typically, an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment at a U.S. national park will identify and gather information about “traditionally associated peoples”—those who see the resources in a park as significant in some way to their group identity. Knowledge gathered through such studies helps the National Park Service to be more effective in understanding and consulting with these groups.

At Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site, however, there are no clearly-identifiable groups of people who fully fit the Park Service definition of “traditionally associated peoples.” The purpose of this project was therefore somewhat different. Instead of focusing on data about any one specific group, this report surveys a range of people associated in different ways with Hopewell Furnace, examines the idea of “traditional association” itself, and suggests how a re-thinking of this concept could allow park managers to draw on a wider range of public knowledge and interest in their decision-making processes.

This introductory chapter will:

- set out the rationale and context for this type of study and define some key concepts associated with it
- discuss the challenges of applying those concepts at Hopewell Furnace
- examine the specific opportunities offered by ethnographic study at Hopewell Furnace and their implications for park management
- provide an overview of the body of the report
- discuss the methodology and fieldwork undertaken during the project.

BACKGROUND OF THIS STUDY

The U.S. National Park Service has historically tended to think in terms of places and objects rather than people. Yet of course people can never be wholly separated from the understanding of objects and places. In the decades since the NPS was created in 1916, it has worked to come to terms with this reality and to reflect it in policy.

Much of this work has been undertaken in response to claims by Indian tribes, whose long and troubled history relating to land ownership, political power, and cultural expression raises important questions about stewardship of federal lands. The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 broke new ground by directing federal agencies to take into consideration the social as well as ecological consequences of all projects receiving federal funding. Federally recognized tribes were the only cultures specifically mentioned in this act, but it was a move

toward acknowledging the importance of living people and intangible aspects of culture when making decisions about land and resource management.¹

However, the National Park Service still focused primarily on two types of people in weighing its own decisions: people from the past whose stories were preserved at national parks, or people in the present who came to visit those parks. In the words of Muriel (Miki) Crespi, the Park Service's first Chief Ethnographer, "Living people were important only if they were visitors, or if they had something to say that would illuminate the past" (Crespi 2003:14). The concept of the "stakeholder" was one attempt to categorize present-day people who had distinctive relationships with parks that went beyond visiting or holding information valuable to park interpretation. Particularly as "partnership parks" and heritage areas began to come into existence in the 1970s and 1980s, identifying groups as stakeholders has helped the Park Service to forge new kinds of relationships with those who have an interest in what happens at national parks.

Anthropologists and some others in the NPS advocated for taking another step beyond identifying some people as stakeholders. A stakeholder, after all, could be anyone with an interest in park resources—neighbors, history enthusiasts, recreational users, and so on. But what about stakeholders whose attachment to the resources in the park might pre-date the park itself? And what about those for whom these resources were an integral part of some kind of shared identity—for example, a tribe, ethnic group, neighborhood, or occupational identity? What if the way this kind of group understood or used the place was quite different from the park's interpretive focus? Once again, these questions arose most immediately in relation to Indian tribes, but the same concern could also apply to other kinds of people—displaced residents, former workers at an industrial history site, and so on. At bottom was a larger concern about understanding the role that specific park resources played in supporting and maintaining *cultures*—the systems of shared meanings and behaviors that hold together members of any human group.

In 1981, the NPS hired cultural anthropologist Miki Crespi as a step toward thinking through this set of issues and creating a new program designed to take them into account in park planning and management. During the next decade, Crespi and others developed three concepts to frame the Park Service's approach to these distinctive stakeholders:

- 1) First, the decision was made to call this an **ethnography** program rather than anthropology per se. The fledgling program was based in anthropological thinking and the research done would be carried out by anthropologists. But in the minds of many people anthropology is associated primarily with archeology—with "bones and stones" rather than with contemporary life. The term "ethnography," which refers to the study

¹ For a listing of all laws and policies governing ethnographic research and consulting with indigenous groups by the National Park Service, see:
<http://www.cr.nps.gov/ethnography/mandate/index.htm#legislation>.

of living cultures, better reflected the sense that this would be a program focusing on present-day people rather than archeological remnants.

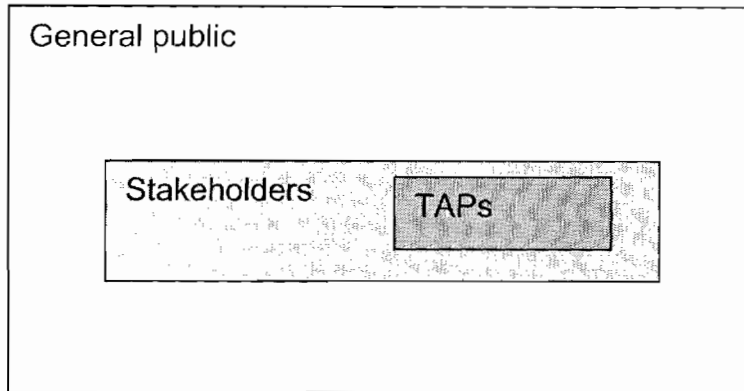
- 2) The term **ethnographic resources** was developed as a way of grasping how these present-day people related to national parks. Ethnographic resources are the landscapes, objects, sites and structures, plants and animals found within parks that are essential to the sense of identity of some contemporary group.
- 3) It remained to find a term more specific than “stakeholder” for these groups themselves. The term chosen was **traditionally associated peoples (TAPs)**, which reflected three key ideas:
 - these people form some kind of collective entity (they are in some sense a “people”)
 - they are associated in some way with the resources in the park, making use of those resources in some way that relates to their shared identity
 - this association is “traditional,” rooted somehow in a shared past.

There was debate about how far back that past should extend (Crespi 2003:18). Some in the NPS argued that traditionally associated peoples should include only those who could show that their identity had been linked with these ethnographic resources from some period of origins or prehistory (for example, an Indian tribe that had been associated with a particular area from a prehistorical period). Crespi herself pushed for a much more inclusive definition, believing that it was important not to rule out more recent residents of an area who might nevertheless make use of park resources in constructing their collective identity. The eventual compromise was that traditionally associated peoples were defined as those who had been connected with park resources for at least two generations (defined as forty years) or whose association predated the creation of the park.

The definition that was arrived at is:

These [traditionally associated] peoples are the contemporary park neighbors and ethnic or occupational communities that have been associated with the park for two or more generations (40 years), and whose interests in the park’s resources began prior to the park’s establishment. . . Traditionally associated peoples generally differ as a group from other park visitors in that they typically assign significance to ethnographic resources—places closely linked with their own sense of purpose, existence as a community, and development as ethnically distinctive peoples. (2001 NPS Management Policies, Chapter 5.3.5.3, “Ethnographic Resources.”)

Traditionally associated peoples, then, are a particular kind of stakeholder, as can be illustrated by this diagram:



Having identified these key concepts, the NPS created an Ethnography Program to carry out the following tasks:

- conduct research relating to traditionally associated peoples and the ethnographic resources to which they assigned significance
- facilitate consultation with these groups in park planning, operation, and interpretation²
- coordinate with other NPS professionals (for example, planners, interpreters, and natural resource specialists) to make sure that the concerns of traditionally associated groups are heard
- help formulate policy relating to the heritage of living peoples associated with ethnographic resources in parks, and
- manage databases that contain data gathered through ethnographic research and consultation.³

Parks may request that ethnographic research be done for a variety of reasons and at any time when it seems that this research would be useful. In some cases, as with Hopewell Furnace, these studies may be part of the General Management Plan process by which parks periodically undertake comprehensive, long-range planning. Projects are coordinated through the regional offices of the Ethnography Program, which contract with ethnographers to carry out research based archival study, interviewing, and other ethnographic methods. One standard product of such research is the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, which is often designed to identify traditionally associated groups and to learn more about the nature of their association and how the park's resources contribute to group culture and identity.

² Policies relating to traditionally associated groups can be found in Chapters 5 (on cultural resource management in general), 2 (on planning and consultation), and 8 (on American Indian and Native American groups in particular). Relevant excerpts from these policies are included in Appendix A. More information about the NPS Ethnography Program can be found at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/ethnography/>.

³ The ethnographic resources database was discontinued at a national level in 2006, but some regions and parks continue to find it useful.

CHALLENGES OF ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY AT HOPEWELL FURNACE NHS

The rationale for this study, then, is quite straightforward. The project is designed to identify existing information about traditionally associated peoples connected with Hopewell Furnace NHS and to collect new data about how these people understand and use this site as part of their collective identities. At many parks, carrying out such projects is equally straightforward. Traditionally associated peoples are often easily identified, or there may be a particular relationship or set of circumstances prompting the study.

At Hopewell Furnace, however, the situation is much less clear-cut. This section will examine four reasons for this, and will set the stage for a discussion of how ethnographic study at Hopewell can be useful in reexamining some of the central concepts underlying the NPS Ethnography Program's mission.

1) Problems of definition and categorization

As with most policies or definitions, those set out by the NPS for traditionally associated peoples have not covered all possible cases, leaving room for some rethinking and adjustment.

The NPS definition refers to "peoples," which anthropologists understand human groupings that share some deep-rooted sense of identity and that are usually linked to specific places, languages, and practices. A "people" is usually organized into a "society," or a set of structures that allows it to survive and perpetuate itself. Furthermore, a "people" share a "culture"—the more intangible values, ideas, and perceptions that members use to make sense of experience and to pass along what they know.

However, the NPS definition also leaves room for other kinds of human groupings to be considered under the rubric of traditional association. Park neighbors and occupational communities are not necessarily "peoples"—their primary senses of identity and belonging may come from quite different sources. Yet they may very well share experiences, knowledge, and place-attachments that are based on resources within a national park. Groups that fall under the anthropological heading of "voluntary association"—for example, hobbyists or religious congregations—further test the definition. Once the definition is expanded to include types of groupings that go beyond the classic "people" model above, we have to address questions of which kinds of groups can and should be included, and which are clearly outside the definition's scope.

These questions have arisen in part from previous Ethnography Program projects. Some groups may not initially consider themselves to be traditionally associated, but may come to see themselves in that category as a result of ethnographic study being conducted in their community. For example, ethnographer David White

noted that as a result of research projects he undertook for the NPS Ethnography Program, some local groups at both Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore and Capitol Reef National Park shifted their own perceptions of themselves and their potential relationships to the national parks (White 2003). Similarly, after the release of a 1999 study that I conducted on Revolutionary War reenactor activities at national parks (Stanton 1999), some of the reenactors who were my informants began to debate whether they might be considered a traditionally associated group, and if so, how that might give them additional leverage with the NPS.

At a 2003 workshop to discuss the concept of traditional association, park superintendent and former Regional Ethnographer Alexa Roberts posed the additional question of whether the claims of all traditionally associated groups had equal weight. “Is there a ‘hierarchy’ or varying degrees of cultural and historical associations between each group and the park?” she asked (Roberts 2003). How should park managers weigh competing claims by groups with different histories and types of association with park resources? Should a clearly-identifiable “people” automatically have more standing than a voluntary community, or should we look for more nuanced ways to assess each group’s claim?

Recent examples of contention among Indian tribes, long-time non-Indian residents, spiritual seekers, and recreational users who identify themselves as a distinct sub-culture (for example, reenactors or rock-climbers) show that this is not merely an academic question. While the concepts of ethnographic resources and traditional association answer some questions about how parks can be responsive to particular kinds of concerns among their constituencies, there are clearly still areas that remain to be discussed and refined.

2) A lack of true “traditionally associated peoples” at Hopewell Furnace NHS

A more immediate challenge at Hopewell Furnace is the fact that no single group fully fits the NPS definition of traditional association. Preliminary ethnographic studies at the park (described below) identified a list of potentially associated groups. But closer investigation for this Ethnographic Overview and Assessment made it clear that none of these were truly traditionally associated peoples in the sense noted above. Instead, my fieldwork showed that people fit into one of three sub-categories:

Those who are traditional and associated but not a “people” or group

Some of those associated with Hopewell do have connections to the park’s resources that pre-date the creation of the park. This is the case with some current and former park neighbors and descendants of workers at Hopewell Furnace. Many Hopewell descendants do maintain attachments to the stories and landscape, for

example through genealogical activities, occasional family reunions, or even volunteer activities at the park. But there is no sense of this category of people forming a cultural “group” or a “people” in the anthropological sense. They have no clear collective identity linked with a specific central place, name, or other unifying concept. Rather, they share some common histories and geographical associations, but experience these in essentially atomized and autonomous ways, as family units or individuals. Many are dispersed across the country, reflecting the considerable socioeconomic changes that have taken place in the many decades between the furnace’s decline and the formation of the national park.

Remnants of longstanding communities—for example, the Six Penny Creek community that once bordered Hopewell Furnace—do exist, and there are many nearby villages and crossroads communities that retain distinct identities despite the continuing changes in the area. But even among long-standing residents of those places, the resources of Hopewell Furnace NHS per se do not seem to be a central component of their larger sense of “localness.” For example, people frequently point to their local knowledge about the location and purpose of old charcoal hearths or “flats” as an example of the region’s unique history and topography. But these kinds of knowledge and associations do not contribute to some larger identifiable collective identity—for instance, a sense of belonging to a clearly identified region, neighborhood, or cultural group. With these people, then, we have the aspects of tradition and (to varying extents) association, but not of group identity.

Traditional “peoples” or groups who are not associated

Another set of people displays the aspects of tradition and group identity, but without drawing significantly (or at all) on the park’s resources as an element of that identity.

Since much of the NPS Ethnography Program’s focus is on the relationship of national parks to Indian tribes, I investigated the possibility that there might be associations with the park’s lands among Indian peoples who lived in the area or whose homelands were in southeastern Pennsylvania before their migration to the west. These include Lenape people in the Pennsylvania/New Jersey/Delaware region and the Delaware Nation which is now centered in Oklahoma (Chapters 2 and 4 discuss these groups in more detail). Hopewell Furnace NHS had already consulted with the Delaware Nation as part of its General Management Plan process, and had received a reply that the Delaware people did not see any of the park’s resources as connected with their tribal identity (see Appendix B). My inquiries, primarily through a former park employee who was part Lenape and who is involved in Lenape cultural activities in the region, revealed no obvious connections among Lenape people in the area and the

park's resources. Any significance that lands now within Hopewell Furnace NHS might hold for these peoples, then, would appear to be connected with a larger sense of this region as a historical homeland rather than any specific association with the Hopewell area itself.

Mennonites were another clearly traditional people who were identified in preliminary research as having a potential connection with Hopewell Furnace. Park staff and volunteers reported that Mennonites occasionally visited the park, often in large groups of young people and sometimes as young couples. It appeared that the park might serve as a site of socializing for these young Mennonites, particularly on important holidays like Ascension Day. My conversations with Mennonite visitors on Ascension Day 2005, however, showed that although there is definitely an unusual compatibility of the park and its presentations with the traditional lifeways of this particular group of visitors, in most ways the Mennonites are conventional visitors rather than anything else. They visit many area historic sites on holiday excursions, and show the usual visitors' curiosity about learning new things about the past, even when—as in the case of “living history” depictions of sheep-shearing, open-hearth cooking, and other traditional activities—that past may be less distant from their own culture than it is for the majority of visitors.

The congregation of Bethesda Baptist Church, discussed in detail in Chapter 5, comes closest to fitting the “traditional association” model, although they constitute a voluntary association rather than a “people” in the anthropological sense. Formalized in the 1820s, the congregation worshiped for 170 years in a building now within the national park. To accommodate growing membership numbers, a new church was built about a mile from the original building in 1989. Some current and former church members did speak to me about a sense of attachment to the old building, but very few pre-1989 members remain in the congregation and the sense of a collective connection and identity is rather indirect and discontinuous. People with a stronger connection to the old church (for example, those with family members buried in the cemetery) are no longer affiliated with the congregation. Although Bethesda Baptist Church members can be seen as a traditionally associated group, and I will discuss them as such in this report, both the sense of group identity and the importance of the association are tenuous.

Associated groups who are not traditional or “peoples”

As with any national park, Hopewell Furnace NHS does have many associated people and groups, which include numerous types of volunteers and temporary staff (for example, a Friends group, youth conservation workers, living history interpreters, charcoal-makers, seasonal volunteers from the ranks of seniors traveling in RVs), the neighboring state park, and others. In NPS terms, all of these qualify as stakeholders—people with an interest in what happens at the park but without the aspects of cultural identity or pre-park association that characterize traditionally associated groups.

The table below lists the various groups who might be considered to have cultural associations with Hopewell Furnace NHS, and shows the fragmented nature of those associations:

Group	Traditional? pre-date park	Associated? park resources important to their sense of identity	Group/People? sense of collective/ethnic/ cultural identity
Bethesda Baptist	yes	somewhat	yes
Living historians	somewhat	yes	somewhat
Colliers	somewhat	yes	somewhat
Descendants	yes	varies	no
Neighbors	yes	varies	no
State park users	no	somewhat	no
Mennonites	yes	no	yes

Table 1: Types of traditional and neo-traditional associations and groups at HOFU

3) Increased mobility, complexity, and hybridity of culture and tradition

In addition to challenges arising from the NPS definition itself and the specific groups associated (or not associated) with Hopewell Furnace NHS, other complications are created by the kind of cultural, economic, and spatial settings in which this park is located. Postindustrialism, new technologies, and changing patterns of cultural mobility, contact, and display make it necessary to rethink our approaches to culture and tradition in such settings.

As industrial capital becomes ever more mobile in its search of more favorable labor markets and access to raw materials, the places left behind have had to find new economic strategies for survival. Throughout the twentieth century, deindustrialized areas around the developed world struggled to repair their economies after the loss of their manufacturing bases. This has been strikingly true in Pennsylvania, where the state

economy was once fueled by iron, steel, coal, railroads, and other heavy industries. This cycle continues in many places around the globe, but beginning in the 1970s, a new set of culture-based strategies for coping with it began to come into use. These strategies were initially tried in the northeastern U.S. and the British north and midlands, places which had been the first in the world to be heavily industrialized and which were among the first to feel the effects of deindustrialization. As we enter the twenty-first century, this has settled into an increasingly recognizable pattern that is often termed “culture-led regeneration” or the “creative economy.”⁴

Culture, knowledge, history, and tradition play complex roles within this pattern. They are products to be marketed, in ways that range from the selling of “intellectual property” to the promotion of places through tourism. They are amenities to be promoted as part of place-making and place-marketing efforts designed to attract residents, businesses, and investment from the more profitable niches of the knowledge- and service-driven “new economy.” And, paradoxically, they may also assert and celebrate local autonomy and character as a way of resisting the homogenizing effects of the globalized new economy. Alexa Roberts’ question—“Is there a ‘hierarchy’ or varying degrees of cultural and historical associations between each group and the park?”—is an important one as park managers attempt to sort through the differences between longstanding local practices, cultural revivals, and emerging hybrid forms.

This report will show how these functions often overlap, creating a widening range of practices and behaviors that can be considered “traditional.” In areas like the one that Hopewell is a part of, many kinds of cultural production and experiences have become tightly enmeshed in various types of kinds of display and redevelopment efforts. Within the marketing and display of culture, different groups pursue differing agendas. These agendas may range from active place-promotion to displaying traditional culture as a way of resisting or harnessing some of the features of economic redevelopment (as we will see in the case of the Amish or Hopewell’s living history volunteers). In all cases, though, it has become more and more difficult to draw a line around what is a

⁴ The former textile producing city of Lowell, Massachusetts was among the leaders in establishing this now-familiar pattern of culture-based redevelopment. For more detail on Lowell’s revitalization efforts, see Stanton 2006. Boston, the financial and educational center of industrialized New England, was similarly innovative in its approach to dealing with deindustrialization. Indeed, historian Stephen Ward claims that, “if it is valid to speak of a formula for the post-industrial city, Boston stumbled across it first” (1998:191). The New England Council has produced two influential studies on the region’s creative economy, *The Creative Economy: The Role of Arts and Culture in New England’s Economic Competitiveness* (2000) and *Blueprint for Investment in New England’s Creative Economy* (2002), both of which are available online at <http://www.creativeeconomy.org/pubs/index.html>. There is also an extremely extensive literature on culture-led regeneration in Europe; two examples from this burgeoning field are Graeme Evans, *Cultural Planning: An Urban Renaissance?* (London: Routledge, 2001) and Justin O’Connor & Derek Wynne, eds. *From the Margins to the Centre: Cultural Production and Consumption in the Post-industrial City* (Aldershot, UK: Arena Publishers: 1996).

longstanding “tradition” and what is being produced or reproduced for contemporary display.⁵

Nor are these developments limited to postindustrial places. The growing mobility of people, money, images, and information has contributed to a more globalized cultural economy in which cultures are rapidly being reshaped and redistributed. Many kinds of identity are now formed, at least in part, within intangible social spaces that Arjun Appadurai (1996) has called global “scapes”—for example, the global “ethnoscapes” of dispersed or transnational ethnic communities or the “technoscapes” of cyberspace. James Clifford (1997:7) points out that the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have seen an unprecedented physical movement of people from place to place. But at the same time, whole new areas of cultural production and experience have emerged, and these are having an effect on ongoing processes of cultural adaptation and change.

For example, when I began studying historical reenactment in the early 1990s, this far-flung community conducted most of its business in small-scale face-to-face meetings or at periodic encampments. Over the course of the next decade, large numbers of reenactors enthusiastically embraced the Internet, leading to a whole new realm of “virtual campfires” that have enabled the creation of a much more sophisticated and responsive community infrastructure. The sub-culture of reenacting, as it exists today, is very much shaped by this new technology. While historical reenactors are not a wholly “traditional” group or culture, there are many documented instances of traditional groups—particularly in indigenous communities—who have similarly embraced new technologies and used them for their own purposes, finding themselves reshaped in the process but often in ways that are compatible with their existing social patterns and institutions.⁶

The display of culture and tradition in these increasingly mobile, globalized, promotional, and “touristic” spaces, then, is characteristic of our contemporary world and of postindustrial places in particular.⁷ Within this ever more touristic and culture-

⁵ For discussions of the politics of heritage, including the kinds of local interests and different groups that maneuver within these kinds of developments, see Chambers 2000, Clifford 1997, and B. Dicks 2003.

⁶ For example, see the 1990 film “The Spirit of TV,” directed by Vincent Carelli, which chronicles the experiences of the Waiapi Indians of Brazil with television. Terence Turner has written extensively about indigenous use of media; see, for example, “The Social Dynamics of Video Media in an Indigenous Society: The Cultural Meaning and the Personal Politics of Video-making in Kayapo Communities” (*Visual Anthropology Review*, Fall 1991, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 68-76). Also see Faye Ginsburg, “Screen Memories: Resignifying the Traditional in Indigenous Media” in *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain* (Faye Ginsburg, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Brian Larkin, eds. [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002]).

⁷ The term “touristic” was coined by Dean MacCannell in his important 1977 book *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (reissued in 1999, Berkeley: University California Press). MacCannell argued that “The current structural development of society is marked by the appearance everywhere of touristic space” (100).

aware world, museums and other sites of cultural display are important as what Clifford (1997: 188-219) terms “contact zones”—places where people come together to present, view, and discuss what culture is, what it means, and where they fit within it. At the same time, many places outside of museums have become more display-conscious and have worked to make themselves more “visitable,” to use Bella Dicks’ term. We expect our landscapes to communicate histories and meanings to us, and this is often accomplished through complicated partnerships among professional heritage workers, long-standing residents, interested newcomers, cultural institutions, members of traditional groups, and commercial enterprises.

4) Changing anthropological understandings of culture, place, tradition, history

Finally, anthropologists themselves have been re-examining the concepts of culture and tradition in recent decades.⁸ This re-examination has been prompted by many of the same changes that have caused the NPS to re-think its policies in relation to Native American groups:

- activism among indigenous peoples
- the breakup of European colonial empires
- a new multiculturalist ethos that sees cultural diversity as something to be celebrated rather than overcome or absorbed
- challenges to Eurocentric histories and a shift to seeing history as something more complex and contested among interested groups of people.

⁸ Foundational works in this discussion include James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); James Clifford and George Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); and Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press (1983).

The work of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments is an important center for the ongoing discussion of concepts of “tradition.” For an example of the work of this group, see Nezar AlSayyad, ed., *The End of Tradition?* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

For a discussion of the issue of sources on traditional knowledge as it pertains to the work of the NPS Ethnography Program, see Daniel L. Boxberger, “History, Ethnohistory, and Oral History: The Ethnographer’s Dilemma” in “Traditionally Associated Peoples and Ethnographic Resources: A Workshop to Enhance Understanding of National Park Service Resources. Washington, DC: Unpublished report, National Park Service. Available online at: <http://www.cr.nps.gov/ethnography/training/TAPS/history.htm>.

Some anthropologists and others have raised the question of the possible damage that ethnographers and other scholars might do by exposing or undermining claims of tradition by marginalized groups—for example, by showing that the roots of a well-known “traditional” form owed as much to a state-sponsored folklore institute as to an indigenous practice. For a discussion of this important point, see Charles Briggs, “The Politics of Discursive Authority in Research on the ‘Invention of Tradition.’” *Cultural Anthropology* 11 (1996):435-469.

In a nutshell, anthropologists have come to see culture as a dynamic process rather than a static “thing” that can be passed down intact from one generation to the next. As one scholar has put it, “Culture is now best seen not as an integrated entity, tied to a fixed group of people, but as a shifting and contested process of constructing collective identity” (Knauff 1996:44).

In its early decades in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, anthropology shared the widespread view that some kinds of cultures—those labeled as “primitive” or traditional—were essentially static, and anthropologists busily worked to document and salvage what could be known of them before the supposedly corrupting influences of modernity were felt. While this view is still very common in the popular imagination, anthropology has generally come to accept that all cultures—even those once thought to be “timeless” or outside of history—are perpetually in flux. The questions posed by the discipline now more often center around the issue of how different groups participate in these processes of cultural creation, representation, contact, and change.

Within those processes, anthropologists see “tradition” and “heritage” not necessarily as clear-cut bodies of knowledge or practice, but as strategic claims that can be mobilized in varying ways by groups of people. Sometimes those people have very longstanding connections to particular places, types of knowledge, or cultural practices (i.e. they clearly have an identity as “a people”). Sometimes they do not. The ingredients that go into claims of heritage or tradition can be multifaceted, and may include elements like family or local knowledge, scholarly materials, nation-building projects, religious practices, and commercial enterprises. Anthropologists interested in these issues investigate both the sources of these claims and how they are asserted and received.

Scholars in this field now also proceed from a recognition that the very notions of heritage and tradition are distinctively modern concepts. Human cultures have always performed rituals, told stories about their pasts, and had complex relationships with particular landscapes and places. But the framing and preservation of some of these things as traditional, historic, or “heritage” is something that arises only in modern societies. In fact, this kind of framing and preservation is one of the modern world’s own core cultural characteristics. As one theorist has put it, “The modern not only invented tradition, it depends up on it” (N. Dicks 1990:27).⁹ Rather than seeing traditional culture

⁹ The work of anthropologist Richard Handler and folklorist/performance theorist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett is particularly important here. In addition to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, see, for example, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “From Ethnology to Heritage: The Role of the Museum” (keynote address at the International Society for Ethnology and Folklore conference, Marseilles, April 28, 2005, available online at <http://www.nyu.edu/classes/bkg/web/SIEF.pdf>); Richard Handler, “Authenticity,” *Anthropology Today* 2,1(1986):2-4 and “Who Owns the Past?: History, Cultural Property, and the Logic of Possessive Individualism” in *The Politics of Culture*, Brett Williams, ed. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin, “Tradition, Genuine or Spurious,” *Journal of American Folklore* 97(1984):273-290.

as something set apart from modern societies, then, anthropologists now understand it as an integral part of the processes by which modernity is created. Many scholars now study sites of cultural display (including those relating to folklore, museums, and tourism) for clues about how different groups construct and negotiate their identities within different political and economic circumstances.

Two related changes in anthropological thinking are:

- (a) Cultures are no longer seen as necessarily rooted in a particular place. Partly because of our more sophisticated grasp of how culture is created and constantly re-created, and partly because of the widespread changes in cultural formations noted in the previous section, the discipline now sees attachment to place as one potential element in a “traditional” cultural identity, but no longer necessarily the defining one.
- (b) Anthropologists have come to see that all sources of documentation, including textual evidence and our own ethnographic fieldwork, are shaped to some extent by the circumstances under which it was gathered and written. Just as there are no neatly bounded “cultures” waiting to be documented, only an ongoing and contingent set of processes to be understood, there are also no entirely objective or authoritative accounts of culture. Our own ethnographic accounts are one strand of discourse among many that make up the cultural life of particular places and groups of people.

These recent scholarly shifts by no means do away with the idea of tradition, but they do complicate our thinking about it.

OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED BY THIS STUDY

These reasons make it difficult or impossible to produce a conventional Ethnographic Overview and Assessment at Hopewell Furnace NHS. But they also open the door to a reexamination of some of the components of these studies, in ways that are potentially useful not only for this national park but for others as well.

There are three primary benefits of this kind of reexamination.

- 1) It can help park managers think through their parks’ relationships with a broader range of community and cultural groups, not only as “stakeholders” but as sub-cultural or quasi-cultural entities with their own characteristics, values, and practices. In essence,

this report will push the boundaries of the concept of “traditional association” and will ask where it may overlap with other kinds of park association.

In 2003, shortly before her death, Chief Ethnographer Miki Crespi articulated her view of the ultimate goal of ethnographic research in the Park Service:

In my view, the real purpose of these kinds of documents [eg. Ethnographic Overviews and Assessments] is **relationship building** [emphasis added]. We want good neighbors, we want people to have buy-in to what we’re doing. We want them to have a continuing relationship with the park and support of the National Park Service as well. In my view that’s where we’re really trying to go with this. (2003:24)

This study works to support this vision of strengthening relationships with a broader range of community, cultural, and stakeholder groups.

- 2) Beyond the benefit of strengthening specific relationships at specific parks, the study can also support other NPS initiatives and developments that address the Park Service’s relationships with partners and community groups. These initiatives include the recent NPS emphasis on **civic engagement**. Like many cultural institutions and agencies, the Park Service has adopted this concept as a way to work toward strengthening its role in public culture and civic life, from the rationale that, “Forming meaningful partnerships with the very people most invested in the parks ensures long-term relevance of NPS resources and programs.”¹⁰

Another comparatively recent development within the Park Service is its involvement in the creation of **national heritage areas and other partnership projects**. Typically, these kinds of projects involve many groups and agendas. Often they are located in deindustrialized or postindustrial areas like the region around Hopewell Furnace. Some, like the Underground Railroad Network to Freedom program, cover multiple states and challenge conventional definitions of what a national park (or even a “place”) can be. A rethinking of how place, tradition, and culture are created, sustained, and changed can help park managers to operate more effectively in these complex contemporary social settings.

- 3) Finally, the National Park Service has sought to make use of current scholarship in its interpretation and management (for example, through its cooperative agreements with groups like the Organization of American Historians and many institutions of higher learning). Recent anthropological scholarship on the subject of tradition and culture has a good deal to offer to park managers. Park constituencies increasingly include

¹⁰ For this and other statements on the National Park Service’s Civic Engagement initiative, see <http://www.nps.gov/civic/about/index.html>.

groups whose identities cross the lines between volunteering and using parks in educational, recreational, and cultural (or sub-cultural) ways. Frequently, these groups are highly mobile or even virtual, in the case of groups that relate to parks through the NPS's Internet presence. If the NPS Ethnography Program is to assist parks in understanding and strengthening these relationships, it is important to make use of recent anthropological thinking that can help to clarify what kinds of relationships and social practices are actually taking place on the ground (and in cyberspace!).

METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

Preliminary studies

Two preliminary ethnographic surveys were conducted at Hopewell Furnace to identify potential ethnographic resources and traditionally associated groups at the park.

The first, by Eileen Mueller, was undertaken in February of 2000, with a follow-up survey by David Jenkins in September 2002. These two anthropologists interviewed park staff; talked with the pastor of Bethesda Baptist Church; and perused the park's extensive collection of oral history interviews with people associated with Hopewell, conducted between about 1935 and 1960.

The two preliminary surveys pointed to two types of possible cultural associations with Hopewell Furnace's ethnographic resources:

- 1) among local descendants of families associated with Hopewell Furnace during its operation, particularly the Lloyd, Bird, Painter, Houck, and Cole families

The old Bethesda Baptist Church, now within the national park boundaries, was particularly seen as a possible ethnographic resource for these families, especially those whose ancestors were buried in the church's cemetery. Preliminary inquiry suggested that present-day members of the church, who now worship in a new building, had no ongoing associations with the old church.

Other potential ethnographic resources for these families included the village itself (especially for Hopewell descendants who had been involved in its reconstruction); the park's genealogical database; the oral history collections; and the knowledge of charcoal-making that is preserved and practiced at the park.

Two resources outside the park boundary, the Mt. Frisby AME Church and cemetery and the ruins of the Six Penny Creek community, were also seen as potentially significant to descendants of families associated with these sites. This is particularly true for members of the Cole family, some of whom still reside on property that includes the church and cemetery. David Jenkins noted in his 2002 report that, "The NPS

Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program provides a context for research on African Americans at Hopewell. Sites such as the Mt. Frisby AME Church and Cemetery may warrant nomination for inclusion in the Network, the National Register, or as a National Historic Landmark. Hopewell Furnace itself, as a site of employment for escaped slaves, may warrant nomination for inclusion in the Network” (2002:8).

2) among various groups that use portions of the park site

These groups included hiking, orienteering, and astronomy clubs, the Elverson Garden Club, people who pick apples at the park’s orchard, and Mennonite youth who use the park as a rendezvous spot.

The report 2002 preliminary ethnographic survey recommended that the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment investigate the following, in order of priority:

- 1) possible connections with the Underground Railroad and African Americans at Hopewell Furnace and in the Hopewell area,
- 2) information from the park’s oral history files and from descendants of people interviewed between the 1930s and 1960s, relating to possible ongoing cultural ties with the park
- 3) users of the genealogical database, possibly via an online survey to determine ongoing connections with the park and its history
- 4) other kinds of ongoing family associations, by researching family trees, property transfers, and provenance of material objects in the park’s collections
- 5) new data in studies then being produced for the park as part of the General Management Planning process.

Assumptions guiding fieldwork

The first phase of this project involved following up on the preliminary studies described above and developing a work plan. I made two exploratory fieldwork visits to the park in September and October 2004, during which I conducted informal interviews with park staff, volunteers, and others. (A detailed list of all fieldwork tasks is found in Appendix C, a list of interviews in Appendix D.)

From the outset, I questioned some of the basic assumptions of the preliminary reports described above. These reports clearly viewed descendants of the old Hopewell families as the most likely people to be traditionally associated with the park. But did individual family units constitute a “cultural group” or a “people”? Was there some larger shared ethnic, geographic, occupational, or other kind of identity that these individual families were a part of, which might

qualify them as a “group” in some way? This was not addressed in the preliminary studies, and it seemed an important question to investigate.

At the same time, there were hints in the preliminary reports of the existence of other kinds of groups who might complicate the notion of traditional association. The most prominent of these were the people who continued the tradition of charcoal-making at the park. Some of these were park employees, some were volunteers. Clearly they did not constitute a traditionally associated people in the strict sense of the NPS definition. Yet they were, in a very real way, tradition-bearers, carrying on a kind of knowledge and practice linked with this particular site and its larger cultural and natural landscapes. Who were these people, and how did their association with the park compare with those of other associated people and groups?

Having spent a good deal of time studying the practice of “living history” and the kinds of contemporary ritual and memorial functions that take place at historic sites, park, and monuments, I was deeply intrigued by Hopewell’s charcoal-making program as a kind of quasi-traditional activity and social community. This activity seemed to overlap in complex ways with recreational and educational uses of the park. This makes it typical of the kinds of hybrid, voluntary sub-cultural groupings that are found so often in contemporary postindustrial cultures—even among groups whose identity can be called truly “traditional.” My previous research on living historians had revealed very similar patterns of social organization and quasi-traditional knowledge within communities of avocational Civil War and Revolutionary War reenactors (see Stanton 1997, 1999, Stanton and Belyea 2001). Given that living history had been a central part of Hopewell Furnace NHS’s interpretation for many decades, the nature and function of the park’s living history and charcoal programs seemed well worth exploring. Experience also suggested to me that these quasi- or neo-traditional groups might share characteristics with some of the non-traditional associated groups listed in the preliminary research (for example, the orienteers, gardeners, Mennonites, and apple-pickers), and perhaps also with some of the people who were candidates for more traditional association.

Finally, the emphasis on possible Underground Railroad connections at Hopewell and Mt. Frisby AME Church appeared to be a very suitable research topic, but not one that was perhaps best suited to the framework of the Ethnography Program. My exploratory fieldwork trips revealed that only the Cole family remained of the former African American community along Six Penny Creek. While they were certainly associated with the park and offered an important potential source of information about African Americans in the area, it was questionable, as noted above, whether a single family grouping could be considered to constitute a cultural group in the ethnographic sense. Extensive research on this topic, therefore, seemed more appropriate to a historical than an ethnographic umbrella.

Further, the then-NPS Chief Historian, at a roundtable devoted to discussing the implications of historical research concerning Hopewell Furnace, noted that the Underground Railroad connection might not, in fact, be a high priority for the park. After a concerted effort in recent years to identify and tell “untold stories” at all parks, the pendulum now appears to be swinging back to a more balanced approach in which not every park is necessarily expected to

focus on African American, Native American, women's, and other "minority" or "untold" histories. At a June 2003 roundtable at Hopewell, the Chief Historian noted, "The new interpretive mentality at the NPS is not to tell every single story at a particular site that you could, but to raise questions in the visitor's mind, and make people think differently about that moment in time" (Pitcaithley 2003:9). In other words, while diversity is important in park interpretation, complexity is equally or more important. Combined with the lack of a clear ethnographic foundation for conducting in-depth research on possible Underground Railroad connections at Hopewell, it seemed that pursuing this aspect of the preliminary research was a lower priority than the initial surveys indicated.

While drawing on the work done in the preliminary studies to some extent, then, my work plan proposed to take the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment in a somewhat different direction. The study would examine a wide range of groups and people who were associated or potentially associated with Hopewell, and would use them as a way to explore the concept of traditional association itself. The report seeks to provide some useful information for the park about specific groups and relationships at Hopewell. However, it also makes a case that current anthropological thinking can be helpful to park managers operating in contemporary postindustrial settings where the categories of leisure, work, heritage, tourism, education, place identity, and economic development increasingly overlap. The study was envisioned as a tool to help park managers strengthen existing relationships, identify potential new ones, and gain a clearer sense of how the park functions as a social, educational, and recreational institution within southeastern Pennsylvania.

The work plan outlined four main areas of focus:

- 1) the creation of a historical, geographical, and socioeconomic context for understanding Hopewell Furnace NHS and its associated groups
- 2) an investigation of descendants of former Hopewell Furnace workers or area residents, along with an analysis of their relationship to the park and the question of whether they could in any way be considered a "cultural group"
- 3) an ethnographic and historical exploration of charcoal making and living history interpretation at Hopewell
- 4) a brief examination of other potentially associated groups, including state park users, Mennonites, and others.

The work plan proposed to use four main types of ethnographic research methods in pursuing these goals:

- 1) Surveying and annotation of primary and secondary source documents and archival material
- 2) Ethnographic interviewing

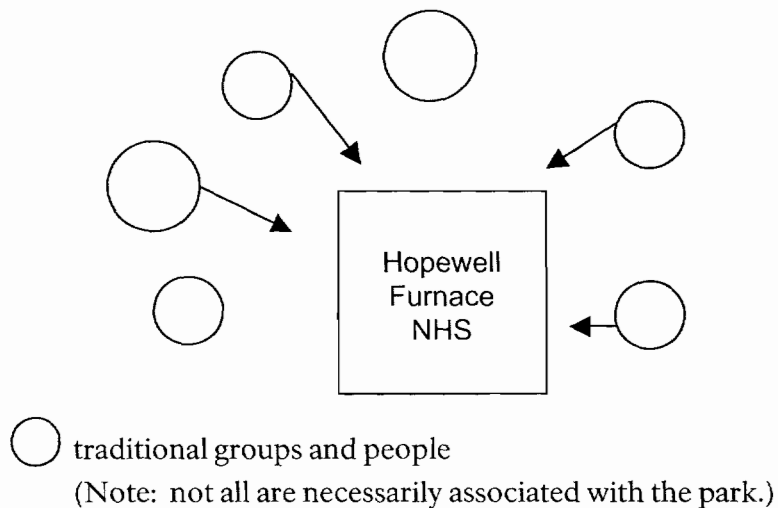
Ethnographic interviews were to be focused on the following three areas:

- a. identifying the specific knowledge that associated individuals had about Hopewell Furnace, the national park, and nearby resources (for example, the state park or Mt. Frisby AME Church), and the meanings those individuals ascribe to these resources
 - b. identifying the extent to which activities, kinds of knowledge, and social groupings connected with the park and its nearby resources contributed to a sense of individual or collective identity for people associated with these activities, knowledge, and groups
 - c. understanding how the people who preserved and used these kinds of knowledge saw these practices in relation to other aspects of their lives, including their socioeconomic positions in southeastern Pennsylvania's emerging postindustrial economy. Were these kinds of knowledge wholly outside practitioners' everyday lives or integrated with them? What did this reveal about such cultural practices in the hybrid cultural formations created by such phenomena as living history and heritage tourism? To what extent were these kinds of knowledge and the communities associated with them interwoven with the emergence of the social and cultural formations—for example, preserved industrial landscapes or regional land conservation projects—associated with postindustrial places and economies?
- 3) Participant-observation activities at the following:
 - a. living history demonstrations at Christmas program (December 2004), Mother's Day weekend programs (May 2005), and summer programs (August 2005)
 - b. charcoal-burning (May and August 2005)
 - c. apple-picking (early fall 2004 and 2005)
 - d. school programs involving living history volunteers and home-school groups (spring 2005)
 - e. Mennonite "courting days" (early May 2005)
 - f. camping at French Creek State Park during at least one field visit in summer 2005

Shortly after I began my fieldwork, three patterns emerged that confirmed my sense that the existing NPS definition of traditional association was not flexible enough to convey how knowledge and culture were being preserved, produced, and shared at Hopewell Furnace NHS. These patterns were as follows:

- (1) knowledge about cultural and historical practices flowed from park to groups as well as from groups to park
- (2) there were many areas of overlap among different categories of people associated with the park
- (3) new social formations were emerging around the park itself

The existing NPS definition of traditional association envisions groups as entities that are clearly distinct from the park, holding traditional knowledge about ethnographic resources that are now within the park. A standard Ethnographic Overview and Assessment aims to tap that knowledge and to understand the cultural practices and collective identities associated with specific ethnographic resources. This model can be plotted as follows:

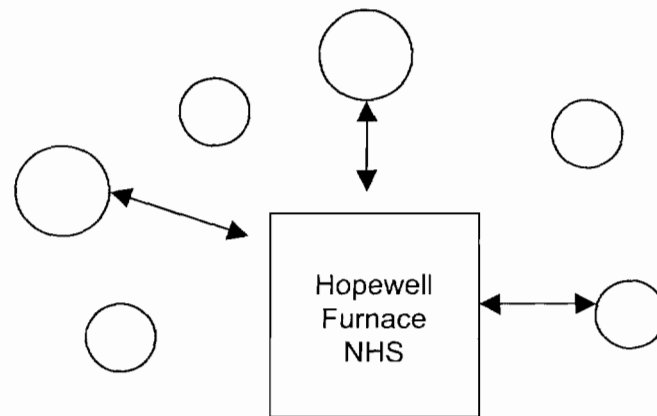


In this diagram, traditional groups and people are shown as separate from the park, and the flow of information and knowledge about cultural practices and traditional knowledge is envisioned as going only in one direction, from the groups to the park.

However, my fieldwork at Hopewell quickly revealed that even those with long-standing family and cultural ties to Hopewell Furnace and its immediate geographic area often relied to a considerable extent on the park itself for knowledge about the past. In this version of the model, knowledge about cultural and historical practices flowed in both directions. For example, as I will show in more detail in Chapter 5, descendants of old Hopewell families occasionally shared genealogical and other information with the park. But just as often, these family members *sought* information from the park, making use of the genealogical database, the

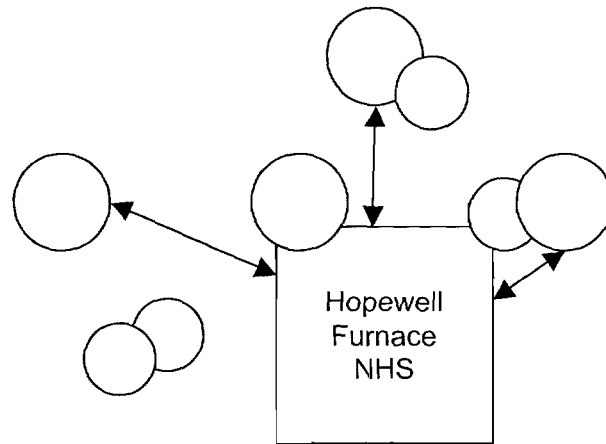
oral history interview collection, the expertise of park staff, or the park’s library collection and other resources. Repeatedly, when I contacted Hopewell descendants to talk to them about their knowledge of their family history and the history of the area in general, I discovered that much of what they knew had come through their association with the park, rather than pre-dating it. Similarly, people who practiced historical crafts or skills at the park sometimes brought this knowledge with them, but in other cases (for example, charcoal-making) the park was the *source* of the knowledge, or the NPS was a resource through which people could hone their craft (for example, in the case of park maintenance staff who had existing skills in traditional construction techniques but who added to those skills during their time as NPS employees).

The standard model above, then, should look more like this, to reflect this two-way flow of knowledge:



A second pattern that emerged early in my fieldwork was that there were many areas of overlap among different categories of people associated with the park: long-time local residents, living history and charcoal volunteers, members of “traditional” local cultures (particularly Pennsylvania German), Hopewell descendants, and even park staff. These categories were by no means neatly separated. Nor were the overlaps consistent. Many of the people I interviewed fit in two or even three categories. For example, some people’s families had been resident in the immediate area for many generations and they themselves had worked at the park as seasonal employees, while some living history volunteers of Pennsylvania German background discovered ancestors who had worked at Hopewell Furnace during the nineteenth century. Just as it was difficult to distinguish the park’s knowledge and practices from those of its associated groups, it was impossible to draw neat lines around the groups themselves, or to distinguish them fully from the park.

The model then becomes slightly more complex when we take into consideration these areas of overlap among categories of people associated with the park:



Finally, my fieldwork research quickly confirmed my hypothesis that not only was cultural and historical knowledge flowing back and forth from the park to people in associated groups, but new social formations were emerging around the park itself as a result of these relationships. This was most obvious in the case of the charcoal-making group. This group existed only in relation to the park, yet it drew on deeply rooted local knowledge and landscapes and it appeared, over the length of time that I was studying the park, to be moving in the direction of becoming a more independent entity. Other social groupings (for example, living history volunteers or Hopewell descendants) were much less cohesive or clearly defined, but they, too, combined cultural and historical materials from the park, from other historic sites and institutions, and from members' own personal and collective histories to create new types of social formations that sometimes had a significant place in people's senses of place and identity. It would be too strong to call these "cultures" or "peoples," but the link with traditional knowledge and cultural practice was strong enough in each case that it seemed important to study what was happening in these emerging communities or proto-communities.

My fieldwork, then, aimed to map and document this network of association, meaning, and practice among the range of groups and people associated with Hopewell, and to locate these social relationships within the culture of postindustrial Pennsylvania. I made eight fieldwork visits to Hopewell Furnace NHS between September 2004 and September 2005 (see Appendix C for a list of dates and specific fieldwork associated with each visit). I conducted 26 formal taped interviews and 48 informal interviews with people in the following categories:

Category of interviewee*	# of interviewees	Total
Hopewell Furnace NHS staff	present staff: 12 former staff: 8	20
Hopewell descendants	10	10
park neighbors and long-time residents	8	8
Bethesda Baptist Church people	5	5
living history program	present: 14 former: 3	17
charcoal program program	volunteers: 14 staff: 3	17
staff at related institutions/sites	12	12
*Note: Many people fell into more than one category, and are counted in multiple categories in this table.		

Table 2 Categories of interviewees

I spent a total of 41 days conducting fieldwork over the course of this project, as well as pursuing additional documentary research and telephone interviews in the period between November 2004 and May 2006.

Several chapters of this report draw on interview material from my fieldwork. In keeping with ethnographic convention, I do not cite specific interviews in the same way that a historian or oral historian would. Rather, all the interviews are listed by informant and date in Appendix D. Unless otherwise noted, quotes in this report are drawn from these interviews, for which tapes and full transcriptions are available in the park archives.

Speakers are quoted by name in some cases, and in other cases people are referred to as part of a group (for example, “one living history volunteer” or “a former park employee”). In this I am also following ethnographic convention, which focuses on patterns of behavior within social groups while also acknowledging that some experiences are unique to individuals. I have also made some use of some interviews conducted by Leah Glaser for the Hopewell Furnace NHS Administrative History and some previous oral history interviews conducted by park staff. Material from those interviews is noted in the text.

OVERVIEW OF PARK AND REPORT

This final introductory section will serve as a brief introduction to the park itself and to this report.

Hopewell Furnace National Historical Site consists of 848 mostly forested acres in southeastern Pennsylvania (see Figure 1.1). It is approximately 50 miles northwest of Philadelphia and 20 miles southeast of Reading. It was established on August 3, 1938, having originally been part of the French Creek Recreation Demonstration Area, one of many such Depression-era federal projects designed to rehabilitate “submarginal” rural land and provide recreational opportunities for people from nearby urban areas. When it was discovered that the

land purchased for this RDA included the ruins of an iron-making furnace and village dating to the eighteenth century, NPS planners embraced the opportunity to create a historical park that would contribute to the agency's recent shift into historic preservation and interpretation. The park now encompasses more than 60 historic structures, including the original masonry blast furnace, ironmaster's house, and tenant buildings, restorations of the buildings where iron casting was done and fuel was stored and loaded, and several smaller structures and agricultural buildings. A Visitor Center and some other structures were also erected as part of the Mission 66 program of the 1950s and 1960s. Hopewell Furnace was in operation between 1771 and 1883.

The national park, and the larger French Creek State Park which surrounds it, straddle several municipal and two county borders. Hopewell Furnace NHS includes land in both Warwick Township in northern Chester County and Union Township in southern Berks County (its mailing address is Elverson, in Chester County). In general, people associated with the park identify themselves more with Berks County to the north than Chester County to the south. Reading is the major urban area for Berks County. Hopewell Furnace NHS and French Creek State Park are linked in local thinking with the much smaller town of Birdsboro, just north of the parks. Some area and associated people identify more readily with Pottstown, a mid-sized former steel town slightly to the northeast, in the western tip of Montgomery County (see Figure 1.2). The park is also geographically close to Lancaster County, to the southwest (see Figure 1.3).

The park's visitation is currently just under 50,000 people per year. This number has dropped substantially in recent decades, and continues to decline. The size of the park's permanent staff has also decreased in recent years. The 2005 budget was \$1,079,000. In 2005, there were 14 full-time staff members, whose work was supplemented by 8,400 volunteer hours.

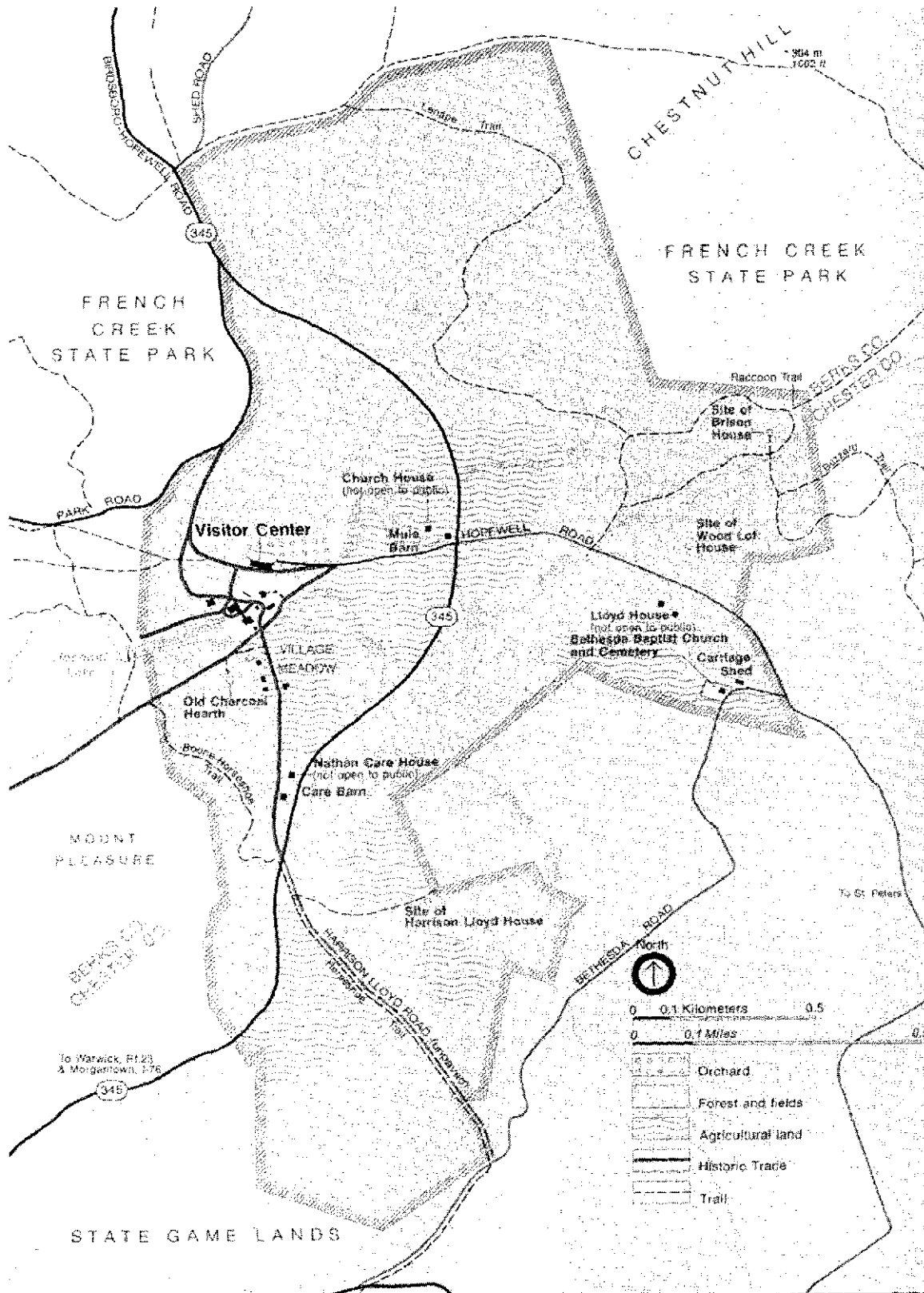


Figure 1.1
Map of Hopewell Furnace NHS. (Source: National Park Service.)

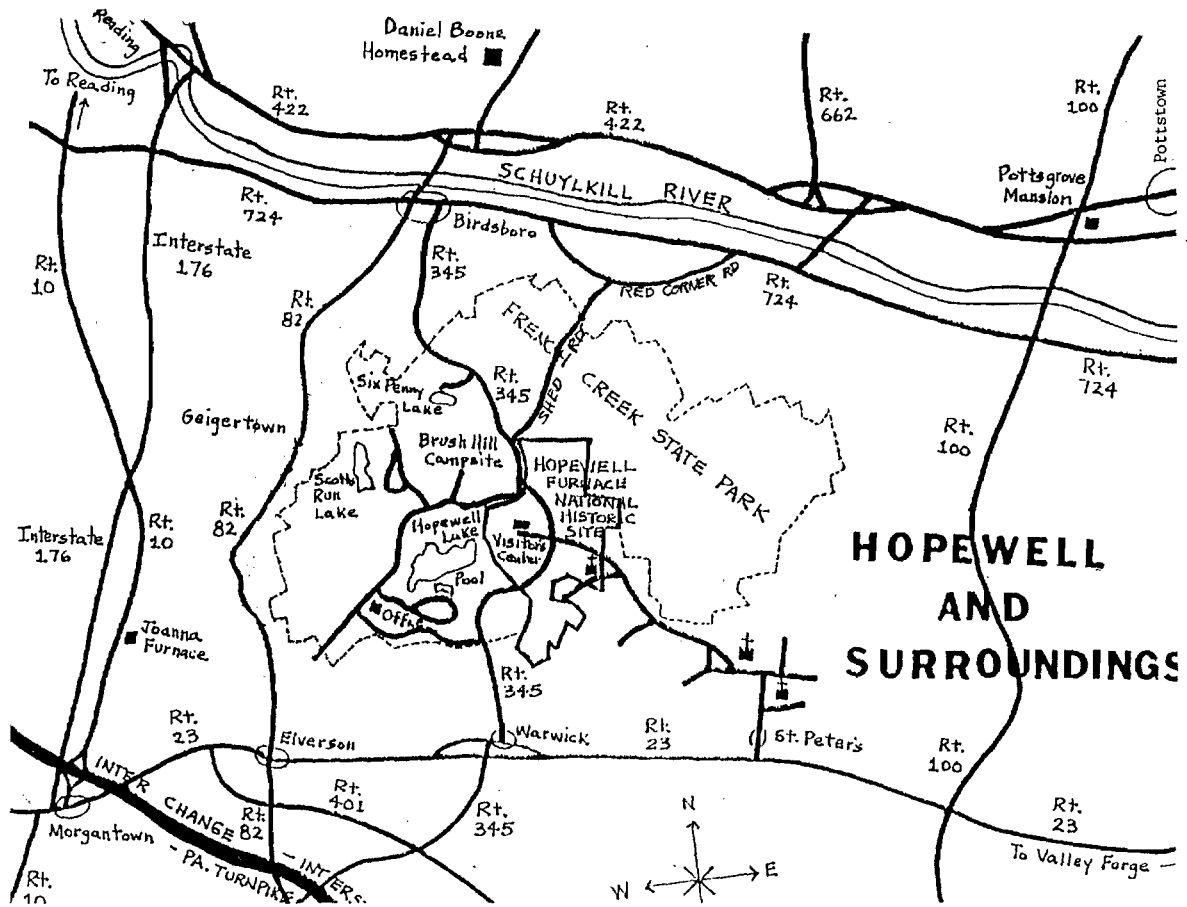


Figure 1.2 Map of immediate area around Hopewell Furnace NHS and French Creek State Park. Note towns of Birdsboro to the north and Pottstown to the far northeast. (Source: HOFU.)

The park's position at the convergence of four quite different counties—heavily suburban Montgomery and Chester counties, more rural, agricultural, and heavily Pennsylvania German Berks and Lancaster counties—gives the park a kind of “liminal” or “in-between” quality, linked with both agriculture and industry, and with both rural and urban places and people. We will see this quality appearing in various ways in the following chapters. This entire area is currently facing tremendous development pressures as Pennsylvania's postindustrial economy continues to grow, another characteristic that affects the park's relationship with its associated people and groups.

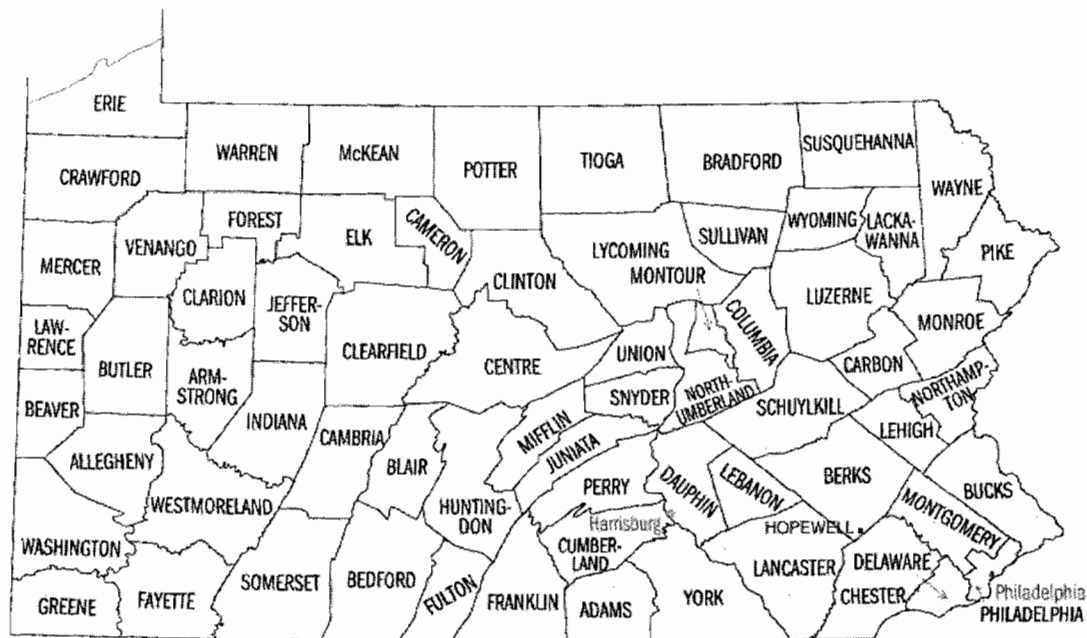


Figure 1.3 Pennsylvania counties, showing approximate position of Hopewell Furnace NHS near the intersection of Berks, Chester, Lancaster, and Montgomery counties. (Source: U.S. Census Bureau. Hopewell location added.)

This report is structured in two general sections, with each section consisting of three chapters.

The first set of three chapters provides historical, cultural, and economic contexts for understanding Hopewell Furnace over time. The emphasis in these chapters is on the peopling of the area and the ways in which different cultural and ethnic groups have interacted with the landscape, the region's economy, and one another. Chronologically, these chapters are structured in relation to the broad history of industry and deindustrialization in southeastern Pennsylvania and the U.S. as a whole. They are designed to provide some general context for understanding the relationship of certain present-day groups to Hopewell Furnace NHS. The chapters also offer some more specific historical and cultural data that will shed light on contemporary southeastern Pennsylvania as a postindustrial place.

Chapter 2, "Before Industrialization," examines what is now southeastern Pennsylvania in the centuries before and the period shortly after European settlement. It puts special emphasis on Pennsylvania German culture, which later became interwoven in many ways with the region's identity as both an industrial and a postindustrial place. In an important sense, this chapter sets out some of the cultural "raw material" which was later processed into new forms in the industrial and postindustrial eras. Although some of the groups discussed in this chapter (particularly the Germans) continued to arrive in Pennsylvania through the later industrial era, they are included in this chapter because they initially established their presence before the

growth of industry took hold, and because (at least in the popular imagination) they have historically been associated more with agricultural than industrial patterns of living.

Chapter 3, “The Industrial Era,” follows the sweeping cultural, economic, and spatial adjustments that took place after the U.S. began to industrialize around the turn of the nineteenth century. Hopewell Furnace was on the cusp of these changes, a very early example of a place devoted to industrial production. Chronologically, the chapter overlaps somewhat with the previous chapter, showing how the processes of industrialization stretch back into an era more often thought of as agrarian. The chapter concludes just before the designation of Hopewell Furnace as a national park, but shows that many of the factors that led to the creation of the park—particularly growing efforts at land conservation and historic and cultural preservation—had their roots in nineteenth century concerns about the social and environmental costs of industrialization.

Chapter 4, “Postindustrial Pennsylvania,” explores transformations in the Hopewell area during and after the Great Depression of the 1930s. Again, Hopewell Furnace was a harbinger of things to come, having effectively lost its industrial identity as early as the 1880s. This chapter describes the site’s rediscovery and reinvention as a national park and the involvement of the Civilian Conservation Corps in its early restoration. But Chapter 4 also goes beyond the park itself to look at the whole area as a postindustrial place. Hopewell is shown here as an example of the strategies that deindustrialized places have turned to in order to re-shape themselves for the emerging demands of a new type of economy. Existing cultural materials that were reframed as “tradition” beginning in the nineteenth century have been further refined and reshaped in the postindustrial period as part of a much more extensive, professionalized, and well-marketed network of heritage attractions designed to make old agricultural and industrial places viable in a volatile and increasingly globalized economy.

The second set of three chapters focuses on different groups associated with Hopewell Furnace. Chapter 5 looks at two types of people who come closest to the NPS definition of traditional association: descendants of families who worked or lived in or around Hopewell Furnace, and people associated with Bethesda Baptist Church. Chapter 6 introduces the concept of “neo-traditional association,” and explores the community, values, and practices of two somewhat overlapping groups of neo-traditionally associated people at Hopewell: living historians and volunteer charcoal-makers. Chapter 7 briefly examines some of the non-traditional types of association to be found among recreational and other users of the park’s resources (for example, orienteers, apple pickers, and school groups) and shows how their uses of the park overlap in some significant ways with those of people in the other two categories.

In many ways, Chapter 6, “Neo-Traditional Groups,” is at the center of the report. The groups considered in this chapter typify the characteristics of the park’s associated groups in general. They include many people with a strong sense of local lineage and heritage, including some with specific family ties to Hopewell. They tend to share certain values, practices, and types of occupations, many of which have to do with agriculture, hand-skills, and education. They find the park a useful resource for investigating and expressing their sense of the past, and

for communicating a sense of historical consciousness to others (for example, through the pursuit of genealogy, living history, traditional crafts, or membership in historical or conservation organizations). These characteristics are also found in the park's more strictly traditional and also its non-traditional associated peoples. Because these qualities appear more concentrated in the neo-traditional groups, they are used here to show how people relate to national parks in specific contemporary settings such as Hopewell's, and to suggest how parks might broaden their understandings of traditional association to encompass a wider range of groups and people.

Following the body of the report, I offer a set of recommendations for future ethnographic study and future relationship-building at Hopewell Furnace NHS.

Additional material in the report includes an annotated bibliography of sources pertinent to the study.

CHAPTER 2 BEFORE INDUSTRIALIZATION

Southeastern Pennsylvania has long been a crossroads for the movement of human beings. Its combination of water, mineral, and food resources has been attractive to mobile groups of people ever since the first human population came into the area sometime around 14,000 years ago. At the same time, it is important to recognize that the region around what is now Hopewell Furnace NHS has never been at the center of any major area of human habitation. As well as being a crossroads, it has long been on the margin or in the hinterlands of cultural movements, two characteristics that continue to shape life there today. This chapter will explore the history of human habitation in the region before the industrial era.

PHYSIOGRAPHY AND WATERSHEDS

Physiographical zones are based on similar patterns of geography, geology, and topography. Physiographically, Hopewell Furnace NHS lies within the Appalachian Highlands region, which runs in a 100-300 mile wide band from Newfoundland some 1,500 miles southwest into Alabama. This enormous zone is subdivided into three roughly longitudinal areas, the Northern Appalachians, the Sedimentary Appalachians, and Crystalline Appalachians, as shown in Figure 2.1.

Physiographically, as in other ways, Hopewell lies at the intersection of several overlapping divisions. A small spur of the northerly New England Province or Northern Appalachians, the Reading Prong, runs just north of the park, creating steep rounded hills and ridges that jut upward from the surrounding valleys. Just to the south of the park is the upper section of the Piedmont zone, the tip of which extends upward through New Jersey.

The park itself is within the Triassic Lowlands (also referred to as the Gettysburg-Newark Lowlands) section of eastern Pennsylvania (see Figure 2.2).

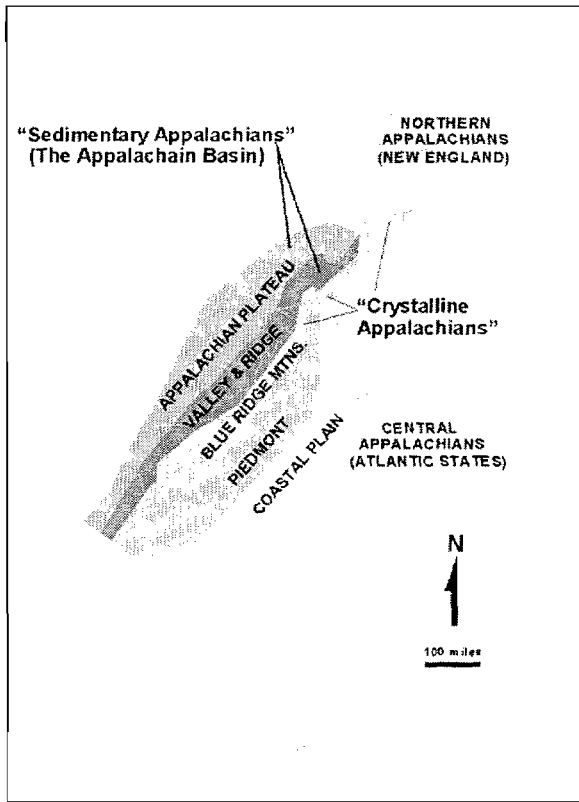


Figure 2.1 Appalachian Highlands physiographic region (Source: U.S. Geological Survey)

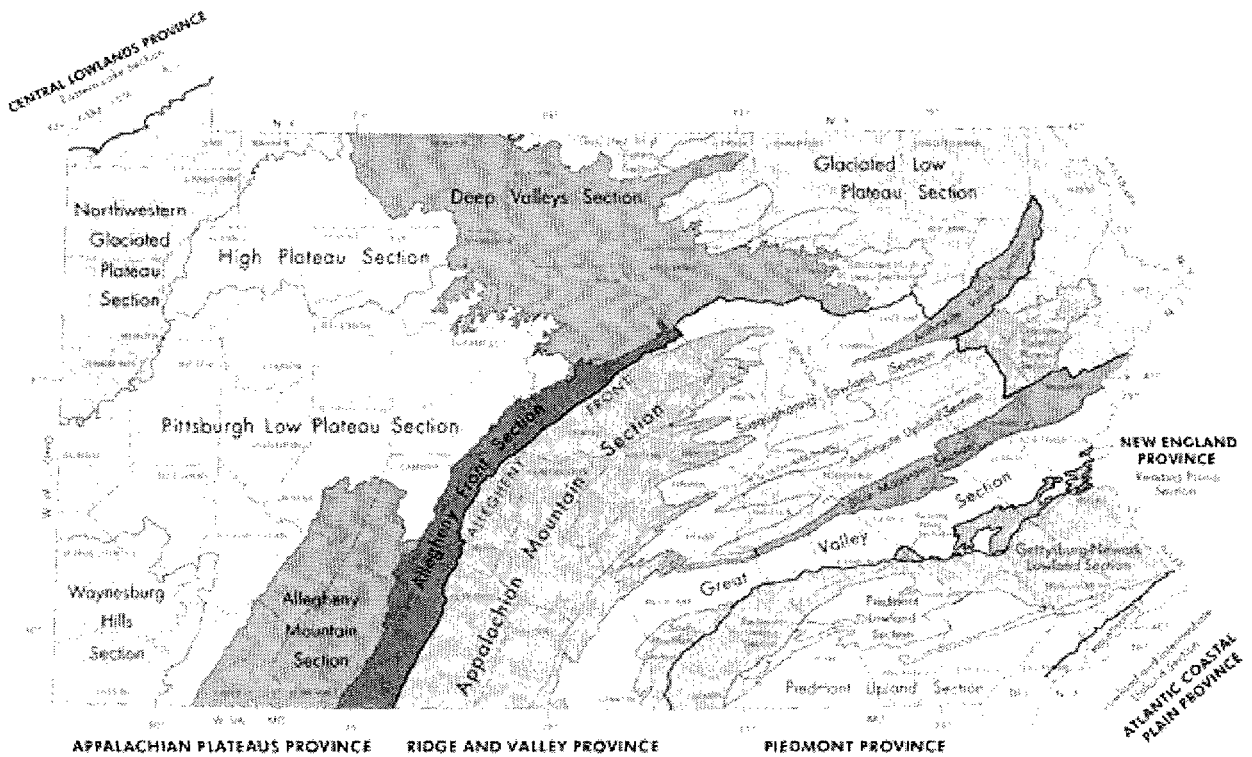


Figure 2.2 Physiographic zones of Pennsylvania (Source: Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources)

“Lowlands” is a somewhat misleading term for this zone, which is actually quite hilly with many upland knolls and ridges. Elevation is generally in the 100-200 foot range. Hopewell itself is somewhat higher, sitting at around 500-750 feet above sea level. The highest peaks in this physiographic zone are just over 1,300 feet; the highest elevation within French Creek State Park is 1,000 feet. The term “lowland” refers to the fact that when the North American and African land masses split apart into two continents more than 200 million years ago, the violent seismic activity caused land in this immediate area to drop downward, trapping sand and other sediment in a long trough between the Conestoga Valley and the Great Valley. High in iron content, these sedimentary materials mixed with molten volcanic rock to form an extremely hard, reddish-brown rock substratum that can easily be seen today in the building material in local stone structures and in rocky outcroppings throughout the area. The battlefield in Gettysburg contains several of these, including Culp’s Hill, Cemetery Hill, Little Round Top, and Devil’s Den (Custer 1996:9-10). The volcanic and metamorphic activity during the formation of the Triassic Lowlands produced various kinds of geological resources that were useful to early occupants of the area for tool-making. These rocks included argillites (essentially mud that has been lithified, or turned to stone) and crystalline forms of rock such as mica and quartz (Custer 1996:11).

The eastern section of what is now Pennsylvania is drained along a north-south axis by the Delaware River (Figure 2.3). This is one of three great watershed systems in the state; the Susquehanna watershed covers most of the central part of Pennsylvania, the Ohio most of the west, with much smaller areas drained by the Potomac in the south and the Genesee River and Lake Erie in the north.

Within this larger watershed lies the Schuylkill River (Figure 2.4), which rises in the mountainous terrain of Schuylkill County and runs southeasterly for approximately 130 miles through Berks, Montgomery, and northern Chester Counties, to end up emptying into the Delaware at Philadelphia. The Schuylkill has long been an important point of orientation for people living in the Hopewell area, as well as a source of food, drinking water, transportation, power, and more recently, recreation.

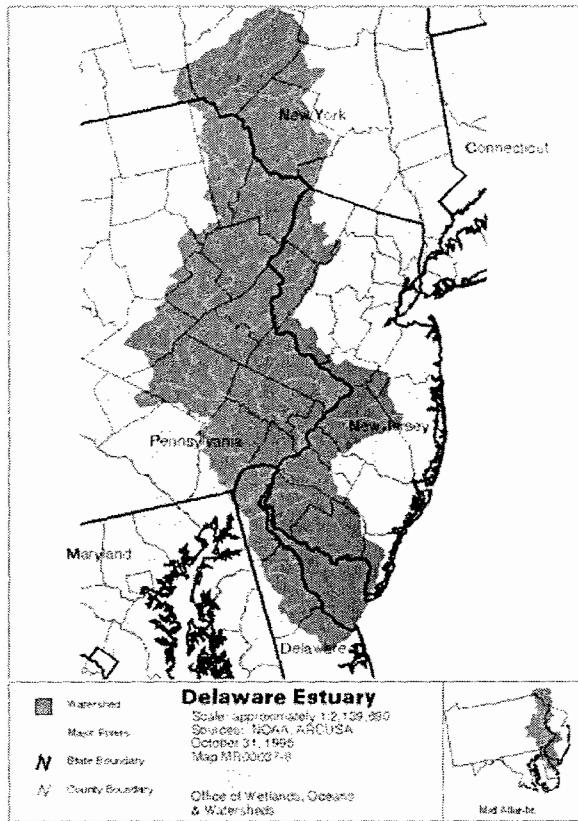


Figure 2.3
 Delaware River
 Watershed (Source:
 U.S. Environmental
 Protection
 Agency/Office of
 Wetlands, Oceans &
 Watersheds)

On the most local scale, Hopewell Furnace NHS lies within the French Creek watershed. The French Creek rises on the western side of what is now French Creek State Park and was the primary source of waterpower for Hopewell Furnace during its active period as an iron-making operation. Draining some 70 square miles, French Creek flows southeast to join the Schuylkill River in present-day Phoenixville.

There are many floodplain areas in this zone, along with knolls and ridges of eroded bedrock. The soil tends to be clayey and poorly drained in the floodplains, but much better drained along the ridges and hills. These exposed areas created ideal living conditions for prehistoric peoples, as they offered access to water, fish, and fertile, arable soil for wild and later cultivated plants (Custer 1996:10).



Figure 2.4 Schuylkill River Watershed and Sub-Watersheds. French Creek watershed can be seen in the lower center. (Source: Schuylkill Watershed Conservation Plan)

EARLIEST HUMAN HABITATION

There is debate about when human beings first occupied the area that is now Pennsylvania. This debate reflects larger contention about the question of how long humans have inhabited the Americas in general. For the later part of the twentieth century, most anthropologists have assumed that people of the “Clovis culture” were the

oldest human inhabitants of the Americas. (The name is taken from the archeological site in Clovis, New Mexico, where tools from this culture were documented in 1932.) The generally accepted theory, supported by radiocarbon dating of artifacts from Clovis sites, was that these people, also known as Paleo-Indians, migrated from Asia sometime around the end of the last Ice Age approximately 13,000 years ago, and eventually spread out throughout both continents. Evidence of their presence, based largely on their distinctive fluted rock spear tips, has been found throughout the lower United States, Mexico, and Central America.

However, some archeologists have put forward alternative theories proposing that there was a pre-Clovis culture in North and South America. Digs in the 1970s in Monte Verde, Chile, and at Meadowcroft Rockshelter just southwest of Pittsburgh, along with more recent finds in Topper, South Carolina, have all suggested that humans may have found their way to the Americas sometime before the more widespread Clovis peoples arrived. (The precise migration route is much disputed.)

The Meadowcroft site, since it is within present-day Pennsylvania, offers the suggestive possibility of pre-Clovis occupation about 300 miles from the site of Hopewell Furnace. Estimates of the age of artifacts found at Meadowcroft range upwards from about 14,000 years old (Richter 2005:11).¹ Pennsylvania archeologist Jay Custer notes that whatever the actual date of arrival, there is no evidence of any kind of concentrated or permanent occupation of the region until after about 10000 BCE (Custer 1996:94).² Pennsylvania was close to the southern edge of the ice sheet that covered much of North America, and thus it was among the first places to emerge from beneath the glaciers and make the slow shift into new environmental conditions. But although the last glaciers had retreated from virtually all of Pennsylvania by around 10600 BCE, the area remained essentially tundra for another two millenia (Richter 2005:11).

Pennsylvania's three great river systems served to drain the runoff from the glacial melt, rising to some thirty feet above their present levels before receding to leave many fertile floodplains and small islands suitable for human habitation (Richter 2005:13). Eastern Pennsylvania contained both grasslands and forests (some spruce-pine, some deciduous) in this period, an environment not unlike the present-day eastern sub-Arctic (Custer 1996: 105). Megafauna, or very large animals such as mastodons, were found in the area but were probably already on their way to becoming extinct by the time the first Paleo-Indians arrived. These first hunters and gatherers would not likely have constructed an entire way of life around hunting large animals, as happened in other parts of North America, but rather seem to have pursued a varied diet that

¹ For discussions of the Meadowcroft debate, see Adovasio et al. 1990, 1998.

² This report follows the recent convention of replacing AD (Anno Domini, or the Year of Our Lord) with CE (Common or Current Era) and BC (Before Christ) with BCE (Before Common Era).

included fish, smaller animals, and wild plants. The Paleo-Indians likely lived in small groups, with a population density that Richter estimates at perhaps 25 to 50 people within the area of a typical stream drainage, 500 square miles or so (Richter 2005:16). As with hunting and gathering peoples generally, they would have been highly mobile and familiar with a number of different territories so that if food supplies in one failed or dwindled, they had other options for survival.

Prehistoric human movement within eastern and central Pennsylvania seems generally to have flowed along the north-south axis of the Delaware and Susquehanna River systems. The availability of particular lithic (stone) resources would also have influenced the routes taken by Paleo-Indian groups. Archeologists have discovered very large numbers of stone artifacts from the Archaic or Paleo-Indian period (8000-1000 BCE), including fluted points, throughout Pennsylvania, with particular concentrations in riverine areas such as the floodplains of the Delaware, Susquehanna, and Schuylkill Rivers and the jasper quarries of Berks and Lehigh Counties (Custer 1996:125).

Archaic or Paleo-Indian cultures
8000-1000 BCE

Early Archaic 8000-6500 BCE
Middle Archaic 6500-3000 BCE
Late Archaic 3000-1000 BCE

There was continuity as well as change for Paleo-Indian cultures as the climate continued to warm after the Ice Age and new environments developed.³ Custer dates the emergence of environments essentially like our modern age to the time around 6500 BCE. He

depicts this as a transitional era for humans in the region, as they gradually adjusted to new flora and fauna, weather, and technological opportunities. Environmental changes in this period included the development of distinct seasons, which would have had a considerable impact on humans' food-gathering activities. The climate was generally damp, with wetland areas throughout eastern Pennsylvania. At the same time, deciduous forests, particularly those characterized by oak, were beginning to gain a foothold in the region. Oak trees provided acorns that were food for both humans and small animals that humans could hunt.

These various changes led to adjustments in Paleo-Indian culture and settlement patterns. Human groups continued to cover wide territories, but they occupied more sites for longer periods and made shorter moves between sites than previously, suggesting that people were utilizing more distinct base camps as well as temporary hunting camps. By the Late Archaic period (3000-1000 BCE), plant-gathering activities had become much more intensive, even approaching the efficiency levels of agriculture. The addition of hickory to deciduous forests provided another nut food that was more

³ General information on Paleo-Indian cultures in this section is drawn from Custer 1996 and Grumet 1995. For a survey of the literature on Indian groups in southeastern Pennsylvania, see Richter 1993.

easily processed than acorns. As ocean levels stabilized after the surge of water from the ice melt, coastal environments became more habitable, and inland people accessed them more regularly in search of additional kinds of food. The climate overall was drying out, which made riverine environments all the more desirable, especially in dry periods. Another key development in the Late Archaic period was the beginning of trade and exchange networks within the middle Atlantic region. Groups with access to specific local resources (often types of stone) traded these with others who lived farther away from the source, widening the range of tools and technologies available to people throughout the region and making long-distance travel less essential than previously.

THE WOODLAND PERIOD

Woodland cultures 1000 BCE-1500 CE
Early Woodland 1000BCE-0 CE
Middle Woodland 0-1000 CE
Late Woodland 1000-1500 CE

Around 1000 BCE, more marked cultural changes began to take place, signalling a shift into what is known as Woodland culture. The most visible evidence of this shift in the archeological record is the presence of ceramic pottery, which developed in the region late n

the Woodland Period (Grumet 1995:211) and which reflected many other kinds of change. The climate and environment had settled into their modern forms by around 500 BCE, with an extremely wide variety of tree species and game animals that included deer and turkey. By the Early Woodland period, eastern Pennsylvania's forests had become, in Custer's words, "extraordinarily rich environments" (1996:234) for those who lived in them.

These people were were linguistically Algonquian, part of an enormous language group that spanned much of northeastern and central North America. Although the Indian groups in southeastern Pennsylvania have since become classified under the term "Delawares," it is crucial to note that during the Woodland and Contact periods, these people did not constitute a single "tribe" or political entity (Goddard 1978:213; Schutt 2007:3). Rather, they lived in small groups ranging between a handful of families and several hundred people who were related primarily through matrilineal kinship and also through trade networks and political alliances based on kinship links.

It is unclear whether these were aboriginal inhabitants of the Delaware River valley area, or whether they moved there from the north or west, perhaps supplanting or merging with older pre-Clovis populations already in the region (Grumet 1995:198; Merritt 2003:31, Siegel et al. 2001). Two main languages were spoken in the area. South of the Delaware Water Gap and the Raritan Valley (including the Hopewell area) people spoke variations of the Unami dialect, while more northerly groups spoke Munsee (Goddard 1978:215; Grumet 1995:232). The Unami-speaking people from the southern

part of this region are often referred to as Lenape (a native designation meaning “original person” or “real person” in Unami) or Lenni Lenape (“real people”) (Goddard 1978:235; Merritt 2003:32; Richter 2005:26; Schutt 2007:3).

The small, kinship-based groupings of Indians in the Delaware Valley region operated autonomously, although they often collaborated for mutual defense, hunting, political negotiation, and other reasons. Leaders did not impose power but were simply “first among equals” (Grumet 1978:216), functioning as spokesmen, mediators, and ritual specialists within particular lineage groups (Schutt 2007:7). An important characteristic of these groups, which provided the basis for their adaptive strategies during the upheavals associated with the Contact Period, was their flexible approach to local group membership. For example, although succession of leadership was generally matrilineal, there appear to have been exceptions, while divorce by mutual consent was not infrequent and was accommodated within existing family relationships (Grumet 1978:219).

Groups were associated with particular territories, often a river or stream valley (Schutt 2007:31). The Delaware groups appear to have conceived of land tenure in dynamic terms—what Schutt calls “land as process” (2007:31, 37). That is, land could be occupied by different people or groups depending on what use they made of it and what relationship they held with other users of the same land. A variety of subsistence activities were practiced in the region, including hunting for deer, bear, beavers, turkey, and other birds and game; gathering berries and other wild plants; fishing; and small-scale agriculture (Goddard 1978:217-19; Grumet 1995:232). Food-related activities were largely divided along gender lines (Goddard 1978:219). Knowledge of agricultural techniques spread into the Delaware region through contact with groups from the north and west sometime after 900 CE, and Algonquian peoples in the mid-Atlantic region, like many others across North America, relied to varying degrees on agricultural production of corn, beans, squash, and other plants by the time of European arrival. Because wild food sources remained plentiful in the lower Delaware Valley throughout the Woodland period, people in southeastern Pennsylvania did not adopt agriculture to the same extent as others in the extended region (Custer 1996:299, Richter 2005:26). Winters were spent in seasonal settlements which included longhouses that accommodated multiple family groups (Goddard 1978:218). These settlements were seldom stockaded, and the Delaware Valley Indians appear to have engaged only in very small-scale warfare (Goddard 1978:220; Schutt 2007:10).

Paths created by these first inhabitants of Pennsylvania remained the basis for many roads and trails until the advent of the automobile (and even afterward, in some cases) (Wallace 1965:2). Many of these paths followed “valley ridges”—that is, modest elevations within wide valleys—of the kind that are common in southeastern Pennsylvania. Most of these paths are now obliterated, and what we know about them

has come down mainly from white settlers' accounts and maps and from subsequent archeological digs (Wallace 1965:11-12). Known paths that crossed the Hopewell region included the French Creek Path, which may have originally linked sizeable Indian populations in Conestoga and the Phoenixville area but was perhaps supplanted by more southerly routes after colonial trade made the lower Schuylkill a more popular destination (Wallace 1965:57). The Allegheny Path ran along a southeast to northwest axis, while the Nanticoke Path ran north and south; all three trails intersected at Morgantown, which remains a point of intersection for several important regional roads in the present.

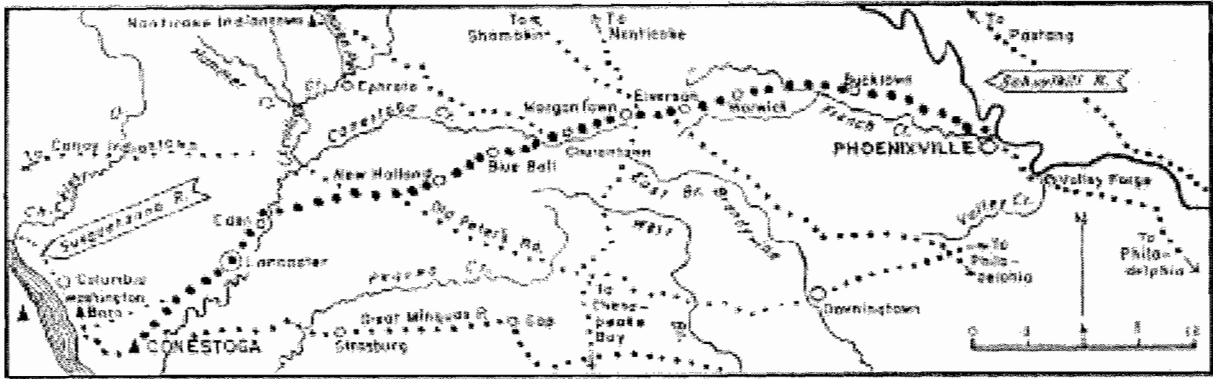


Figure 2.5 French Creek Path as documented by Paul A.W. Wallace, in use by Indians and colonists in colonial Pennsylvania. From *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania*. Reproduced by permission of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

CONTACT PERIOD

These patterns of life among Delaware Valley Indian groups were disrupted well before the colony of Pennsylvania was established in 1681. As Europeans began to visit the mid-Atlantic coast of North America in the early sixteenth century and eventually to establish colonial settlements,⁴ diseases like smallpox and measles, to which indigenous Americans had no acquired immunity, began to devastate Indian populations, causing mortality rates as high as 90% (Diamond 1997, Grumet 1995:206). As a result of this

⁴ Basque, Breton, and perhaps other fisherman came to this part of the mid-Atlantic coast in search of fish, and may have landed in order to process their catch. Giovanni da Verrazano made a voyage along much of the Atlantic coastline in 1524. Although he did not note the existence of the Delaware or Hudson Rivers or Chesapeake Bay, he did make contact with a party of Indians while anchored between Long Island and Staten Island. Spanish colonizers briefly established a mission in the Lower Chesapeake Bay in 1570, and settlers who were part of Sir Walter Raleigh's ill-fated "Lost Colony" on Roanok Island traveled as far as the mouth of the Chesapeake in the 1580s. Captain John Smith explored the Upper Chesapeake Bay and Lower Susquehanna Valley in 1608, visiting the Susquehannocks on the way. Henry Hudson sailed into Delaware Bay and the Lower Delaware Valley the following year.

decimation, there was tremendous mobility and change among Indian groups beginning in the sixteenth century. New social, political, and economic patterns developed as the remnants of cultures realigned themselves in response to epidemics and the new opportunities offered by trade with Europeans (Richter 2005:32). For example, a group subsequently known as the Susquehannocks, an Iroquoian group not affiliated with the more powerful Haudenosaunee or Iroquois Five Nations (later Six Nations), moved into the southern Delaware region around 1575, displacing or conquering some of the older inhabitants and dominating regional trade with the Europeans for the next century (Custer 1996:305-9; Grumet 1995:198, 204-5, 305-12).

The first European settlements in the Delaware Valley were built by the Dutch near the site of present-day Gloucester, New Jersey in 1624. English colonists first established a presence in the area with their purchase of Kent Island in the Chesapeake Bay from the Susquehannock Indians in 1630. English settlers were also arriving in Maryland by 1634. In 1638, the New Sweden Company established Fort Christina on what is now the site of Wilmington, Delaware. Sweden, then at the height of its strength as a European power, was seeking to counter the presence of the Dutch on the eastern side of the Delaware by claiming much of the land to the south and west of the river (Custer 1996:303).

For the next century and a half, the region saw shifting alliances and almost continuous struggles over land and trade by established and newly-arrived Indian groups and settlers from various parts of Europe. Munsees from the northern part of the Delaware territory came into territorial conflict with the Dutch in the 1640s and 1650s. Munsees also became embroiled in warfare with Mahicans and Mohawks over the coastal trade and in Dutch/Swedish struggles over the area (Grumet 1995:219-20). Dutch governor Peter Stuyvesant was successful in reclaiming forts from New Sweden on the Delaware River in 1655, effectively ending the Swedish military presence in the region. Swedes and Finns remained as settlers in the area, however, while the Dutch triumph was short-lived. New Netherland, a colony founded on the principle of religious tolerance much as Pennsylvania later was, was not strong enough militarily to resist incursions by the English, who negotiated its surrender from Stuyvesant in 1664. Anglo-Dutch conflict continued in other venues for another ten years, eventually ending in English victory and the end of Dutch colonial power in North America.

The more southerly Delaware groups known as the Lenape did not participate as directly in this early seventeenth century warfare, although they sometimes gave shelter to their Munsee kinsmen during conflicts with the Dutch and others (Grumet 1995:236). Although it was becoming clear to Indians in the region that coexistence with Europeans was difficult, if not impossible, the people of the lower Delaware Valley followed their existing cultural pattern of emphasizing negotiation and flexibility (Grumet 1995:238-39; Schutt 2007:59). They coped with the disruption of the Contact Period by forging new

alliances and seeking new territories as older ones became contested. They initially welcomed the Dutch and Swedish settlers, many of whom adopted Indian subsistence strategies when cut off from European re-supply (Grumet 1995:234). Although there were tensions between the Susquehannocks and the Delaware peoples, by the 1640s the Delawares had made peace with them as well (Grumet 1995:236). Thus by the time the English had become the dominant colonial presence in the mid-Atlantic in the 1670s and the first English settlements were established in Pennsylvania in the 1680s, the indigenous people of the area already had considerable direct and indirect experience of dealing with the upheavals sparked by European arrival in the New World.

WILLIAM PENN, QUAKERISM, AND PENNSYLVANIA

There was no concerted British effort to colonize what is now Pennsylvania until 1681, when the Quaker William Penn received a grant from Charles II for land west of the Delaware River, and from the Duke of York the following year for land in present-day Delaware.







Quakerism was one of several “Nonconformist” or “dissenting” religious movements that arose in seventeenth-century England. It shares much historical and spiritual lineage with other Protestant sects and denominations that will be encountered in this report, notably the Anabaptist traditions (including the Mennonites and Amish) that have been an important component of Pennsylvania German culture and also the Baptist movement, a sub-set of Anabaptism, of which Bethesda Baptist Church is a part. Because of this shared lineage, it will be worth looking here at some of the threads of religious dissent which found their way to early Pennsylvania and continue to be a part of its cultural landscape—including the elements that are most marketed via cultural and heritage tourism—today. The insert shows some of the areas of overlap and difference among these traditions.

These groups all developed as a part of the widespread questioning of the spiritual authority of the Catholic Church and other bodies that put a layer of official control between believers and the direct experience of the sacred. Anabaptism first emerged in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland in the first decades of the sixteenth century, around the same time that Martin Luther and others were challenging the established church. Anabaptism, however, was too radical for Luther, and even as Protestantism began to take hold in many parts of Europe, the Anabaptists remained outsiders, often subject to persecution. Prominent among them were the followers of Menno Simons (1496-1561), known as Mennonites.

Figure 2.6 Some radical Christian movements in 16th and 17th century northern Europe




ANABAPTISTS

Emerged around 1520s in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands
Included Menno Simons (1496-1561) and his followers (Mennonites)
Many schisms, independent groups

-  adult baptism
-  lay leadership
-  little/no centralized authority
-  pacifist (some sects)
-  plain dress
-  refusal to swear official oaths






BAPTISTS

Combined elements of Anabaptism and English Congregationalism
Emerged in England around 1610

-  adult baptism
-  lay leadership (deacons lead congregations along with pastors)
-  little/no centralized authority originally (some larger structures have developed over time)

QUAKERS

Emerged in England in 1640s
Largely based on thinking of George Fox (1624-1691)

-  lay leadership
-  little/no centralized authority
-  pacifist
-  plain dress (less so in present)
-  refusal to swear official oaths

In England, Henry VIII broke with the Roman Catholic Church in the 1530s. But official English Protestantism—the Church of England—retained an ambiguous relationship with Catholicism, continuing to maintain many of its traditions and its characteristic top-down authority. Elizabeth I's Act of Uniformity of 1559 attempted to impose a compromise between the Protestant and Catholic strains within English state religion, but it provoked a backlash among reformers and dissenters who became generally known as "Puritans." Seeking escape from state control at home and abroad, these people were instrumental in both the colonization of the New World and the overthrow of the monarchy during the English Civil War. Like the Lutheran reformers in Europe, English Puritanism eventually came to represent a kind of mainstream opposition to the official church. They sought its reform and to a large extent wished to assume its power, and were not generally tolerant of more radical religious movements that insisted on extreme individual or localized autonomy.

One of these more radical movements was the Religious Society of Friends,⁵ largely founded by the charismatic preacher George Fox in the 1640s. The Friends, called Quakers by their detractors, were an exceptionally egalitarian group who believed that "there is that of God in everyone." They practiced non-violence and refused to swear official oaths, insisting that every statement they made should be truthful and that to swear a special oath affirming this was to imply that the opposite

⁵ The name "Religious Society of Friends" was not adopted until the eighteenth century.

might be the case. They were persecuted under royal and Puritan regimes alike, and like the Puritans, many sought to settle in the New World in order to create a social place where they could practice their religion freely.

Because Quakers and other dissenters were barred from occupying many officially-sanctioned positions, they also found new economic niches for themselves, often in the profitable realms of trade and artisanship. Britain's colonies offered them opportunities for both spiritual and economic ventures. In 1657, a group of Quakers settled on Aquidneck Island in Narragansett Bay (now a part of Rhode Island), and twenty years later another group was granted a charter to settle an area along the east side of the Delaware River, then known as West Jersey. Neither group was able to translate its spiritual ideals into practical governmental structures, and both were eventually absorbed into other colonial projects (Fisher 1919).

One of the trustees of the West Jersey Quaker settlement was William Penn, the son of a British admiral. Well-educated and wealthy, Penn was groomed for power during his early life, but during his school years at Oxford he found himself strongly drawn to the egalitarian teachings of George Fox and other Quakers. Over his father's objections, he pursued his new beliefs, becoming a prominent writer and thinker in the Religious Society of Friends and being imprisoned twice for his religious activities. His experience as a trustee of the West Jersey colony showed him that without a charter that guaranteed self-governance and religious freedom, Quakers in the New World were liable to experience the same discrimination in the New World that they faced in the Old. The royal government, however, was highly unlikely to grant such a charter. Aside from its official disapproval of Quakers and other radical dissenters, the English government had come to favor Crown colonies, which were easier to control and to profit by, over independent ones (Comfort 1989:18).

A unique opportunity arose when Admiral Penn died in 1670, leaving the Crown indebted to him for 16,000 pounds. Knowing that the king could not repay the debt in cash, William Penn requested a grant of land instead—specifically, land west of the Delaware River, territory he knew of through his association with West Jersey. Penn drove a hard bargain in which he obtained the desired charter—almost the last proprietary colony created in America and one of only two that survived to the Revolutionary period (Comfort 1989:20). The 1681 charter included a directive for building a large town on the Delaware River and rules about how land in the colony would be bought and sold. Although the charter “granted” Penn a large area west of the Delaware,⁶ Penn himself did not see this as a gift from the Crown, but rather as

⁶ The original charter covered Pennsylvania's three original counties—Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks—plus three additional counties known as the “Lower Counties,” which separated from Pennsylvania in 1701 and eventually became the state of Delaware. Quakers were a minority in the Lower Counties (Comfort 1989:31).

permission for him to purchase the land from its indigenous owners—a view that sharply distinguished him from other colonizers (Richter 2005:42-43). In keeping with the egalitarian principles of his faith, he also put rules in place to prevent speculators from artificially driving up the price of the best land (Klein and Hoogenboom 1973:21-23).

Penn originally named the colony “Sylvania,” meaning “woods.” The king amended this to “Pennsylvania,” in honor of Penn’s father. The literal translation, “Penn’s Woods,” has subsequently been used and adopted by many Pennsylvanians, particularly in relation to conservation and outdoor recreational projects.⁷ The link with the idea of Pennsylvania as essentially a *forested* place remains in the minds of many who live there, and this association has supported many of the kinds of projects that we will see in relation to the development of the area around Hopewell Furnace as a state and national park.

Companies of emigrants quickly formed in England, Wales, the Netherlands, and Germany. 2,000 people moved to Pennsylvania in the first year, and over 20,000 people migrated to the colony in its first two decades (Comfort 1989:29). The great majority of these were Quakers, although a handful of Mennonites were among the first settlers in Germantown, showing that there was some degree of communication and compatibility among the different dissenting sects in Europe (see below, Pennsylvania Germans). Some of these first settlers brought African slaves with them, following the pattern established by the earliest Swedish, Finnish, and Dutch colonists (Trotter and Smith 1997:42). Although Quakers were ambivalent about slavery, many nonetheless owned slaves, particularly after they arrived in colonial America where labor of any kind was in chronically short supply.⁸ The nucleus of a larger black population in Pennsylvania was formed after 1684 when 150 Africans arrived in Philadelphia on the ship *Isabella* and were sold to colonists as slaves (Lapsansky 2001:1).

William Penn himself arrived in the colony in 1682, having previously sent others to begin laying out the town of Philadelphia and overseeing the buying and selling of land. Immigration among Quakers was spurred later in the decade by the succession of William III to the English throne and the enactment of such policies as the intolerant Act of Toleration in 1689. While granting more religious freedom than previously, this act required dissenters to take unacceptable allegiance oaths and continued to bar them from holding public office and other positions. The start of King William’s War in 1688 (the opening segment of what became known as the French and Indian War) also

⁷ An Internet search for “Penn’s Woods” immediately shows uses of the term in relation to organizations related to hunting, fishing, hiking, environmental education, scouting, reforestation projects, and outdoor musical performances.

⁸ There were black residents of the Delaware River Valley as early as 1639, held as slaves by the first colonial settlers. William Penn himself was a slaveowner who freed only one of his slaves during his lifetime (Lapsansky 2001:1).

alienated Quakers, Mennonite, and others who were opposed to bearing arms (Klein and Hoogenboom, 1973:205).

Penn's ideals for the new colony—what he called his “Holy Experiment”—were encoded in his *Frame of Government*, Pennsylvania's first constitution. This document included rules for dealing with land purchases and laying out the city of Philadelphia. It also set out policies for adjudicating disputes between Indians and whites. For example, conflicts were to be settled by juries composed of six whites and six Indians. The constitution also guaranteed that no state religion would be established in Pennsylvania. Any Christian male could be elected to the assembly, laying the basis for an unusually accessible colonial governing body and also for the inclusion of non-Quakers who quite quickly came to challenge Penn's controlling vision for the colony (Comfort 1989:24-33)

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN WILLIAM PENN'S PENNSYLVANIA

One of Penn's priorities on arriving in the colony was to establish a relationship with local Indians. He famously met with a group of Lenape people in 1682, purportedly under an elm tree in Shackamaxon (now Kensington in Philadelphia) to negotiate the sale of land from them for his colonists (Merritt 2003:3). This encounter has become an important part of the “origin myth” of Pennsylvania, reproduced in stone on the U.S.

Capitol building (see Figure 2.7) and in Benjamin West's well-known “William Penn's Treaty with the Indians” (painted in 1771-72). While the story has undoubtedly acquired a somewhat romanticized gloss over time, Penn's dealings with Native peoples were markedly more egalitarian and cordial than those of other English colonizers. In particular, Penn was determined to purchase Indian lands fairly rather than claiming territory by right of his charter. This early tolerant period quite quickly gave way to much less peaceful coexistence, but the first phase of Pennsylvania's colonial history was marked by much less conflict between European settlers and indigenous people than in other colonies.



Figure 2.7 "William Penn's Treaty with the Indians, 1682" by Nicholas Gevelot, Sandstone, 1827 Frieze in the U.S Capitol Rotunda, above north door. Source: Architect of the Capitol.

Penn's fairly liberal Indian policies made Pennsylvania an appealing destination for many Indian groups who were seeking new homes and some measure of security during what Custer has termed the "Refugee Phase" (1675-1750) of the Contact Period (Custer 1996:301, 315). Overall, the pattern was for Delaware Indians in this period was to consolidate into a smaller number of villages, often incorporating people from different language and regional groups (Grumet 1995:221). By the end of the seventeenth century, the formerly dominant Susquehannocks had become a greatly diminished force in the region, merging with displaced people from Delaware, Shawnee, and other groups in a single large stockaded town in Washington Boro (Grumet 1995:207, 312). Munsees from the northern parts of the Delaware Valley found themselves caught between Mohawks on the west and colonists on the east, and had sold almost half their ancestral lands and moved inland to the upper Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers by 1700 (Grumet 1995:220). Shawnees, Algonquian-speakers from the Ohio region, moved into Pennsylvania and other coastal areas around 1700 (Merritt 2003:32).

Shifts in trade relationships, wars between European powers, the growth of colonial settlements, and continued epidemics contributed to ongoing flux and tension among the many different groups of people in William Penn's colony. As game resources became exhausted, trade networks changed radically (Custer 1996:316-17). Many Delaware groups exhibited remarkable adaptability and determination in engaging with other Indian groups and with the Quakers and other settlers. Many moved north and west, seeking new homes with kin groups or establishing themselves farther up the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Rivers (Schutt 2007:63-64). They worked to avoid direct confrontation with the newly-arrived British in Pennsylvania whenever possible, often using legal rather than military means to challenge practices they found unfair (Grumet 1995:237, Richter 2005:40). Their success was only relative, however. As Richter puts it, "the mid-[seventeenth] century struggles did not so much produce winners as survivors" (Richter 2005:38). The Delaware people remained the largest Indian group in the mid-Atlantic by this time, but their numbers continued to dwindle due to war, disease, and displacement (Grumet 1995:238).

Nor was Penn's policy of purchasing land fairly from Indians entirely successful. Amy Schutt has argued that in selling their land to the colonists, Delawares saw themselves as entering into a reciprocal trade agreement that they expected to maintain through ongoing relationships, rather than a one-time business transaction as the Europeans understood it (Schutt 2007:31, 37). Furthermore, because the Indians saw land occupancy as a complex and layered notion based on different *uses* of the land, it appears that when they "sold" land to Europeans, they believed they were selling the rights to the use of the land only, not giving up their own rights to live in their ancestral homelands. The misunderstandings caused by these very different concepts of land title

increasingly led to conflicts between colonists and Indians. Some unscrupulous buyers took advantage of the confusion to buy more than the Indians thought they were selling, a practice which worsened relationships between whites and Indians.

By the 1730s, white Pennsylvanians had managed to buy only about 5% of the land within today's state boundaries (Richter 2005:43). As with some of Penn's other more idealistic policies, this one was eroded quite quickly after Penn's own involvement in the colony's administration lessened. Despite plans to settle there permanently, he visited only twice, in 1682-84 and again in 1699. His ideals for the colony were challenged on several fronts, including by the Crown (over the colony's military and other responsibilities), by non-Quakers (notably David Lloyd, an immigrant from Wales) who identified themselves less with Penn's original agenda, by Indians who were increasingly disenchanted with their marginal status, and even by some Quakers who questioned whether the Penn family's own enormous holdings as proprietors were in keeping with the egalitarian principles of their faith (Comfort 1989:33). In addition, problems over the management of his own fortune occupied Penn's attention during the latter part of his life. He suffered the first of a series of strokes in 1712 and died in 1718.

PENNSYLVANIA AFTER PENN

In the period between the early eighteenth century and the American Revolution, the Delaware Valley people began to lose their remaining hold on the lands they continued to claim as theirs. White settlement was growing, spurred on by the arrival of many German, Scotch-Irish, and other immigrants (described below). Penn's sons and other colonial elites sought to consolidate their control over the territory in the colony, framing land purchase and occupancy in ways that increasingly conflicted with the Delawares' more fluid understandings. Settlement became much more chaotic when Penn's heirs closed the colonial land office because of their own legal troubles, leaving the new settlers, many of whom had little capital on which to survive, to fend for themselves in finding land. The newcomers moved west, to the hinterlands of the three counties, and settled where they could. By 1718, there were settlers in the far western section of Chester County; this became Lancaster County in 1729. Further western settlement led to the carving out of Berks County in 1752 from parts of northern Chester County, Lancaster, and Philadelphia Counties. One observer characterized southeastern Pennsylvania in this period as "the best poor man's country in the world" because of the opportunities it offered (Lemon 1972), but those opportunities contained the seeds for future conflicts. Disagreements over lands just north of the Hopewell area led to violence in 1728 with a shooting incident in the vicinity of one of the early ironworks on the Manatawny Creek (Schutt 2007:76).

Such conflicts were heightened by the growing influence in the region of the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois Six Nations, who established a presence in Pennsylvania starting in the 1720s as part of their effort to expand their political reach in the northeast (Merritt 2003:33, 46). The Delaware groups negotiated a delicate arrangement with the Haudenosaunee, accepting an official designation as “women,” and later as “grandfathers” (Schutt 2007:123-25). These terms reflected their historic roles as mediators and non-combatants, and at first the agreement allowed them to retain a measure of autonomy from both the Haudenosaunee and the colonial government. As time went on, however, the Six Nations and the colonists joined forces to further their own ends. Prompted by a need to clarify contested land titles (including some that were being claimed by Maryland), Pennsylvania’s government chose to negotiate directly with the ambitious Six Nations, effectively cutting out the Delaware groups who had much longer-standing claims to territory in the region. Provincial secretary James Logan and his agent, Conrad Weiser, secured agreements from the Iroquois in 1736 to cede a very large territory between the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers—land to which the Iroquois themselves had never actually made a claim. Many Delawares had already resettled in the Ohio territory by the 1730s; this agreement made it more difficult for the remainder to stay in Pennsylvania.

The 1736 agreement was followed by the infamous “Walking Purchase” of 1737 in which the colonial government secured under false pretences more than 1,200 square miles around present-day Bethlehem. This included previously contested land at the Forks of the Delaware, known as *Lechawekink* in the Unami language (pronounced by colonists as “Lehigh”). Some Delaware people, including displaced northern Delaware Valley Munsee-speakers from New Jersey and Unami speakers from the Lehigh Valley area, joined Moravian communities such as Bethlehem (founded in 1741 by a diverse group of European Christians), while others sought shelter with kin groups in more remote areas (Grumet 1995:221, 228; Merritt 2003:101). The Indians were displaced from these communities later in the decade, however. Some Munsees joined with the French during the French and Indian War in the 1750s in an attempt to regain their ancestral lands. When the French withdrew from the mid-Atlantic, most Munsees moved west to the Ohio territory, from which they were displaced in turn by the end of the 18th century (Grumet 1995:229).

By the middle of the eighteenth century, relationships between Indians and whites had almost irreparably deteriorated. In the 1760s and 70s, some Delaware people began to try to articulate a collective identity for the first time, much as Germans and Scotch-Irish would later do in times of heavy immigration by newer groups. It was in this period that they and others began to refer to them as a supposedly united “Delaware” tribe or nation. They asserted the existence of a common Delaware culture and insisted on the importance of their long-standing presence in the area and their

history as the first Indians to enter into relationship with English settlers in Pennsylvania (Champagne 1988; Schutt 2007:150). This cultural revitalization movement resulted in new social structural patterns, as three of the existing matrilineal groups, the Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf clans, came together in a more codified arrangement with an interlocking leadership structure (Schutt 2007:156).

Attempts to maintain a unified and somewhat neutral position between more powerful forces was undercut, however, by internal divisions, continued epidemics and uprootings, and by the way that the Six Nations and their allies often sought to demonize the Delawares. Instead of being seen as revered ancestors and neutral diplomats, they were now portrayed as dangerous witches—a reflection of the “outsider” character that Delaware groups had long sought to maintain (Merritt 2003:193-96).⁹ The onset of the American Revolution also worked against neutrality, as both sides demanded that Indians declare their allegiance to one cause or the other. Only a small number of Indians remained in Pennsylvania by the end of the eighteenth century (Custer 1996:317, Richter 2005:48-65). Most Delawares moved to the Ohio river valleys, where they unsuccessfully attempted to claim land title in the 1770s (Grumet 1995:229; Schutt 2007:157) and from which they were eventually forced further west.¹⁰

Ironically, this was the same period when the image of William Penn’s harmonious relationship with the Indians was beginning to find its way into the popular imagination. Penn’s son Thomas, the the Proprietor of the colony, commissioned

⁹ Such witchcraft accusations have frequently been found among subjugated peoples who seek to scapegoat even more marginal groups for the ill effects of domination by outsiders. For an account of a similar case in Bolivia, see Nathan Wachtel, *Gods and Vampires: Return to Chipaya* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); for an exploration of this phenomenon in Africa, see Peter Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1997) and Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, eds., *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

¹⁰ Among east coast Delawares who later returned to the northeast, a few came back to two Seneca villages along the Allegheny River, which remained a “quasi-reservation” area within Pennsylvania (Richter 2005:67) for two centuries. Many of those who stayed in Pennsylvania intermarried with non-Indians or Indians from other groups and stayed “under the radar” by living very marginally to white society. Some remained in the region, in southern Delaware and southern New Jersey, while the majority went west. Some of these joined other displaced coastal peoples in the Brothertown and New Stockbridge communities on the New York Oneida reservation in the early nineteenth century (Merritt 2003:240). Others went to Ohio and Indiana and from there either north to Six Nations or Munsee reservations in southwestern Ontario and Illinois or further west to settlements or reservations in western Missouri, Kansas, Texas, and finally Oklahoma (Grumet 2002). The present-day Delaware Nation is headquartered in Anadarko, Oklahoma, while the Delaware Tribe of Indians, based in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, has recently been de-listed as a federally-recognized tribe and is now legally part of the Cherokee Nation. The Stockbridge-Munsee Community is located in Wisconsin. Many people within the very far-flung Delaware/Lenape/Munsee diaspora retain a sense of connection to ancestral homelands in eastern Pennsylvania. As we will see in subsequent chapters, there are present-day movements toward establishing a more visible presence in the state.

fashionable painter Benjamin West in 1771 to produce a picture of Penn's 1682 meeting with Lenape Indians. This image was immediately circulated in the form of engravings and other copies, and became even more popular after it was used as one of the icons of the national centennial celebration in Philadelphia a century later. In the centennial era of national myth-making, many Americans were drawn to the idea that the nation had been founded on a harmonious relationship with the land and with the people who had originally inhabited that land. As the industrial era accelerated throughout the nineteenth century, most Americans' connection with the land itself was weakening, making this ideal ironically all the more attractive to many.¹¹

One effect of the arrival of large numbers of Scotch-Irish and German immigrants in the early to mid eighteenth century was the pushing out of Indians from territories where they had previously lived. Another was that well-to-do Pennsylvanian colonists began to buy fewer slaves and instead turned to indentured servants, of whom there was a greater supply starting very early in the eighteenth century. It has sometimes been assumed that the shift away from slave labor in the was due largely to anti-slavery activism among prominent Quakers, notably John Woolman and Anthony Benezet. Gary Nash suggests, however, that the change was principally due to other factors: the new availability of poor white laborers, the gradual move toward wage rather than bound labor, and an overall decrease in the number of slaves because of the end to importation and a low birth rate among slaves already in Pennsylvania. Nash also notes that when white indentured servants were difficult to find (for example, during the French and Indian Wars when many Scotch-Irish workers were recruited by the army and navy), wealthy Pennsylvanians, including Quakers, returned readily enough to using slaves despite their moral misgivings. Nash estimates that in the earliest years of the colony, 1682 to 1705, one in every fifteen households owned slaves; in 1767, after a period of decline in slaveholding, this rose again to more than one in every five (Nash 1997:44-62).

Slaveholding was far more of an urban phenomenon than a rural one in Pennsylvania. White indentured servants made up only 22% of the unfree labor force in Philadelphia, but almost half in the surrounding countryside (Nash 1997:55). By and large, slaves in Pennsylvania were not used as agricultural laborers, as they were on southern plantations, but rather in semi-skilled or skilled occupations, including in many of the maritime trades (including as sailors) and early industries like iron-making (Trotter and Smith 1997:42). This is in keeping with the supposition that the slaves owned by Mark Bird, who founded Hopewell Furnace in 1771, were among the laborers

¹¹ For an insightful online exhibit chronicling the creation and marketing of this image, see "An Image of Peace: The William Penn Treaty" by the State Museum of Pennsylvania (<http://www.statemuseumpa.org/Potamkin/creating/index.htm>).

responsible for building and operating the furnace (Walker 1966:305). In 1780, Pennsylvania became the first American state to outlaw slavery, passing legislation that provided for its abolition over a period of 28 years and laying an important piece of groundwork for the creation of a vigorous free black community in the state, particularly in Philadelphia (Lapsansky 2001:8).

PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS

One group of colonists seems to have avoided becoming a part of the slave system to any great extent: the Germans who were beginning to make up a substantial portion of the new colony's population. While the earliest German immigrants were relatively affluent, they accounted for only a tiny proportion of Philadelphia's slaveholders in the eighteenth century. German-language newspapers more frequently refused to print advertisements for runaway slaves than did their English-language counterparts (even the paper printed by the anti-slavery Benjamin Franklin) (Nash 1997:62). The first published protest against slavery was written in 1688 by a German immigrant, Francis Pastorius, one of the founders of Germantown in Philadelphia County (Lapsansky 2001:2-3).

Pastorius and his followers were the first Germans to enter the new colony of Pennsylvania, settling in 1683. Between then and the American Revolution, the ethnic composition of the colony as a whole changed drastically with successive waves of German immigration. Between 1683 and 1775, some 70,000 German-speaking people came to Pennsylvania (Weaver-Zercher 2001:24). By 1760, they accounted for more than half of the colony's population. In 1790, a century after the founding of the colony, they still accounted for more than a third, even after an influx of Scotch-Irish and other newer immigrant groups (Grubb 1990:417).

The popular image of these immigrants is that they were mostly independent small farmers and tradespeople. In fact, Grubb suggests that for many, farming was something they took up after arriving in America, not something they necessarily practiced before emigrating. They did pursue many of the skilled trades; by the early nineteenth century, a quarter of all Pennsylvania Germans were working as butchers, bakers, or tailors (Grubb 1990:431). The many who did take up farming found that the soil and climate of the land where they had settled were very much like what they were accustomed to at home. Thus they were able to transfer existing knowledge and skills more readily than English and Scotch-Irish farmers, who experienced a more difficult transition and who tended to over-use the soils of their farms and then move on to buy new land elsewhere (Klein and Hoogenboom 1973:173). This ability to adjust to farming in Pennsylvania was one factor in the high rate of stability in Pennsylvania German

settlements, something else that contrasted with the experiences of other migrant groups (Fogelman 1996:97).

Another difference is that while other groups tended to favor the dispersed model of individual farms in contrast with towns, the Germans preferred to cluster their farms in small villages, replicating the village settlement patterns they were familiar with (Klein and Hoogenboom 1973:174). Indeed, Fogelman notes that these immigrants seemed to split the difference between “communal” and “individualistic” behaviors. Paradoxically, they used communal strategies wherever feasible to aid each other in the larger goal of succeeding as self-reliant individuals (Fogelman 1996:80).

Grubb’s demographic research also reveals that the German-speaking migrants arrived as families more often than their English counterparts, and that they tended to be somewhat older and considerably more literate. Only the Calvinist Scots, similarly raised in religious traditions that considered it essential for all believers to be able to read the Bible, were more highly literate than the Germans. Literacy rates among the immigrants declined somewhat after arrival, reflecting the hardships of their new life. About half of all German-speaking immigrants became indentured servants on arriving in Pennsylvania, most of them in order to pay off debts incurred before leaving home or on the voyage across the Atlantic (Grubb 1990:436).

The high rate of “redemptionism,” or indentured servitude, broke up close-knit groups who may have immigrated together. Those who arrived after the 1720s found much of the available land in the original three Pennsylvania counties already sold, so those with the desire and the capital to buy their own land moved farther west, further fragmenting existing community ties. Nevertheless, colonial Pennsylvania Germans created a remarkable network of communication and mutual assistance that kept many people connected to each other and to their homes in Europe. Parish connections and people who served as communications hubs for letters and money helped to maintain this network (Fogelman 1996:76-79). Fogelman characterizes Pennsylvania Germans as existing in “dispersed communities” (1996:76), suggesting that this group of people, like others we will see throughout the course of this report, constructed their shared sense of identity across great distances and throughout times of considerable change and flux. One scholar has written that in order to understand Pennsylvania Germans’ culture, “one must know that they did not come from static societies in Europe and were not averse to accepting further change after they arrived in Pennsylvania” (Glatfelter 1990:20-21). This was not simply a case of people preserving their ancestral traditions in the face of change and dislocation, but rather an illustration of the way in which cultural identities are constantly being reshaped and redefined, even in the most seemingly “traditional” or rooted communities.

The arrival of large numbers of Germans created some backlash among the English who dominated colonial politics. In 1717, Governor William Keith told the

provincial council that “great numbers of foreigners from Germany, strangers to our Language and Constitution,” were moving into the nether reaches of Pennsylvania, a situation Keith found “very dangerous” to the social well-being of the colony. By the time of the Revolution, Germans had settled throughout Pennsylvania, but they were particularly concentrated in seven counties: Montgomery, Northampton, Berks, Lehigh, Lebanon, Lancaster, and York (Glatfelter 1990:4-9). In particular, “Lancaster, Northampton, and especially Berks were so heavily populated with German-speaking people that they were essentially German counties” (Fogelman 1996:81). In 1790, the first federal census of Berks County noted 22,345 residents of German descent, fully three-quarters of the county’s population (Berks County Planning 2003:1-2). Germans continued to migrate to Pennsylvania as to other parts of the U.S. in the nineteenth century, but it was this substantial early wave of German immigration that provided the foundation of what has become known as “Pennsylvania German” or “Pennsylvania Dutch” culture.

The label “Dutch” was an English term, commonly used to refer to those of Germanic origin. There was no unified German nation in the eighteenth century; the immigrants to Pennsylvania came from many of the largely independent political entities that were allied with the Holy Roman Empire. Most of these places were in southwestern Germany, particularly the area known as the Palatinate (*Pfältz* in German), but people also came from the German-speaking sections of Switzerland (notably the Canton of Berne) and from the Alsace/Lorraine region of France (Glatfelter 1990:3).

Aside from a small number of Catholics, the great majority of German immigrants were Protestant, but they were by no means as unified in religious terms as the mostly Anglican or Quaker English colonists, the mostly Presbyterian Scotch-Irish, or the mostly Lutheran Swedes. The multiplicity of Pennsylvania German religious groups has in fact often perplexed observers. The best way to understand the variety is to categorize Pennsylvania Germans as either church people or sect people.¹² The church people belonged to denominations that emerged from the mainstream of the Protestant Reformation, notably Lutheran and Reformed churches. These two denominations accounted for perhaps as much as 90% of all German immigration to Pennsylvania (Glatfelter 1990:15). They constituted most of the second wave of immigration, concentrated between 1720 and 1750 (Klein and Hoogenboom 1973:39).

It is the small minority of sect people who have more consistently fascinated outsiders and been associated with “Pennsylvania Dutch” or Pennsylvania German

¹² These are outsider or “etic” terms. Amish, Mennonites, and others do not refer to themselves as belonging to “sects,” but rather see themselves as part of an independent Christian tradition (Redekop 1989:35).

culture as a whole.¹³ These groups are associated with the Anabaptist movement already discussed above, particularly with its Mennonite component and the many sects that have split off from the Mennonites or developed independently. These have included the Amish (followers of Jacob Amman who seceded from the Mennonites in the 1690s, many of whom came to Pennsylvania in the 1740s); the Church of the Brethren (also known as Dunkers, who formed in Germany in 1708 and came to Pennsylvania between 1719 and 1729); the Schwenkfelders (founded in the mid-sixteenth century); the radically ascetic Society of the Woman in the Wilderness of Johannes Kelpius, and the Seventh Day Baptist Cloister, a Pennsylvania sect founded by a former Church of the Brethren member who built Ephrata Cloister, now a popular historic site not far west of Hopewell (Glatfelter 1990:13-14). The concentrated period of immigration of sect people was slightly earlier, between 1708 and 1720 (Klein and Hoogenboom 1973:30).

A central reason for outsiders' fascination with the Pennsylvania German sects is that many have pursued separatist beliefs—that is, they have tried (to varying extents) to live separately from other communities, and to live strictly according to their religious beliefs.

In colonial Pennsylvania, despite the governor's alarm at the influx of foreigners, they were less different from their eighteenth century neighbors than they are from today's mainstream Pennsylvanians. Like most colonial settlers, the majority of both sect people and church people lived on farms, and like many (including the dominant Quakers), they had a history of pursuing their own religious beliefs in the face of official disapproval. As mainstream society has pursued modern "progress" over the years, the sect people's insistence on remaining separate has become much more noticeable—and much more intriguing to people living with modern technology and change.

The Mennonites and Amish were the two largest Anabaptist groups or sects to settle in early Pennsylvania. Dutch and Swiss Mennonites arrived first, as noted above. In the two centuries after the first Mennonite immigrants founded Germantown, an estimated 8,000 Mennonites migrated to America. While the Mennonite sect has grown over time, this has been primarily due to conversion; Mennonites of non-Germanic origin are now the majority worldwide (Redekop 1989:17, 31). The principal group of American Mennonites over time has been the "Old" Mennonite Church, which traces its origins to the first Germantown settlement (Redekop 1989:40).

The Amish came to Pennsylvania around 1727 and settled in Lancaster County by the 1750s and 1760s. Nearly all of the subsequent Amish communities originated from the Lancaster County settlements (Mook 1973:78, 91n.1). The Amish were originally Mennonites who split away from their brethren in 1693 over the issue of "shunning" or

¹³ In recent decades, the trend among scholars and observers has been away from using "Dutch" and toward "German," although "Dutch" remains a common term among members of this group themselves. This report follows the scholarly conventions.

Meidung. Jacob Amman argued for a stricter application of shunning for those who did not follow the Mennonite rules or *Ordnungen*; this disagreement led to the kind of schism that has historically been extremely common among Anabaptist groups (Mook 1973:83). In both Amish and Mennonite communities, there has been a fairly wide range of practices in terms of how the *Ordnungen* are observed; some of these variations are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

For church people and sect people alike, the German language remained an integral part of their ethnic and religious identity for much longer than has been typical for immigrants to America. The high literacy rate and importance of reading the Bible in German, coupled with the fact that Pennsylvania Germans were able to settle into enclaves largely populated by their fellow German-speakers, where they created their own educational systems and a vigorous print culture, meant that German functioned as a primary language for many Pennsylvanians well into the nineteenth and even the twentieth century. In general, this was truer for the sect people, with their separatist practices, than for the more assimilated church people. It was also truer of rural than urban Pennsylvania Germans (Glatfelter 1900:20-21). “Pennsylvania Dutch” or *Pennsilfaanish Deitsch* developed out of a confluence of High German dialects from the Swiss and southwest German homelands of the immigrants. These became largely amalgamated over time but still reveal traces of different dialects. Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites still use *Deitsch* as their primary language (Pennsylvania German Society).

The principle religious festivals celebrated by Pennsylvania Germans were Christmas, Easter, Pentecost (celebrated over a two-day period), Good Friday, Ascension Day, Whit Monday, and *Fasnacht* or Shrove Tuesday. *Fasnacht* was associated with dancing, and with the eating of a certain kind of doughnut named after the holiday (which is still made in some places). Town carnivals around these holidays had become quite rowdy by the early nineteenth century, and were suppressed and later reinvented as more sedate agricultural fairs and militia days in the mid-nineteenth century. The folk art and folklore that were later so celebrated—barns decorated with “hex signs,” *fraktur* illuminations of public documents, painted furniture, and so on—flourished during the early to mid-nineteenth century (Glatfelter 1990:41).

SCOTCH-IRISH IMMIGRANTS IN PENNSYLVANIA

At the same time that Germans were radically altering the ethnic makeup of colonial Pennsylvania, another immigrant population was arriving in considerable numbers. These were people who came to be known as “Scotch-Irish”—Protestants from Ulster, in the north of Ireland, who had moved from Scotland to Ireland in the seventeenth century. Their original migration from Scotland was prompted by the lack of

economic opportunity at home, the desire of the British occupiers of Ireland to establish a Protestant population that would be less hostile to Britain, and the availability of land for small farmers in Ulster. Within a century, however, the Ulster Scots found themselves being squeezed out of the land market by large landlords. As Presbyterians, they also felt repressed by the dominant Anglican establishment of the British ruling classes in Ireland. For many, America—particularly Pennsylvania, with its reputation for religious tolerance—was an attractive alternative.

Ulster Scots began arriving in Pennsylvania and other mid-Atlantic states before the end of the seventeenth century. By 1706, there was enough of a concentration in Philadelphia that a presbytery, or a network of local churches, could be formed. The migration continued through the century. At the time of the Revolution, Benjamin Franklin estimated (probably generously) that a third of Pennsylvania's 350,000 inhabitants were Scotch-Irish (Smylie 2000:5-7).

As with the German immigrants of the early and mid eighteenth centuries, these new arrivals found that land was scarce in the eastern part of the colony. Unlike the Germans, the Scotch-Irish tended to exploit their farmland aggressively and then to move on in search of new land. They were equally aggressive in their approach to claiming territory, often encroaching or squatting on land still claimed and occupied by Indians. Their movement to the west expanded and redefined Pennsylvania's frontier in a way that was both convenient and troubling to the easterners—mostly still English Quakers—who dominated the colony politically. Many Pennsylvanians were pleased by the opportunities represented by the new land and resources opening up to the west. Yet this expansionism brought to a head many simmering conflicts with Indian groups who had themselves moved west and who had become disillusioned with Pennsylvania's initial promise of fair dealing and peaceful coexistence.

Just as the Ulster Scots had been used by the British to occupy Irish Catholic territory, the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania and other American colonies existed to a large extent on the front lines of the expanding colonial frontier. Their presence sparked conflict, and they also bore the brunt of the resulting violence, something that they felt was unfair given that the new western settlements expanded the profitability of the colony overall and helped to enrich the Penn family and others. This resentment led to increased violence, including the notorious "Conestoga Massacre" by a group of Lancaster Scotch-Irish known as the "Paxton Boys" in 1763. The following year, a local Paxton militia marched on Philadelphia, angered by their perception that the colonial government was defending Indians at the expense of white settlers. That confrontation was defused by Benjamin Franklin, at that time the leader of the local militia, but tensions remained. Scotch-Irish Pennsylvanians were also at the forefront of the "Whiskey Rebellion" of the 1790s, one of several early challenges to the tax-gathering powers of the new republic.

Many Scotch-Irishmen fought during the French and Indian Wars and during the American Revolution (on both sides, although predominantly for the Continental Army). By that time, the Quaker hold on Pennsylvania's governance was weakening. Quakers were only 10% of the Pennsylvania population by the 1770s (Comfort 1989:53), while the Germans and Scotch-Irish constituted an increasingly politicized majority. The Scotch-Irish and German alliance weakened somewhat during the Revolutionary period, as many of the German sect people and even some church people were reluctant to support the colonial war effort (Glatfelter 1990:27). By then, however, a new political order had emerged in Pennsylvania, one in which the original Quaker leaders were being challenged by members of the newer groups who were reshaping the culture and the landscape in significant ways.

CHAPTER 3 HOPEWELL IN THE INDUSTRIAL ERA

This chapter provides a set of contexts for understanding Hopewell's rise and decline as an industrial site. The time period overlaps somewhat with the previous and following chapters, because industrialization is such an uneven and continuous process.

Southeastern Pennsylvania continued to be both a crossroads and a marginal place as the Industrial Revolution got underway in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Schuylkill River Valley was originally the thriving core of the American iron industry, only to become one of the first American places to see its earliest industries—notably, cold-blast iron-making—begin to decline. While the demography of the immediate area remained largely stable, large-scale immigration and urbanization throughout the state as a whole had an impact on how existing groups, especially Pennsylvania Germans, saw and represented themselves. Over the same time period, many people and groups began to express concerns about the social and environmental costs of industrial society. This backlash led to the creation of conservation and preservation movements that laid the groundwork for the re-invention of Hopewell Furnace in the twentieth century.

FOUNDATIONS OF PENNSYLVANIA'S IRON INDUSTRY

Iron is one of the most common elements found on earth. For more than 3,000 years it has been an important foundation of human patterns of life in many parts of the world—in the words of one scholar, “the load-bearing skeleton of our material civilisation” (Raymond 1986:52). Iron-working began in a systematic way in India around 1800 BCE and the Middle East around 1300 BCE, and its use spread to West Africa and Europe by around 1000 BCE. Although bronze remained the dominant metal for some time in many places, iron quickly made gains because of its advantages for many kinds of weapons and tools. Iron axes and plows made it possible to cut down more forests and cultivate more food to support larger and more diversified populations, while iron weapons gave iron-using groups a devastating advantage over other groups in warfare. The triumvirate that Jared Diamond (1997) has termed “guns, germs, and steel” made it possible for European colonizers to conquer vast areas in the New World with relative ease.

The British were relatively late to enter the Iron Age (around 500 BCE) but by the Middle Ages they were among the leading producers of iron. Rapid growth of the British population coupled with deforestation of much of the island for charcoal production forced British ironmakers to come up with new ways to fuel their furnaces and forges. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, at the time when Europeans were first settling in Pennsylvania, the British iron industry was the most technologically advanced in the world (Raymond 1986:145-54). British colonizers in the New World were alert to the possibilities of finding raw ore and setting up production facilities as well. Walter Raleigh noted the presence of iron ore in

North Carolina in 1585, and ore from Virginia was being shipped back to England as early as 1609. William Penn touted Pennsylvania's ore resources in a 1681 pamphlet promoting the colony, although his early attempts to recruit an experienced British ironmaster came to nothing (Eggert 1994:15-16).

The production of iron in America started in the 1640s and 1650s in New England. The first forge in the mid-Atlantic states was built in Maryland in 1715, with the first Pennsylvania forge following in 1716. It was more economical to transport finished products than raw materials, so these early ironworks were located by choice in fairly remote locations, close to the essential raw materials of wood, ore, and limestone rather than close to markets, ports, or centers of population where labor was more plentiful. The early ironmaking facilities, or plantations, were generally villages of a hundred or so inhabitants who encompassed nearly all the skills necessary to support themselves and to make iron: skilled ironworkers, woodcutters, colliers (charcoal makers), miners, farmers, cooks, and tradesmen. Company-built stores often supplied luxury items or other goods not made in the village, while the ironmasters or other wealthy members of the community paid to support a church and/or school (Eggert 1994:16-17).

These settlements were, in the words of historian Joseph Walker, "a strange hybrid of agriculture and industry" (Walker 1966:14). They incorporated elements of traditional European agricultural communities, including some seasonal variation in work tasks and a relatively high level of self-sufficiency within the village. At the same time, the iron plantations followed the emerging patterns of industrial society. Many operations were integrated into a single company, supported by a hierarchically-ordered body of workers performing increasingly specialized tasks. Places like Hopewell, then, were on the very cusp of the industrial era, maintaining many older patterns of work and living while beginning to adjust to the new. This hybrid character is one of the things that makes Hopewell an appealing site for the living historians who are the subject of Chapter 6. These present-day interpreters are able to use the park to express both a nostalgia for pre-industrial and agricultural lifeways and an awareness of the radical ways in which our world has changed since then—an approach that the landscape and stories of Hopewell Furnace NHS support to a significant degree.

The Schuylkill River Valley was at the center of Pennsylvania's iron industry from the outset. The first Pennsylvania ironworks was built in 1716 by Thomas Rutter on the banks of Manatanwy Creek near present-day Pottstown, just a few miles northeast of Hopewell. Rutter and his relations constituted a dynasty of ironmasters in the region for many years; Thomas Potts, who married into the Rutter clan, was among the many family members who were instrumental in building furnaces, forges, and steel mills in the Pottstown area. The other important iron dynasty in the area was the Bird family, beginning with William Bird. Like many of the early Pennsylvania ironmasters, Bird and Rutter, an Anglican and Quaker respectively, were immigrants from England, while Potts was from Wales (Walker 1966:273). German and French ironmasters were also to be found in Pennsylvania, but for many decades it was men

from the British Isles—and their sons—who dominated iron industry management (Eggert 1994:69). The mother country attempted to stop this eighteenth-century “brain drain” by passing legislation in 1750 restricting the production of iron in the colonies, but the law was generally flouted, and a new colonial class of wealthy proto-industrialists began to take shape in the years before the Revolution.

When he died in 1761, William Bird left a mansion in the tiny town of Birdsboro, two forges, a furnace, and some 3,000 acres of forest land to his son Mark. Mark Bird immediately set about adding to his land holdings and constructing a new ironworks, which he called Hopewell (Lewis and Hugins 1983:28-29). The new furnace appears to have been put into operation by 1771 (Walker 1966:25). Rather than chronicle the detailed history of Hopewell Furnace itself, the remainder of this chapter will look at Hopewell as a microcosm for examining the broader processes and social effects of industrialization as they took place in Pennsylvania throughout the nineteenth century. These processes will come under four headings:

- economic and social volatility
- changing spatial patterns
- changing ethnic patterns
- backlash against industrialism

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL VOLATILITY

The processes of industrialization have always been marked by a very high degree of volatility. Driven by technological change and the imperatives of economic competitiveness, these processes create a good deal of social change, even upheaval. From the beginnings of industrial development in the eighteenth century, human cultures around the world have found themselves working and often struggling to adapt to these changes.

The history of Hopewell Furnace’s productive period (1771-1883) illustrates the volatility of industrial societies and enterprises. In its earliest years, the furnace was part of a colonial boom in iron production that extended into the Revolutionary era. The American colonies were supplying one seventh of the world’s iron by the 1770s, with Pennsylvania’s 70 forges and furnaces leading the way (Eggert 1994:25). Hopewell was a supplier of ordnance for the Continental Army, while Mark Bird also furthered the Revolutionary cause in other ways, by serving in administrative capacities in the Pennsylvania Assembly and elsewhere, equipping and leading a militia during the war, and helping to relieve Washington’s army at Valley Forge in the winter of 1778 (Walker 1966:24-28, Lewis and Hugins 1983:31). Like subsequent wars, the Revolution was a boon for the metals industries, but it also created an artificial economic boost that was followed by a downturn in the economy after the fighting was over. Bird fell into financial difficulties caused largely by the inability or unwillingness of the new United States government to pay his bills for services rendered during the war. He also experienced other business setbacks, flood and fire damage to his ironworks at Hopewell and Birdsboro, and a

1788 lawsuit that resulted in the Hopewell property being sold at auction. Mark Bird left Pennsylvania for North Carolina, where he died in 1816, still bitter about his reverses of fortune. He was buried at Concord Baptist Church near Bostic, North Carolina (Walker 1966:28-34).

In the next three decades, Hopewell changed hands several times and failed to turn a consistent profit due to a series of lawsuits and various economic difficulties on the part of its owners. Even when the iron industry as a whole was thriving—as it was in the 1790s and during the wartime boom of the War of 1812—Hopewell remained out of blast and in a fragile financial state much of the time. The business struggled through the depression of 1819 but finally began to emerge as a more solidly profitable enterprise in the 1820s (Walker 1966:56-58). By this time it was under the ownership of members of the Brooke and Buckley families, who retained much of the property around Hopewell for more than a century.

Hopewell thrived under the combination of competent management, new markets, and strong government support for economic expansion. Clement Brooke, the manager and ironmaster between 1816 and 1868, oversaw much modernization and improvement, including the introduction of new blast machinery that greatly increased the furnace's efficiency (Lewis and Hugins 1983:36). The growth of industry in the United States created its own momentum and markets. Improved tools and machinery led to more efficient production on farms and in factories, which in turn fueled further expansion and innovation. This cycle can be seen in the development of railroads starting in the 1830s. The development of the steam engine made rail travel possible; the railroad industry's need for iron and steel gave a tremendous boost to the metal industries, especially in Pennsylvania where these were already well established; and the effects of the railroads in opening up new travel, shipping, and settlement patterns created and supported additional new markets for machines, farm implements, and other metal products.

A large new specialty market for Hopewell's products opened up as great numbers of German immigrants continued to arrive in Pennsylvania. These immigrants brought with them a preference for patterned cast-iron cooking and heating stoves, particularly the five-plate or jamb stove which could be accessed from an adjoining fireplace and which greatly increased home heating efficiency. In the same period, state encouragement for business expansion came in the form of stronger national banking, credit, and currency systems; protective tariffs; construction of new transportation infrastructure, particularly canals, turnpikes, and railroads; and *laissez-faire* economic policies that enabled the rapid growth of individual corporations and whole business sectors (Lewis and Hugins 1983:36-43).

The decade of the 1830s was Hopewell's "golden age." In 1832, the furnace employed 168 people and supported approximately 800 dependents; it made 700 tons of castings and produced another 1,000 tons of pig iron, or uncast iron, for resale to other companies (Walker 1966:57). As with other cold-blast furnaces, Hopewell's operations covered an extensive area that reached far into the farmland and forest around the furnace itself. Hopewell supplied some housing for its workers, but the tax records show that there were never more than 14 company-owned tenant houses in Union Township. Most of the people associated with Hopewell

Furnace either owned their own homes or rented properties outside the “village” itself, throughout the Berks County townships of Union, Robeson, and Carnaervon to the west and the Chester County townships of East Nantmeal, West Nantmeal, and Warwick to the south (Walker 1966:100).

This golden age, however, was short-lived. Eggert points out that many ironmasters expanded their facilities too rapidly in the boom years of the 1830s, leaving them over-extended and unable to weather the Panic of 1837 and the period of reduced tariff protection that followed. “In retrospect,” he notes, “the rural plantation stage had peaked and soon would be displaced by an urban industrial stage” (Eggert 1994:26). This change was prompted by several factors. Ironmakers in England, forced to find new fuel sources because of the depletion of their forests, had long since turned to coke-fired furnaces and new smelting techniques that enabled them to produce high-quality iron at much lower costs. Cold-blast furnaces remained in operation much longer in the U.S. than in Britain, largely because of the still-plentiful forests of the New World. But even the seemingly inexhaustible resources of Penn’s Woods were beginning to be tapped out in eastern Pennsylvania by the early to mid-nineteenth century. Coupled with the loss of tariff protection and the competitiveness of British firms, this meant that Pennsylvania ironmakers were finding themselves forced to adopt new methods if they wanted to stay in business (Eggert 1994:52-57). (For more on this shift, see Chapter 6, “Charcoal and the metal industries.”)

Hopewell Furnace cast no more stove plates after 1844. The skilled molders associated with the furnace went elsewhere, primarily to the newer, more urban factories that were quickly coming to dominate Pennsylvania’s iron and steel industries (Walker 1966:58-59). The first anthracite furnace in the state opened in Pottstown in 1836. Five years later, there were nine anthracite furnaces operating in Pennsylvania; by 1848, that number had increased to 55. There were still more charcoal than anthracite furnaces in eastern Pennsylvania at mid-century, but the technological cutting edge had shifted toward anthracite (Walker 1966:60). The abundance of anthracite coal in the eastern part of the state, particularly in the upper reaches of the Schuylkill River valley, seemed to guarantee that the region would remain central to the metal industries for some time to come. However, by the 1840s, the new enthusiasm for anthracite was already waning as more American metallurgists came to embrace the British technique of “coking” coal. Coke was coal with some of its impurities burned off, and it was a technique that proved more effective with the harder bituminous coal to be found throughout western Pennsylvania (Eggert 1944:56-57).

The Civil War gave a temporary boost to the iron industry, but the decades immediately after the war saw a sharp decline in the importance of iron in industrial production. More British innovations—notably the introduction of the Bessemer furnace and open hearth process, which made steel-making in quantity possible for the first time—led to a shift away from iron and toward steel. The percentage of wrought iron being made in the U.S. dropped dramatically in the second half of the nineteenth century:

	Wrought iron as % of total U.S. iron and steel production
1867	98%
1877	74%
1887	44%
1897	21%
1907	11%

Table 3 Data from Gerald Eggert, *The Iron Industry in Pennsylvania* (1994)

Iron manufacturers like the Brookes adapted to these changes over the next century by following the trend toward more urban plants; shifting some or all of their resources to steel-making; and finding smaller, more specialized markets for the iron they still made. The Brooke family did build an anthracite furnace at Hopewell in 1853, but the experiment was unsuccessful and in its remaining three decades, the old cold-blast furnace produced only pig iron. In the same period, the Brookes were building newer facilities—Hampton Furnace on the banks of Hay Creek in Robeson Township in 1846, a nail factory and rolling mill in the small town of Birdsboro in 1848, and an anthracite ironworks, also in Birdsboro, in 1852. The family consolidated their holdings in 1867 under the company name of Birdsboro Iron Foundry, and went on to build two more major new iron and steel furnaces in the town in 1871 and 1873 (one of these remained in use until 1952). Another name change in 1905 reflected the shift toward steel: the family corporation was now called Birdsboro Steel Foundry and Machine Company (Hoffman 1976:5-6). As we will see in the next chapter, the Brookes continued to make iron and steel in the area until the mid-1980s, and the cycles of boom and bust, growth and decline, continued to play themselves out in the industrial economy and landscape of southeastern Pennsylvania.

Industrialization, then, was a complex and sometimes contradictory process in Pennsylvania, as it has been elsewhere. Philip Scranton has noted that it is more appropriate to speak of Pennsylvania's "industrializations," rather than approaching industrialization as a single unified process. These industrializations, he notes, have involved "the perennial slaughter of new firms and displacement of the old" (Scranton 1994:9). Even as some parts of the state began to industrialize, others, like Hopewell, were seeing their most productive industrial periods already coming to a close. The tremendous volatility of industrial economies leads to overlapping economic cycles that change the physical and cultural landscapes and constantly challenge the people within them to adapt and move on.



Figure 3.1 Bird's-eye map of Birdsboro, Pennsylvania, 1890. The Birdsboro Iron Foundry buildings can be seen in the lower center and center right. (Source: Library of Congress.)

CHANGING SPATIAL PATTERNS

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the period of Pennsylvania's most intensive industrialization, the iron and steel industry in the state became much more urban, and its center of gravity shifted from east to west. No longer dependent on streams for water power and forests for fuel, ironworks could locate themselves closer to markets, transportation hubs, and concentrations of labor. Other industries, too, were establishing themselves in urban centers. Philadelphia, still the governmental and financial hub of the state, was also a major industrial city, with many textile factories and ship- and locomotive-building plants (Scranton 1992:419). Pittsburgh, of course, had seized the lead in steel production, but many cities in the eastern part of the state were also major centers for metal production. These included Reading, just northwest of Hopewell Furnace, and the Allentown/Bethlehem urban cluster some 40 miles to the north.

The landscape around Hopewell Furnace reflected the spatial changes associated with these developments. Much of the area remained quite rural and agrarian throughout the nineteenth century, although much of the forest land had been stripped for charcoal production and small family farms were already struggling to compete with the output from larger industrial agriculture. Hopewell itself had essentially become an industrial backwater by the 1880s. The iron plantation model on which Hopewell Furnace was based had been virtually eclipsed by the 1880s. That model had been based on the hierarchical, small-scale community found in English and other European country estates, with a paternalistic figure at the top of the hierarchy and a pyramid of craftspeople, laborers, and farmers contributing to the economic and social well-being of the plantation. As American businesses moved toward more scientific and standardized types of management and production, there was less reliance on individual handskills and close-knit community relationships within industrial enterprises (Eggert 1994:35).

However, these changes were by no means monolithic or complete. Just as the older agricultural economy still existed in the region during the industrial era, vestiges of the old plantation system persisted in many places well into the twentieth century. The history of Birdsboro and the Brooke family illustrates this persistence. Still a tiny village of 200 people in 1850, Birdsboro grew quickly in the latter part of the century, reaching a population of 800 by 1870 and then doubling in the next decade. As at Hopewell, the Brookes remained in control of the town's major industry and there were many social and familial ties among employers and employees, in some cases extending back many generations. Many of the family names associated with Hopewell—for example, Houck, Care, and Painter—have also been prominent in Birdsboro. People who had honed their abilities at Hopewell, particularly in skilled trades like molding and casting, were able to transfer these to the newer facilities in the town.

Birdsboro also remained more closely knit into its rural surroundings by virtue of its smaller size and the many kinship connections shared by “town” and “farm” people in the area. Some rural people worked and boarded in Birdsboro or nearby Pottstown during the week and then returned home to family farms on weekends. The Brookes themselves retained the Hopewell properties not only for their mineral and timber resources but also as a farm facility and a weekend home (Eggert 1994:35, Hoffman 1976:4, 10). Just as Hopewell Furnace was a kind of transitional agricultural/industrial village, Birdsboro, then, was a transitional industrial town, straddling the early and later industrial eras. This experience was quite different from more urban places where very large-scale corporations like Andrew Carnegie's U.S. Steel held sway, or even from smaller cities closer to Hopewell, like Pottstown, whose major employers included the non-local companies Bethlehem Steel and Firestone.

CHANGING ETHNIC PATTERNS

In demographic terms, the immediate area around Hopewell Furnace changed much less radically than other parts of Pennsylvania during the industrial period. However, the tremendous influx of new immigrants throughout the nineteenth century, particularly its latter half, affected ethnic and racial relationships and perceptions throughout the region and created important differences in the social landscape of the area, including the area around Hopewell. There are three main components to these changing ethnic patterns:

- Industrial expansion created low-end economic space for new immigrant groups from southern and eastern Europe.
- Groups that had previously been economically marginal, particularly African-Americans, were further squeezed by the arrival of new white immigrants.
- There was considerable ethnic redefinition among established ethnic groups, particularly the Scotch-Irish and the Pennsylvania Germans, in relation to the changing demographic makeup of the state and the nation.

New immigrants from southern and eastern Europe

English, German, and Scotch-Irish immigrants had already established a sizeable presence in Pennsylvania by the start of the nineteenth century, along with smaller numbers of Swedish, Welsh, Dutch, and other European immigrants. As the century went on, “push” factors in other parts of the world—famine and economic hardship in Ireland, agricultural and environmental crises in southern Italy, political oppression of Polish-speaking peoples in central and eastern Europe—combined with the growing American need for industrial labor to prompt successive waves of new immigration.

The Irish were the first large-scale immigrant group of the industrial era. Some Irish Catholics had lived in Pennsylvania since its founding, but this relatively small ethnic community was overwhelmed by new arrivals starting in the 1830s and increasing during the Potato Famine of the mid-1840s and subsequent crises. By 1850, there were 72,000 Irish Catholics in Philadelphia; by 1860, 100,000 (Clark 1991:14, 21). It was at precisely this time that Pennsylvania, like other northeastern American states, was embarking on massive new infrastructural projects and industrial expansion. Irish laborers, desperate for work, were quickly absorbed into the labor force on canal and railroad projects, in coal mines, and in many industrial settings, including ironworks and their support systems. Young Irish women often worked as domestic servants. Walker reports several Irish names among the maids at the ironmaster’s mansion at Hopewell Furnace in the nineteenth century (Walker 1966:320). There were also many Irish among the workers and owners of the lumbering companies who were harvesting the state’s forests to supply the tremendous building boom spurred by urbanization in the region (Clark 1991:22). Irish workers were often to be found in the lowest-paid and most

dangerous jobs, a status that was reinforced by the considerable prejudice that many Americans felt toward them. They were also disproportionately represented in Pennsylvania's Civil War regiments, but following the war, their reputation as good soldiers and the cult of commemoration surrounding the war (particularly in relation to the iconic Pennsylvania battlefield of Gettysburg) helped to solidify their position in American society and to enable greater socioeconomic mobility and stability among the Irish as the century progressed.

This cycle of arrival, discrimination, exploitation, and eventual acceptance and mobility was repeated, with some variations, in the case of the Poles and Italians who began coming in large numbers near the turn of the twentieth century.¹ In all three cases, the fact that the immigrants were Catholic worked against their initial acceptance by many native-born Americans, although as Clark notes in the case of the Irish, "Everywhere local opinion leaders looked on them with contempt or uneasy sufferance, but everywhere they were worked to expand the economy with little regard for their welfare" (Clark 1991:15). Poles were heavily represented in the labor force of the anthracite mining industry in northeastern Pennsylvania and in the steel cities and bituminous coal areas of the southwestern part of the state (Magda 1992:21). Many Italians worked in skilled or unskilled construction jobs for the railroad companies and many public works projects, as well as in coal mining and stone quarrying (Grifo and Noto 1990:6-7). Both groups, along with other eastern and southern European immigrant workers, were frequently used as strike-breakers in Pennsylvania in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a strategy that made use of existing ethnic divisions and worsened them.

Marginalization of non-white groups

One ethnic tension that had all but disappeared over time was between white immigrants and Pennsylvania's indigenous populations. Virtually all of the Indian villages in the state had been destroyed by expeditions of Continental troops in 1779, and most of their occupants had moved west. A few did return to two Seneca villages on the Allegheny River in Pennsylvania. This sole officially recognized Indian land in the state constituted what Richter calls "a tiny proprietary island in a vast hostile sea" (Richter 2005:69). To most whites in the northeastern U.S. in this period, Indians were largely invisible, even when they were present. This was a time when Indian cultures were both romanticized and presented as being a thing of the past. The 1876 national centennial celebrations in Philadelphia made prominent use of the image of William Penn's treaty with the Indians. But three years later, when the famous Carlisle Indian Training School was opened in Pennsylvania, its founder, Richard Henry Pratt, could state forthrightly that it was necessary to "Kill the Indian. . .[to] save the man"—that is, to expunge all traces of Native culture in order to remake Indians as American citizens. Although experiences at Carlisle School, as at other Indian boarding schools, could be traumatic and dislocating, the school also became something of a seedbed for a growing sense of a "Native American" or pan-Indian

¹ Italian immigration to the U.S. peaked in 1907, with 285,732 arrivals (Grifo and Noto 1990:1). 1912-13 was the heaviest year of Polish immigration, with 174,365 coming to the U.S. (Magda 1992:20).

identity among graduates who went on into white-collar professional work. The school closed in 1918, and Indians were once again all but invisible in the state (Richter 2005:76-84).²

If Indians were a somewhat theoretical “other” for whites in nineteenth century Pennsylvania, African-Americans were a more visible group that challenged the definitions of independence and opportunity on which the new American nation was being built. The early colonial iron industry had made use of slave labor, just as other economic ventures had. A British traveler wrote in 1796 that “all the furnaces in Maryland were worked by blacks” (Walker 1966:305), while another observer noted many slaves working at furnaces in Pennsylvania. Ironmasters’ property inventories reveal them to have been substantial slave-holders. Mark Bird owned adult men, four adult women, three boys, and one girl. The Grubb family, who owned Cornwall Furnace, held about two dozen slaves when when Pennsylvania began to phase out slavery in 1780; George Ege, at Charming Forge in Womelsdorf, held ten slaves in the same period, while John Potts, at nearby Pottsgrove Manor, owned thirteen slaves at the time of his death in 1768 (Walker 1966:305).

Mark Bird advertised several times for escaped slaves, including one Cuff Dix, “a skilled hammerman” (Walker 1966:305). Local tradition states that slaves participated in building and running Hopewell Furnace, and the furnace records show numerous other black workers over time (and no doubt fail to show many temporary or unofficial workers, including some escaped slaves—see Chapter 5, “Cole family,” for further detail on Hopewell’s possible connections to the Underground Railroad network). John Bezis-Selfa’s 2004 study of the early American iron industry argues that the presence of slave labor in this and other parts of the colonial and early republican economy was a necessary counterpart to the emerging ideals of freedom and economic self-determination. That is, Americans needed to know what freedom was *not* in order to define what it was. The institution of slavery, and the presence of slaves at American ironworks, enabled white colonists to define more clearly what they were seeking for themselves. Tragically, this act of definition was accomplished at the expense of black laborers who were not allowed to participate fully in the emerging American dream.

The gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania starting in 1780 placed black workers into more direct competition with whites, a situation which worsened the economic status of many blacks. As German, Scotch-Irish, and Irish Catholic immigrants came into the state in large numbers during the early and mid-nineteenth century, blacks found themselves pushed further to the economic margins of society. Carl Oblinger reports the growth of an impoverished class of blacks in southeastern Pennsylvania between 1800 and 1860, comprised of former Pennsylvania slaves who had been manumitted without skills or a means of acquiring skills, plus a growing number of people who had escaped Southern slavery. Irish workers

² The U.S. Census showed only 7 Indians in Pennsylvania in 1860. There were 34 reported in 1870 and 184 in 1880. By 1900, after the establishment of the Carlisle School, the total was 1,639. In 1920, this dropped to 307 when the school had closed. The first year that census respondents could choose their own racial classification was 1950; in that year, the total jumped to 1,141 from 441 in the previous decade, suggesting that many who self-identified as Indians had previously been unable or reluctant to declare this affiliation more publicly (Richter 2005:74, 84).

constituted a new unskilled laboring class in the new factories, canals, and railroad jobs, and those blacks who did possess skilled trade knowledge struggled with competition from better-capitalized and socially-favored white businesses (Oblinger 1973:94-97, 101-103).

Blacks did manage to create considerable opportunity for themselves within their own sizeable urban populations in the state. By 1840, there were 40,000 blacks in Pennsylvania, more than a third of whom lived in Philadelphia alone. Emma Lapsansky describes this community as “the largest, best-organized and wealthiest free black population in the United States” (Lapsansky 2001:15). Community and religious associations—for example, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, founded in 1816, and the annual Convention of Free People of Color, started in 1830—strengthened black communities in the face of sometimes virulent and violent racism.

Another type of opportunity arose in connection with the iron forges and furnaces to be found throughout Pennsylvania, and particularly in the southeastern part of the state. Blacks, whether slave or free, had long been a part of the workforce in ironmaking. Many possessed valuable metal-working skills, but there was also considerable need for unskilled labor at furnaces and forges themselves and in the woodcutting and charcoaling operations that supported them. Furthermore, ironmaking operated on an irregular schedule. There were seasonal variations as well as fluctuations depending on whether furnaces were in blast or not. This schedule offered openings for workers who were trying to cobble together a living from various sources, or for those—like escaping slaves—who needed to remain largely invisible within the larger workforce (Oblinger 1973:97, Walker 1966:307). The traditional “outsider” identity of smiths, colliers, and others associated with metal-working and fire may have helped to support greater inclusion of blacks who were already at the margins of white-dominated early American society.

In general, however, the demographic and political changes taking place in Pennsylvania and in the U.S. during the nineteenth century combined to create significant challenges for blacks. These challenges were rooted in the reluctance of most whites—even among abolitionist groups—to accept the full implications of black citizenship, along with the arrival of large numbers of largely impoverished white immigrants seeking work in the industrializing economy.

**Ethnic re-definition
among established
white immigrant groups**

Even for immigrant groups who had already established themselves firmly in Pennsylvania before the influx of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century immigration, the newcomers posed a challenge. By the time of the Revolution, the American demographic “norm” had been established as white, English-speaking, and Protestant, and the new national identity was shaped in relation to that norm.³ The arrival of

³ For examples of the considerable recent scholarship on the construction of whiteness as the American norm, see Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of Whiteness* (London: Verso, 1994); Karen Brodtkin, *How Jews Became White Folks and What that Says about Race in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Noel

enormous numbers of new immigrants throughout the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century threatened to upset that identity, and the established groups acted in various ways to reinforce it and align themselves in relation to it. Sometimes this led to violence, as in the anti-Catholic riots that erupted in Philadelphia in 1844 (Clark 1991:14). Walker reports that even in the relative isolation of Hopewell Furnace, the presence of both Scotch-Irish and Irish Catholic colliers led to “frequent reenactments of the Battle of the Boyne in the woods” around the furnace (Walker 1966:249). Other responses were more directly political, as in the formation of the nativist “Know Nothing” or American Party in the mid-1850s. More pertinent for the purposes of this study, however, are the types of response that involved cultural expression, conservation, and display. These were most noticeable among the two Pennsylvania groups whose identity and status was most directly challenged by the presence of the newcomers: the Scotch-Irish and the Pennsylvania Germans.

Eighteenth and early nineteenth century Irish immigration to America was dominated by the Scots Presbyterians from Northern Ireland, as we have seen in the preceding chapter. During these decades, as James Smylie notes, “the Ulster Scots had been somewhat content with being known as Irish. After the new [Irish Catholic] immigration started in earnest, they became more concerned about being known as the Scotch-Irish to distinguish themselves from the Roman Catholics. As the Irish Catholic immigration increased, so did Ulster Scot self-consciousness and anti-Catholic prejudice and hostility” (Smylie 2000:31). Ethnic self-definition often takes the form of public performances and displays—in this case, through the adoption in parts of Pennsylvania of the Orange Order tradition of parading on July 12 to commemorate Protestant victories over Catholics in Ireland. Later in the century, a Scotch-Irish Historical Society of America was founded. Pittsburgh, a major center of Scotch-Irish population, hosted gatherings of both the national and state members. The Scotch-Irish Foundation was created in Philadelphia in 1949 as an archive and library devoted to Scotch-Irish history; today it exists within the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies at the Historical Society of Philadelphia. Much of the emphasis in Scotch-Irish heritage commemoration has been on the role of the Ulster Scots in taming the frontier and helping to win the Revolution (Smylie 2000:32).

Pennsylvania Germans found themselves in a somewhat different dilemma in relation to the waves of nineteenth- and twentieth-century immigrants. By 1850, Germans had settled in many parts of the eastern and central U.S., but by far the largest and oldest concentration was in Pennsylvania, particularly the southeastern part of the state, as shown by this map of American Lutheran churches in 1850:

Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Gary Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early North America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1992); and David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1991).

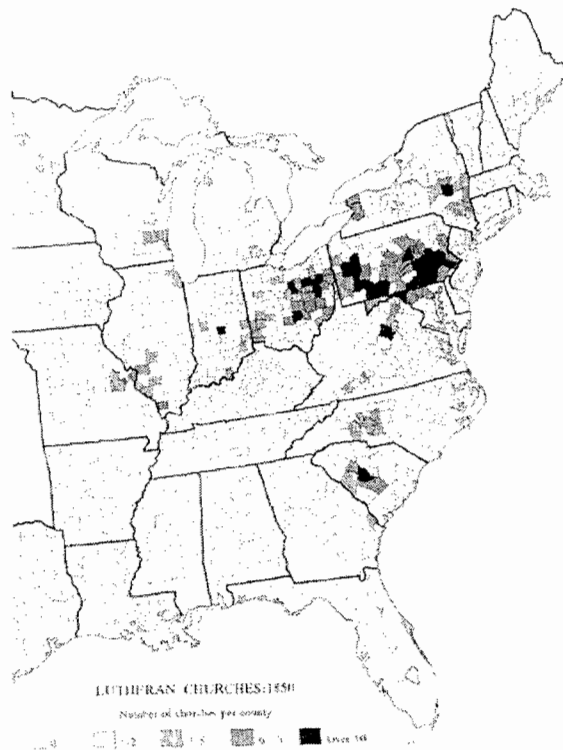


Figure 3.2 American Lutheran churches, 1850 (Source: U.S. Census Bureau)

These Americans were white and Protestant, but their retention of the German language and some other older patterns of living, particularly in more rural areas and among the sect people, marked them as noticeably different from their English-speaking neighbors. At the same time, newer German immigrants were still arriving in the U.S. in the middle of the nineteenth century, beginning with the failed European revolutions of 1848 and continuing through the start of World War I (Glatfelter 1990:30). Although there were far fewer cultural and religious differences between the old and new German immigrants than between the Scotch-Irish and the Irish Catholics, the new arrivals created the same kind of conceptual problem for the long-settled ones. How could “Germanness” and “Americanness” be defined in the midst of this constantly-shifting ethnic landscape?

The response of the settled Germans showed how ethnic identity can be reconfigured in changing circumstances, and how cultural productions can play a key role in that reconfiguration. The somewhat contradictory goals of confirming full-fledged American identity while asserting the value of ethnic heritage were partly reconciled by the creation of a new category of identity: Pennsylvania Dutch or Pennsylvania German. Although many Germans had long since moved to cities and taken jobs in the industrial sector, this category remained linked in the public imagination with rural and agricultural life. It was also associated with the widespread use of the Pennsylvania German dialect (Glatfelter 1990:39, Peterson 1991:7). Images of Pennsylvania German culture were spread through early writing about them

by outside observers like Phebe Earle Gibbons, who wrote popular essays about her Amish and Mennonite neighbors in Lancaster County in the 1860s and 70s (Glatfelter 1990:53).

However, Gibbons and other popularizers did not always take the trouble to differentiate between the sect people like the Amish and the church people who were in the great majority among Pennsylvania Germans. This conflation was understandable, since many rural church people dressed, lived, and spoke much as the sect people did, even into the twentieth century. But the confusion posed a problem for the Pennsylvania German elites who were becoming more powerful in the state's political, economic, and social life—people like George Baer, president of the Reading Railroad, Samuel Pennypacker, a lawyer who became Pennsylvania's governor in 1903, and the department store magnate John Wanamaker. These Pennsylvania Germans wanted to celebrate their heritage, particularly as it gave them a claim to equal stature with New England and New York elites. Yet they did not want to be branded as country bumpkins or as unpatriotic and unassimilated.

Organizations like the Pennsylvania German Society (PGS), which these men founded in 1891, walked a fine line between praising the virtues of their rural, German-speaking cousins (including the Amish) and emphasizing the general forwardness and progressivism of Pennsylvania German culture on the whole (Weaver-Zercher 2001:21-46). They encouraged dialect publishing, a popular print genre that had emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, but many of the leaders of the PGS were subtly discouraging about the actual use of Pennsylvania Dutch in everyday life. They were happier seeing it as a dying language than as a vigorous part of present-day rural culture (Glatfelter 1990:63-64, Weaver-Zercher 2001:40). Through their support of particular kinds of cultural conservation and expression, and through their carefully-worded statements positioning their ancestors among America's founding groups, cultural leaders among Pennsylvania Germans accomplished what Russell Kazal (2004) has called "becoming old stock." In the face of new tides of immigrants (including many from Germany itself) and denigration by Anglo-Saxon elites, these leaders helped to create an image and identity for themselves that drew on their rural, Germanic background while claiming a colonial pedigree to rival that of the New England Puritans (Kazal 2004:12).

Other Pennsylvania Germans and their admirers were not so ambivalent about the meanings of the "Dutch" heritage. There was a great interest in Pennsylvania German material culture starting at around the turn of the twentieth century. Edwin A. Barber's *Tulip Ware of the Pennsylvania German Potters*, published in 1903, helped to establish a craze for collecting and reproducing Pennsylvania German *fraktur*, cast iron stove plates, and other forms of folk art (Glatfelter 1990:71).

While all of this was going on, the sub-cultures of the sect people were themselves undergoing substantial changes. Both Mennonites and Amish experienced internal splits during the nineteenth century between their conservative and progressive elements. By the end of the century, the term "Old Order" had begun to be applied to the more conservative wings of

both group.⁴ Ironically, “Old Order Mennonites” included many progressive Amish who wanted a somewhat more liberal environment. Beginning in the 1860s and 70s, conservative Amish were becoming a “decentralized but identifiable group” while many at the more progressive edge of both sects were taking on some of the theological and organizational characteristics of American Protestantism, in part as a way to become more assimilated within the nation (Schlabath 1988:203, 296). The conservative sects were also growing at a tremendous rate, mostly by family reproduction. From fewer than 5,000 members in 32 church districts in the U.S. and Canada in 1900, they had reached 30,000 by the middle of the twentieth century and a remarkable 140,000 by the turn of the twenty-first (Kraybill and Olshan 1994:9).

The “typical” image of the Old Order Amish as deeply traditional, close to the land, and steeped in German language and cultural patterns, then, was representative only of a minority within a minority of the Pennsylvania German sects, and does not reflect the fact that even the most traditional-seeming of these groups continually experienced culture change in response to the changing world around them. Yet that image exerted a growing fascination for outsiders throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and it has continued to color the popular perception of Pennsylvania Germans in general right into the present day.

PENNSYLVANIA’S BACKLASH AGAINST INDUSTRIALISM

Pennsylvania Germans did not redefine themselves solely in relation to the new immigrants or the condescension of New England elites. The new cultural conservation movement was part of a larger reaction to the sweeping social and environmental changes caused by the shift into modern industrial society. Many people in newly-industrialized countries were expressing ambivalence about the costs of “progress.” One of the ways they expressed that ambivalence was to preserve and extol—often in highly romanticized ways—preindustrial and agricultural lifeways.

There was widespread concern in late nineteenth and early twentieth century America about the loss of close-knit, small-scale communities and the increasing materialism of modern life. One way to relieve that concern was to reach back to supposedly simpler and more communitarian times through ethnic celebrations, doing crafts work (the “Arts and Crafts” movement developed in Britain at exactly this time), recreating smaller communities through living history villages or exhibitions at museums and fairs, and so on. Costumed historical dramas also began to be popular in this era, expanding eventually into the very widespread pageantry movement in the early twentieth century (see Glassberg’s fine 1993 history of this movement). The growing fascination with Amish culture around the turn of the twentieth century was one example of this attempt to reconnect with a seemingly lost or distant past.

⁴ The “emic” or native categories of description for these groups among the Amish themselves are “House Amish,” the conservatives who continue to worship in homes as they have historically done, and “Church Amish,” who have adopted separate church buildings more as mainstream Protestant churches uses (Mook 1973:86-87).

Many people were beginning to see the Amish as exemplars of “resistance to technological imperialism, ecologically sound farming practices, resistance to government interference, abundant community life, [and] good old-fashioned hard work”—in short, as a model for “a nation that [had] somehow lost its way” (Weaver-Zercher 2001:4).

Pennsylvanians and other Americans expressed their misgivings about their industrializing society in other, more direct ways as well. A land conservation movement emerged on the national and state levels in the 1870s in response to the extensive deforestation of “Penn’s Woods” and other American forests by the middle part of the century. The conditions for settlement set out by William Penn in 1681 had included a kind of conservation law: settlers were required to leave one acre of trees standing for every acre that was cleared (Kosack 1995:5). But in general, the early colonists saw the vast woods as both inexhaustible and a barrier to cultivation, and had routinely clear-cut and “fired” or burned whole mountainsides. Firing woods was officially frowned on, with the first law against it enacted in 1735. But the practice continued in many places into the later part of the century (Clepper 1945:202). Visiting Pennsylvania in 1842, Charles Dickens had been appalled at the destruction caused by the spread of farming throughout the state: “The eye was pained to see the stumps of great trees strewn in every field of wheat. . . It was sad and oppressive to come upon great tracts where settlers had been burning down the trees” (Dickens 1961:178).

The charcoal iron industry was a chief culprit in this denuding of forest tracts. Charcoal-making cleared huge swathes of land, which was often sold to settlers for farms. Farmers were an important market for the ironware produced at furnaces and forges, a part-time labor force (for jobs like woodcutting), and source of supply for food and other necessities. As Eggert points out, “The interests of the ironmasters and the farmers who settled among them neatly meshed” (Eggert 1994:21), and those interests combined to clear-cut much of southeastern Pennsylvania’s forest land. The leather industry, which used hemlock bark in the tanning process, was also to blame for deforestation, as was the ongoing building boom in the state. Between 1790 and 1860, Pennsylvania’s population increased seven-fold (Kosack 1995:34); between 1860 and 1920 it doubled, with the urban part of it tripling in size (Glatfelter 1990:48), creating a need for enormous amounts of lumber.

By the 1870s, many in Pennsylvania—including the governor, John Hartranft—were speaking out about the need for legislation to prevent further over-exploitation of the state’s forests. This concern was part of a new national consciousness about the need for conservation and better environmental planning and management. The American Forestry Congress (later the American Forestry Association) was founded in Chicago in 1875, and the federal Department of Agriculture created a position for a special forestry agent the following year. In Europe, scientific forestry was already being practiced and taught, and these European methods were filtering into the U.S. via people who had studied at universities in Germany, France, and elsewhere.

One of these early professional foresters was Joseph Rothrock, later known as “the father of Pennsylvania forestry.” A state Forestry Commission was created in 1887 and began creating forest reserves ten years later. Rothrock, a physician and botanist, believed fervently in the life-enhancing power of natural places, and set aside camps within state forest reservations as open-air spas for people with tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases. The first actual Pennsylvania state park (called a “state forest park”) created in 1902, was on the site of a former iron works, the Mont Alto Iron Company, which Rothrock transformed into the South Mountain Camp Sanitorium (Pennsylvania DCNR, n.d.). By 1904 Pennsylvania had accumulated about 400,000 acres of state forest (Kosack 1995:29). Women were also highly involved in the conservation movement in the state, with a group of elite Philadelphia women spurring the creation of a state organization for reforestation in 1886. This was formally incorporated in 1889 as the Pennsylvania Forestry Association. Yale University located its forestry school in Pennsylvania in 1900 (choosing the Milford area, home of Yale alumnus and prominent conservationist Gifford Pinchot, later the governor of Pennsylvania). Pennsylvania founded its own forestry school in 1903 at Mont Alto; this is now a campus of the Penn State system (see Clepper 1945, Linehan 2005, Pisani 1985 for more detail on the development of forestry and conservation in Pennsylvania and the U.S., and Cupper 1993 and Forrey 1984 on the development of the Pennsylvania state park system).

There were (and remain) two very different schools of thought about the best way to manage and protect forests and other “natural” lands. One prefers utilitarian usage of forest lands, while the other emphasizes wilderness protection and recreational rather than commercial use. Pinchot was a utilitarian, as was Theodore Roosevelt, who drew a sharp distinction between “the man who skins the land and the man who develops the country.” Speaking to the American Forest Congress in 1905, Roosevelt declared, “I am with, and only with, the man who develops the country. I am against the land skinner every time” (Wallach 1991:50). The “wilderness” approach championed by Aldo Leopold and others found favor as the twentieth century wore on and it became clear that utilitarianism had not been enough to limit the continuing degradation of the environment as a whole (Strong 1988:83).

A similar debate existed within the game conservation movement, which emerged roughly in parallel with the forestry movement. Concern over dwindling wildlife in Pennsylvania had prompted the passage of some laws in the 1840s, but over-hunting and habitat destruction through deforestation continued to the point that by the 1880s, many people believed that deer were on the point of being eradicated from the state entirely (Kosack 1995:21-22). A gathering of well-to-do sport shooters in the 1880s led to the formation of the Pennsylvania State Sportsmen’s Association in 1890, and this group provided the impetus and the influence necessary to create a state game commission in 1895. While it was a part of the state government, the Pennsylvania Game Commission has been funded through the sale of hunting licenses since 1913, and thus has been independent of legislative control in many ways.

The first game preserves in Pennsylvania were authorized in 1905. These were refuges within state parks where game species such as deer, bear, wild turkey, grouse, quail, and woodcock could find protected habitat that would allow their numbers to grow. By 1910 there were three refuges, and the new program was being heralded as a national model, “a miniature version of... Theodore Roosevelt’s grand national wild refuge plan” (Kosack 1995:34). Ethnic tensions found their way into hunting politics. In 1909, in response to many incidents of conflict between game officials and immigrants (many of whom were hunting in order to supplement meager incomes), the state banned gun ownership by non-citizens (Kosack 1995:38). A further conflict arose once the deer population had rebounded, which took only a few years. Once deer had become plentiful, the Game Commission argued for controlled hunts of antlerless deer to keep the population in check, but hunters appeared to have become permanently leery of over-hunting, and there was tremendous resistance to the commission’s plans (Kosack 1995:60-63, 74-75). As with land conservation, there was a contentious process of negotiating how much use was too much.

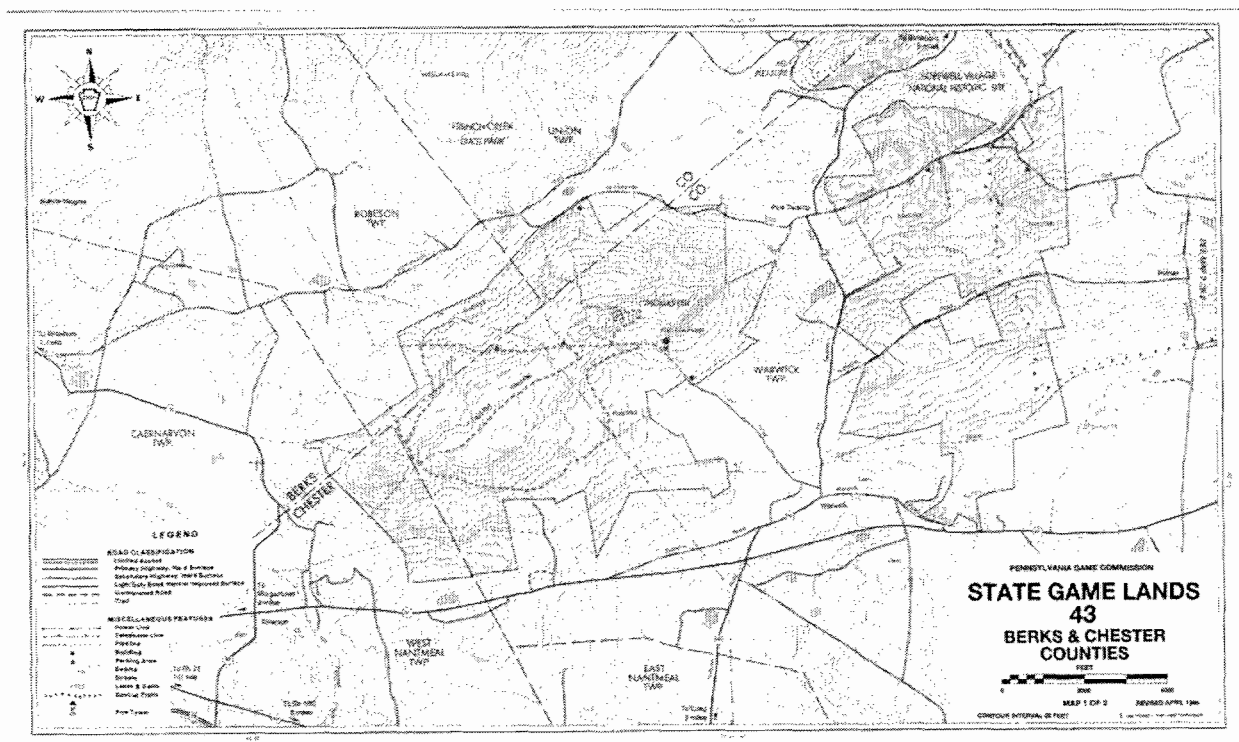


Figure 3.3 Pennsylvania State Game Lands 43 (shaded area) borders Hopewell Furnace NHS on the south. (Source: Pennsylvania Game Commission.)

At bottom, all of these debates were about the costs of human “progress”—to the environment, animal species, and human cultures themselves. While the debates were not new, they gained a greater urgency as industrialization developed and its effects began to be more fully grasped. The creation of national parks, beginning with Yellowstone in 1872, was of course

a part of this same process of resisting or accommodating industrial change by protecting certain natural or cultural “wonders” from the effects of the rapidly-growing, market-driven mainstream.

All of these efforts were somewhat contradictory, in ways that continue to be seen in interpretation and community relationships at Hopewell Furnace NHS. On the one hand, people sought to escape from modern life by stepping temporarily into the past via ethnic conservation or living history, or into the wilderness as hunters or hikers. But at the same time, the very mechanisms by which they made their escape—historical societies, museums, national parks, state forests and game preserves, and the growing tourism industry—were fully a part of modern society. This basic contradiction—the desire to escape industrial society without ever stepping fully outside it—became very visible at Hopewell Furnace when the obsolete industrial site was transformed into a place for recreation and historic preservation at the dawn of postindustrialism in America.

CHAPTER 4 POSTINDUSTRIAL PENNSYLVANIA

Even as parts of Pennsylvania were still becoming more heavily industrialized, older industrial sectors like cold-blast iron-making were declining or obsolete. Hopewell Furnace entered the industrial age earlier than most places, and thus it was among the earliest American sites to experience the dilemma of what to do with places and people left behind by the volatility of industrial economies. The Depression provided the impetus for a new solution: the federal government would “recycle” and rehabilitate some of these places for recreational and conservationist purposes. With the creation of the French Creek Recreational Demonstration area in 1935 and Hopewell Village National Historic Site in 1938, the old iron plantation entered a new phase of its existence. Over the next several decades, Hopewell served as something of a proving-ground for many NPS policies on restoration and interpretation, while the early NPS focus on the site as a bucolic rural “village” created recurring tensions with its central interpretive theme of industrial iron-making.

When deindustrialization became more widespread in Pennsylvania in the decades after the Second World War, many other places began turning to cultural and environmental projects as ways to reinvent themselves for a new economy. Hopewell Furnace NHS now exists within an expanding network of such projects, which creates both new kinds of competition and new opportunities for collaboration. Within this network, longstanding cultural conservation projects, newer types of cultural display, and traditional cultural knowledge from deeply-rooted area groups are interwoven in a dense web of meanings and practices.

A NEW ROLE FOR HOPEWELL FURNACE

By the 1930s, the ruins of Hopewell Furnace lay in the midst of a multi-layered social and economic patchwork. Many of the old farms in the area were still operating, although small farms had long faced increasing competition from larger operations and the Depression hit small farmers particularly hard. The industrial economy that had started with the cold-blast furnaces in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century had shifted toward iron and steel production in urban centers. Descendants of the old Hopewell families continued to work in both agriculture and industry, many of them still practicing the farming, metal-working, hunting, and domestic skills that their parents and grandparents had used. The Hopewell area remained connected in some ways to the larger economy of the region, but remarkably isolated in others.

This combination of isolation and accessibility made it a strong candidate when the federal and state began to select sites for Recreational Demonstration Areas in the early 1930s. One of the prime concerns of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (which became the Works Progress Administration in 1935) was the rehabilitation of lands throughout the U.S. that had been rendered unproductive through various types of human exploitation—for example,

mining, over-cutting of forests, or wasteful farming practices and the erosion, floods, and fires that often followed. At the same time, the federal government sought to employ many of the people who were out of work in the 1930s.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), originally called Emergency Conservation Work (ECW), was a way to combine these two goals. These programs also combined the utilitarian philosophy that land should be “productive” with the progressive view that one of the key purposes of open land was to nurture the souls of human beings, particularly those who lived and worked in industrial cities. A 1941 NPS study stated this latter view very clearly:

Man’s loss of intimate contact with nature has had debilitating effects on him as a being which can be alleviated only by making it possible for him to escape at frequent intervals from his urban habitat to the open country. . . He must again learn how to enjoy himself in the out-of-doors by reacquiring the environmental knowledge and skills he has lost during his exile from his natural environment. (National Park Service 1941:no page)

Recreational Demonstration Areas were designed to facilitate this process in three ways: 1) by providing healthful, disciplined outdoor work for young unemployed men, 2) by restoring damaged natural areas so that they could be used for productive purposes, and 3) by creating and improving new recreational facilities that were accessible to urban areas. The RDA program was not among those established by specific New Deal legislation, but grew out of other New Deal agencies, specifically the Land Policy Committee and the Resettlement Administration. The National Park Service was integrally involved with the RDA program, and fully took over its administration in November 1936. The NPS targeted four possible kinds of RDAs: highway roadside areas, vacation areas, extensions of state parks, or places that might be suitable for inclusion in national parks. Another goal was to make use of what was classified as “submarginal land”—properties that were deemed to have been “ravaged” by human or natural conditions and to be unsuitable for farming. Ideally these would be close to major urban areas, reasonably priced, with their own water supplies, and within states that already had state park infrastructures that could eventually take over the new parks (although another goal of the program was to spur state park development in states that did not already have systems in place). The NPS bought these areas, developed them through the use of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) labor, and maintained them temporarily or permanently, depending on whether they eventually became state or national parks (Glaser 2005:14-15).

The French Creek Recreational Demonstration Area, also known as the French Creek Submarginal Land Project, was one of 46 RDAs in the U.S. There were five in Pennsylvania, several of which (like Catoctin RDA in neighboring Maryland) were in areas scarred by the charcoal-iron industry and not far from industrial cities (Glaser 2005: 15). The 3,650 acres of existing game refuges in the three-county (Chester, Berks, and Montgomery) area also provided some basis for further land reclamation and protection. Most important of all, a very large tract of land (4,227 acres) was owned by a single person: Louise Clingan Brooke.

The commercial value of the Hopewell property had been dwindling for many years. The land was still used for charcoal production, dairy farming, lumbering, and quarrying into the twentieth century, but most of the village buildings fell into disrepair after the furnace's last blast in 1883. Mrs. Brooke and her Clingan siblings, who had inherited the property in 1894, used the ironmaster's mansion as a summer house until 1915, but by the 1930s the old village was regularly occupied only by caretakers Nathan Care and Harker Long (Walker 1966:68-69).

Edward (Ted) Stokes, Jr., a great-grandson of Louise Clingan Brooke, notes that during the Depression, milk, eggs, and produce from the farm at Hopewell were an important addition to the family's own diet. Other local people recalled Hopewell Lake, which had initially been created as a millpond for the furnace headraces, being used occasionally by campers, usually guests of the owners. Birdsboro resident Bill Bitler, for instance, recalled that,

Charles Brooke of the Birdsboro Brookes had a car, but he was also a scoutmaster, and he would haul these kids out there to camp. And I assume they camped up around the lake, because [an acquaintance] told me they would often go down to the big house and scrounge food. . . . But I don't know specifically where they camped. They're the only ones I knew that ever used it.

Louise Clingan Brooke was married to Edward Brooke II, a second cousin of the Clement Brooke who was Hopewell's most successful ironmaster. This marriage, and others, reinforced the close web of family and corporate connections among the Brookes, Buckleys, Clingans, and other local families whose histories were intertwined with the iron- and steel-making business. In 1919 the family had consolidated their sizeable land holdings (Glaser 2005:185). When the National Park Service came to the area to establish a Recreational Demonstration Area, then, they found a large tract of land seemingly ready-made, in an area that fit the criteria for RDAs, without the necessity of negotiating many small purchases from individual owners. The existence of Hopewell Lake was an additional inducement. Harry Hart, son of the Birdsboro newspaper publisher, recalls that his father was instrumental in making the connection:

The Brooke family had the land, and my dad was connected in many ways with them. And they had thousands of acres of land, and my dad was a pretty good friend of a congressman, and—"Why don't we make a park?" So bang, bang, bang, it became a park.

Local sources consulted for this project recollected that there was little resistance to the plan. Ted Stokes noted that the Brooke family had accumulated a considerable fortune in iron, steel, coal, railroads, and banking, but large-scale speculation among some in his grandparents' generation had led to huge losses at the start of the Depression. Land-rich but cash-poor, the Brookes had been eager to sell their enormous land holdings around Hopewell. The majority of the land—more than 4,000 acres—was sold to the government in August 1935 for \$86,970 (Glaser 2005:17). Negotiations over the sale of land and mineral rights in the several tracts of

the Warwick Ore Reserve proved more problematic.¹ Louise Clingan Brooke died in the midst of the process, and her heirs rejected the government's offer of an additional \$7,100 for these tracts. The dispute led to litigation and an eventual condemnation of the land by the government as a way to acquire it. The issue went to several courts, and was finally resolved in June 1938 in the government's favor (Glaser 2005:18).²

A few local landowners resisted the RDA plan and refused to sell, leaving the proposed French Creek RDA somewhat short of its original goal of 7,500 acres (Glaser 2005:17-18). In general, however, local people appeared to have welcomed the opportunity to turn their land into income. (See Chapter 6, "Profiles of living historians – Anna Witman" for one such account.) Some sold their properties outright, while others, like George Cole (see Chapter 5, "The Cole family"), retained a portion for themselves. Not only was the government a welcome market for otherwise unprofitable real estate, but the new parks provided jobs and income for many local people, both in the early stages of development and in subsequent years. While such postindustrial projects never employ as many people as the industry they are replacing, they are nevertheless often sources of permanent and seasonal work. This is reflected in the numbers of local people—including descendants of Hopewell's original workers and residents—who have worked at the state and national parks over the decades. Unlike some parts of the country, then—for example, in Vermont, where New Deal "submarginal land" projects sparked considerable resistance (Gregg 2001)—people in the Hopewell area seemed generally to welcome the federal plan to transform their distressed local landscape and economy into something new.

¹ It is not clear to me from Glaser's history whether the property on which Bethesda Baptist Church sits was part of the disputed Warwick Ore Reserve tracts.

² The family did retain the land and rights for the mine to the north of the proposed parks, then being worked by the John T. Dyer Company, thinking that this mine would provide a source of income for them. However, the Dyer Company closed their operations there in the 1930s, leaving the land unprofitable. This quarry has been reopened within the past decade by the Haines and Kibblehouse Company, which has also reactivated an old spur railway section of the former Wilmington and Reading line to transport ore. There is contention in Birdsboro presently about the noise of trucks and railway cars due to this operation. I am indebted to Bruce Hoffman, Fritz Moeller, and Ted Stokes for background information on this mine.



Figure 4.1 The remaining Brooke family mansion in Birdsboro, built in 1888 by Edward Brooke for his bride, Louise Clingan. Until recently, the house was a bed and breakfast establishment.

The French Creek RDA was created at a time when the National Park Service had just begun to turn its attention to historic preservation and interpretation. Many of the earliest national parks had contained “antiquities” (primarily prehistoric Indian sites), but history was not a concern of the NPS until the 1930s, when Director Horace Albright began to push for the inclusion of historical areas within the growing system. In 1930, as soon as the NPS had the necessary legislative authority, it added George Washington Birthplace National Monument and Colonial National Monument. In 1933, the transfer of all the historic forts and battlefields of the War Department and the creation of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) gave a tremendous boost to the Park Service’s fledgling historical program, as did the passage of the Historic Sites Act in 1935 (Mackintosh 1986, Unrau and Williss 1983). This legislation reinforced the emerging sense that the federal government had an important role to play in preserving the nation’s historic places. Hopewell Village NHS was the second National Historic Site created after the passage of the act (after Salem Maritime NHS in March 1938) (National Park Service 2005).

But as Unrau and Williss note, the Historic Sites Act was also “a popular idea at a time of economic crisis when the nation needed a sense of its heritage” (Unrau and Williss 1983). Through this sense of heritage, many Americans were seeking a way to reconnect with the values and practices that they associated with the past—small-scale communities, meaningful hand-work, a sense of common purpose—without completely turning their backs on the problematic present. The present-day economy was deeply damaged, but that did not mean

that most people necessarily wanted to find an alternative. Rather, like their counterparts in the late nineteenth century, they wanted a way to reconcile their faith in technological and social progress with their awareness that not all the products of progress were necessarily good.

The focus on heritage in the 1930s was one way for Americans to accomplish this reconciliation. Many WPA programs contributed toward creating a positive sense of national heritage; the well-known series of WPA state guidebooks are one example, as are the posters from state art projects, like the one below celebrating Pennsylvania's iconic rural cultures and lifeways.



Figure 14.2 WPA/Pennsylvania Art Project posters by Katherine Milhous, c. 1936-41. (Source: Library of Congress.)

Many other craft- and heritage-related ventures sprang up during the 1930s as well. In southeastern Pennsylvania, many of these were related to the Pennsylvania German culture of the area. The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society formed in 1935, and eventually merged with the venerable Pennsylvania German Society in 1966. Folk and craft festivals began to be common during the 1930s, as did “dialect” radio programs that built on the still active tradition of dialect publishing. Church services in Pennsylvania German reappeared a generation after they had apparently vanished, and proved extremely popular in many places. As Glatfelter notes, “The reports which began in the later nineteenth century of the imminent death of the Pennsylvania German dialect were, to say the least, premature” (Glatfelter 1990:73). Gatherings of men, and in some cases, men and women, began to hold *Versammlinge* (gatherings) as early as 1933 to share food, drink, songs, and stories relating to their Pennsylvania German heritage.

Out of these gatherings emerged organizations known as *Grundsau* (groundhog) lodges (named for the Pennsylvania German folk belief that the groundhog foretells the date of the arrival of spring). These lodges were, and remain, important cultural centers offering language, craft, and dance instruction to younger generations of Pennsylvania Germans; some of Hopewell's living history volunteers profiled in Chapter 6 have participated in language classes at *Grundsau* lodges. The Conrad Weiser homestead, associated with one of the earliest influential Germans in Pennsylvania, became a historic site in 1929, and Ephrata Cloister, built by one of the colony's more idiosyncratic Anabaptist sects, was preserved as a museum in 1935; both remain active historic sites today (Glatfelter 1990:69-75).



Figure 4.3 Remains of Hopewell's blast furnace, c. 1936. (Source: Library of Congress.)

When the NPS began to look more closely at its new land acquisition at the French Creek RDA, it discovered an unexpected historical resource: the remains of the old iron furnace. By that time, the furnace stack was nearly all that was left of the iron-making facilities themselves. The ironmaster's mansion, office-store, and a handful of tenant houses remained, along with some outbuildings. The original barn had been enclosed by a more modern structure in 1926, built by a local crew under the direction of "Sherd" Painter (Glaser 2005:154). Louise Clingan Brooke had given permission in 1930 for the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia to remove the decaying waterwheel and blast equipment, but nothing had been done beyond dismantling and storing the machinery, so the NPS claimed the remnants along with the rest of the property (Glaser 2005:10).

The historians and other professionals associated with the project were immediately excited by the historical potential of the site. Even before the NPS had officially purchased the Brooke property in 1935, historical technician Ronald Lee and newly-hired regional historian

Roy Appleman began to investigate preliminary reports about the furnace ruins and to draft proposals for saving and interpreting them (Glaser 2005:26-27). Appleman went so far as to insist that “Hopewell deserves the same attention paid by Ford at Dearborn, Michigan, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. at Williamsburg” (Glaser 2005: 32)—a sentiment that, as we will see in Chapter 6, sprang from the then-current enthusiasm for living history villages and historic recreations. Appleman, Lee, and others immediately began referring to the site not as “Hopewell Furnace” but as “Hopewell Village,” a term that had not been used during the furnace’s active period. The emphasis on the word “village” signaled that the old iron plantation would be presented as an industrial *community*—a close-knit group of people working toward a common task, in contrast to the more urban, de-personalized, large-scale nature of twentieth-century industrial production.

While understandable in the Depression-era context sketched above, this emphasis quickly proved problematic, and continues to be so today. As Leah Glaser notes,

The irony of Hopewell, an industrial site within a rural and natural setting rather than an urban one, would complicate the interpretation of the site as historical values and agendas competed against recreational ones, an inherent symptom of what Service administrators would come to refer to as the “Hopewell Problem.” (Glaser 2005: 37)³

The original interpretive focus on the “village” aspect of Hopewell’s history allowed the site to perform an important representational task at a time of tremendous economic and social uncertainty. It symbolically undid much of the damage and exploitation of the industrial era by bringing forest, farmland, and small-scale community together with the depiction of industrial production. At the same time, the site’s rural and bucolic setting has long posed interpretive and management dilemmas for NPS staff who have wanted to keep the park’s focus on iron-making—a dirty, smelly, smoky business that contributed greatly to the devastation of the forest lands for miles around Hopewell and other cold-blast furnaces. From the outset, then, Hopewell was a paradoxical park: both an industrial history site and a refuge from modern industrial society.

THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS (CCC) AT HOPEWELL

Conservation-related work was one of Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s priorities as he turned his attention to creating federal relief programs to offset the worst effects of the Depression. Less than a month after his March 1933 inauguration, Roosevelt signed an Executive Order establishing the Emergency Conservation Work (the ECW) program, and told its overseers—the Army, the Labor Department, the Forest Service, and the National Park

³ The reference to the “Hopewell problem” is from a letter from Melvin Borgeson and Melvin Weig to Roy Appleman, January 18, 1937, W File, Central Files, Office of the Cultural Resource Manager, HOFU.

Service—that he wanted to see 250,000 young men enrolled in the program by July of that year.⁴ Although this proved over-ambitious, there were 172 camps established in 35 states by July 1933, housing the first of the two and a half million enrollees who would eventually spend time in the program. Roosevelt and others began referring to the project as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) around the spring of 1935, and the name was officially changed on June 28, 1937.

The initial sale of land from the Brooke family to the federal government did not take place until August 1935, but the family granted permission for work to commence on the property by late 1934 (Robinson 2004:64). At that point, the first of two ECW camps was constructed on a slope just to the north of the ironmaster's house. The first workers, Company 2213, arrived on December 10, 1934. The camp was designated as SP-7, later renamed NP-4 when the decision was made to develop part of the RDA property into a national park. The earliest camps had housed men in army tents, but by the spring of 1934, the Army was supplying standardized, prefabricated wooden structures designed for short-term use. SP-7/NP-4 was typical in that it incorporated about twenty structures including barracks buildings, officers' quarters, a mess hall, library, garage, bath house, and latrines.

Co. 2213 stayed only six months at Hopewell, but they did much of the early work of clearing land and beginning to stabilize the old village buildings. Even within the NPS, few people at that time were thinking of such sites as potential historic resources, and the ECW workers readily reused slag, stones, and other existing materials from the buildings and landscapes to build new roads. They also replaced original roofing, re-graded some of the property, and reportedly disposed of old furnace records from the office-store, which they used as their headquarters (Robinson 2004:65). Fortunately for the preservation of the village, this casual reuse and disposal of resources soon stopped, in part because NPS historians and others had begun to recognize their potential historical value and in part because the Brooke family was by then in dispute with the federal government over the terms of sale for the land. In May 1935, the Brookes withdrew permission for further work on the site until the issue was resolved (Glaser 2005:21). The sale of a large portion of the property went through in August of that year, but the final resolution of the disputed properties was not made until June of 1938, when the government at last obtained most of the lands it had been seeking (Glaser 2005:18).

By the late summer of 1935, a second camp had been constructed on the other side of Hopewell Lake, near the present-day state park headquarters. For a short time, Co. 2213 shared the original SP-7/NC-4 camp quarters with two newly-arrived companies, Co. 3301 and Co. 3304. By the end of the summer, Co. 2213 was gone, and by early fall, Co. 3301 transferred to the newer camp (called SP-17) west of the village. Co. 3304 arrived at the original camp on

⁴ General information about the Emergency Conservation Work/Civilian Conservation Corps program in this section is drawn from John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1985. Electronic document, accessed at http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/c/cc/).

August 2, 1935 and remained there until 1942, with men cycling in and out on a schedule that ranged between six-month and two-year stints.

Both of the new companies were composed of World War I veterans, men in their thirties and forties rather than the 18 to 25-year-olds who typically comprised the ECW/CCC companies.⁵ A full complement in a camp was 200 men, but the two French Creek camps, like many others, generally fell short of this goal, with an average of around 130 men in residence at any given time.⁶ Enrollees received \$30 a month, of which they had to commit to sending \$25 home to their families—a way of guaranteeing that federal relief funds would be spread as widely as possible to those who needed it. In addition to those employed by the ECW, there were local workers at Hopewell and French Creek who were hired under other federal programs; for more specialized work such as historical research and architectural restoration, project managers also had the opportunity to hire “Locally Employed Men” (LEMs) with particular skills (Glaser 2005:20, Robinson 2004:71).

Camps were run on essentially a military basis, with the Army providing a commander (usually from the pool of reserve Army officers) and a civilian “park superintendent” who was in charge of the development work for each park. Men were wakened by reveille at 6 a.m., began work at 8, and finished at 4 p.m., five days a week with additional work on Saturdays if time had been missed due to bad weather or other factors during the week. Dinner, for which workers were expected to wear their dress uniforms (a modified version of regular Army uniforms), was around 5 p.m. Lights went out at 10 p.m., and the commander performed a bed check at 11 to make sure all were accounted for.

There was a wide variety of recreational and educational activities available for the men, including a small reading library, some sports facilities, and structured educational offerings that varied over the life of the ECW/CCC program. Sometimes these were academically-oriented, but more often they leaned toward vocational training designed to help enrollees gain skills that would lead to future employment. Most camps produced an in-house newspaper; at SP-7/NP-4, this was called “The Hopewell Howl,” which published news items, jokes, puzzles, safety tips, and announcements for the men of Co. 3304 (Glaser 2005:23). Former Hopewell seasonal interpreter Bill Bitler recalled CCC men coming in to Birdsboro on weekends, while local historian Bruce Hoffman remembered that the Diamond Theater in Birdsboro offered special showings on Tuesdays for camp residents—occasions on which the little town became unusually rowdy. Bitler also noted that one murder had taken place in Birdsboro involving a

⁵ Co. 3304, which was the most closely associated with Hopewell Village, was originally made up of men from two other companies, Co. 1394 from Weikert, Pennsylvania, and men from Camp Meade in Maryland. Detailed information about Companies 3301 and 3304 was found at www.dcnr.state.pa.us/stateparks/ccc/docs/9.pdf (for Co. 3301) and www.dcnr.state.pa.us/stateparks/ccc/docs10.pdf (for Co. 3304); these files are copied from the 1936 Annual District 1, Third Corps Area Report for the Emergency Conservation Work program.

⁶ The average size for the two camps as of March 1937 was 121 men at SP-7/NP-4 and 138 at SP-17 (Robinson 2004:70).

program enrollee who shot his girlfriend and then himself. “I can remember as a kid, boy, that news was like wildfire,” Bitler said. “And everybody went up to see this poor soul laying there...” Bitler also noted that a formerly open spot on Route 345 was once known as “Ashley Lookout” after an officer at one of the camps.⁷

ECW workers rebuilt the dam on the French Creek and enlarged the existing Hopewell Lake behind the dam. They also constructed a second dam on a smaller stream, creating a fishing area at Scott’s Run north of Hopewell Lake. Building in part on existing roads and trails, they created vehicle roads and hiking trails, as well as group camping areas, picnic areas, parking lots, fireplaces, fountains, latrines, and other facilities for campers and hikers. Within what would become Hopewell Village NHS, federal relief workers constructed the Baptism Creek Picnic Area, which opened in the summer of 1936. This spot was immediately popular with the public, who made good use of the new foot and vehicle bridges, stone and timber shelters, and other amenities. From Baptism Creek, visitors could also follow a new trail into the iron-making village, which was already being touted as an appealing attraction in the area (Glaser 2005:22-23). Workers from the two camps also labored to improve the camps themselves, and were occasionally seconded to other projects away from Hopewell (Robinson 2004:70). Co. 3304 was noted for its expertise in fire-fighting, and were also distinguished by their proximity to the “particularly interesting” project of creating the new national park at Hopewell (Civilian Conservation Corps 1936b). Indeed, ECW workers were among the first “tour guides” at Hopewell, showing visitors like Roy Appleman and Ronald Lee their discoveries at the old furnace in early 1935. After the village had been officially designated as a national park in 1938, CCC men under the supervision of NPS staff also gave tours for visitors. The “Hopewell Howl” noted that all the guides seemed to have enjoyed themselves, but that preparation had been arduous: it was “no mean task to deliver the equivalent of a complete college education in six months” (Glaser 2005:258)!

As early as 1935, Roosevelt was attempting to reduce the size of the ECW program in preparation for making it permanent under the newer official name of Civilian Conservation Corps. Even as work was progressing on the French Creek RDA and plans were being made for the national park at Hopewell Village, cuts were being made in the number of camps around the country. SP-17 was closed in June 1937 (Robinson 2004:70). SP-7/NP-4 remained open for five more years, continuing to provide labor for the development of both the recreational and historical areas. For example, in April 1940, a CCC architect drew up plans for the restoration of the bake oven at Hopewell, a project that began in the fall of that year, while CCC workers were

⁷ In Bitler’s words, “I guess nobody knows this, but if you come from Hopewell in toward Birdsboro, you’re going to see an open spot along 345 and the state has placed very very large stones there. That used to be called ‘Ashley Lookout.’ And [after] the young drunks started using it for parties, the state put these stones in to prevent them from partying there.” A search for the name “Ashley” in the Pennsylvania Department of Conservation and Natural Resources online archive was not successful, so it is not clear who Major Ashley was or when he was at Hopewell.

used in the reassembly of the blast machinery and reconstructed water wheel in the summer of 1941 (Robinson 2004:80).

By the end of 1941 there were just 89 CCC camps left in NPS-administered areas, of which 20 were located in national parks and monuments. After America's entry into World War II, the program was quickly terminated, with Congress voting in July 1942 not to reauthorize its funding. SP-7/NP-4 was scheduled to close by April of 1942, but a smaller cadre of 75 enrollees remained at the site after that date to act as hosts to a new kind of visitor—sailors from Allied warships on shore leave while their ships were being refitted in Philadelphia. The first of these, from the British battleship *HMS Nelson*, arrived in May of 1942 and proved to be very popular with local residents and CCC men alike (Glaser 2005:78-79). "It was an inspiring sight to see the old veterans and the youngsters get together in the evening in the canteen, spin yarns, and have them sing the songs of two wars," wrote Hopewell superintendent Ralston Lattimore (Lattimore 1942b). The Navy continued to make use of the organized camp sites within the French Creek RDA until six months after the war ended (Glaser 2005:80), but no federal relief work was done at the site after the end of 1943 (Robinson 2004:71).

CCC projects shaped and reshaped parks across the United States. Pennsylvania's unusually high concentration of CCC camps—103 in total—helped to build or expand 28 of the 41 state parks that existed by 1945 (O'Bannon and Henry 1986:5-7). Only five of the actual camps are left standing today; one of these is in French Creek State Park, where several of the long prefabricated camp buildings from SP-17 remain.⁸ They have been used for a variety of group camping, maintenance, and other functions over the decades. Little remains of SP-7/NP-4 in Hopewell Furnace NHS; three smaller structures are still standing, a one-story frame pump house (now Building 51) built in 1935 near the present-day Buildings 98 and 99 and two one-story cinderblock buildings (now Buildings 66 and 67—see Figures 4.4 and 4.5) built in 1941 north of the camp to serve as storage for oil and other items. The concrete pad of the camp firehouse is still visible, but other evidence of the camp is below ground, and no archeological work has been done on the remains (Robinson 2004:67).

⁸ The other extant CCC camps in Pennsylvania are in Blue Knob, Hickory Run, Laurel Hill, and Raccoon Creek State Parks.



Fig. 4.4 CCC-era structure known as the Oil House, Hopewell Furnace NHS.

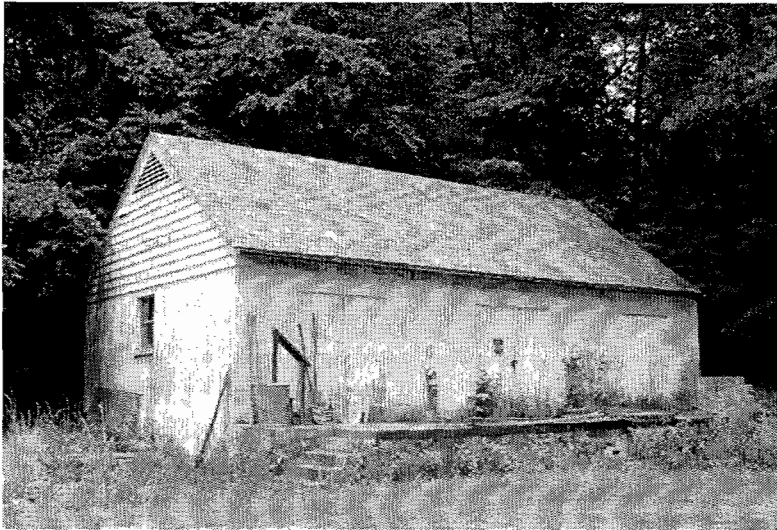


Fig. 4.4 CCC-era structure known as the Warehouse, Hopewell Furnace NHS.

A more lasting architectural legacy of the CCC era is to be found in the many “rustic” style structures throughout state and national parks. Ranging from grand hotels in many western national parks to more modest everyday fixtures such as camp shelters and foot bridges, these forms speak of the search for the values and practices associated in many people’s minds with the American past and with rural or wilderness landscapes—a search that was central to the conservation movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Tweed et al. 1977). Rustic architecture was an expression, as O’Bannon and Henry put it, of “a nostalgic view of the nation’s pioneer past” and a “romanticized view of a simpler time, without the economic upheavals associated with the Depression” (O’Bannon and Henry 1986:8.9). French Creek State Park contains many of these structures; within Hopewell Furnace NHS, the only examples of CCC-era rustic architecture are found at the Baptism Creek Picnic Area, in use between 1936 and 1950 (Robinson 2004:74, Glaser 2005:195-96).

There have been “alumni” reunions and commemorations at some CCC camps, but correspondence in the Hopewell archives indicates this has not been the case at the park, no doubt because the SP-7 and SP-17 enrollees there were considerably older than the norm for CCC men; very few were likely still alive when the camps became a focus of commemoration in the later 20th century.⁹ The CCC years at Hopewell are a part of living memory only for long-time local residents who recall the regular “invasions” of Birdsboro by trucks full of men from the camps and the transformation of the lands around Hopewell into an intentional wilderness with a historic iron-making village at its core.

FROM “HOPEWELL VILLAGE” TO “HOPEWELL FURNACE”

Hopewell Village National Historic Site was created officially on August 3, 1938. Its first superintendent, Lemuel “Lon” Garrison, was hired in 1939, followed by an archeologist in 1940 (Glaser 2005:57). They continued supervision of the work of stabilizing and restoring the furnace ruins, which had begun in 1935. There has been considerable debate over the park’s lifetime about the era of Hopewell’s principal significance and the period to which the site should be restored (see Glaser 2005:334 for a summary of this debate over time). Some have argued for focusing on a “golden age” of peak production at the furnace, while others, noting the wide age range of structures at the park, have found a more longitudinal interpretation to be appropriate, showing the development and changes at Hopewell over time. In essence, the park now does both: the period of the 1820s through the 1840s is central to the park’s interpretation, but the longer span of architectural, industrial, and social history is also noted. Restoration work at Hopewell continued somewhat sporadically through the early 1950s, and was given a boost by Mission 66 funding between 1956 and 1966.

Until 1947, Hopewell Village NHS continued to be administratively and legally linked with French Creek RDA, since the NPS still owned the lands in both parks. Ownership of the French Creek portion was officially transferred to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 1947, relieving the “Hopewell problem” somewhat by separating the explicitly recreational areas from those devoted to historic preservation (Glaser 2005:106). The separation shifted 5,350 acres to the state park and re-drew the national park’s boundaries somewhat so that it now included some land south of the village, including that on which Bethesda Baptist Church sat (Glaser 2005:188). These are the boundaries that exist today. The village core as it currently appears was essentially renovated by 1965, except for a renovation of the ironmaster’s house between 1977 and 1980.

A 1972 Master Plan (which was never approved) and a 1973 Interpretive Prospectus both tackled the “Hopewell problem” directly. As the Master Plan draft noted,

⁹ A national alumni association for CCC men was founded in 1977 in California. It is currently headquartered in S. Louis, Missouri, with a membership of just over 3,000. See <http://www.ccalumni.org/>.

Within the 846+ acre remnant of this once active industrial community an almost bucolic atmosphere pervades. . . It is historically misleading. While the Hopewell community was historically a rural rather than an urban complex, it was industrial rather than agricultural. Its smells were those of smoke and charcoal-smelting iron; its sights were those of charcoal, dust, smoke, and ash; its sounds were those of clanking iron, blasting furnace and billows [bellows?]. [In the 20th century], The furnace is cold; the ironmaster's mansion and tenant houses are empty; the once stripped hills are now reforested; the air is clean and clear. The sights and sounds of industry have been replaced. Even the living history programs in the village emphasize the rural domestic activities rather than the industrial. A sense of the birth of an industry is lost. (Denver Service Center 1972:4)

Separating the recreational and historical functions of French Creek and Hopewell in 1947 was one attempt at solving this problem. Another solution was the one proposed by both the Master Plan and the Interpretive Prospectus: change the park's name from "Hopewell Village" to "Hopewell Furnace." Park staff adopted this name change well in advance of the legislation that made it official in November 1985 (Glaser 2005:293).

At the same time, however, some of the NPS's own actions had contributed to the "Hopewell problem," particularly the closing of the Birdsboro-Warwick road (Union Township Road 418) that once ran straight through the center of the village. A two-lane bypass highway, Route 345, was constructed by the CCC in 1937 and 1938, providing an alternate route for local traffic. Visitors to the park, though, still arrived via the old township road, parking near the barn and walking through a cross-roads village not unlike dozens of others in the surrounding area. By 1955, the NPS was able to close the old road to traffic, further isolating the village center from the surrounding area and adding tremendously to the peaceful, bucolic atmosphere of the site (Glaser 2005:44, 48). The image on the cover of this report shows two young living history volunteers hurrying along the former Birdsboro-Warwick road toward the village. The road is now a quiet dirt track, even less traveled than it was during the operating period of the furnace and quite different from the road that linked the park to the outside world in its early days.

THE CULTURAL ECONOMY OF DEINDUSTRIALIZED SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

The decision to shift Hopewell's interpretive focus more firmly to iron-making came at a time when industrial production of all kinds was rapidly leaving Pennsylvania and the entire northeastern United States. By the 1950s, coal was no longer the primary fuel for the country. Textiles and other major industries had been moving to the American south for some time, and now steel was following, with many plants being relocated to Alabama and other southern states. As with previous wars, the Second World War had boosted industrial output enormously, but the boom was short-lived in many industries that were already in decline.

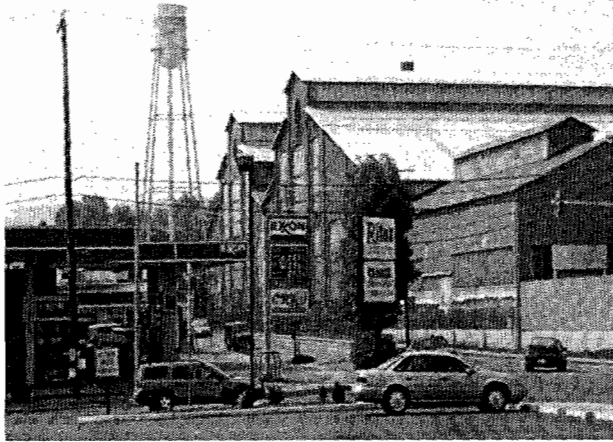


Figure 4.6 The remaining foundry buildings of Birdsboro Iron and Steel Company still dominate the present-day landscape of Birdsboro.

During the war, the federal government constructed a gigantic \$40 million foundry known as Birdsboro Armorcast along the south bank of the Schuylkill River. Briefly reactivated during the Korean War to produce tank castings, it closed in the early 1960s and has long been in a state of decay (Hoffman 1976:6). Birdsboro Iron & Steel became a subsidiary of a Colorado firm in 1952, and its local facilities were gradually closed or demolished until the company itself closed in the mid-1980s.

In nearby Pottstown, the Bethlehem Steel plant closed in 1975 and the Firestone Tire plant in 1980 (Mastrull et al. 2003). In Coatesville, another steel-making center to the south of Hopewell in Chester County, Lukens

Steel was slashing its 10,000-person workforce, while Bethlehem, Allentown, and other cities to the north were reeling from the loss of such major companies as Bethlehem Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube. Philadelphia's industrial sector declined by 70% in the single generation between 1950 and 1985 (Scranton 1992:430). The giant U.S. Steel, based in Pittsburgh, had essentially stopped investing in its plants there in the late 1960s, and by the early 1980s, it had demolished much of its enormous Homestead plant and other facilities (Serrin 1992:323-331). As the turn of the twenty-first century approached, China had become the world's largest steel producer, with an output more than four times that of either Japan or the U.S., the second and third largest (International Iron and Steel Institute:no date). Just as the countryside had been devastated by the environmental costs of industrialism and urbanization in the nineteenth century, industrial cities were now feeling the shock of losing their own economic cores and being left with a legacy of polluted landscapes, high unemployment, and empty industrial buildings. These changes were facilitated by new technologies and new federal policies (particularly during the Reagan/Bush administrations of 1980-1992) that "liberalized" trade and investment while loosening many of the restrictions under which corporations and capital can operate (Bluestone and Harrison 1982, Osterhammel and Petersson 2005).

Over the past three decades, former industrial places around the world have grappled with the problem of what to do after their industries have gone. During those decades, the outlines of a new "postindustrial" economy have become clearer. The remainder of this chapter will discuss three of those broad characteristics, and will show how they affect the positioning and management of Hopewell Furnace NHS and its associated groups within the postindustrial "new economy."

- new economic sectors and products
- changing spatial and demographic patterns
- culture as an aspect of economic redevelopment

New economic services and products

Overall, the postindustrial economy is based on services and information rather than material goods. Many older cities, like New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, have successfully reinvented themselves as places that service capital through investment, insurance, banking, and other financial activities. Education and health care are also major employers in many postindustrial places. Entertainment has become an important economic sector in the U.S.—a development clearly illustrated by the fact that on the day when U.S. Steel was dropped from the Dow Jones Industrial Average in 1991, it was replaced by the stock of the Walt Disney Company (Serrin 1992:394).¹⁰ Retail is another growing sector of the postindustrial economy, and a strategy that many deindustrialized places have pursued. In Reading, for example, the Berkshire Knitting Mills, once the world's largest hosiery manufacturer, was turned into the VF Outlet Village, the country's first large-scale outlet mall and a model for many similar developments in other old factory buildings (VF Outlet Village:no date).

Meanwhile, manufacturing continues in some older industries in the U.S. In general, industries have followed the pattern we have already seen in the iron industry, in which older firms survive by downsizing their workforces, identifying specialty markets and products in which they can remain competitive, and retaining management, marketing, and research and development functions in their original locations while “outsourcing” the actual manufacturing and many support functions to cheaper labor markets. For example, Carpenter Technology Corporation, begun in Reading as Carpenter Steel in 1889, now makes specialty steels and other alloys with a much smaller but still highly-skilled workforce (Carpenter:no date).

Other industries have come much more to the foreground as traditional manufacturing has declined in the U.S. Biotechnology and pharmaceuticals are prominent among these, and southeastern Pennsylvania is currently making a bid to be, in the current Pennsylvania governor's words, “the heart of the ‘bio-pharma’ corridor” that includes parts of Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey (Lloyd 2005). The presence of the DuPont Chemical Company in Delaware since 1802 has created something of an anchor to this corridor of scientific research and innovation. The corridor extends into Pennsylvania through the efforts of such prominent research facilities as the Fox-Chase Cancer Center in Philadelphia and the Wistar Institute at the University of Pennsylvania. New Jersey has long been home to many pharmaceutical firms, including Merck, Pfizer, Wyeth, and Johnson & Johnson (Caruana 2005). Activity in old and

¹⁰ As a corporate entity, U.S. Steel had shifted its focus to oil and other forms of energy by the early 1980s, renaming itself USX Corporation in the process. In May 1991, its stock was split into two segments, one for oil and one for steel, and it was only the steel segment that was dropped from the Dow Jones Industrial Average (Serrin 394). U.S. Steel has subsequently reemerged as a much smaller steel producer.

new industries alike is driven by rapidly developing new technologies in the electronic and digital realms. Professional “knowledge workers” in those realms are the most sought-after workers and residents in postindustrial places around the world. They constitute what Richard Florida (2005) has called the “creative classes,” people who can help companies and cities compete successfully in the ever more volatile and mobile contemporary economy.

Changing spatial and demographic patterns

Just as industrialization radically changed the physical and demographic landscape of Pennsylvania, deindustrialization has led to sweeping new changes. The move from cities to suburbs, which began during the industrial era as people sought more spacious, “greener” residential spaces, accelerated tremendously in the years following World War II. In her history of American suburbanization, Dolores Hayden has characterized this as the pursuit of a triple American dream: “house plus land plus community” (Hayden 2003:8). In other words, suburbanites have been drawn not only by dreams of home ownership and green spaces but also by the ideal of smaller-scale, slower-paced rural community life in opposition to the more crowded and hurried pace of cities. Ironically, their pursuit of this triple dream has often spelled the end of the actual small communities to which they move, as new development overwhelms smaller centers and changes their character irrevocably.

Anthropologist John Dorst (1989) has painstakingly analyzed the suburban landscape of Chadds Ford in southern Chester County to see this process at work. Dorst shows how cultural institutions like the local historical society and the Brandywine Conservancy have helped to “museumize” one area of Pennsylvania—that is, to create powerful images of its pre-industrial past—in ways that keep the forces of further development and “progress” from overwhelming the very things that suburbanites moved there to experience. Dorst sees these kinds of suburban places as in a sense a new kind of “living history” village, where people feel they are partaking of the values and activities of the past even while they are living in new homes obliterating the historical fields and landscapes of the area.

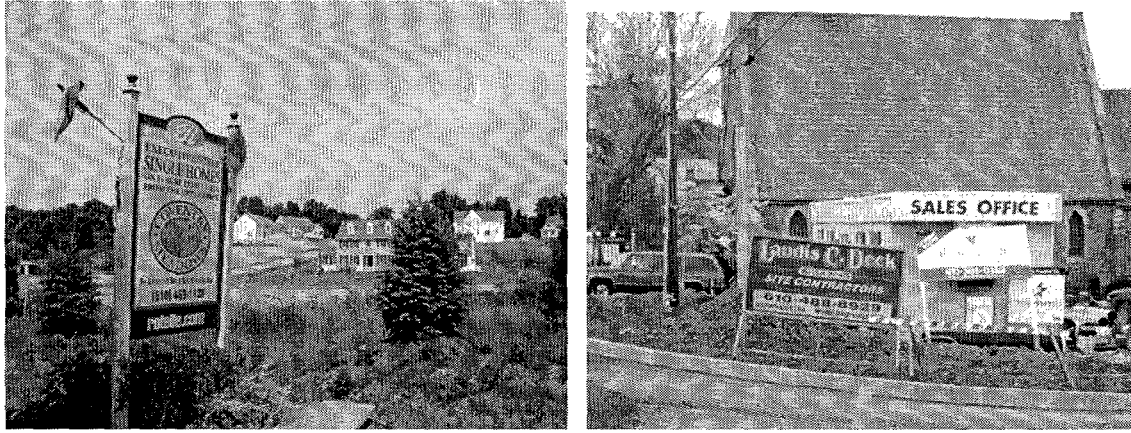


Figure 4.7 Signs of suburbanization in the Hopewell area. (Left) One of many new housing developments in the rural area around Hopewell; this one is in South Coventry Township, just east of the Park. (Right) Construction site for “Villa at Morlatton” assisted living facility on Route 422 in Douglassville, near the Swedish settlement of Old Morlatton Village.

These kinds of suburban developments are increasingly common in the area around Hopewell. While there is little development immediately adjacent to the national and state park, the area as a whole is undergoing tremendous residential expansion. In many cases, as Dorst shows, the new construction draws on the images or ideas of the older cultures of the area, as in the photo on the right of Figure 4.5, a new assisted living facility called “Villa at Morlatton” which is being built close to the colonial Swedish settlement of Morlatton Village.

A related spatial change in the area is the shift toward *exurbanization*. Where traditional suburbs served as bedroom communities for an urban core, homebuyers in newer developments in many parts of the country work in the “exurban” rings or “edge cities” that surround older cities. Much of the recent economic growth in southeastern Pennsylvania has been concentrated around places like Valley Forge and King of Prussia, rather than in Philadelphia itself (Scranton 1992, Bodenman 1998). The area’s new suburbanites, therefore, are commuting not into the city but to the exurbs in Montgomery and Chester Counties. With continued road expansion in this area, particularly along the Schuylkill River/Route 422 corridor, Berks County has begun to see the same kind of intensive residential development as its neighboring counties. The corridor along the Pennsylvania Turnpike south of the park has similarly boomed in recent years; the small town of Morgantown has experienced very rapid growth because of its location at the junction of the turnpike, Route 23, and Interstate 176, which connects the turnpike with Reading. Further to the south, the Route 30 corridor serves as another east-west conduit for new suburbanites and commuters.

Within older city cores, the struggle continues to find ways to adapt and reuse empty industrial buildings. As noted above, retail is one solution; many places have now enthusiastically embraced arts districts and loft developments in old factories, while cultural and educational projects are also common strategies that towns and cities pursue in an effort to

bring new life and revenue into their deteriorating downtowns. The recent GoggleWorks development in an old optics factory in Reading is one example of adaptive reuse centering on arts activity. Educational institutions also often occupy unused industrial spaces; in Pottstown, a satellite campus of Montgomery County Community College has recently opened in an industrial building in the downtown area. Indeed, colleges and universities are more and more often filling the vacuum left by industrial investment by taking the lead in economic redevelopment and urban planning efforts around the U.S.

At the same time, Pottstown has opened up new space along the riverfront by demolishing parts of the former Mrs. Smith's Pies factory to create land for a mixed residential and retail development. Such riverfront projects are increasingly common and popular, as the last section of this chapter will show. The Schuylkill River Heritage Area is headquartered along the riverfront in Pottstown, just as the earlier CCC project centered at Hopewell was based in the same city (Glaser 2005:21). The Heritage Area and the Community College have recently partnered to create a new riverfront Academic and Heritage Center that will merge the educational, environmentalist, and historical aspects of the area's ongoing redevelopment efforts. Pottstown is also pursuing arts-based revitalization strategies, including plans to install a historic carousel in a disused industrial building adjacent to a park in the center of the city (Lello 2005). The attempts of cities to lure people back into their centers has met with uneven success. In general, older, more established and historic cities have an edge over smaller, less well-known places, which often struggle to claim a share of funding and attention from visitors.

A final change to note in relation to changing spatial and demographic patterns in postindustrial Pennsylvania is that its urban cores, like those throughout the northeast, are markedly less prosperous than the outlying suburban and exurban areas, and are also occupied more heavily by people of color and recent immigrants, notably Latinos. In part, this is a continuation of the phenomenon of "white flight" which saw an increasing divide between middle-class white suburbs and black and Latino city neighborhoods beginning in the 1950s and 1960s. David Schuyler has chronicled this process in nearby Lancaster in his 2002 book, *A City Transformed: Redevelopment, Race, and Suburbanization in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1940-1980*. More recently, an increase in immigration from Latin and South America, Asia, and elsewhere has repopulated many northeastern cities and towns. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the population of the city of Reading is now 37% Hispanic, while Philadelphia is home to some 130,000 people of Hispanic origin. Berks County remains largely white and Euro-American, with approximately 40% of its residents still tracing their ancestry to Germany in the 2000 Census (as compared with just under 10% Hispanic in the county as a whole). In the urban areas specifically, however, there is a definite demographic shift toward Latino, Asian, and other more recent immigrant populations.¹¹

¹¹ For an online study of Latinos in Philadelphia, see the Latino Community Profile by the Historical Society of Philadelphia at <http://www.hsp.org/default.aspx?id=105>.

Culture as an aspect of economic and environmental redevelopment

The loss of capital through white flight and suburbanization have been among the factors that have prompted deindustrialized cities and towns to turn to cultural strategies—many of which emphasize the cultures and traditions of the groups now occupying the impoverished city cores—as part of their attempt to shift into postindustrialism. Just as in the 1930s, federal and state government agencies have been integrally involved in these revitalization efforts, along with educational and cultural institutions. Another similarity is that many of these projects have focused on repairing the environmental and social damage caused by industry and then the loss of industry—polluted rivers, unemployed labor forces, toxic mine and factory sites, devalued real estate, and so on. The preservation, celebration, and display of culture has been central to many of these efforts, just as it was during the Depression.

What has changed since the Depression is that these strategies have become much more professionalized and embedded in public planning processes throughout the U.S. and elsewhere. They have also become much more directly linked with economic development and with tourism, which is now one of the world's largest industries. Ironically, many places that once produced tangible goods now market their own histories and cultures as a new kind of intangible product. Culture has become an important product in itself, one that can attract visitors and new residents (and their capital) or boost the image and self-esteem of struggling former factory towns. As sociologist Bella Dicks has written,

Places today have become exhibitions of themselves. Through heavy investment in architecture, art, design, exhibition space, landscaping and various kinds of development towns, cities, and countryside proclaim their possession of various cultural values—such as unchanging nature, the historic past, the dynamic future, multiculturalism, fun and pleasure, bohemianism, artistic creativity or simply stylishness. These cultural values have come to be seen as a place's identity, the possession of which is key to the important task of attracting visitors. (Dicks 2003:1)

These tactics have generally followed the cycle of industrialization very closely. Beginning with the north of England and then the American northeast, the places that were industrialized first have also been the earliest to pursue what is now sometimes termed “culture-led regeneration.” Such efforts are now very widespread throughout Europe, and are heavily supported by the European Union. In the U.S., the former textile city of Lowell, Massachusetts was one of the first places to make a conscious effort to use its industrial history as a way to reinvent and revitalize itself. The National Park Service was an active partner in Lowell's efforts starting in the late 1970s, with the creation of Lowell National Historical Park in 1978 (Stanton 2006). The NPS has also been a key player in the development of “national heritage areas,” a more decentralized, partnership-oriented type of project that is explicitly geared toward

economic development in depressed or isolated areas.¹² Among the 37 National Heritage Areas in the U.S. at present is the Schuylkill River National Heritage Area, profiled below, with which Hopewell Furnace NHS is associated. Heritage preservation, interpretation, and marketing take place on ever larger scales, involving more professionalized work forces and types of production.

However, these newer projects clearly have their roots in older, smaller-scale efforts like those of the WPA and NPS in the 1930s. Places like Hopewell Furnace are very early examples of this turn toward culture, history, and environmental reclamation as ways of regenerating old industrial places. In addition, the newer projects very often absorb and partner with existing institutions and sites. This creates more layered, extended systems of historic sites and environmental projects. People within Hopewell's network of associated groups tend to be linked with these systems in multiple ways, not merely through Hopewell itself, as we will see in Chapter 6.

These systems also overlap with the traditional histories and cultures of southeastern Pennsylvania, and with the conservation infrastructures that were established in the region in the late nineteenth century. This is especially evident in relation to Pennsylvania German heritage, which plays a key role in cultural and heritage tourism in the state. Amish tourism, in particular, has played an increasingly important economic role in Lancaster County since the 1940s, when automobile touring made Amish farms accessible to large numbers of travelers (Weaver-Zercher 2001:91-105). While many popular representations of the Amish have been troubling or even offensive to Amish people themselves, many Amish have adapted to tourism by restricting it to particular areas or activities, or by making use of mediating organizations and agents to present themselves to the world (Buck and Alleman 1979, Weaver-Zercher 2001:159-66). Thus they continue their long tradition of accommodating change selectively, although whether they can continue to do so in the face of rapidly escalating land prices that threaten much of Lancaster's rich farmland remains to be seen.

This chapter will conclude with a brief survey of some of the sites, institutions, and projects most closely linked with Hopewell Furnace NHS and people from its associated groups. These will be divided into two categories: historical/cultural and environmental. However, as noted above, these categories often overlap, particularly within newer projects such as heritage areas and large-scale land trust projects. In these new projects, heritage and cultural conservation are understood to be integral aspects of place-attachment and economic redevelopment. As we will see in more detail in Chapter 6, people with deep roots in an area or a culture often make use of these kinds of projects to express, explore, and promote their own

¹² For more information on national heritage areas, see the central NPS site, <http://www.cr.nps.gov/heritageareas/>, or <http://www.cr.nps.gov/heritageareas/REP/research.htm> for links to detailed research on heritage areas. This site includes papers on the growth of heritage areas as an international phenomenon, in which the U.S. examples have been studied and replicated by other places throughout the world.

ethnic and cultural identities. It is thus impossible to draw a clear line between the work of government and cultural agencies and the cultural practices of people linked to traditional groups and histories.

Selected historical/cultural sites in postindustrial southeastern Pennsylvania

- Hay Creek Valley Historical Association/Joanna Furnace (Geigertown)
<http://www.haycreek.org/festivals-events-information.php?recordID=2>

Hopewell's nearest neighbor in the network of cold-blast furnaces in southeastern Pennsylvania, Joanna Furnace was in active use between 1791 and 1898. The two furnaces made use of many of the same wood, ore, and labor resources, making them colleagues and competitors during the nineteenth century. Bethlehem Mines, which subsequently acquired the Joanna property, donated it in 1979 to the local non-profit Hay Creek Valley Historical Association. This all-volunteer group, founded in 1976, has secured grants to support archeological and reconstruction work, and has pursued an ambitious restoration program at Joanna Furnace for almost three decades. The group's major source of revenue is its annual craft fairs and festivals, in which many of Hopewell's living history and charcoal volunteers are involved. The largest of these is the Hay Creek Festival held each year on the weekend after Labor Day.¹³ There is no volunteer presence at the site on a regular basis, although members do gather each week to work on projects involving the buildings and machinery owned by the non-profit association.

¹³ For more detail, see Suzanne Fellman Jacob's *The History of Joanna Furnace, 1791-1999: The History of Berks County, Pennsylvania, Charcoal Iron Furnace* (Hay Creek Valley Historical Association, 1999).

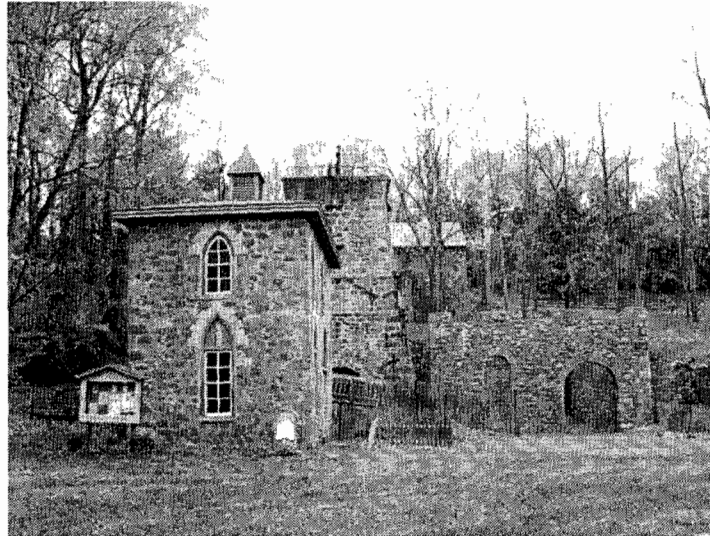


Figure 4.8 Furnace group at Joanna Furnace, with blower engine house in foreground, furnace stack behind, and charcoal shed in rear.

- Daniel Boone Homestead (Birdsboro)
<http://www.danielboonehomestead.org/>

Daniel Boone, one of the most iconic of American frontiersmen, was born here in 1734, four years after his English parents immigrated to Pennsylvania. Boone spent the first sixteen years of his life in Pennsylvania before moving to North Carolina and then further west. The site had various owners before 1926, when it was bought by preservationists from Birdsboro and New Jersey. In 1937, during the Depression, it was sold to the commonwealth of Pennsylvania and became part of the state park system (Silverman 1998). Several of Hopewell's living history volunteers also participate in this site's active living history program, which includes a well-known annual encampment featuring colonial and Revolutionary War period reenactors. As at many Pennsylvania colonial sites, preindustrial lifeways are prominently featured in interpretive programming.

- Pottsgrove Manor (Pottstown)
<http://www2.montcopa.org/historicsites/cwp/view,A,3,Q,24487,historicsitesNav,%7C.asp>

This 1752 home of ironmaster John Potts was purchased by the newly-formed Pottstown Historical Society in 1936, during the same period when Hopewell Furnace was being rediscovered as a historic site. Initially operated by the state, Pottsgrove Manor was transferred to the stewardship of Montgomery County after 1985, and remains a county

historical site (with considerable local input governance) today. Costumed interpreters, including some associated with Hopewell, frequently participate in the site's public programs.

- Landis Valley Museum (Lancaster)
<http://www.landisvalleymuseum.org/>

This living history museum and village began as a private collection of Pennsylvania German artifacts owned by Henry and George Landis, two Lancaster County farmers. Descendants of German immigrants from the early eighteenth century, the brothers were concerned about the erosion of rural Pennsylvania German culture by the early twentieth century, and they opened their collection of objects to the public on their family homestead in 1925. The site and collection were bought by the state in 1953, and continue to be run by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in partnership with a non-profit group (Callanan 1995). Costumed interpretation and historical crafts demonstrations are mainstays at this outdoor museum, which actively reinforces the image of rural Pennsylvania German culture as calm, close-knit, and coherent.

- Mouns Jones House/Historic Preservation Trust of Berks County (Douglassville)

The oldest documented house in Berks County, this 1716 stone structure was acquired in 1964 by the newly-formed Historic Preservation Trust of Berks County, a volunteer-run non-profit that now maintains eight eighteenth century buildings in the area. Mouns Jones was a Swedish settler who was part of a Swedish settlement known as Morlatton Village on the north bank of the Schuylkill River just east of Birdsboro. One of Hopewell's key living history volunteers is deeply involved in this organization, and has frequently recruited others from the Hopewell cadre to participate in school programming, annual fair, and special open-hearth dinners that constitute the group's main fundraisers. Except for these special events, the sites are not open to the public.



Figure 4.9 Mouns Jones House, built in 1716 and currently owned by the Historic Preservation Trust of Berks County.

Other historical/cultural institutions with some connection to Hopewell through geographic proximity, overlap in volunteers/personnel, or similar interpretive themes include:

- Berks County Heritage Center, a historic village in Wyomissing, a suburb of Reading
- Hagley Museum and Library just outside Wilmington, Delaware, dedicated to the industrial history of the DuPont Corporation
- Ephrata Cloister in Ephrata, a state site which preserves a village built by an early Pennsylvania German Anabaptist sect
- Conrad Weiser Homestead in Womelsdorf, a state historic site devoted to the German immigrant who negotiated many of Pennsylvania's early treaties with the Iroquois Six Nations League
- Lukens National Historic District in Coatesville, an emerging iron and steel heritage site south of Hopewell
- many sites and events related to Pennsylvania German history and culture, including the annual Kutztown Pennsylvania German Festival in northern Berks County (founded 1949), the annual Goschenhoppen Folk Festival in Montgomery County (founded 1966), the Mennonite Heritage Center and the Schwenkenfelder Library and Heritage Center, both in northern Montgomery County, and the many Amish-related tourist and historic sites in Lancaster County to the west of Hopewell
- Revolutionary War sites including Valley Forge National Park in King of Prussia to the east and Brandywine Battlefield in Chadds Ford to the south
- Berks County Museum Council and the Rural History Confederation, two county or regional collaborative networks of historic sites to which Hopewell Furnace NHS belongs

In addition, southeastern Pennsylvania's postindustrial cultural economy includes several projects relating to the history and culture of the Lenape people in the region. Lenape in the Delaware Valley have become more visible and vocal in recent decades. Some Lenape from the Delaware reservations in the west have moved back to the east, in search of work or connections with ancestral homelands. From only 441 in the 1940 Census, the number of Pennsylvanians self-identifying as Indians grew rapidly in the post-war decades, to 1,141 in 1950 (the first year Census respondents could choose their own racial classification), 5,553 in 1970, 14,733 in 1990 and 18,348 in 2000 (Richter 2005:84, 89). Daniel Richter attributes this increase largely to "cultural changes that led more and more people to embrace proudly an Indian identity that might, in earlier years, have been hidden in response to racial bigotry or submerged among a variety of ethnic heritages" (Richter 2005:89). The "roots phenomenon" of the 1970s and afterward has included people of Native American background, who have formed new organizations for ethnic conservation, celebration, and education just as their white neighbors have done.

The prospect of Pennsylvania being opened to casino gambling in the near future has also prompted new claims among those of Delaware descent. In 2003, the Oklahoma Delaware filed an unsuccessful lawsuit challenging the legality of the 1737 "Walking Purchase" through which the Delawares lost much of their homeland at the Forks of the Delaware. Since that time, other non-Delaware Indian groups have expressed interest in becoming part of Indian gaming in Pennsylvania, a situation that has created a three-way tension among people of Delaware descent in Pennsylvania, other Pennsylvania Indian groups, and the federally-recognized Delaware Nation in Oklahoma, as well as between gaming proponents and opponents. The search of some eastern Delaware groups for federal recognition has been complicated by the fact that Pennsylvania's colonial officials had essentially sidestepped the Delawares in their negotiations, deciding instead to do business with the larger Iroquois federation. Thus the eastern Delaware groups have little legal ground for their claims.¹⁴

However, some Indians have used cultural events and symbolic expressions as a way to strengthen their public presence in postindustrial Pennsylvania. The Lenni Lenape Historical Society in Allentown has served as a site for pow wows, festivals, and other events since 1978. Located in a classic Pennsylvania stone colonial home that resembles many of the colonial house museums listed above, it is currently shifting its mission to become a more inclusive Museum of Indian Culture that embraces a pan-Indian identity. Another group, the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, sponsored a three-week "Rising Nation River Journey" in 2002 in which paddlers and others followed the entire length of the Delaware River from its headwaters in New York

¹⁴ The only official tribal land in Pennsylvania at present is a parcel of 11.5 acres given by a white couple to the Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma in 2000 as a way to express their regret over the treatment of the Delawares by Pennsylvania's colonial governments (Canku Ota:2000).

state to Cape May, New Jersey. The trip is being repeated in the summer of 2006. Like many of the activities of watershed associations, land trusts, and heritage areas which are described in the following section, this trip combined historical commemoration with environmental education and community building. It was preceded by the signing of a “Treaty of Renewed Brotherhood” among the Pennsylvania-based Lenape Nation and several environmental, religious, and educational groups. The treaty specifically invoked William Penn’s original vision for white/Indian relationships in Pennsylvania, calling on present-day residents of the Delaware Valley to recognize the Lenape as “the indigenous stewards of their homelands and also as the spiritual keepers of the Lenápe Sippu, or Delaware River” (Lenápe Nation:no date).

Although the histories and some of the purposes of these Indian groups may differ from those of Pennsylvania German or other cultures described in this report, the tactics of cultural expression and conservation are remarkably similar, and many of the purposes do overlap. Furthermore, many museums, historic sites, and educational institutions are closely involved in these events. The 2002 treaty was ceremonially signed at Pennbury Manor, a state historic site at the home of William Penn, while the Reading Public Museum was for several years the sponsor of a well-known event on the pow wow circuit and the annual Red Creek Mid-Winter Festival is currently held at Dickinson College in Carlisle.

This re-emergence and increased visibility of indigenous cultural expression in Pennsylvania raises questions of the kind posed by former NPS Regional Ethnographer Alexa Roberts (see Chapter 1, “Challenges of Ethnography Study at Hopewell Furnace NHS/Problems of definition and categorization”). How should NPS managers assess the claims of different kinds of associated groups? How should factors like longevity and continuity be balanced? What kinds of differing weight should be given to use of park resources by groups with whom the NPS is legally mandated to consult, those where consultation is not mandated but is recommended by policy, and other kinds of groups—for example, voluntary communities or the kinds of hybrid “neo-traditional” groupings we will see in Chapter 6? Although there are currently no identified resources in the immediate area of Hopewell Furnace NHS that contribute to a sense of collective identity among indigenous people, the re-assertion of Lenape and other identities within the region shows that the NPS would be wise to be attentive to emerging articulations of Native culture, and to understand how these intersect with other forms of cultural production and expression in postindustrial Pennsylvania.

Finally, southeastern Pennsylvania’s new cultural landscape includes many current and prospective sites on the Underground Railroad Network to Freedom. The area’s links with the Underground Railroad are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Selected conservation/environmental projects in postindustrial southeastern Pennsylvania

We have already seen how land, forest, and game conservation movements arose in the late nineteenth century. Just as many existing museums and cultural institutions have been

absorbed into the new postindustrial cultural economy in Pennsylvania, recent environmental efforts have often built on the work of the older organizations and movements. At the same time, new strategies have emerged in response to changing political and economic conditions in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

For example, many of the impressive gains of the older movements came under threat beginning in the 1980s with a period of deregulation that loosened the environmental restrictions of previous decades. By 1989, the U.S. Forest Service estimated that 58% of Pennsylvania's land base was forested, a considerable improvement over the widespread deforestation of the nineteenth century but also a drop of 28% from the previous decade (Kosack 1995:199). The large-scale deindustrialization of the late twentieth century also left Pennsylvania and other industrialized places with a legacy of environmental problems that needed to be cleaned up. These included many "brownfields" and other damaged areas that needed remediation before they could become safe, attractive, or productive once more. Finally, many conservationists and environmentalists were beginning to point to suburban sprawl and other effects of our individualistic, mobile, consumerist society as culprits in rolling back the gains of earlier conservation efforts (Brewer 2003:44-49).

Two new structures that have developed in response to these challenges are the heritage area and the land trust. A key difference between these and earlier land conservation projects is that the newer forms often take place on a more regional scale, involving complex public/private partnerships and covering areas that often span municipal, county, and even state boundaries. These larger projects frequently embrace and absorb existing smaller units, serving as ways to link parks, historic sites, conservation land, and waterfront areas. Like heritage institutions and events, environmental projects are increasingly drawn into regional planning and preservation efforts.

This chapter will conclude by briefly examining two land trusts and one national heritage area, each of which is connected with Hopewell Furnace NHS as a neighbor and/or partner. As it has been throughout its history, Hopewell is both at a crossroads and on the margins. It is a key component of some large-scale conservation projects that extend along much of the urbanized east coast, yet it remains relatively isolated from the development boom throughout the region—two qualities that have made it an attractive partner for environmentalists working to preserve open space and historic landscapes in the region.

- Natural Lands Trust (Media)¹⁵
<http://www.natlands.org>

The land trust movement grew out of early twentieth century models of conservation organizing, but developed its own models and methods starting around 1960. Prior to that point, most Americans assumed that land conservation and management was something the government should and would take care of, but some conservationists were beginning to realize that the gains of previous decades were being eroded by growing populations, development, and pollutants. Publications like Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) and Chester County native William Whyte's *Securing Open Space for America* (1959) were influential in awakening many people to the new types of threat. The new conservationists created locally-based private organizations that used market and legal methods—buying land, attaching conservation and other easements—as a way of preserving open space and farmland. Land trusts grew exponentially during the Reagan/Bush years of the 1980s and early 1990s. The Land Trust Alliance, a national umbrella organization, counted 350,000 members in 1986, 800,000 in 1990, and around a million in 1998. Other environmental organizations like the Audubon Society and the Sierra Club also saw huge increases in membership in this

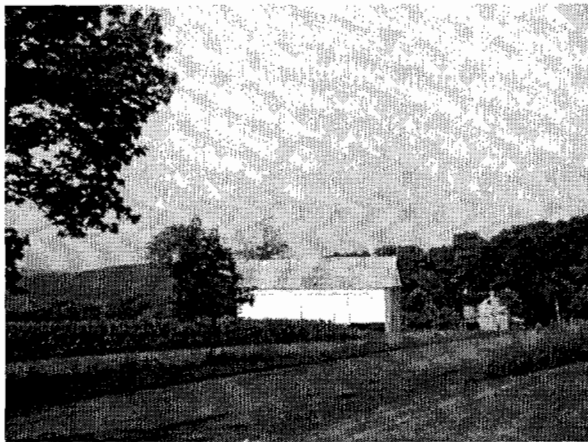


Figure 4.10 A barn and house on Northside Road built by the Houck family, now renovated by the National Lands Trust and occupied by Trust staff within the Crow's Nest Preserve.

period (Brewer 2003:32-40).

The Natural Lands Trust was among the earliest of the new land trusts in the U.S. It was founded by a group of avid bird-watchers in 1953 under the name the Philadelphia Conservationists, although from the outset it focused on the larger Delaware Valley. It has since grown into a sizeable organization, currently with more than 50 full-time employees. By 2004, the NLT had preserved more than 100,000 acres of open space, roughly the equivalent of Delaware County, encompassing lands of both cultural and natural value. It also owns and

manages more than 40 nature preserves and is involved in several regional conservation projects.

¹⁵ Information not otherwise cited in this section comes from my July 12, 2005 interview with Jim Thorne of the Natural Lands Trust. This interview is documented in my fieldnotes.

One NLT nature preserve, the Crow's Nest Preserve, borders Hopewell Furnace NHS on the south. This 600-acre parcel, which the Trust is still in the process of acquiring, includes several old farms, including some still in operation. The Trust has renovated one old Pennsylvania German barn on Piersol Road as an environmental education center and is presently renovating a second on Northside Road as a maintenance facility. Other historic properties, like the one in Figure 4.8, formerly owned by members of the Hopewell-affiliated Houck family, serve as housing for Trust staff.

Two regional conservation projects in which the Natural Lands Trust is involved are Hopewell Big Woods and the Highlands Coalition.

Hopewell Big Woods is the designation for one of the NLT's four "keystone landscapes," which it sees as crucial for the region's sustained environmental health. Each of these landscapes is still relatively undeveloped. At 73,000 acres, Hopewell Big Woods is by far the largest of the four. Starting in 2001, the NLT began to assemble a coalition which eventually included some two dozen partners, including Hopewell Furnace NHS, to work toward preserving at least 15,000 acres (approximately 24 square miles) of contiguous forest land. This achievement will provide an unusually large unbroken forest canopy within an increasingly developed region. When the lands of the national and state parks, the Pennsylvania Game Commission, and Birdsboro's municipal holdings are combined, almost 12,000 acres are already protected. The Hopewell Big Woods project is linked with the efforts of the Schuylkill River National and State Heritage Areas (below) and also with the work of the Hay Creek and French and Pickering Creek watershed associations. Hopewell Big Woods also serves as something of a southern anchor for the regional Highlands Coalition project, and it is one of the largest and highest-priority areas included in the new Berks County Greenway Network plan, currently being drafted (Berks County Planning Commission 2006).

The Highlands Coalition is a consortium of more than 100 organizations in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut which is working to preserve open space, farmland, and water sources in the three-million acre greenbelt that borders the eastern seaboard (see Figure 20, below)—what the Coalition terms the "backyard paradise" for the extended Philadelphia-New York-Hartford megalopolis (Highlands Coalition 2005). The federal Highlands Conservation Act, passed in 2004, supports (although it does not automatically fund) conservation efforts within this greenbelt. State and federal funds have begun to be appropriated for Highlands-related projects, including the "Birdsboro Waters" segment which centers on Hay Creek and which received initial funding in the spring of 2006. Along with environmentalist arguments for preserving open space in the Highlands, the Coalition has emphasized the importance of

cultural and historical “Critical Treasures,” among which it includes Hopewell Furnace NHS and several other Pennsylvania sites associated with the early iron industry.

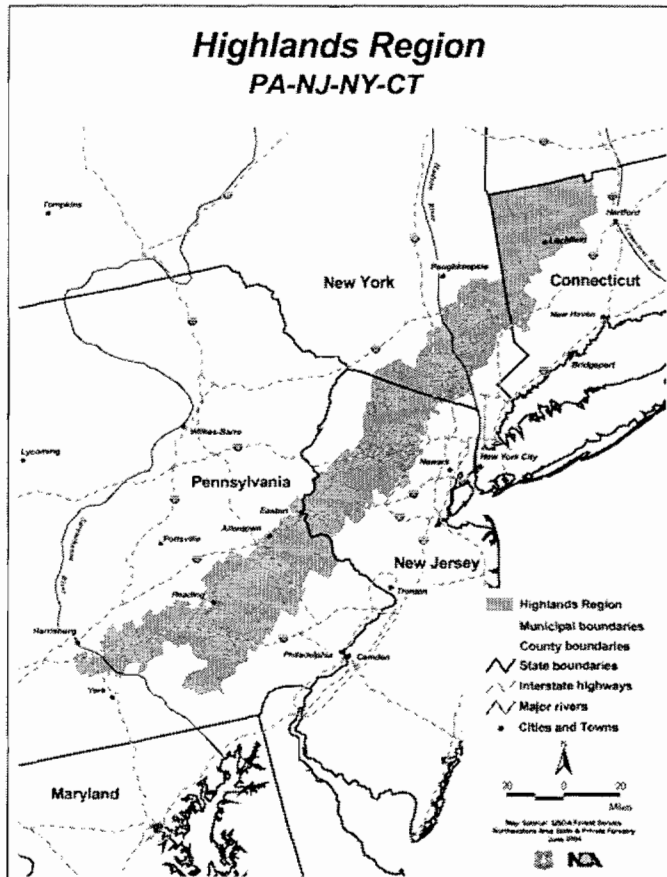


Figure 4.11
The Highlands Region
(Source: USDA Forest Service)

- French and Pickering Creeks Conservation Trust (Coventryville/Pottstown)¹⁶
<http://frenchandpickering.org/>

Like the Natural Lands Trust, the French and Pickering Creek Conservation Trust was among the early adopters of the land trust model. It was founded in 1967 by Samuel and Eleanor Morris, who were well-connected in regional conservation and political circles. The organization is headquartered in an ironmaster’s house not far from Hopewell, and it has preserved some other historic properties, although it has recently shifted its central emphasis more firmly to land conservation rather than building preservation. An issue of recent concern for the trust has been improving public access to preserved land, since land trusts are often seen as elitist organizations

¹⁶ Information not otherwise cited in this section comes from my August 9, 2005 interview with Christy Martin of the French and Pickering Creek Conservation Trust. This interview is documented in my fieldnotes.

that remove land from public access. The trust is working to create a French Creek Trail that will follow a ten-mile section of French Creek starting in Coventryville. The trail will connect to the Horseshoe Trail which begins in Valley Forge and ends just north of Harrisburg, passing through Hopewell Furnace NHS and French Creek State Park on its way. In recent years, the FPCCT has also sponsored an annual “French Creek Iron Tour” event for bicyclists, taking in many of the iron-related sites in the watershed.

The FPCCT was involved in an acrimonious lawsuit between 1989 and 1998 that became a test case for the legal viability of conservation easements. After a property owner built a house on a property where a conservation agreement allowed only agricultural structures, the FPCCT engaged in a long and expensive legal battle that resulted in the eventual demolition of the house. The organization has not yet recouped its more than \$100,000 in legal expenses, but the case set an important precedent for land trusts and conservation efforts in general (Brewer 2003:165-66).

Many other watershed associations border the Hopewell Area, including the Hay Creek Watershed Association and a consortium called the Green Valleys Association in northern Chester County. The growth of land trust and watershed organizations in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century demonstrates the shift away from purely local or free-standing preservation and conservation efforts and toward multi-faceted regional partnerships. Many of these efforts in Pennsylvania are currently supported by the state’s “Growing Greener” initiative, a 1999 “smart growth” program that links environmental cleanup and land conservation with economic growth and redevelopment. Such programs are a way of trying to overcome the more unfortunate legacies of the earlier industrial era while reshaping places and populations for a postindustrial economy.

- Schuylkill River National and State Heritage Area (Pottstown)¹⁷
<http://www.schuylkillriver.org>

Part of the trend toward larger and more hybrid heritage/environmental efforts, the Schuylkill River Heritage Area was founded in 1974 as the Schuylkill River Greenway Association. Originally based in Berks County, it worked to develop trails linking greenspaces in towns along the Schuylkill River. Its initial Berks County focus eventually expanded to include the entire 128-mile length of the river within Schuylkill, Berks, Chester, and Philadelphia counties and to incorporate cultural and tourism planning along with natural conservation projects. The group gained state recognition in 1995 as

¹⁷ Information not otherwise cited in this section comes from telephone interviews with Kurt Zwikl, executive director of the Schuylkill River National and State Heritage Areas (May 3, 2005) and Cory Kegerise, programs manager for the heritage area (Sept. 23, 2005). These interviews are documented in my interview transcriptions.

part of the Pennsylvania state heritage parks program, and then sought and obtained federal designation as a national heritage corridor in 2000. The federal legislation provides for a 15-year life. Unlike many heritage areas, it is not overseen by a specially-appointed commission, but continues to be administered by the Greenway Association out of which it emerged. As with the other regional projects described in this section, the heritage area continues to play largely a linking role—“to work to connect the dots,” as one staff member told me.

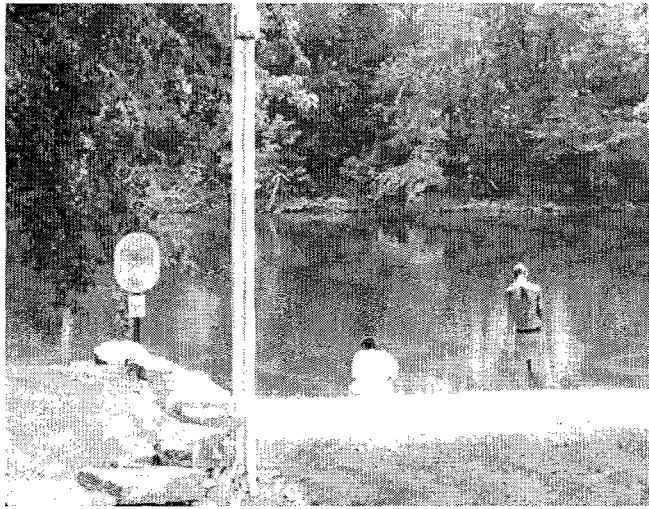


Figure 4.12 Fishing in the Schuylkill River from a park adjacent to the Schuylkill River National and State Heritage Area headquarters.

The heritage area’s headquarters are in a former public utility building on the banks of the Schuylkill River in Pottstown. The river remains a primary focus for the organization, with events like the annual Schuylkill River Sojourn in early June. This week-long canoe or kayak trip begins in Schuylkill Haven and ends in Philadelphia; it is one of many “river soujourns” that now take place throughout Pennsylvania each year.

Hopewell Furnace NHS has partnered with the heritage area in the planning process for a multi-county iron and steel heritage trail, initiated through the Chester County planning board but now being embraced by a variety of historical, educational, conservation, recreational, planning, and tourism organizations from around the region (including some that are geographically outside the Schuylkill River watershed).

Hopewell has also been linked with the heritage area through its program of placing informational kiosks at selected sites throughout the watershed. Hopewell is scheduled to be a “regional information center” for the heritage area, with a kiosk in the Hopewell Visitor Center that will offer a short orientation video, maps, and some information about other attractions. This installation is being completed in collaboration with the park, and will include an updating of the park’s own orientation map in the Visitor Center.

A recent focus for the heritage area has been to present the Schuylkill as a “Revolutionary River.” This interpretive theme allows for connections to the region’s colonial and Revolutionary period, the Industrial Revolution, and what is termed the “Environmental Revolution” sparked by the conservation and preservation movements

of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Thus each of the broad periods that these three contextual chapters have explored—the preindustrial, industrial, and postindustrial—are tied together within the heritage area’s interpretive offerings via the theme of “revolution.”

At the start of the twenty-first century, Hopewell Furnace NHS continues to wrestle with the paradox of its own double purpose: (1) to interpret and preserve industrial history and (2) to contribute to land conservation and recreational efforts designed to restore a landscape and a society deeply ravaged by two centuries of industrial production. As a very early postindustrial site, it pointed the way for efforts that have now become much more widespread and interconnected with the region’s new economy. At the same time, its own association with the colonial and early American time periods inevitably links it with pastoral images that are at odds with its interpretive focus on the early iron industry. The “Hopewell problem”—a deep-seated contradiction in the park’s mission and character—recurs in many ways, including in its relationships with its associated groups, to which we will now turn.

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CHAPTER FIVE TRADITIONAL GROUPS

In the early twenty-first century, Hopewell Furnace NHS and people associated with it are embedded in a complex and multi-layered cultural and natural landscape.

- Elements of Pennsylvania’s preindustrial histories are still present or have been restored over time.
 - Agriculture remains a significant cultural, economic, and physical part of the area, particularly in Berks County, which is among the top 100 counties in the nation in terms of agricultural production (Berks County Planning Commission 2003:1-18).¹ It is linked in many symbolic and actual ways with the continuing presence of many Pennsylvania German farmers in the area.
 - Thanks to more than a century of reforestation and conservation efforts, significant portions of “Penn’s Woods” have been restored throughout Pennsylvania.
- Industry has by no means disappeared from the area. Many smaller specialty types of manufacturing, including in iron and steel, still contribute to the regional economy.
- A postindustrial economy based on the service and knowledge sectors is growing rapidly. Its development places new pressures on agricultural and forest land.
- Since the late nineteenth century, a network of sites and organizations involved in cultural and natural preservation, interpretation, and tourism has been interwoven among these layers. Pennsylvania German cultures play a particularly important role within this network. It has become an increasingly important part of the postindustrial economy, particularly in relation to economic redevelopment and the growth of tourism in the region. As well, it is one of the important ways that individual people and groups experience and express their sense of connection to particular places, cultures, and histories.

Cultural production and the transmission of traditional knowledge are by no means straightforward processes within these interwoven layers, as the next three chapters will show. Even among the people who most closely fit the NPS definition of “traditionally associated groups,” traditional knowledge and practices are shaped by the changes and discontinuities of the industrial and postindustrial periods, and by the institutions—like national parks—that have been created in large part to balance those changes and discontinuities.

¹ Berks County farms produced almost \$250 million in revenue in 1997. The county is particularly strong in mushroom production, and also supports a large food processing sector. (Berks County Planning Commission 2003:I-18)

This chapter will examine the two groups of people who can most fully be considered “traditionally associated” with Hopewell Furnace NHS:

- (1) descendants of Hopewell workers and eighteenth or nineteenth century area residents
- (2) people associated with Bethesda Baptist Church/the Lloyd church

The two questions addressed in the chapter will be:

- (a) To what extent can these people be considered traditional, associated, and a “people” or cultural group?
- (b) What is the nature of their specific associations with the park’s resources?

FAMILIES AS TRADITIONALLY ASSOCIATED PEOPLES

As we saw in the introduction, the National Park Service defines traditionally associated peoples as those groups whose interests in the park’s resources fulfill the following conditions:

- they predate the park’s creation
- they have existed for more than two generations or forty years
- they are associated with a shared sense of purpose, community, or ethnicity.

In the case of Hopewell Furnace, there are several families who fulfill the first two criteria. In fact, a striking number of local families have been in the area for an extremely long time by Euro-American standards, with many tracing their ancestry back to the earliest English, German, and other immigrants who settled in Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century. The longevity of their association, then, is not a question here.

A question *does* arise about whether these families can be considered to be a “people” or a “group” in an ethnographic sense. As we have seen in Chapter 1, anthropologists generally understand this to refer to some grouping of people who share a deep-seated sense of identity and are usually linked to specific places, languages, practices, values, and perceptions. At the same time, anthropologists now recognize that these identities and practices are far from static, and that peoples and cultures are continually changing in response to changing conditions. Articulations of ethnic and cultural identity thus tend to respond to particular historical and social conditions, rather than being fixed identities that remain unchanged from generation to generation.² The question for this study, then, becomes:

² For an early and influential discussion of this issue, see Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969). For a more recent discussion, see Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004). For an example of this approach being used to analyze a specific case where articulations of ethnic identity have changed in response to changing historical circumstances, see *From Mukogodo to Maasai: Ethnicity and Cultural Change in Kenya* by Lee Cronk (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2004). Russell Kazal’s *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton and Oxford:

Within the complex, layered social setting of postindustrial southeastern Pennsylvania, do the descendants of longtime area families make use of the resources within Hopewell Furnace NHS to shape or express their sense of belonging to some collective entity or place, such as a specific geographic location, an ethnic culture, or an identifiable sub-culture?

To answer this question, I spoke with descendants of several families who were historically associated with Hopewell Furnace and the immediate area around the furnace. I did not make an exhaustive genealogical inquiry into each family or investigate every family that might have significant associations with Hopewell Furnace. Rather, I conducted sample interviews to get a sense of the range of types of associations that people from these families had with the park's resources. I also spoke with a number of people who had longstanding ties to the area but whose families were not historically associated with Hopewell Furnace per se. The Cole family is discussed in considerable detail in this chapter, because of their unique connection to the Six Penny Creek African American community and the Mt. Frisby African Methodist Episcopal Church around which that community was once centered. At the end of this section, I will revisit the question of whether specific families can be considered as cultural groups. I will also examine the range of types of association found among the Hopewell descendants I surveyed.

Interviewees and families represented were:

Brooke/Clingan/Kemper families

I spoke with two descendants of this very extended network of families associated with Hopewell Furnace and the surrounding area: (1) Joe Kemper, grandson of Clementine Brooke Clingan and son of Jackson Kemper who was instrumental in collecting many of the early oral histories and other documentation about Hopewell during the CCC period at the park, and (2) Ted (Edward Jr.) Stokes, great-grandson of Louise Clingan Brooke who was the last owner of the Hopewell property before it was sold to the federal government.

Many members of this extended family still live in the area, many of them in Reading, Birdsboro, or Pottstown, and several further east in or around Philadelphia. Others are more far-flung; Joe Kemper lives in Illinois, and there are family members in Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Florida, and elsewhere. Ted Stokes and his father, also Edward B. Stokes, live in Birdsboro.

Ted Stokes had many recollections of the Hopewell property and family or personal stories associated with it. He recalled being taken to the park as a small child,

Princeton University Press, 2004) discusses the same process in relation to Pennsylvania Germans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

and particularly remembers the carriage collection that was still in the barn at that time. This collection, assembled by Stokes' great-grandfather, Edward Brooke II, was a source of some controversy at the park in the 1950s and 1960s. Because the collection did not specifically illustrate the furnace's "period of significance," park administrators expressed a desire to find it a more suitable home. But family and community members protested against the deaccessioning of artifacts that held some meaning for them because of the association with the original collector. Over continuing protests ("I took a lot of heat on that, believe me!" recalled then-superintendent Ben Zerbey in a July 15, 2003 interview with historian Leah Glaser), the carriage collection was eventually transferred to Roosevelt-Vanderbilt NHS at Hyde Park, New York (Glaser 2005:254-55). Ted Stokes remembers a sense of disappointment at the loss of the carriage collection; his recollection is that because the carriages had no historical connection to Hyde Park, they were eventually sold.

He had a similar recollection of talking with Harry "Hat" Painter, a local builder who had been involved in the construction of the modern dairy barn at Hopewell in the 1920s. Apparently Painter was troubled by the National Park Service taking down this serviceable and fairly new barn to replace it with the replica nineteenth century structure in the 1950s. (Hat Painter died in 1998 at the age of 98; his son Paul still lives in Birdsboro.)

Stokes also recalled being at French Creek State Park on a school camping trip in elementary school. His class made a trip to Hopewell Village NHS to visit the national park, and as they toured the village, he suddenly remembered having been there as an even smaller child. Excited, he insisted to the teacher that his own family had once lived in the "big house"—a claim the teacher dismissed as the product of a child's over-active imagination!

Both Stokes and Kemper expressed an interest in family and local history. Both have family papers and memorabilia relating to Hopewell, much of which they have already shared with the national park (Kemper's family papers have already been microfilmed by the Tri-County Heritage Society, which preserves records relating to the histories of Berks, Chester, and Lancaster Counties). Both appeared to view the park in a positive light, although perhaps with a modicum of caution in Ted Stokes' case. Indirectly, Stokes appeared to convey some frustration that the park's focus on its own interpretive themes occasionally clashed with the preferences of family or local association, as in the case of the carriage collection and the modern dairy barn. However, he and his own family have been involved in some park productions over the years. His son and daughter volunteered in the living history program when they were younger, and he himself has performed old-time fiddle music as part of Establishment Day programs in the past. This activity is an example of how family and local memory may be linked with the park's resources through the practice of living history (a subject

to be discussed in much more detail in the following chapter). Stokes also noted that he had actually met some of his more distant relatives for the first time at park functions, particularly at the rededication of the ironmaster's house after its renovation in the late 1970s.

Both of these Hopewell descendants expressed a layered sense of association with the park's resources. First, particularly in Stokes' case, there was the direct association with ancestors who had once owned, run, and lived at Hopewell Furnace. However, resources outside the park were equally important in his sense of family identity. The main lineage of the Brooke family, in particular, became much more associated with Birdsboro than Hopewell after the 1840s, and there are many sites in and around Birdsboro more strongly associated with the Brooke family than Hopewell was or is. By virtue of having been made a national park, Hopewell has assumed a prominence that it might not otherwise have had in these descendants' memories. A non-park resource of particular recent concern to Joe Kemper was the remaining Clingan mansion—one of an almost-unique matched pair of “mirror mansions”—in Robeson Township, over which a preservation battle was fought in 2005. The first of these mansions had been demolished several years earlier, and the Robeson Township Historical Society attempted to save its twin from demolition by a developer who had bought it. Joe Kemper and his wife Sharon were willing to help the Historical Society buy the mansion, but the effort was unsuccessful and the building was taken down.

There was also a sense that for these descendants, the park's own interpretation, research, and programming was a type of resource—as seen, for example, in the meeting of distant cousins at a park function. Joe Kemper noted that he would likely eventually leave his original documents to a suitable repository for these materials, likely the Tri-County Heritage Society.

Kemper also expressed a type of association I did not encounter elsewhere in my interviews with Hopewell descendants: an occupational connection with the metal-working industries. Kemper's father Jack worked at the park as an oral historian and research assistant between 1936 and 1939 because he was unable to find other work at the time, but like many men in the area, he wanted to remain associated with the iron and steel industry. During his career, he was employed by various companies in the area, working his way up from sales representative to director, then started his own company, Kemper Valve and Fittings, in Illinois in 1964. The company continues to produce fittings for oil drilling and pipelines. Joe Kemper spoke to me of his sense of being part of an occupational lineage going all the way back to Hopewell Furnace, which represents the roots of metal-working as an industry in the U.S.

Care family

Members of the Care family worked at Hopewell for many decades. Thomas Care held the important position of founder from 1819 to 1835, when he was replaced by his son Henry. Nathan Care was the last founder at Hopewell, working in this job from 1850 to the furnace's last blast in 1883.

There are many members of the Care family still in the Hopewell area. However, I spoke with a more distant member of the family, Nancy Embich, who currently lives in Saylorville, Pennsylvania. Nancy's mother was raised by an aunt in western Pennsylvania, and Nancy knew nothing of the Hopewell branch of the family until her aunt gave her a short piece of writing by Henry Care, who had served during the Civil War and was imprisoned at Andersonville. This connection sparked Nancy's interest in the family history for the first time, and she contacted park because she knew that Henry Care had been a blacksmith's apprentice at the furnace at one time. "I was intensely intrigued with the whole area and everything that we found here," she said. She has subsequently written a short book on her ancestor's Civil War experiences, and her husband, an artist, recently produced a watercolor rendering of the Hopewell blacksmith shop, which was donated as a gift to the Friends of Hopewell Furnace.

Nancy has found it helpful to talk with Hopewell's current blacksmith, Bill Hochella, who participates in the park's living history presentations. On discovering that the gravestone of Henry's wife Margaret (Painter) Care had been broken and removed from the Bethesda Baptist Church cemetery to the park's storage facilities, the Embichs became instrumental in having it replaced. She is not in touch with any other Cares in the area, although she wishes she could be. She expressed disappointment at hearing from park staff that shortly before one of her own visits to the park, a group of Cares had been at the park for a family reunion, but that the park had no contact information for anyone in the family.

For this particular Hopewell descendant, the park itself has been a key point of contact and a source of information that did not come down through her own family.

Cole family

Like many iron plantations, Hopewell included African-American men and women among its workers. The furnace rented housing to blacks and whites alike, but as the local black population grew in the mid-nineteenth century, largely due to the arrival of runaway slaves from Maryland and other southern states, a small community that included many free blacks developed along the banks of Six Penny Creek, a stream northwest of the park that drains into the Schuylkill River (Walker 307, 310). This area is some two miles from Hopewell Furnace, reflecting the dispersed nature of the furnace's workforce and the way that the iron-making operation was integrally tied to the wooded surroundings that provided its fuel.

By 1856, the black community had become numerous and settled enough to build its own church—the Mt. Frisby African Methodist Episcopal Church (also apparently known as the Six Penny Colored Church or Mt. Zion Church) (Walker 1966:311-12). The AME denomination was founded in Philadelphia in 1816 by Richard Allen, a former slave who became a Methodist pastor. In response to the racism he and others encountered in Philadelphia’s Methodist churches, Allen started the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church (still operating and known as “Mother Bethel”) in 1793. The denomination grew as other black Methodists in the mid-Atlantic formed their own churches (Lapsansky 2001:10-11). The AME church served as an important network of connection for blacks in the region before and after the Civil War, and was integrally involved in the operations of the Underground Railroad (Switala 2001:9, 166-67).

An 1860 map of the Hopewell area shows the church along with nine homes listed as being occupied by P[eter] Jones, J[ohn] Watson, J[ehu] Nixon, C[harles] Butler, I[John?] Dehart, D.R. Wamsher, S. Wamsher, I[saac] Cole, [Catherine?] Bodley, and G. Woolf (Walker 1966:312). Walker speculates that at least some of these, judging by their German-sounding names, were probably white. Isaac Cole, ancestor of the current Cole family, is not shown as living on the current Cole land, which is next to the church, but rather to the south somewhat. An 1876 map (Figure 5.1) shows the church, in this case called “Mt. Zion M[ethodist] E[piscopal] Ch[urch],” along with thirteen houses occupied by S. Wolf, I. Cole, D. Wamsher, I. Wolf, D. Jones, D. Nixon, C. Butler, L. Miller, L. Deffart, Tolbert, L. Miller, P. Jones, and C. Keller (see Figure 5.1. Some of the spellings vary slightly, but even so, it is clear that the makeup of the community fluctuated somewhat in the sixteen years between the maps.³

It is not known where Isaac Cole lived before he settled in Six Penny Creek, although his Civil War enlistment papers indicate that he was from “Hofford County” in Maryland (perhaps a misspelling of Harford County) (Hebblethwaite 2003:1).

Mt. Frisby AME Church is among those that were known to have been station stops on the northeastern corridor of the Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania (Blockson 1981:84-85, Switala 2001:166). This corridor included two main routes. A fairly simple one ran from Lancaster and Lebanon counties into Berks County and ultimately to Reading, where runaways were transferred from the metaphorical to the literal railroad and transported north by train. In Montgomery and Bucks counties, to the east, the network was much more complex, and served to transport people north via a variety of routes through Schuylkill and other northern Pennsylvania counties (Switala 2001:153).

³ Both maps are included as Appendix E.

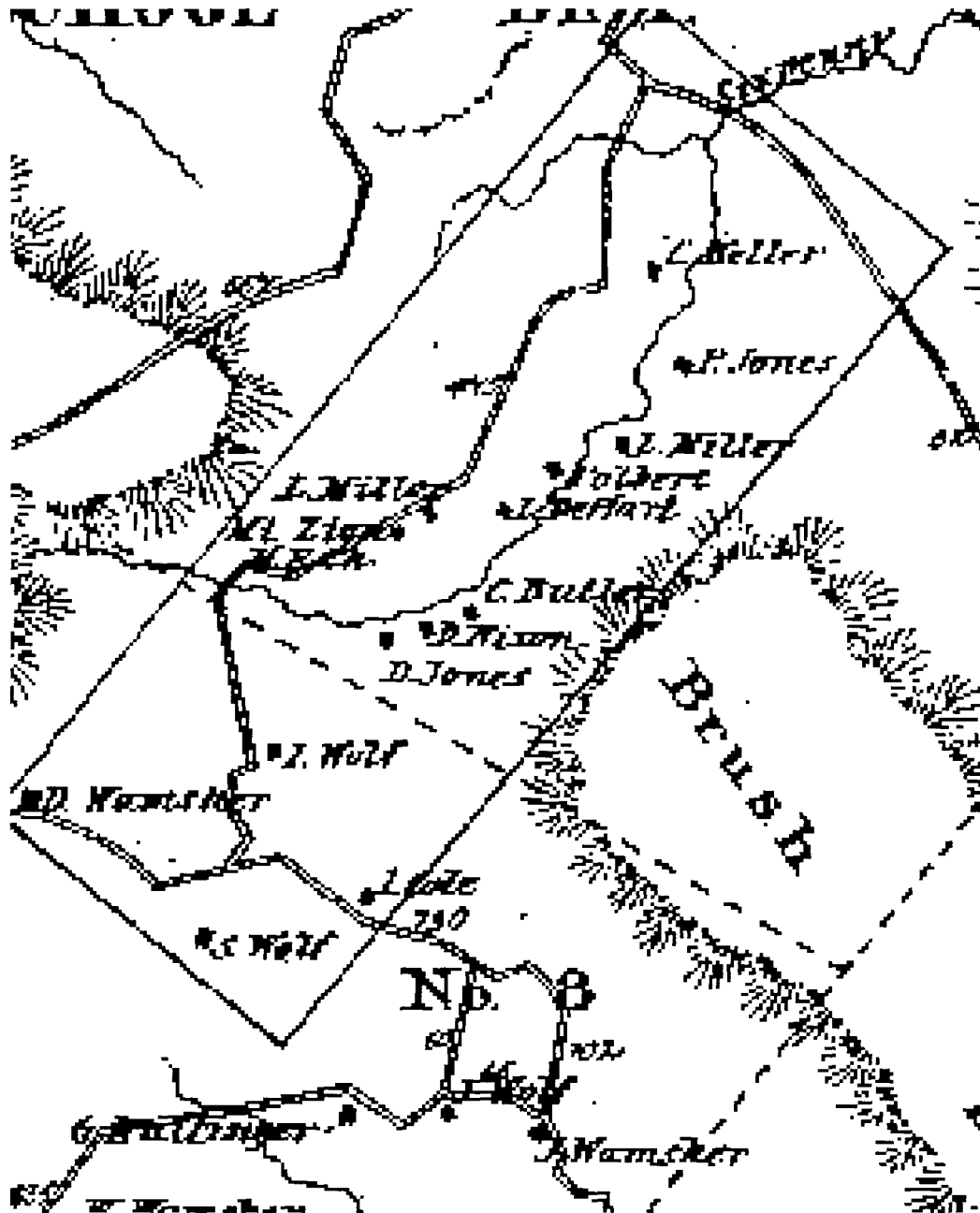


Figure 5.1 Detail of 1876 map of Six Penny Creek community. Isaac Cole's property is in the lower left, just above "No. 8." (Source: HOFU.)

The Reading route is the one most clearly documented as linked with Hopewell Furnace and also with its near neighbor, Joanna Furnace. Switala traces the route from Morgantown to Robeson Township, and from there on one of two routes:

- (1) The old Nanticoke Indian path (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.5) which ran from Morgantown north to Reading. Joanna Furnace lay along this path; its owner, Levi Smith, was known to be an abolitionist who aided escaped slaves. Just north of Joanna Furnace in the village of Plowville, Blockson notes that a family (coincidentally?) named Cole sheltered runaways in a place called Fingal, on the way to Reading (Blockson 1981:85-86).
- (2) From Morgantown, fugitives could also travel to Mt. Frisby AME Church on their way to Birdsboro and then Reading.

Once in Reading, most travelers were placed on trains for either Philadelphia or Elmira, New York, via Harrisburg (Switala 2001:154-55).

The more easterly network included a stop in Pottstown and also Pine Forge, an ironmaking site owned by the Quaker abolitionist Thomas Rutter. Cole family oral tradition links the Mt. Frisby church with Pine Forge to the north, perhaps showing a connection between the eastern and western routes in Berks County or perhaps conflating the two known stops on two separate routes. Pat Cole told me about hearing as a child that the cellar of the old family home (Figure 5.2, below) was a hiding place for runaway slaves, and that “we were always told [the ruins of the Six Penny Creek homes] were old slave shacks.” From the Mt. Frisby stop, she said, they were told that runaways went “across the street up into the woods” and from there to Pine Forge.⁴ Walker reports that the Scarlett family of Scarlett’s Mill, on Hay Creek just west of Hopewell, also hid escaping slaves at their home, “The Forest” beginning as early as 1826 (Walker 207).

⁴ Since 1945, the Pine Forge property has been an African-American Seventh-Day Adventist college, Pine Forge Academy. For a history of the school, see http://www.co.berks.pa.us/douglass/lib/douglass/history/the_history_of_the_little_school.pdf.



Figure 5.2 Remains of old Cole family home, behind the George A. Cole house.

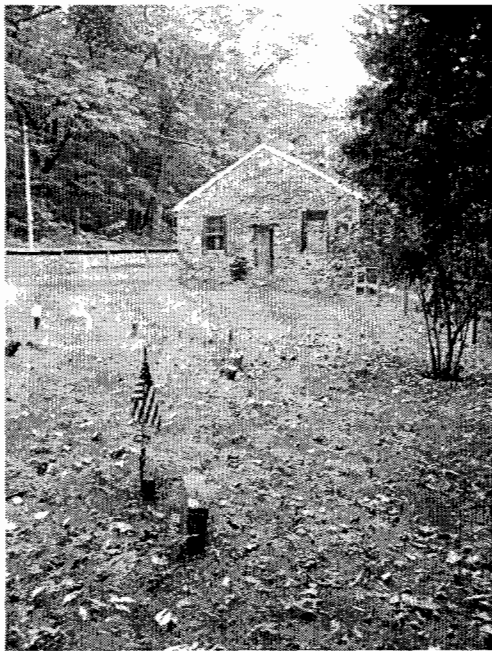


Figure 5.3 The former Mt. Frisby AME Church, Geigertown, showing cemetery and graves of Civil War veterans Isaac Cole and James Jackson marked with flags.

In 1864, at the age of 40, Isaac Cole enlisted in Company H, 32nd Regiment U.S. Colored Troops (USCT), which was mustered in at Camp William Penn near Philadelphia in 1864. Anna Houck Witman, descendant of the Houck and Wolf families who were associated with Hopewell Furnace, told me that

[T]he old grandfather Cole went to the Civil War in place of my grandfather. Because my grandfather was working for the Brookes people. He was working at Hopewell. And that was a war effort. And he had six, seven kids as it was. So he

was excused from going to the war. But they took someone in his place. And whether Grandfather paid for old Isaac Cole to go to the war, I don't know. But Isaac Cole went for Grandfather.

The 1860 and 1876 maps of Six Penny Creek clearly show Isaac Cole residing somewhat south of the main Six Penny Creek community, quite near the land occupied by the Wolf (or Woolf) family. It seems possible that the two families may have reached a mutually beneficial agreement whereby the Wolfs would hire Isaac as a substitute for one of their own family members who had been drafted.

At the age of 40, Isaac was above the limit of 35 in the 1863 draft, and in any case, free black men, though eligible to be drafted, were called less frequently than whites. However, they frequently did serve as substitutes. Officially, they were only supposed to substitute for other black men, but Eugene Murdock reports that toward the end of the war, such restrictions were frequently overlooked (Murdock 1971:179-80). An important criterion for substitutes was that they could not themselves be eligible for the draft—a requirement satisfied by Isaac because of his age. An examination of the draft lists for Berks County should show whether one of the Wolf family was drafted and hired a substitute.

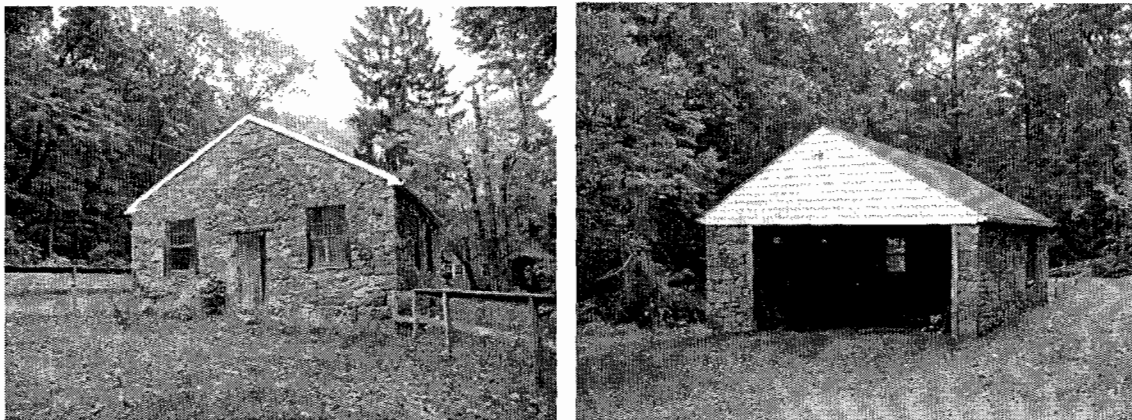


Figure 5.4 (left) Former Mt. Frisby AME Church, built in 1856 and used for approximately three decades. An incised stone marker at the peak of the roof reads “Mt. Frisby AME Church 1856.”

Figure 5.5 (Right) Rear view of the church, showing its conversion to use as a garage.

Isaac Cole survived the war, died in 1889, and is buried in the small cemetery abutting Mt. Frisby AME Church. There are several tombstones in the cemetery, but most are made of soft red sandstone and have eroded over time. The only two that are legible are those of Isaac Cole and another Civil War veteran, James Jackson, who was with Company I of the 45th Regiment U.S.C.T. Both Cole and Jackson applied for veterans' pensions after the war. Jackson received his during his lifetime, while Cole's

application was rejected; his widow did receive a widow's pension after his death (Hebblethwaite 2003:1).

Three questions arise about Isaac Cole which may be answered by Anna Witman's account of him as a substitute for her grandfather during the Civil War. First, when and why did he move from the land he originally occupied south of Six Penny Creek to the current Cole property which includes the Mt. Frisby church? Second, why did the Coles remain in the area after Hopewell Furnace no longer provided work and the rest of the Six Penny Creek community had left their homes along the creek? And third, where did Isaac obtain the capital to buy the land that has been passed along to his descendants? Although the Coles themselves spoke to me of this land having been in their family since at least 1856, the date when the church was built, the 1860 and 1876 maps suggest otherwise.

If Isaac was able to raise the capital through serving as a substitute for a drafted white man during the Civil War, that may explain how he, among all of the Six Penny Creek families, was able to put down lasting roots by buying land. It also seems reasonable to speculate that the Six Penny Creek community faded away in large part because of the end of the cold-blast iron industry in the area, which employed many black laborers. The Mt. Frisby Church was still being used for worship as late as 1886, but given that Hopewell Furnace had gone out of blast for the last time in 1883, the 1870s and 1880s would have been a period when many local people would have been looking elsewhere for work. Those with the most marginal homes, like the dwellings along Six Penny Creek, would likely have been among the first to move elsewhere. If Isaac had managed to accumulate savings, something it was difficult for many of his neighbors and fellow African-Americans to do, he might well have been in a position to purchase the property around the church when the community dwindled to a point of no longer being able to maintain a congregation. This would help to explain why the Cole family has remained in the Hopewell area long after the descendants of the other black families from the Six Penny Creek community moved elsewhere.

This scenario is conjectural, and further research should be done to determine the 1856 ownership of the land on which the church sits as well as the draft records to check Anna Witman's account.

Isaac Cole left a large family when he died in 1889 (see family tree, Figure 5.6, below). In the 1880 census, he is listed as a stonemason, as are his two oldest sons, Alfred and Howard. Alfred, born around 1855, appears to have died young; his wife is listed as a widow (with five sons at home ranging in age from one to 19) in the 1910 census. Alfred's oldest son, George A. Cole (1890-1976) is listed as a laborer at a fertilizer mill in 1910, but in adult life he ran a trucking and construction company. According to his son, John:

My father, he was self-employed. And that was very unusual for when, him coming up, being a black man, having his own business. I mean, it was just unheard of. He had, he started out when I was very young, he owned several dump trucks. And he used to [transport] coal, like up in Pottsville area, up in the coal regions, and then he would transport that coal all over. . . And then he also had trucks—there again, he plowed snow, he leased them to the state, he helped build the Pennsylvania Turnpike running from Morgantown towards Pittsburgh. So he was in construction all of his life. And he had people working for him. And it was quite, quite a business. It really was. And it was funny, because we were the only ones, family, that had our own gas tank. And everybody thought that was very unusual to have a gas tank on your property where you didn't have to go down the road to buy a couple of gallons of gas!

It was George who adapted the old AME church for use as a garage. It was also George who negotiated the sale of part of his land in the 1930s to the federal government for the French Creek Recreation Demonstration Area. Of an original parcel of some 100 acres, he sold 70 and retained 30, a solution halfway between those of the local residents who gladly sold their whole parcels to the government and the handful who refused to sell. A 1939 tract map showing properties acquired by the federal government for the French Creek RDA shows three properties owned by members of the Cole family: a tract that is perhaps in the location of the family's original settlement, at that point in the name of Howard Cole (one of Isaac's sons), a second tract in the name of George A. Cole and Ralph H. Cole (who were brothers), just to the north, and a third, smaller tract in the name of George A. Cole alone.⁵

During the fieldwork for this study, I spoke several times with George's youngest son, John, and his wife Barbara, who reside on the remaining family property that includes the Mt. Frisby Church. I also conducted a telephone interview with John's niece Patricia Cole, who lives in Pottstown. Family circumstances made it difficult to pursue the in-depth research that had been an original part of the work-plan for this project, and so this report should be considered as preliminary rather than a full-scale study of the Cole family history.

Both John and Pat Cole recalled the very rural nature of the area when they were growing up in the 1950s and 1960s. John Cole told me,

I can remember having chickens and ducks and rabbits and we had pigs we used to butcher. And I still have a lot of the old cast iron tubs and buckets and cherry-seeders and things like that, that we used on our property as a kid. . . We farmed for our own benefit. I mean, I can remember canning as a kid, and going and picking blackberries, and we had apple trees and pear trees and we would do all that canning. Because at the time, I can remember as a kid, I mean, we didn't even have a refrigerator. Because there was no electric out this way, kind

⁵ This map is included as Appendix H in Leah Glaser's Administrative History.

of—we're kind of in between the crossroads. It came across Firetower Road and went towards Geigertown, and then the other one went 345 like into Birdsboro. So there was a long time before we even had electric out here. But I can remember—and the other thing I think was quite unusual that we had is called carbide, and it's a gas lamp. And I can remember filling some type of tank in the back of our house that would give us electric light. But it was called—I think it was called carbide gas or something to that effect.

So did you have like an icebox?

Oh, yeah, icebox and a window box, yeah. A coal-bin!

Pat Cole's family, who lived in Pottstown, spoke of their frequent visits to their Geigertown relatives as "going to the country." During John's childhood, his father's brother Jim lived in the old family home at the rear of the property; George A. Cole had built a newer house closer to the road, where he and his wife raised their six boys. John and Barbara Cole have more recently built another house on the property, and have renovated the George A. Cole house for the use of their son and his family, who have moved back to the area after living elsewhere for several years. Their second son recently graduated from university.

As with other area residents, there was a strong association among the Coles with the area's wooded landscape, farming practices, and knowledge of the charcoal iron industry. Both John and Pat recollected riding their bikes throughout the area as children, and exploring the woods on the Cole property and the state and national parks. John told me,

As I walk up in front of my house, there's a flat spot up there and I always asked my father, you know, "Why is this flat spot in the middle of this hill?" And he told me that that's where they made charcoal. That's where they made charcoal—they would haul this wood out of the woods and then burn it and pile it up, and that's why that spot was there.

Many of the Coles also worked in the metal industries of the area. Three of John's brothers worked for the Stanley Flagg Company in Pottstown making brass and iron fittings. John himself works for a utility company in Reading.

In addition to being a source of recreation and a place connected to their specific family history, the state and national parks have been a source of seasonal employment for some young members of the Cole family. John worked there as a young man:

I always loved water and I always was around water all my life since the park was here. And actually I started working for the state when I was like 17 years old. And I think for the state you have to be 18, but I was a guard at 17. And I actually—even after I got out of school and went to the service, came back, and I still did it on the weekends, to give the other guys, the regular guys a weekend off.

So I enjoyed being around the water. I had a sailboat at the time, I used to go sailing out at the lake.

He met his wife Barbara through his summer job as a lifeguard. Barbara grew up in Parkesburg, in western Chester County, and like many people in the region, her family visited French Creek State Park for recreation during the summers. In John's words, she "came up on the weekend to go swimming like all the other people did in the area. And she was walking down the beach and it just fell into love!" Both of John and Barbara's sons worked or interned in seasonal programs at the state and national parks when they were younger, including a youth program linked with Hopewell's living history program.

The Coles spoke of their deep attachment to their family property and to the area in general. John Cole said he was, "Born and raised in this area. Went to school here. Graduated and never moved away! . . . This is all I know." A self-described "history buff," he added, "I like knowing where my ancestors came from, and not only my ancestors, just people in the area." John's wife Barbara pointed to the strong sense of community in the immediate area:

The people in this vicinity, it's just about being neighbors and friends. It's not about being white or black or anything like that. And I really, sincerely mean that. It's just—Anyone in, what would you say, a radius of five or six miles, or ten miles, would do anything for the other. And that's a fact. That's a fact. So that's pretty neat to be able to say in 2005.

At the same time, the Coles noted the rate of development in the area, and expressed the hope that the land around their family home will remain in its current rural, wooded state. "Now with all the developments coming in, some of my neighbors I don't even know," John Cole said. "I think the people that are moving here, they want to be in the country but they also want to be able to drive three miles and go to Wal-mart. Now, you can't have both."

The extended Cole family is now somewhat scattered throughout the region, with members in Reading and Pottstown and also in New Jersey and Maryland. They gather occasionally for family reunions at the ancestral homesite, often making use of the state park facilities where there is more space for large groups.

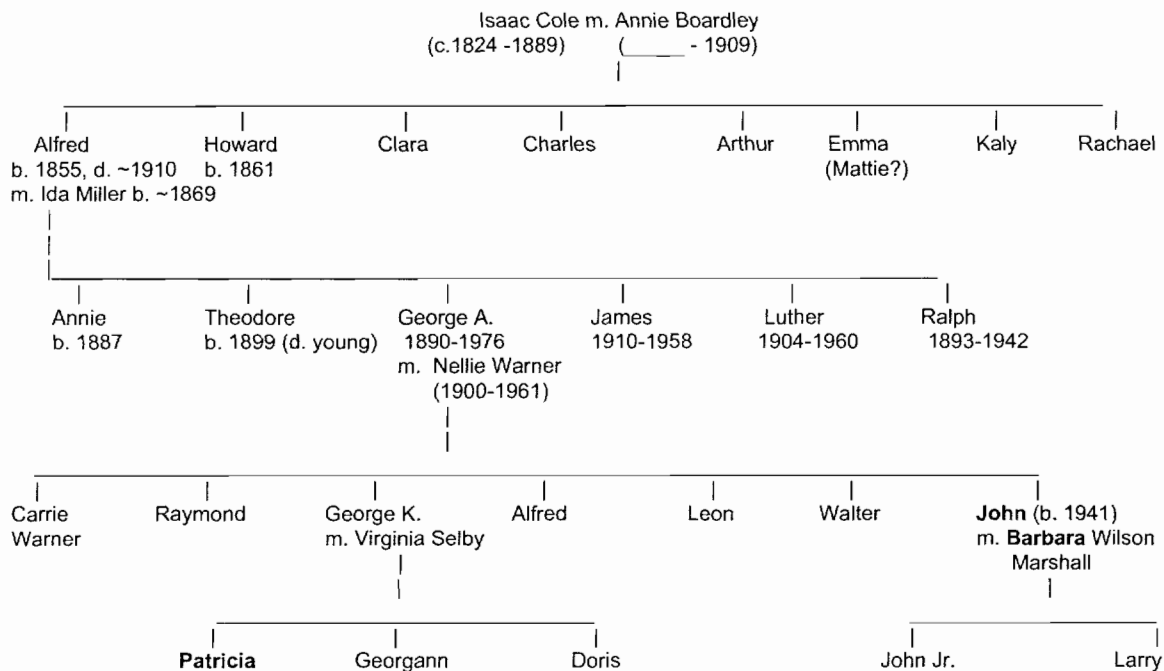


Figure 5.6 Selective family tree of Cole family, showing direct ancestry of John Cole and Pat Cole

A final, key point about this associated family is that much of the information they have about the history of the Coles in the area has come through research done at the national park, particularly by Ranger Frank Hebblethwaite. Pat Cole has done some genealogical research, and has been in contact with descendants of Draper Shawell, the last known former slave to have lived in the area (he died in 1937, and was married to a woman from the Cole family). But the Coles have made considerable use of the national park's resources as they are working to piece together their own family story. Thus we have another instance where a traditionally associated family is part of a process of co-constructing their shared knowledge about their past along with the national park, rather than it being a body of knowledge existing completely outside the park.

Hart family

The name Hart is shown in the Hopewell Furnace records from as early as 1784 (Walker 1966:275). David Hart was employed apparently throughout his lifetime at Hopewell, as a teamster and in other capacities. He frequently appears to have been in financial and other difficulties, perhaps because he was supporting a very large family. In 1817, he was discovered to have shortchanged his employers by bringing back only \$40 of the \$49 he had collected in payment for furnace products he had delivered (the

balance was charged to his account at the company store) (Walker 1966:212). He was unable to pay his rent between 1832 and 1837, making up the arrears at a later date (Walker 1966:180). His young sons also worked at the furnace, turning their wages over to their father, but in David's later years, the sons employed *him*, with his son Joseph offering him extra work cleaning castings to supplement his income (Walker 1966:344). Joseph appears to have done well for himself, earning a new silver watch from Hopewell in 1847 in gratitude for having found a new body of ore in one of the mines used by the furnace (Walker 1966:268).

I spoke with one descendant of the Hart family, Harry Hart, who worked as a seasonal ranger at the park between 1968 and 1975. Harry's father had run a print shop and edited newspapers (first the *Review*, then the *Dispatch*) in Birdsboro. Harry followed his father's footsteps in the first part of his career, editing the Birdsboro *Dispatch* for seventeen years before selling it and becoming a print shop teacher at the local high school. In that capacity, he was among the teachers recruited by Hopewell Village NHS as seasonal interpreters. He demonstrated the processes of molding and casting, along with his longtime friend and fellow teacher Bill Bitler.



Figure 5.7 Seasonal ranger and Hopewell descendant Harry Hart demonstrates molding, 1969. (Source: HOFU.)

Although he had been a history major as an undergraduate and maintains a lively interest in the history of the area, genealogy has never been a particular passion for Hart. He knew he had ancestors who worked in the charcoal iron industry, but did not realize he had a specific ancestral connection to Hopewell until he was informed of it by a park visitor one summer:

David was my great-grandfather. And the furnace closed down [temporarily] in the 1830s and he left Hopewell and went over to Joanna. And as I knew about him, he was associated with Joanna. And one Sunday morning a historian from

the University of West Chester came up and, “Are you Harry Hart?” “Yes.” “Did you know your great-grandfather worked here?” “No.” And he was checking out the lineages. So I found out who I was!
So you didn’t know until the researcher came—
I felt very much at home at the casting house here—I was doing my great-grandfather’s job!

Here, then, is another instance where the park (and, in this case, an educational institution as well) played a connecting or reconnecting role within the construction of family or local knowledge.

Henry family

Henry Henry (originally Heinrich Heinrich Heinrich) was a German immigrant from Hesse-Darmstadt who came to Pennsylvania as a young man. He became an apprentice blacksmith at Hopewell Furnace in 1855. His pay was \$25 worth of “cloaths” annually, with the promise of a full suit of clothes at the end of a three-year term. Three years later, he appears to have completed his apprenticeship satisfactorily, because the furnace books note: “Hired this day Henry Henry to do our smithing for one year from the time he is free we are to give him \$19.00 per month and if he does his work well we are to give him a pair of coarse boots” (Walker 1966:283).

One of Henry Henry’s descendants is Fritz Moeller, who is profiled in the next chapter. (Moeller counts at least a half dozen Hopewell workers among his ancestors.) Stories from other members of his family plus his own extensive genealogical research have let him piece together a fuller biography of his great-grandfather, who fought in the Civil War (under somewhat dubious circumstances), then returned to the Hopewell area to work for the Birdsboro branch of the Brooke family:

He was the blacksmith for the nail mill for E. and G. Brooke, literally to the day he died... And he and his family lived right down on First Street, only about four blocks’ walk to the nail mill, which he probably walked every morning and then walked home in the evening. And he died in the mule shed, which is still a building that is still there. It’s a home now... And you know, I have a copy of the obituary and it talks about—he had a heart attack and died, right there.

For a fuller discussion of the role played by the park’s resources within this Hopewell descendant’s sense of place and identity, see Chapter 6, “Profiles of living historians at Hopewell Furnace – Fritz Moeller.”

Houck family

For a discussion of the Houck family’s association with Hopewell Furnace, see Chapter 6, “Profiles of living historians at Hopewell Furnace NHS – Anna Witman.”

Lloyd family

For a discussion of the Lloyd family's association with Hopewell Furnace and Bethesda Baptist Church, see the next section of this chapter on the history of the church.

Painter family

Two separate families of Painters worked at Hopewell during the nineteenth century. Some descendants of both are still in the area today. I spoke with one of these, Mark Painter, an attorney who lives somewhat east of the park in Royersford. He is the great-great-great grandson of George Painter, a woodcutter and carpenter at Hopewell, whose brother John and son George also worked at the furnace (another John Painter is a member of the other Painter family). Walker lists a George Painter among the contributors to Bethesda Baptist Church in 1830 (Walker 1966:370).

Mark Painter was born in Reading and raised in Pottstown. His father was a metalworker at the Stanley Flagg Company, which also employed several of the men in the Cole family (see above). Painter notes that most men in his lineage appeared to have worked in the metal trades; he himself was the first college graduate in his family. His father's father died young, and his father knew little about the family history, but did visit Hopewell Village NHS when Mark was a child. Mark vividly remembers loving to push the buttons on the audio tour stops at the park, particularly the one at the top of the furnace, featuring the voice of "John Painter." Mark's father could not answer the question, "Would that guy have been related to us?", but the discovery of the name sparked an interest in family history in young Mark. He was less interested during his teenaged years, then became intrigued again in college when a friend was writing a paper about Hopewell Furnace and the two made a visit to the park.

About twenty years ago, he began to trace his family's genealogy more seriously, beginning with research at the library of the national park. His work proceeded slowly until he encountered a distant relative working on the same genealogy, and they pooled their resources. A major breakthrough came when they realized that the name Painter, which they had been assuming was English, was actually an Anglicization of the German name "Bender," traceable to a German immigrant, Christian Bender, who had come to Pennsylvania in 1749. With that piece in place, they were able to reconstruct the family's early history in Pennsylvania much more fully.

Mark Painter frequently brings his family and visitors to Hopewell Furnace. He says, "How many people can go to a place and see exactly how their ancestors lived and worked?" While he knows of some other Painters in the area, he is not well acquainted with them, and has thought that it would be fun to have someone organize a family

reunion at the park at some point. He is struck by the fact that so many of the Painters remained within a few miles of their birthplaces for so many generations, and notes that, “There are some family and cultural values related to staying put and not moving. . . Pennsylvania German culture is rooted in this land here.” Yet for this eighth-generation Pennsylvania German, knowledge about his family’s heritage was not something that was familiar from his own early life, but something acquired through his own study and through the materials preserved at the national park—an example of the park’s role as a co-curator of traditional knowledge.

This section will conclude by revisiting the two questions posed at the outset:

- (1) Can descendants of old Hopewell families be considered as a cultural or traditionally associated *people* or *group*?

Hopewell descendants did not identify themselves as belonging to any clearly named or identifiable ethnic, geographic, or cultural entity. Many, especially those who had lived in the area for most or all of their lives, did exhibit a very strong sense of local belonging and attachment. Those people thought of themselves as being very definitely “from here.” However, the boundaries of “here” were by no means fixed. Some people tended to orient themselves toward Pottstown, to the north and east of the park, others toward Birdsboro or Reading, to the north and west. Many people from these families were dispersed across the region or the country, reflecting the considerable socioeconomic changes that have taken place in the many decades between the furnace’s decline and the formation of the national park. Some were not aware of their specific connections to Hopewell until they became involved with the park in some way.

There was no clear collective identity, then, linked with any one specific place, name, or other unifying concept. Rather, people shared some common histories and geographical associations, but they experienced these in fragmented ways, within their own families, occupational settings, or networks of voluntary association (for example, within local historical societies or church congregations). Nor were Hopewell Furnace and its resources always a central component of these associations. People who did feel firmly knitted into a tight local fabric—for example, the Cole family, with their sense of people in their immediate area being willing to do anything for each other—shared this sense with others who did not necessarily have any historical association with Hopewell Furnace at all. As it does for the living history volunteers in the next chapter, Hopewell Furnace NHS represents a *kind* of place and history to many in the area—an “old time” Pennsylvania rural/industrial/agricultural village—rather than a specific family

memory or history. As the area changes due to continued development, these places assume a more important role in the local memories of many area people. Furthermore, the memories of many people were linked with the national and state parks themselves, rather than with the previous history of the sites as an industrial or agricultural place.

The descendants of workers and residents associated with Hopewell Furnace do not form a cultural “group” or a “people” in the anthropological sense. If there is a “group” in the case of this category of people, it overlaps substantially with a larger category of localness, within which these families are smaller individual units.

(2) What is the nature of these people’s specific associations with the park’s resources?

The Hopewell descendants I surveyed revealed a range of types of association with the park’s resources.

- (a) In some cases, the association was direct. For example, Ted Stokes’ recollections of the Brooke Carriage Collection reveal a direct connection between a family memory and the park’s (former) resources.
- (b) Some connections were diffuse. That is, people saw Hopewell Furnace NHS as one component, but by no means a central one, within a larger sense of localness which often had no clear boundaries.
- (c) Finally, some associations were discontinuous. Some Hopewell descendants had discovered their family’s connections to Hopewell Furnace later in life rather than knowing of them as an element of their family history or identity. Often these reconnections were made through research or other activity at the national park itself.

Individual family members sometimes exhibited more than one of these types of association. Many also saw the park as a co-curator—or in some cases, even a primary curator—of knowledge about their family’s past.

BETHESDA BAPTIST CHURCH⁶

The case of Bethesda Baptist Church presents us with another set of questions about traditional association at national parks.

- In this case, there is a definite “group”—a church congregation.
- There is an extremely long association with a specific resource now within the national park boundaries—the church was built in the 1780s, and was used as a place of worship for more than two centuries.
- Research done for this study confirms that there is a continuing sense of connection to this building among some church members and descendants of people buried in the cemetery.

However, this example also reveals some of the same kinds of disparities and discontinuities that we have seen among the descendants of old Hopewell families and that we will see in the next chapter with the living history volunteers.

- The Hopewell descendants who do maintain strong connections to the old church building and its cemetery are no longer associated with the church—that is, they are not a part of the “group” constituted by the church congregation. In this sense, their situation is like that of other descendants of Hopewell families, discussed above.
- Due to continuous turnover in Bethesda Baptist membership, almost no current members of the church have personal connections with the old church building.
- Those current and former church members who *did* express a sense of connection to the old church spoke in terms of its quaintness or its historic charm and appeal as well as with the long history of the congregation in the area. As with the living history volunteers and some Hopewell descendants, it seems that the overall beauty and peacefulness of the park—ironically, the same qualities that the park works to downplay in much of its interpretation—is a primary ethnographic resource for these church members.

This section will outline the history of Bethesda Baptist Church from the 1780s to the present.

⁶ Information not otherwise cited in this section is drawn from my interviews and conversations with current and former church members and pastors. These are documented in my fieldnotes and interview transcriptions. I attended church services on three occasions, May 8, July 18, and August 7, 2005, and conducted formal interviews with former pastor Greg Whebee and former treasurer Dawn Houck, as well as informal interviews with several other people.

Unlike those in many early American ironmaking communities, those associated with Hopewell Furnace appear to have been unusually religious. At least eighteen congregations of various denominations existed within a seven-mile radius of the furnace by the mid-nineteenth century (Guenther 1985:75). One of these was established by a farmer who worked for Hopewell Furnace, Thomas Lloyd III, who owned 134 acres of land just east of the furnace on Hopewell Road (Glaser 2005:6). Born in 1742, Lloyd was the oldest of three children of Thomas Lloyd II and his wife Elizabeth Rees, a Welsh Quaker. In 1771, young Thomas became a member of the Vincent Baptist Church in present-day Chester Springs. He was married in 1773 to Margaret Hudson at an Anglican church in Lancaster (Bethesda Baptist Church 1990:1).

Perhaps to fill the gap left by the appropriation of area churches as hospitals during the Revolutionary War, Lloyd provided three quarters of an acre of land and a building for a new church, originally known simply as “Lloyd’s Church.” A charcoal inscription on a beam in the attic—“Built in 1782 by T. Lloyd”—provides a probable date for the erection of the church (Walker 1966:369). Guenther suggests that in its earliest days, the building may not have been used regularly for religious services. The first known burial in the adjoining cemetery was that of Hopewell woodcutter Thomas Kirby in 1807, although some unreadable stones may be earlier (Guenther 1985:75). By the time Thomas Lloyd wrote his will in 1819, the building was clearly being used as a church, as Lloyd referred to a “meeting house and graveyard [that] stands on my land for the use it was intended and agreement made between other Societies and myself” (Busenkell 1972). Baptisms took place in the nearby creek, still known as Baptism Creek (Walker 1966:370).

The Lloyd Church remained non-denominational until December 8, 1827, when it formally became a Baptist congregation. The following year, the new Bethesda Baptist Church affiliated with the Philadelphia Baptist Association (Guenther 1985:76). As we saw in Chapter 2, the Baptist church was related to the larger Anabaptist movement that emerged from the religious and social ferment of sixteenth and seventeenth century northern Europe. Combining characteristics of Anabaptism and English Congregationalism, it emphasized adult conversion and baptism, local congregational governance, literal adherence to the Bible, and freedom from state control. Unlike the more radical Anabaptist sects, Baptists practiced two “ordinances” or sacraments: baptism and the Lord’s Supper. Preaching was a central part of each service, as the prominent position of the pulpit in the top center of the church building floor plan makes clear:

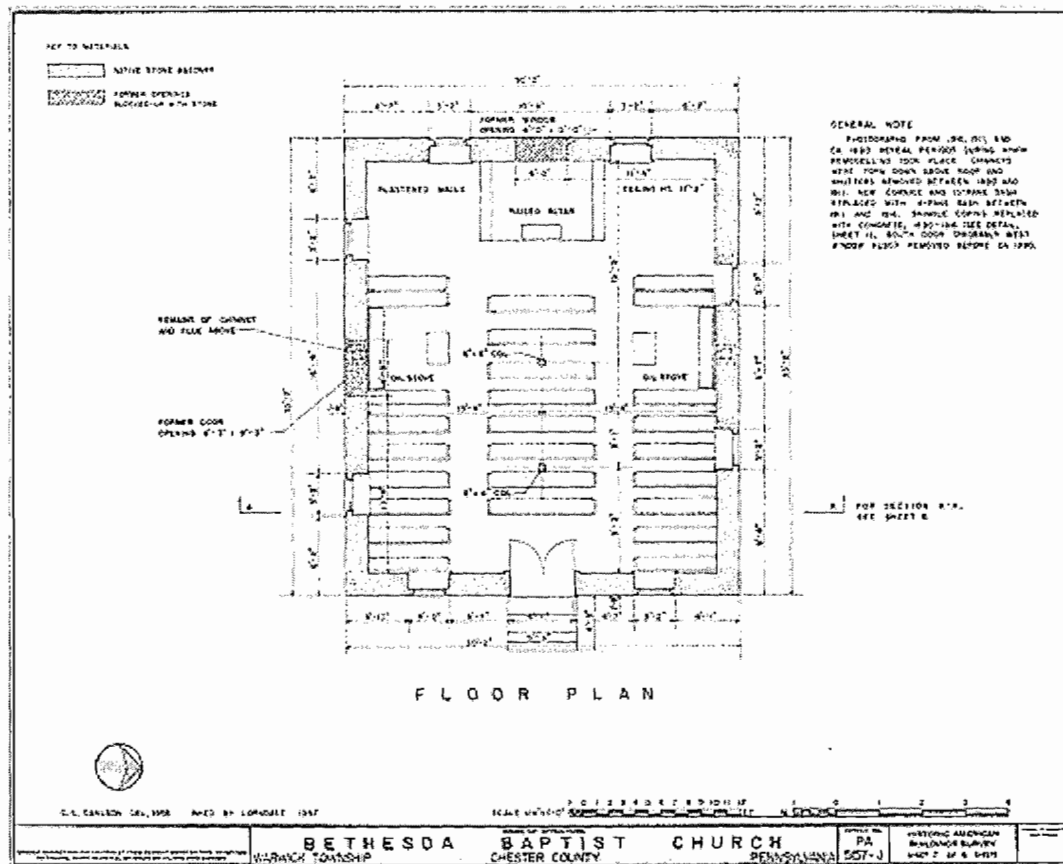


Figure 5.8 Interior of Bethesda Baptist Church, Historic American Buildings Survey c. 1933 (Source: Library of Congress.) This small reproduction is included to give a sense of the general layout of the building, with the pulpit (called “raised altar”) in the center front.

Like similar religious groups based on personal experiences of divinity and/or literalist approaches to interpreting religious texts, Baptists have been prone to schism from their earliest days (Brasher 2001:48-49). People also sometimes moved from one group to another among the early Baptist, Quaker, Mennonite, and similar churches, as Thomas Lloyd’s experience—raised by at least one Quaker parent, baptized as an adult in a Baptist church, likely married to an Anglican—seems to show. Particularly during periods of great religious fervor, such as the Second Great Awakening of the 1820s and 1830s, converts to the Baptist church were quite ethnically and socioeconomically diverse, making it a much more heterogeneous denomination than most in nineteenth-century Pennsylvania (Guenther 1985:79). German names appear among the lists of Bethesda Baptist members, and Walker reports that in 1888, the church baptized five black members (although these people then moved on to found a new congregation in Chester County) (Walker 1966:313).

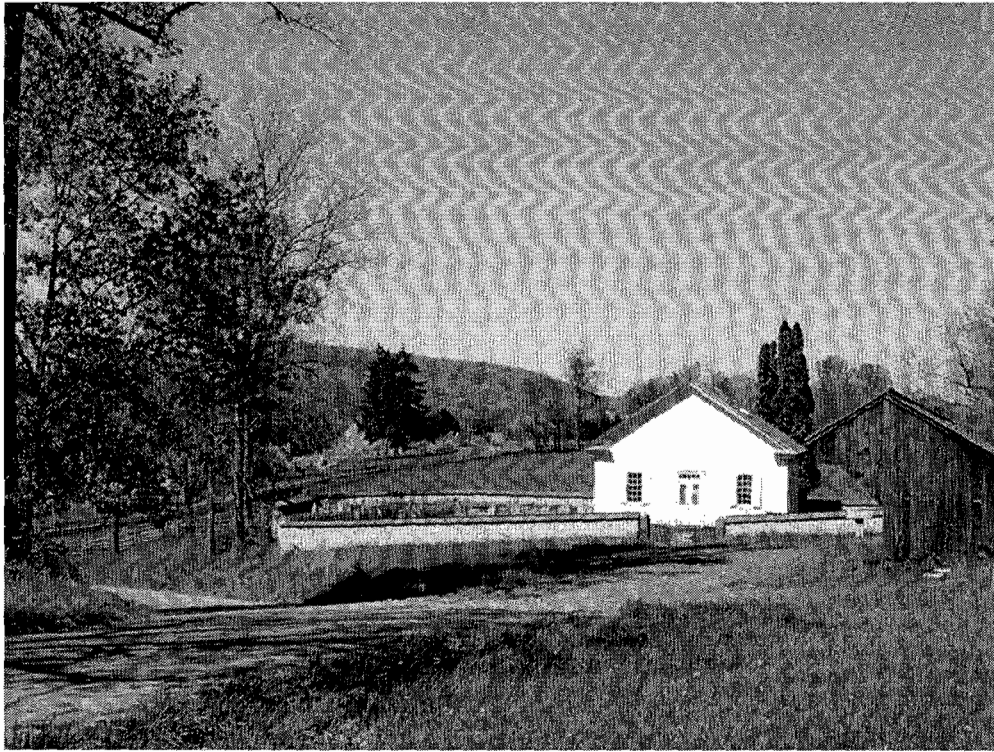


Figure 5.9 Old Bethesda Baptist Church, 2005.

Despite being praised by the Philadelphia Baptist Association in 1843 for being located in a “populous country, [with] a good meeting house, and well-filled when they [had] a minister present to lead them in worship” (Guenther 1985:76), Bethesda Baptist Church seems to have struggled throughout its history to maintain its membership and a regular pastor. Most of its pastors were either temporary “supply pastors” or ministers shared with other congregations, most often the East Nantmeal church just south of Hopewell in Chester County (Guenther 1985:79).⁷ The Baptist Association’s assertion to the contrary notwithstanding, the Hopewell area did not seem populous enough to sustain a full-time minister, and church membership fluctuated considerably over the decades. By 1843, there were only 33 people on the rolls (Guenther 1985:76). There was a growth spurt around 1844, following a lengthy “camp meeting” style revival that took place near the Jones Mine in August and September of that year (Walker 1966:374-75). Membership peaked at 118 people in 1852. By that time, Hopewell Furnace had already stopped making stoveplates and was producing only pig iron, which required a smaller workforce. Along with declining economic opportunity in the immediate area, the church was experiencing internal turmoil, with occasional purges and schisms resulting

⁷ Like the Lloyd Church, East Nantmeal Baptist Church (now East Nantmeal Christian Fellowship) was founded to serve an ironmaking community. It was established in 1841, primarily for workers at Warwick Furnace. (<http://www.worldlynx.net/encf/Welcome/history.html>)

in a greatly decreased congregation over time. Bethesda Baptist celebrated its semi-centennial in December 1877, in a service that included a historical sketch by the pastor and participation by the East Nantmeal minister. However, there were only twelve regular attendees at church services by 1884, the year after the furnace went out of blast for the last time (Guenther 1985:76).

In 1888, there appears to have been an effort to revive or save the little church, possibly as part of a movement to separate from the Philadelphia Baptist Association. The congregation applied for and received a charter of incorporation from the state as an independent Baptist congregation. Harker Long, the last manager of Hopewell Furnace, was one of the petitioners for this charter. Long served as interim head of the new board of trustees, while G. O. Lloyd, a member of the Lloyd family, became president (Guenther 1985:78, Walker 1966:370). The century-old building had fallen into disrepair by this point, and in the following decades, the congregation undertook major renovations, including replacing the roof and floor, remodeling the pulpit, and adding a new chimney, pews, iron gate, and several outbuildings in the early part of the twentieth century (Guenther 1985:78).

When the Brooke family consolidated their land holdings in 1919, the land on which Bethesda Baptist Church stood was among the properties to which they apparently obtained title (Guenther 1985:78). Contention later arose over whether and to whom the title was actually transferred, as we will see below. Despite the sale, the congregation retained its rights to use both the church and the cemetery, although activity appears to have been sporadic at this point. During the somewhat contested final stages of acquiring the Brooke land to make the French Creek Recreation Demonstration Area, the church's trustees did not come forward with a claim, and so the title of the land passed to the U.S. government (Glaser 2005:185).

The first arrangement between the National Park Service and the congregation was negotiated by Ernest S. Lloyd, Thomas Lloyd's great-grandson, and Lon Garrison, the first superintendent of Hopewell Village NHS, who was hired in 1939. At this point, Bethesda Baptist Church was technically within the RDA, not becoming a part of the national park until 1947. But Garrison viewed the church as "an integral part of the complete Hopewell picture" and assured Lloyd of the NPS's earnest desire to support the congregation by maintaining the building "as well as we do our other Hopewell buildings" (Garrison 1941b). Lloyd and Garrison discussed various ways of structuring the relationship. Lloyd eventually expressed a preference for a Special Use Permit, renewable every five years, rather than a cooperative agreement (Glaser 2005:186-87). The initial permit allowed the congregation "to use entire property for religious, memorial and burial purposes during the time of this permit. All members of the church, relatives of such members, and all relatives having members interred in the cemetery shall have the privilege of being interred therein. . . ." (Glaser 2005:187). Evidently there was some disagreement among church members about this arrangement. Glaser notes that not all congregants were happy that the permit would come up for renewal every five years, while Garrison's successor, Ralston Lattimore, referred in a 1942 letter to the NPS Director to "the

small group of citizens to whom, through our acquisition of the church property, we have unwittingly done an injustice” (Lattimore 1942)—implying that from the beginning, there were those who saw the government’s ownership of the church as problematic.

Over the decades, it certainly proved to be so at times. Glaser’s administrative history chronicles the ups and downs of the relationship between the church and the Park Service (Glaser 2005:186-94), which I will not reiterate in detail here. The primary areas of contention were (a) the costs and responsibilities of maintaining the old building and (b) the conditions for the continued use of the cemetery. In the early years, these two issues involved the same group of people, as the Lloyds and other longtime local families were still active in the congregation at Bethesda Baptist. At some point, however, the membership balance tipped toward newer families who did not have a historical connection with the church or with Hopewell. During my fieldwork, I learned that only one very elderly woman in the congregation, Betty Chicglo, had been a member since before the 1980s. Over the decades between the 1940s and the 1980s, then, this gradual shift meant that the park was dealing with one group—the current congregation—around issues of maintenance, and another—the descendants of former parishioners, primarily the Lloyd family—concerning the cemetery.

Maintenance was a frequent concern. The church had no electricity until 1974 and was heated by a small stove or space heaters as needed. Preservation experts later consulted about the building believed that the space heaters exacerbated problems with humidity, which contributed to the rotting of the old floors and caused more than one collapse. The Park Service did perform considerable maintenance and repair work on the building. But its dependence on longer-term funding cycles and the necessity of addressing other park priorities hampered its ability to respond to immediate needs like the floors, which frustrated the congregation. Lapses in communication—for instance, when park maintenance workers cut down five trees in front of the church without consulting the congregation first—also contributed to tensions in the relationship (Glaser 2005:189).

A low point came in 1972, when the NPS declared the building unsafe and cancelled the Special Use Permit for two years. The congregation was not mollified by assurances that bicentennial funding would cover a complete renovation of the building, and demanded immediate repairs or another place to worship. Apparently some took the matter to their congressional representatives as a step toward questioning and perhaps even attempting to rescind the federal government’s ownership of the church. In 1973, the NPS Associate Director contacted Hopewell’s first superintendent, Lon Garrison, to question him about the original transaction in which the NPS had acquired the church property. Oddly, Garrison recalled that the property had actually been in the hands of the University of Pennsylvania before being taken by the federal government for the Recreation Demonstration Area (Glaser 2005:190)—an admission that there were some uncertainties about the title of the land from the outset.

Before matters could deteriorate further, the NPS did complete major repairs to the church in 1974 and 1975, replacing the floor joists, the plaster ceiling, and twenty pews, as well

as painting the interior and adding storm windows and doors, an underground electric line, and four heaters. These improvements, however, did not fully ease the tensions between the park and the congregation. Now there were disagreements over how much heat and electricity each party was willing to pay for. The situation was complicated by the fact that the congregation itself was undergoing considerable change. For many years, the pastor had been Frank Sandiford, who also worked as an elementary school principal in Coatesville.⁸ His relations with the park had been mixed; he had given the invocation at the opening of the new Visitor Center in 1959 and had served as a liaison to the park, but he had also stood with the congregation in the early 1970s when there was talk of trying to take the church property back from the government. In 1975, when Sandiford retired and left the area, no one at the church seems to have notified the park of the change, perhaps an indication of the coolness of the relationship at that point (Glaser 2005:188-89).

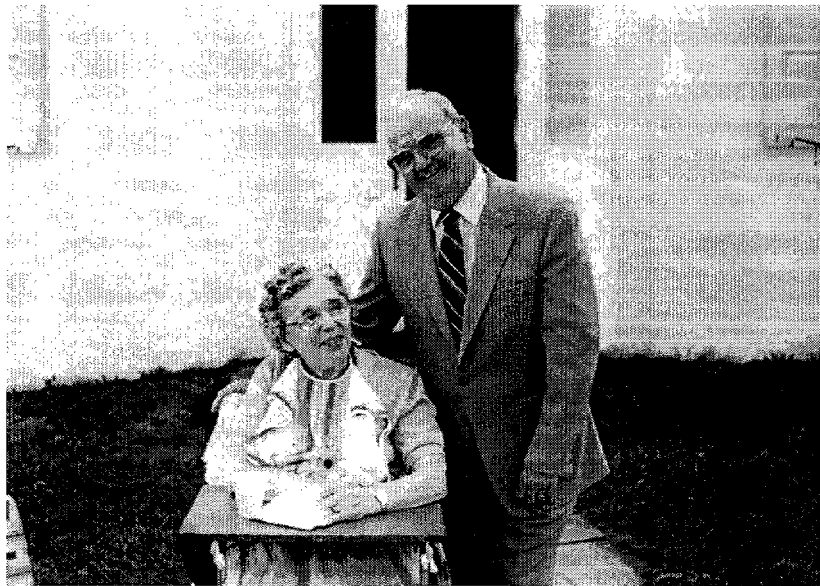


Figure 5.10 Rev. and Mrs. Frank Sandiford in front of Bethesda Baptist Church, c. 1975. (Photo courtesy Dawn Houck.)

Other changes were taking place within the church.⁹ After Sandiford's departure, Bethesda Baptist and East Nantmeal Baptist Church once again shared a pastor, the Rev. Fred Huber. Around 1984, there was a difference of opinion within the East Nantmeal congregation,

⁸ I did not determine precisely when Rev. Sandiford began to serve as the pastor for Bethesda Baptist Church. The earliest correspondence from him cited in Glaser's administrative history is dated 1956. Sandiford and his successor, Bruce Waldt, both worked as schoolteachers, apparently a common pattern among Baptist preachers in small churches that cannot afford a full-time minister. This pattern appears to have a long lineage: Andrew Collins, a Bethesda minister in the early nineteenth century, also served as schoolmaster for the children of Hopewell Furnace's workers (Walker 1966:370).

⁹ Information about the church's recent history is gathered from my interviews with the current and former pastor, current members of the congregation, and former treasurer.

in which some sided with the pastor and others did not. Bruce Waldt, who had succeeded Frank Sandiford at Bethesda, left the congregation at around this time, and so Rev. Huber along with a small portion of the East Nantmeal congregation moved to Bethesda. Given the small size of the existing Bethesda group, this influx was enough to expand the congregation quite drastically, as well as to overtax the tiny building. Rev. Huber left Bethesda shortly afterward, leaving the congregation somewhat adrift.

It was set back on course in 1985 with help from a Baptist missionary organization, Baptist International Missions, which specialized in aiding new, struggling, or poor churches. The organization sent an energetic young minister from Tennessee, Greg Whedbee, who began as an interim pastor but then decided to accept the part-time position at Bethesda, supplementing his income by working as a realtor. In the same year, the congregation revised its Articles of Incorporation somewhat, emphasizing the aspect of evangelizing and spreading the Word of God to others—a signal that the small church wanted to become a more active force in the world (Bethesda Baptist Church 1990:1).

Bethesda Baptist is currently an Independent Baptist church, meaning that it is no longer officially affiliated with any larger church body. It is not clear whether there was ever any formal break with the Philadelphia Baptist Association, which still exists within the national American Baptist Churches USA organization. It may be that the 1888 application for an independent charter signaled some dissatisfaction—not uncommon among conservative congregations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century—with regional and national associations that were moving too far in a liberal and humanist direction. These associations have become very large and influential in some cases (for example, the Southern Baptist Convention, with almost two million members, is the largest Protestant denomination in the U.S.) (Brasher 2001:50). Independent Baptist churches tend to be smaller bodies, entirely autonomous in their decision-making although they are often connected to networks of like-minded congregations, Bible colleges, and preachers. Because of this autonomy, as Greg Whebee told me, “The churches themselves have a tendency to take on the personality of the pastor and the direction of the pastor.”

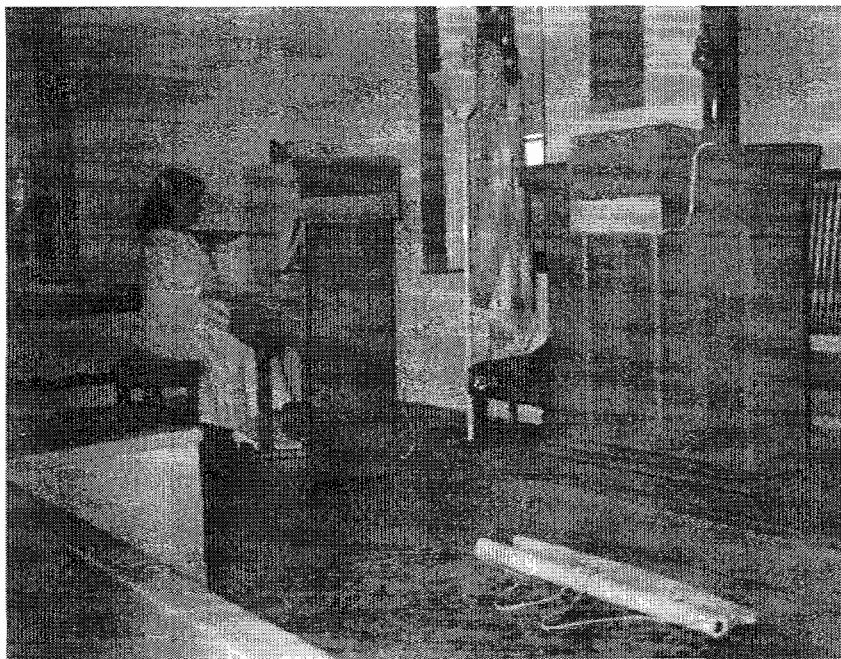


Figure 5.11 Dawn Houck, then a new member (and later treasurer) of Bethesda Baptist Church, plays the piano for a wedding in the old church building c. 1985. Photo courtesy Dawn Houck.

The growth and renewed sense of purpose at Bethesda Baptist in the 1980s combined to push the building-related issues further to the fore. With only a single room, it was difficult to accommodate a Sunday School, an increasingly important aspect of the church's mission. The congregation raised the idea of building an addition, but this proved not possible within the NPS's policies. Quite quickly, church members reached agreement that it was time for them to build a new and larger building. They began to accumulate a building fund, and when a congregant died in 1985 and left a bequest to the church, they were able to purchase six acres east of the old church on Harmonyville Road, and to begin construction by 1988. The new church opened on September 10, 1989 (Kozak 1989).

Despite the consensus on the need for a new building, there were mixed feelings about losing the connection with the old one, even among those who had joined Bethesda relatively recently. For some of the former members of the East Nantmeal church, Bethesda did hold long-term memories. Dawn Houck,¹⁰ former treasurer at Bethesda, told me,

[A] reason I think that I was nostalgic over the whole thing, is because as a child, because we had the relationship with East Nantmeal and I was going there, every year they'd have a summertime anniversary picnic for Bethesda that we always went to. And then Christmas Eve was so awesome, because it was all candlelit, you had the pot-belly stove in there still then, and stuff like that. So you know, that gives you memories... even before I joined that church there.

¹⁰ Dawn Houck is no known relation to the Houcks who were historically associated with Hopewell.



Figure 5.12 The new Bethesda Baptist Church, Harmonyville Road, St. Peter's.

Several people mentioned the Christmas Eve services to me. In Pastor Whebee's words, "One of...the things we really enjoyed was Christmas Eve services—it was a Currier and Ives type of situation!" The intimacy of worshiping in a small and historic space was also an apparent attraction for some church members. Dawn Houck said,

I did miss the closeness... You feel closer to the people—you're more not only physically closer, it was just like some kind of attachment to that church... I do miss that small, quaint feeling of having, you know, church there. It was simple, and it seemed like... It was easier. I guess—I think because the church itself represented a simpler time, you know?

For these people, it appeared that the "quaintness" and "Currier & Ives" quality of the old church—the very nostalgic and bucolic aspects that the national park so often seeks to minimize in its interpretive offerings—constitutes a primary appeal. So does the association with smaller-scale, close-knit communities, an attraction we will see very clearly in the next chapter among the park's living history volunteers. As for others among Hopewell's associated peoples, the general atmosphere of the park appears to be an ethnographic resource in and of itself, largely because of its contrast with the busier, more modern world outside the immediate area of the park.

The idea of trying to hold special services at the old church has apparently been raised occasionally within the congregation since the decision was made to move. But it has not been

taken up, first because of the tremendous effort involved in building the new church, and more recently because of the costs involved. The church's most recent minister, Bill Gilmore, explored the possibility of holding an Easter sunrise service at the old church, but withdrew the idea when he learned how much it would cost for portajohns, staff time, and other expenses. A woman in the congregation told me her son would have liked to be married there, but was similarly deterred by the cost. Despite continuing turnover and the fact that almost no current members of the church worshiped in the old building, the Bethesda Baptist congregation does appear to retain a sense of attachment to the site, as a part of its own long church history and its historical association with the former iron-making industry in the area. For example, the church dedicated a Sunday service in March 2000 to "Heritage Days," featuring a presentation on its own history by Pastor Whedbee and a performance by living historian Phyllis Hummel, a Civil War reenactor and musician. Hummel gave a presentation about the history of Joanna Furnace and sang old hymns, accompanied by her daughter on violin, while each family in attendance received a framed photograph of the old church building (County Record 2000).

Bethesda Baptist Church continues to struggle with issues of membership and financial viability. In 2003, Greg Whedbee left the church to pursue his real estate career and a new ministry at auto race tracks. Shortly before that, the church had decided to buy a parsonage in Morgantown rather than renting accommodations for its pastor. After Whedbee's departure, they made an additional financial commitment to hiring a full-time minister for the first time, using the parsonage as a part of the draw to the job. Pastor Bill Gilmore took up the job in 2003, moving into the parsonage with his wife and two small children. However, the size of the membership would not sustain this new level of expense, and when I first became acquainted with the church, they had just made the decision to sell the parsonage again. Shortly before I completed my fieldwork, Gilmore submitted his resignation, citing frustration with the congregation's apparent unwillingness to move beyond its status as a "small, country church." As it has throughout its long history, this church remains somewhat marginal, seldom quite large enough to remain stable for long, yet deeply rooted enough that it continues despite setbacks. Over the past year, the congregation has been assisted by larger churches in the area, who have provided financial and planning support as Bethesda Baptist reassesses its mission and searches for a new pastor.

In the meantime, descendants of the Lloyd family constitute a second traditional set of people associated with Bethesda Baptist Church and Hopewell Furnace. Pastor Greg Whedbee recalls members of the family visiting the church on some special occasions, but by the 1980s, their active regular connection with Bethesda Baptist had ceased. However, six family members have been buried in the cemetery since the National Park Service took over the property, and Lloyd descendants retain a strong sense of identification with and attachment to the church and the larger Hopewell area history.

I spoke with one descendant of the Lloyd family, Greg Busenkell, whose mother was the last person to be buried in the Bethesda Baptist cemetery. Mary Busenkell was the daughter of

Ernest Lloyd, who negotiated the first agreement with the national park around 1940. The Busenkells and many other people related to the extended Lloyd family lived (and still live) in the Coventryville-Pughtown area just south and east of the park. The Knauer family is also closely related to this extended group; several Knauers are buried in the Bethesda Baptist churchyard, and a crossroads community south of the Hopewell area along Route 23 is known Knauertown. Like other Hopewell descendants, the Lloyds do not constitute a cultural group in and of themselves, but many people in the family are clearly embedded in the local landscape and culture, and they do have clear associations with a very specific resource within the national park's boundaries: the old Lloyd's Church and its cemetery. Thus they have both direct and diffuse connections with the resources of Hopewell Furnace NHS.

The youngest of three brothers, Greg Busenkell now lives in California. The middle brother, Rick, lives in Texas, while the eldest, Mark, still resides in the area, where he works in the historic building trades. Greg Busenkell recalled riding his bicycle and hiking throughout the area as a boy, particularly with his mother, who was an avid local historian and author of books and articles about Pughtown, Lloyd's Church, and other subjects. He recalls going to the state and national parks to play as a child, noting that in the 1950s he had been able to climb inside the waterwheel and run to make it turn—a memory that other local people and some seasonal rangers also recounted to me. He remembers seeing old building foundations in the woods around Hopewell, and thinking of them as “haunted houses.” He once discovered an old furnace hearth which he thinks was from some type of iron-working facility, although it was not as large as a charcoal blast furnace. He was familiar with the history of Coventry Forge and other area iron-making sites through his mother's stories and her historical research.

Mary Busenkell was the great-great-granddaughter of Thomas Lloyd III, the builder of the church. In 1985, she requested a burial plot in the cemetery. There had been at least five burials since the NPS had taken over the property (Ernest Lloyd himself, Mary Busenkell's father, was the first of these, in 1949) and the park had become frustrated with apparent problems of communication regarding the use of the cemetery. In 1974, Stephen Lloyd, Mary Busenkell's brother, had requested permission to bury his half-sister in the same plot as her husband, Ernest Troit, who had died in 1960. During the digging of Anita Lloyd Troit's grave, a gravesite was created where one had not been approved by the park, and some older gravestones were disturbed by the unauthorized use of a backhoe. Then-superintendent Elms called for an end to additional burials in the cemetery, and Elizabeth Disrude, who succeeded Elms, was reluctant to grant Mary Busenkell's request (Glaser 2005:191-92). Approval had to wait for the next superintendent, Russell Smith, who granted the burial plot in 1988. Mary Busenkell died in 1997, and there have been no subsequent burials in the old cemetery.



Figure 5.13 Gravestone of Mary Lloyd Busenkell, daughter of Ernest Lloyd and the last person to be interred in the Bethesda Baptist Church cemetery.

Bethesda Baptist Church is not regularly open to visitors at present. The park uses it during special interpretive programs, notably an annual presentation of Christmas music. This is organized by one of the living history volunteers with musical help from other volunteers, including music teacher who is the daughter of a park employee. Because of concerns about the separation of church and state, the park was initially reluctant to sanction this program, but it has become a popular part of the annual “Iron Plantation Christmas” event (see Figure 5.14). Pastor Bill Gilmore from Bethesda Baptist attended one year and expressed interest in his congregation perhaps holding a Christmas service at the old church, but received no reply from the park. Some private weddings and other functions have been held under Special Permits at the church over the years. The park’s former policy of charging an admission fee to each guest at a wedding has apparently prompted numerous complaints, and the policy has been changed. There has also been discussion at various times during the park’s recent history of using the Bethesda Baptist building as an environmental education center in conjunction with activities of the neighboring Natural Lands Trust reservation; in light of the NLT’s own recent renovation of a nearby barn to serve this function, it seems that this proposal is not likely to be pursued (Glaser 2005:193-94).



Figure 5.14
A chorus of schoolchildren from a local elementary school, along with other volunteers, presents a program of Christmas music at Bethesda Baptist Church in December 2004 as part of the park's "Iron Plantation Christmas" program.



The church remains something of an orphan within the park, seldom used yet clearly linked with the area's economic, cultural, and religious history. Important in the memories of some associated families and some in the current congregation, it is not connected in any continuous way with the traditional practices of any identifiable group. Rather, it constitutes a hybrid kind of resource, which is used and valued by people within the hybrid types of groups that exist in the present-day region:

- families who constitute individual units within the changing postindustrial landscape
- a small present-day congregation that continues to struggle for stability in this still-rural area
- the living history volunteers and other area residents whose family, ethnic, and occupational histories overlap in complex ways with the histories of the park and these other associated groups

A TRADITIONAL BUT NON-ASSOCIATED GROUP: MENNONITE VISITORS

Initial conversations with staff at Hopewell Furnace NHS suggested the possibility that the park might constitute an ethnographic resource for Mennonites in the area who apparently visited Hopewell and other area historic sites on particular days each year. The most common day for these visits was Ascension Day during May or June.¹¹ Given the intriguing overlap in the lifeways of contemporary Old Order Mennonites and the type of community represented at Hopewell Furnace NHS, it seemed that this association might be an example of an actual traditional group making use of the park's resources as part of its understanding and expression of its own cultural identity. Staff accounts furthermore emphasized that groups of young Mennonites appeared to make use of the parks as rendezvous points, perhaps for informal courtship practices. Some living history interpreters at the park also recounted stories of having encountered visitors from the Old Order sects from time to time. One interpreter told me of having talked with an Amish or Mennonite man who looked at the interpreter's nineteenth-century outfit and said, "You look just like me!" The interpreter replied, "No, *you* look just like *me!*", underscoring how the history presented by the park overlaps with Pennsylvania German histories in the area.

With this issue in mind, I visited the park on Ascension Day in 2005, and spoke with three groups of Old Order Mennonite visitors (one adult couple who arrived by car and two groups of girls who were traveling by bicycle). These conversations showed that the actual motivations for these people in visiting Hopewell and other historic sites are more complex than simply visiting places of specific cultural importance to them. Like other people associated with Hopewell, they are drawn to the park because of the *kind* of place that it is—linked with their own general history in the region. However, their motivations were also similar in many ways with those of any park visitors. The groups of girls had also visited French Creek State Park (where I saw Old Order Mennonite visitors on other occasions as well) because it offered a good place to picnic, walk, and ride their bicycles. The adult couple reported that they went to various historic and natural sites on Ascension Day, not particularly favoring one over the others. Explaining the choice of Ascension Day for these excursions, the couple noted, "We wouldn't do this on a Sunday," since Sunday is not an appropriate day for pleasure trips, but that Ascension Day gave them a holiday that did not fall on a Sunday, hence creating an unusual opportunity for this kind of recreation.

¹¹ The Feast of the Ascension celebrates the taking up of Jesus into heaven after the Resurrection. It is officially celebrated on a Thursday in most Christian calendars, and in Germany and some other countries this is a yearly holiday. In the U.S., Ascension Day is most often celebrated on the Sunday following the official Thursday feast day, except among more traditional groups like the Pennsylvania Anabaptist sect people. The date is calendrically linked to Easter, and thus varies from early May to early June.



Figure 5.15 Volunteer collier Henry Wood talks with a group of young Mennonite visitors at the charcoal hearth, May 5, 2005.

As well as overlapping with recreational users of the park, these Mennonite visitors were also similar to the park's traditional and neo-traditional associated users in that they looked to the park as a source of reliable information about the past. Unlike the Hopewell family descendants, it was not the furnace's specific past they were interested in, but rather the general past of the area, including some of its traditional crafts like charcoal-making. Park interpreters reported that some Old Order visitors had occasionally exchanged information about a specific craft (for example, blacksmithing), and the adult couple I spoke with noted that they would trim the park's apple trees differently if the orchard were theirs. But it was also clear that these visitors also viewed the park as a source of knowledge, rather than seeing it as a place where knowledge important to their traditional lifeways was being preserved. This was particularly clear when one group of young women visited the charcoal pile (Figure 5.15). They asked many questions about the charcoal-making process, and one who was a teacher expressed interest in bringing her class to the park for a field trip in the future.

Despite some unusual compatibilities between the lifeways of these particular visitors and the histories presented at the park, then, these park users reinforce rather than challenging the view of the park as a place where many kinds of postindustrial Pennsylvanians—including those from the "plain sects"—seek knowledge about the past and a place to encounter a quieter atmosphere during their recreational moments.

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CHAPTER SIX NEO-TRADITIONAL GROUPS: LIVING HISTORIANS AT HOPEWELL FURNACE

The previous chapter explored Hopewell Furnace NHS's relationship with the people who might most fully be considered to be traditionally associated with the park, and saw that the boundaries around the notion of "traditional association" were by no means clean-cut. The processes of producing, consuming, preserving, using, and presenting historical and traditional knowledge are often much more complex than can be accounted for by the NPS definition of traditional association. This chapter extends the questions raised by these processes and considers the relationship of national parks to "neo-traditional" groups of people.

The chapter follows anthropological thinking of recent decades which complicates the concepts of tradition, heritage, and culture. These complications can be summed up as follows:

- Traditional knowledge is part of a continual process of cultural production, not a static body of data handed down from the past.

Instead of seeing traditional knowledge as a neat body of material handed down from one generation to the next like a family heirloom, anthropological thinking has shifted to seeing it as something that is always in flux, constantly being reshaped by the concerns of its current custodians, and often drawing on a very wide variety of sources and materials. In the words of Nezar AlSayyad, "[T]radition must not be interpreted simply as the static legacy of the past but rather as a model for the dynamic reinterpretation of the present" (AlSayyad 2004:3).

Further, anthropologists now recognize, as Dell Upton has put it, that "the adjectives traditional and modern are themselves artifacts of modernity: tradition did not exist until it was imagined as the defining complement of modernity" (AlSayyad 2004:299). As Chapter 3 showed, many modern ways of thinking about traditional cultures and cultural processes in general have been shaped by the anxieties and changes of the modern period itself, particularly in its accelerated phase of industrial expansion in Western nations during the nineteenth century. The preservation and conservation movements that emerged in this period are directly linked to those anxieties and changes.

- Museums and similar institutions have very often been a part of this process, not separate from it.

Rather than being outside these processes of knowledge formation and transmission, cultural or historical institutions are often deeply embedded within them. For example, in the previous chapter, we saw how Hopewell Furnace NHS's own processes of data collection and preservation have been in some sense a collaboration with descendants of old Hopewell and area families who are

investigating their own familial and local pasts. James Clifford has proposed that we rethink museums and similar institutions—including national parks—not as repositories for static objects and information, but as “contact zones” where culture and knowledge are constantly being constructed and reconstructed by a variety of players (Clifford 1997:188-219).

- This process is intensified and increasingly woven into the overall economy in postindustrial places.

In postindustrial places and economies, culture is an increasingly important product. Cultural display is also an ever more intentional strategy by which people and places try to make themselves visible and economically viable. This strategy takes many forms, and may include environmental clean-up efforts, historic preservation, the promotion of cultural tourism, the creation of heritage trails or areas, “place-making” efforts, local educational curricula, and so on. Historical knowledge is an important component of all of these efforts. It provides a sense of unique local or regional identity and a way for many different kinds of audiences to connect with both individual and larger histories.

In this kind of setting, we need to ask about new and emerging social groups and practices that are involved in producing, using, and disseminating knowledge and practices labeled as “traditional.” Some of these new groups may best be termed “neo-traditional,” to show that they arise in the present yet construct their identity in relation to knowledge and practices from the past.

This chapter, which is in many ways at the heart of this Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, looks at one such neo-traditional community: “living historians.” The chapter includes:

- a brief definition of living history and a rationale for taking an ethnographic approach to understanding it
- a history of the living history movement
- an overview of the living history program at Hopewell Furnace NHS over time
- a section focusing on charcoal-making and Hopewell’s charcoal-making program
- an ethnographic analysis of the demography, motivations and values, and practices of Hopewell’s current living history volunteers
- a return to the concept of “tradition” and the question of whether living historians can be considered a traditionally associated group at Hopewell and other national parks
- brief profiles of six living history interpreters at Hopewell, illustrating some of the salient characteristics of this group of people
- a discussion of the similarities and differences between NPS and volunteer living history interpretation, and a set of recommendations for strengthening the relationship between Hopewell Furnace NHS and its volunteers

DEFINING AND THINKING ABOUT LIVING HISTORY

LIVING HISTORY

The practice of adopting the dress and behaviors of some past era for

- investigative
- recreational
- didactic

reasons.

The term “living history” refers to the practice of adopting the dress and behaviors of some past era. The most common motives for doing so are:

- investigative (to learn more about the past)
- recreational (to escape from the present)
- didactic (to teach others)

Most often, these three motives overlap for practitioners.

The question of motivation will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. (See Anderson 1984:12-13 for a similar definition of living history and its basic categories.)

The terms reenactment and living history are often used interchangeably. In general, those who focus intensively on *military* activities are most often termed reenactors within the community itself, while those who take civilian roles or depict non-military scenarios more often call themselves living historians. Again, there are many areas of overlap between the two, and many people pursue both strands or move from one to the other over time. This report uses the umbrella term living history to refer to the overall activity of costumed historical interpretation.

While some living historians are amateurs and others are professional, these categories are not the most useful for understanding living history. Many professional interpreters at historic sites also belong to avocational reenactment or living history organizations, while many avocational practitioners have become more professional over time, often working closely with school systems, film production companies, historic sites, municipalities, and other entities.¹ The most dedicated practitioners often refer to living history as a “lifestyle,” frequently saying that they feel more at home in other centuries than the present one. This experience appears to hold true whether they are being paid for their activities or not.

Ways of thinking about living history

- literal
- experiential
- pragmatic
- ethnographic

This introductory section on living history will conclude by noting three of the most common ways of thinking about it, and proposing a fourth which relates directly to the idea of living historians as a “neo-traditional” community.

¹ I use the term “avocational” to reflect the fact that living history is both a leisure-time activity and to some extent (often a very considerable extent) a social world and even a way of life for many of its practitioners. Although many avocational reenactors themselves refer to their activity as “the hobby,” it is a particularly absorbing, demanding, and all-encompassing hobby for many who take it up.

- 1) A literal approach to living history compares it directly to the historical examples it seeks to reproduce. From this perspective, living history is bound to fall short, as it is never possible (or even desirable) to replicate the past exactly as it was. Civil War reenactors do not simulate hospital wards full of “soldiers” suffering from dysentery; Hopewell Furnace NHS has not stripped its hillsides of trees to create a truly authentic sense of how the village looked during its iron-making period. Some “hard-core” or “super-authentic” hobbyists do aspire to a total immersion in the past, but these people are usually marginal within the overall living history community. More mainstream practitioners recognize the limits of actual historical representation, and work consciously within them.²
- 2) An experiential understanding of living history is the insider’s view—what anthropologists call an “emic” or native perspective. Like many “natives,” living historians themselves do not usually take a critical view of their own practices, accepting them as natural and self-explanatory. The specific values of living history, discussed later in this chapter—an emphasis on handskills, discovery, hard work, community, and engagement with the widest audiences possible—appear self-evident from within an experiential approach to this activity.
- 3) A pragmatic approach to living history sees it as an interpretive tool that has both strengths and limitations. This is the approach that the NPS has arrived at over its many decades of experience with living history interpretation.

As early as the mid-1930s, some national parks were incorporating craft demonstrations, usually by Indians and other local or “native” people, into their interpretive offerings (Mackintosh 1986). In 1936, the Park Service restored and reactivated a nineteenth century grist mill, the Pierce Mill, in Rock Creek Park in Washington DC; the output of the mill was used in government cafeterias (Mackintosh 1985). The early development of Hopewell Furnace NHS took place during a wave of enthusiasm for the idea of living history villages, although the practice did not become widespread in the national park system for another three decades. Mule-drawn barges on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, craft demonstrations and another restored mill on the Blue Ridge Parkway, and historic weapons firing at some Civil War battlefields were among the living history offerings at national parks by the 1950s and early 1960s (Mackintosh 1986). In *Interpreting Our Heritage*, the 1957 book that is still an important foundation for NPS interpretation, Freeman Tilden pointed to demonstration, participation, and animation as three key devices for encouraging park visitors to make vigorous, personal connections to the past (Tilden 1977:68-77). While Tilden did not

² Tony Horwitz’s well-known 1998 book *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Pantheon) focused largely on the “hard-core” minority, unfortunately creating an impression that they were representative of the field as a whole. For a literalist interpretation of living history, see Handler and Saxton 1988.

address living history *per se*, his goals for interpretation in general were very much in keeping with the goals of many who practice living history:

These places may be physically beautiful, and they may exemplify artisanship of the highest order, and furnishings of the most exquisite taste; but whether they are those things, or whether they are humble log cabins, rudely equipped, in a bleak environment, they all point to the same thing—they represent the life and acts of people. Consequently, the interpreter will endeavor, if he is presenting an historic house, to “people” that house. Architecture and furnishings are much; we admire and draw conclusions from them, but we must find the art to keep them from seeming to have been frozen at a moment of time when nobody was at home. (Tilden 1977:69)

Living history interpretation in the Park Service received a tremendous boost when George Hartzog, NPS director between 1964 and 1972, came out strongly in favor of expanding the system’s use of living history. Disparaging what he called “dead and embalmed historical area[s],” Hartzog was particularly interested in seeing more living historical farms, which he declared were “entirely consistent with our emphasis on trying to interpret the peaceful and inspirationally creative contributions of this country to the field of history, to complement the great emphasis that has been placed so far on birthplaces and battlefields.” Throughout the 1960s, national parks were encouraged to experiment with living history interpretation, and the interpretive emphasis at places like George Washington Birthplace, Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial, and Booker T. Washington National Monument veered considerably toward agricultural and social history rather than their original memorial intents. By 1968, 41 areas of the NPS were using living history techniques in their programming; by 1974, the figure had risen to 114 (Mackintosh 1986). NPS publications like William Kay’s *Keep It Alive: Tips on Living History Interpretation* and Gordon Hilker’s *The Audience and You: Practical Dramatics for the Park Interpreter* (Glaser 2005:278) further rationalized and reinforced these techniques at national park sites.

This emphasis on living history (or “living interpretation,” in Park Service terminology) prompted some criticism from inside and outside the Park Service. The superintendent at Blue Ridge Parkway acknowledged the reality of a competitive cultural marketplace, but cautioned in 1968 that national parks should not necessarily bow to the pressure to compete: “We want to be sure that dress and demonstrations contribute to the interpretive objectives of the area and are not merely ends in themselves, to compete with the many historical ‘attractions’ which rely heavily on dress and demonstrations in striving to evoke atmosphere.” Some worried about the issues raised by military demonstrations, particularly during the Vietnam War era, while others questioned whether the colorful appeal of living history was too often covering up insubstantial or poor-quality historical interpretation. And on quite a different note, a temperance group

denounced the inclusion of whiskey stills in the interpretation of mountain life at Great Smoky Mountains and Cumberland Gap (Mackintosh 1986).

By the time of the national bicentennial, these critiques were being made at high levels in the Park Service. Even Roy Appleman, an early Hopewell champion who was by then a historian in the national office, had lost much of his earlier enthusiasm after seeing living history demonstrations whose focus was quite different from parks' intended purposes. Chief Historian Robert Utley summed up NPS concerns about the practice in a 1974 article in a newsletter for interpreters:

I fear that we have let the public's enthusiasm for living history push us from interpretation of the park's features and values into productions that, however entertaining, do not directly support the central park themes Inappropriate living history, moreover, is not merely harmless diversion. The more "living" it is, the more likely it is to give the visitor his strongest impression, and memory, of his park experience. Thus a program that is not unusually supportive of key interpretive objectives may be correspondingly distractive if not actually subversive. We are obsessed with showing what everyday life was like in the past But most of our historic places are not preserved because of the everyday life that occurred there. The visitor whose fascination with "living" portrayals of everyday activity inhibits his understanding and appreciation of the momentous significance of Lee's surrender to Grant, or the progress and consequences of the Battle of Saratoga, has not been well served by our interpretive program, no matter how well conceived and presented. (Utley 1974)

Over the decades, then, the NPS has arrived at a pragmatic approach to living history interpretation that recognizes its areas of usefulness but calls for caution in certain key areas, particularly the following:

- activities and information associated generically or generally to the past rather than being linked to the central interpretive themes of specific parks
- demonstrations that work to erase critical distance and leave visitors feeling they have literally "visited the past" or experienced historical realities in a way that historical personages would have
- portrayals that focus intensively on only one role, perspective, or group
- military portrayals that emphasize tactics, weapons, or battle histories exclusively, particularly those that create a carnivalesque or purely dramatic atmosphere³

³ The National Park Service forbids "Battle re-enactments and demonstrations of battle tactics that involve exchanges of fire between opposing lines, the taking of casualties, hand-to-hand combat, or any other form of simulated warfare." This ban dates from shortly after the start of the Civil War centennial, and can be traced in large part to concerns originally sparked by a large-scale reenactment of the first battle of Manassas in 1961 (Anderson 1984:141). While safety is often emphasized by NPS officials in justifying the policy, there is a philosophical component to the ban as well: in the words of the policy,

These concerns were first codified in the 1980 NPS Interpretive Guidelines, and have remained the guiding principles for the use of living history interpretation at national parks (Mackintosh 1986). While the Park Service's position is clear, however, some of the enduring issues surrounding living history continue to arise:

- The pressure of public expectation and comparison with other historic sites that emphasize living history, noted in 1968 by the Blue Ridge Parkway superintendent, remains. My 1999 study of Revolutionary War reenactment in the national park system showed that visitors expected and wanted to see extensive living historical interpretation at historical parks, and were disappointed, even angry, when they did not. While maintaining visitor levels is not as urgent an issue at national parks as at private historic sites, it is not one that park managers can ignore.
- In varying ways, living historians may constitute traditionally associated groups of a sort. At some parks, costumed interpretation or commemorative dramas are a long-standing tradition, in many cases pre-dating the creation of parks themselves. For example, some civic Minute Man companies in eastern Massachusetts have been staging commemorative performances at sites now within Minute Man NHP on a continuous basis since the national centennial of the 1870s.⁴ Even where there is not a direct or continuous living history tradition, however, there may be areas of overlap with other local, ethnic, or occupational traditions, opening questions about whether or how parks should consult with these practitioners under the rubric of traditional association. This question is explored in more detail later in the chapter.
- As individuals and groups, living historians are increasingly aware of their own value in the cultural marketplace, and increasingly well-organized and able to negotiate with sites where they wish to perform and/or sites that seek them out. This new level of organization and communication among living historians has coincided with a period of decreasing budgets and staff levels at national parks. In contrast to earlier periods where most living history interpretation at national parks was done by NPS staff, parks are more and more dependent on volunteer interpreters. As we will see below, the motivations and practices of avocational

“Battle re-enactments create an atmosphere inconsistent with the memorial qualities of the battlefields and other military sites placed in the Service's trust” (Policies for Management 2001:Section 7.5.6). See Stanton 1999 for a full discussion of this issue.

⁴ For additional examples, see the case studies of various American battlefields in Linenthal 1991 and Stanton 1999:66-67, 80, 89-91.

living historians overlap in many ways with the values and programs of the NPS, but there are also important differences, and these have sometimes led to tensions.

- 4) One possible way to manage these tensions is to look beyond a pragmatic approach to a more ethnographic one that considers living historians as a type of cultural or sub-cultural group. That is the approach taken in this report. It examines the ethnic, geographical, and class backgrounds of living history practitioners, and asks how these might relate to their activities as living historians. It also inquires into the key question of motivation, and investigates where living historians' motivations overlap with and diverge from those of the NPS. Finally, it investigates the kinds of social and institutional networks that living historians operate in, and considers how these fit within the kinds of larger social and economic contexts that I have already sketched out in previous chapters.

As a tool for management, this approach provides park managers with fuller information about a constituency that combines the characteristics of volunteers, neighbors, recreational users, and in some cases, members of traditionally associated groups. An ethnographic approach to understanding living history can tell us not only about a specific sub-culture that plays an important role at many national parks, but also about the larger society and economy that shape *all* cultural productions, including those of parks themselves. This approach also reveals the ways in which living historians may intersect with other categories of park-associated people, including members of traditionally associated groups, recreational users, volunteers, and even NPS staff.

THE HISTORY OF LIVING HISTORY

“Living history” as a term is comparatively recent.⁵ But the practice of costumed representation or interpretation of the past has an extremely long lineage. It is related to many forms of commemoration and performance designed to invoke the power of the past or to make connections with ancestors and important cultural narratives. These forms are very often linked with sites of cultural power or collective memory. As Keith Basso has said in speaking of the Western Apache, “geographical features have served the [Apache] people for centuries as indispensable mnemonic pegs on which to hang the moral teachings of their history” (Basso 1996:44). Modern nation-states mark and sanctify important sites in much the same way and for the same purpose—to pass on knowledge, stories, and values from one generation to the next

⁵ One source locates the source of the term within the U.S. National Park Service, specifically the 1970 NPS brochure called *Keep It Alive: Tips on Living History Interpretation* by William Kay (see Andrew Robertshaw, “A dry shell of the past: Living history and the interpretation of historic houses” in *Interpretation*, the journal of the Association for Heritage Interpretation, Vol. 2, No. 3, July 1997; accessed online at <http://www.heritageinterpretation.org.uk/journals/j2c-shell.html>).

(Linenthal 1991:1-6). National parks are of course among the most iconic of the sites where these kinds of commemoration take place—key places within what Robert Bellah has called the American “civil religion” (Bellah 1967).

Americans have long celebrated and learned from their past by performing it. Local performers in Plymouth, Massachusetts reenacted a meeting between an Indian and a Pilgrim as part of the Forefathers’ Day commemoration in 1801 (Snow 1993:13), while twenty survivors of the 1775 confrontation on Lexington Green helped to recreate the event for an audience on the the Green in 1822 (Linenthal 1991:13). Most scholarly observers, however, date living history as a method of preserving and interpreting the past to the late nineteenth century—precisely the period when, as we have seen, there was widespread unease and concern in industrialized nations about the loss of “traditional” knowledge and places. Living history sites and practices in Western countries have generally focused on “folk” culture, farms, military forts and pre-industrial era wars, small-scale communities, and—as at Hopewell—sites of early industrial production.

Skansen, in Sweden, is generally seen as the first living history village. It was founded in 1891 by linguist Artur Hazelius, who gathered together buildings (including a charcoal-burner’s hut), animals, and plants from various Swedish regions. Declaring that, “We want to exhibit folklife in living style,” he peopled the re-created village with traditional craftspeople and performers and presented markets, crafts fairs, festivals, and other events to which the public enthusiastically flocked (Anderson 1984:17-21). Other open-air museums in northern Europe quickly followed, and by the early twentieth century, similar experiments were being tried in the U.S. The Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts acquired a colonial property and staffed it with costumed interpreters in 1912. Henry Ford restored the Wayside Inn in Sudbury, Massachusetts in 1926, and then went on to the much more ambitious project of creating Greenfield Village in Dearborn, Michigan.

Ford hoped that this large outdoor museum would serve as a record of American industrial progress and a commemoration of the kind of small-scale American community that was increasingly rare in the industrializing nation. Greenfield Village was founded in 1929; three years later, Colonial Williamsburg, financed by Ford’s fellow industrialist John D. Rockefeller, opened its doors. Its visitors were welcomed by costumed “hostesses” who sought to convey the charm and graciousness of the lost “Old South” (Handler and Gable 1997:177-81). Around the same time that National Park Service historians were proposing to rebuild the ironmaking village at Hopewell, other sites were being created by wealthy sponsors who looked to Williamsburg as a model. Notably, the Wells family of Massachusetts was assembling a collection of buildings and artifacts in Sturbridge, Massachusetts with the intention of making it a “living village” occupied by costumed performers and craftspeople (OSV History:no date). While there had been earlier historical exhibits in the U.S. that incorporated costumed performers or guides (for example, at the national centennial celebration in Philadelphia in 1876 and the World’s Fair in Chicago in 1893), these newer sites broke new ground in attempting to create more fully-realized social worlds from the past rather than single scenes or “tableaux.”

Living history proliferated in the U.S. in both amateur and professional forms following World War II. As at Hopewell, plans that had been placed on hold during the war were reinvigorated at places like Old Sturbridge Village, which finally opened its doors to the public in 1946, and nearby Plimoth Plantation, which opened in 1947. Both remain active open-air museums that extensively use living history techniques of interpretation. Many other existing museums and historic sites began to turn toward living history in the post-war period. Conner Prairie, for example, was created as a model farm by Indiana pharmaceutical magnate and history enthusiast Eli Lilly. Lilly bought the decayed farm property in Fisher, Indiana in 1934; as his biographer noted, “like many people born in the city, he always wanted to live on a farm.”

By the 1960s, the institution’s staff and board decided to reconstitute the site as a living history farm, positioning it at the forefront of the burgeoning movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Conner Prairie: no date). Popular historical re-creations like the Kon Tiki expedition in 1947 and the voyage of the Mayflower II in 1957 (ending with a permanent berth in Plymouth, Massachusetts) whetted the public’s appetite for the kinds of “time travel” experiences that living history appeared to offer to contemporary audiences and participants.

One irony of the living history movement is that even though it seeks to escape into the past and to celebrate old technologies, it has itself been shaped in significant ways by new technologies. Many scholars have noted that modern audiences are fascinated by images of our own and other societies, and that each new technology—the photograph, the bird’s-eye map, the diorama, the magic lantern, the stereopticon—has created a demand for greater and greater realism in our representations (see, for example, Dicks 2003:19-24). That is, we are constantly seeking to bring the representation closer to the reality. By the early twentieth century, movies had created a whole new standard of realism, and traditional object-based displays were beginning to seem static and unengaging by comparison—hence the long trend in museum display toward more and more “interactive” and animated exhibit techniques.

At the same time, however, museums had an advantage in that their artifacts were generally real rather than recreated. A movie reel might show a depiction of Pickett’s Charge, but the aura of the original place—the actual field where the soldiers had marched and died—could never truly be replicated. Living history sites offered an ideal blend: the realism of historic places and objects with the animation of the movies and the interactivity of real life. In more recent decades, the prevalence of television and now Internet technology has made simulated, interactive realities more and more pervasive in everyday life as well as at historic sites. Thus visitors and living historians alike arrive at historic sites with photographed and filmed images already in their heads, and much of what happens at those sites replicates the pre-existing images and helps to create new ones. Audiences *expect* animation and interactivity, and are often disappointed when they do not find it.

Major national celebrations have greatly influenced the development of living history over the past four decades. During the Civil War centennial (1961-65), hobbyists interested in black powder weapons and Civil War history came together to form the nucleus of what is today

a considerable community of Civil War reenactors.⁶ The national bicentennial provided an even bigger impetus for the development of living history sites and “avocational” living history groups. Several elements of American society in the 1970s contributed to the growth of the movement in this period. The fervor of bicentennial celebrations, combined with a larger “roots” phenomenon, prompted many people to take a new interest in history, genealogy, hand skills, and ethnic cultures (Halter 2000). Local, state, and national commemorations fed these interests, providing substantial funding and increased audiences for activities at living history villages and other historic sites. The “back to the land movement” and crafts revival of the 1960s and 1970s echoed the similar revivals of the late nineteenth century and the 1930s, and led to new interest in the kinds of historic trades and crafts practiced as a part of living history sites and communities. The Association for Living Historical Farms and Agricultural Museums (ALHFAM), founded in 1970, reflects this aspect of the living history movement. And politically, the tension over America’s role in Vietnam left many young men of the “baby boomer” generation uncertain how to relate to the nation’s military heritage, which they had been raised to see in a positive light yet which offered them a difficult set of choices. Reenactment and living history offered ways to reconcile some of those difficulties, and to remain connected to the national heritage despite its many contradictions and complexities (Stanton and Belyea 2001:270-272). The avocational living history/reenactment conventions that emerged during the national bicentennial years have continued to shape much of what is presented as living history interpretation today, even as younger practitioners begin to assume more of a leadership role in the field.

Currently, there are several interwoven strands to the living history movement. The recreational or avocational strand continues to be one of the most visible and well-known, in large part because of the drama of large-scale military reenactments. This strand, like others, retains a strongly memorial quality; many practitioners use it as a way to pay active homage to personal ancestors, local figures or groups (for example, many reenactment groups portray regiments from their home area), or more generalized pasts. This memorial function will appear clearly in the motivations of Hopewell’s contemporary living history volunteers. Living history is also increasingly used as an educational tool, with both professional and amateur living historians providing programming for the use of school groups in classrooms and at historic sites. Many of these programs are linked with state educational standards and curricula.

And finally, living history has become more of a professional or commercial activity for many practitioners. Some work independently, contracting performances with schools, historic sites, and organizations, while others are employed at living history villages or elsewhere. In a significant change from the era of genteel costumed hostesses at Colonial Williamsburg, these

⁶ Some key elements that contributed to this synthesis were the network of Civil War roundtables that existed throughout the country in the post-World War II years, the National Muzzle Loading Rifle Association (organized in Ohio in 1931), and the North-South Skirmish Association, a splinter group of the NMLRA that formed in 1950 to focus specifically on Civil War weapons and history (Anderson 1984:136-39).

living historians are usually highly skilled and often credentialed in the techniques of historical interpretation, and are often affiliated with organizations such as the National Association for Interpretation, which have facilitated a growing professionalism among costumed interpreters.⁷ For-profit ventures such as the History Channel have also created a demand for living historians, and many avocational and professional practitioners have become highly adept at working with film and television production companies. As we saw in Chapter 3, cultural experiences are an extremely important product in the postindustrial economy, and living history is an appealing variety of this product: colorful, interactive, seemingly realistic, and very often linked with important, authentic, or aesthetically-pleasing historic sites.

LIVING HISTORY AT HOPEWELL

The idea of Hopewell as a living history village was proposed very early on in the park's history. Roy Appleman, the young NPS regional historian hired in June 1935, was enthusiastic about the techniques of architectural restoration and living historical interpretation. He saw the remnants of the village at Hopewell as a site with outstanding potential as a living history village along the lines of Colonial Williamsburg, Henry Ford's Dearborn project, and Spring Mill, a restored "pioneer village" in Indiana then being developed as part of another WPA project.⁸ The Park Service, Appleman wrote, should "aim at vitalizing the village, and make it hum with the activity that was characteristic of it 150 years ago" (Appleman 1936:4). The 1935 Historic Sites Act had authorized the National Park Service to "Restore, reconstruct, rehabilitate, preserve, and maintain historic or prehistoric sites, buildings, objects, and properties of national historical or archaeological significance and where deemed desirable establish and maintain museums in connection therewith," and Appleman argued that each of the original and reconstructed buildings at Hopewell could serve as "its own museum" (Appleman 1936:4) peopled by costumed interpreters.

The park's first superintendent, Lon Garrison, clearly laid out the vision for an animated, peopled Hopewell Village in a 1941 memo:

[The village] is like an old style museum showcase exhibit. It lacks sparkle and life. It has no more vitality than a dead fish, and needs intensive and extensive interpretive augmentation if it is to mean anything to visitors. Rather in these "village" historic sites a unique opportunity offers to present a living, moving, functioning sector of community life. To return to the simile of the dead fish, it is like seeing the same fish living, swimming free, feeding, and battling the currents instead of stuffed and hung on the wall to be explained by its captor. . . With well trained older generations [of?] artists and craftsmen operating the shops and making these public contacts, with the fields again in tith, apples in the orchard, herbs in the garden, and with the village hustling with activity

⁷ A parallel move toward increased professionalism for interpreters (including costumed interpreters) within the National Park Service is the NPS Interpretive Development Program (see <http://www.nps.gov/idp/interp/>).

⁸ For a brief history of this project, see http://www.in.gov/dnr/parklake/properties/inn_springmill.html

as it did years ago, visitors will take away the impression that while life in the old days was hard it was not impossible, and they will have gained a new and deepened appreciation of the culture of our forefathers. At Hopewell we feel quite strongly that some such program is vital if Hopewell is to give the optimum return to the Service and to the visitor. (Garrison 1941a)

As with the overall pace of restoration and reconstruction at the park, movement toward realizing Garrison and Appleman's vision of an "animated" Hopewell Village was slow during the 1940s and 1950s. Acting Superintendent Russell Gibbs attempted to convince the Pennsylvania Guild of Craftsmen to hold their annual crafts fair at the park in 1949, but after exploring the possibility, the group declined. "I dread the red tape of doing business with a government agency," the president, John Butler told the Park Service. Superintendent Joe Prentice and his wife Mary Ann created an important toehold for living history at Hopewell in August 1957 with the first celebration of Establishment Day, the anniversary of the park's founding. Costumed performers demonstrated a variety of tasks, including blacksmithing and candle-making. Mary Ann Prentice and other women, including the wives of some of the seasonal rangers, baked bread and made apple butter, which they shared with visitors; in subsequent years, the bread was sometimes brought from a nearby bakery and re-heated in the bakeovens (Glaser 2005:271-72).

A special part of the program was a molding and casting demonstration in the cast house by skilled molders who worked at foundries still operating in the area. Bill Bitler, a seasonal ranger from 1955 to 1989, recalled one molder named Carl Buck (known as "Bucky") who came from Birdsboro Steel, and another from Birdsboro Casting, a small "gray-iron" foundry along Route 724.⁹ Harry Hart, another seasonal ranger in the late 1960s and early 1970s, recalled a molder from a company in Boyertown doing demonstrations at the park on Establishment Day. These "real" molders were hired to demonstrate only, not to talk to visitors. "Somebody else did the yakking," in Bitler's words!

Establishment Day was popular from the outset. The 1957 event attracted several thousand people. Most came from within the immediate region, where such traditional skills as open-hearth cooking and metal-working were well within the family experiences of many people. NPS staff from the regional and national offices were also in attendance and were impressed. Articulating the view of living history that dominated much Park Service thinking before the more critical period of the 1970s, one NPS historian wrote, "These activities have top interpretive value as an informal vehicle to transport the modern visitor back in time and give him the vicarious experience of participating in a native craft" (Young 1963). When these views began to gain momentum in the agency after Director Hartzog's high-profile support for living

⁹ Gray iron, another term for cast iron, has a lower tensile strength and is more brittle than other kinds of iron. It is used in applications where tensile strength is not crucial, such as engine blocks, electrical boxes, and decorative castings.

history, Hopewell was in a strong position to expand its limited offerings into a more extensive summer living history program.

The Mission 66 initiative was also important in providing both impetus and funding for interpretive and architectural activity at Hopewell in the late 1950s and early. The Mission 66 Prospectus for Hopewell Village NHS solved the “social vs. technological” history question by incorporating both. The park would tell two linked historical stories, one about iron production (told through the complex of structures surrounding the furnace) and one about social life (via the ironmaster’s house, tenant houses and boardinghouse, blacksmith shop, barn, office-store, bakeovens, springhouse, and other structures not directly involved in iron-making). The new Visitor Center, dedicated on April 18, 1959, added some contextual information about the iron industry in early America (Glaser 2005:265-71).

Some of the projects of the Mission 66 period provided a different kind of “living history” presentation at the park. As already noted, the original barn adjacent to the Ironmaster’s Mansion had been replaced by a modern dairy barn built in 1926. This structure, which functioned as the park’s museum during the early years, was torn down in 1959 and replaced by a structure replicating the Hopewell barn of the 1820-1840 period. The park hired a crew of Amish carpenters to erect a post-and-beam barn, a project which “attracted considerable public interest” (Glaser 2005:146) and linked the park with the agricultural and hand-work traditions embedded in the area’s history. This linkage was apparently also clear to the Amish workmen; as Superintendent Joe Prentice wrote in a 1961 report:

The utilization of the religious group in the restoration of the barn has paid off in greatly improved public relations with all the “plain” people. They are proud of their part in our restoration. One of them wrote, “Your aims and ours are much alike. Here you are preserving an early American industry and interpreting life of the people in a rural, industrial community. We too are trying to preserve the way of life of our ancestors.” (Prentice 1961)

In keeping with their view of photographs as graven images, the Amish stipulated that they not be photographed at work. Park staff occasionally clashed with visitors over this request; then- seasonal ranger Bill Bitler recalled, “They had snow fence around the area where these guys worked, and this professor from I don’t know where was just insisting he’s going to take photographs. . . So I had to kick him out of the park. And I was happy to do it.”¹⁰ Amish cultural values also expressed themselves in the fact that the composition of the work crew changed from day to day, as different workers rotated in and out and the relatively high-paying federal contract was shared among many community members instead of being the purview of only a few people.¹¹ Amish workers were again hired in 1964-65 to rebuild the cast house and

¹⁰ From Leah Glaser interview with former seasonal ranger Bill Bitler, July 27, 2003.

¹¹ From Frank Hebblethwaite interview with former Maintenance Mechanic Supervisor Lloyd Huyett, April 17, 1996.

molding sheds, and the park's new superintendent, Ben Zerbey, followed Prentice's example in showcasing the process as part of the park's interpretive offerings. Members of the public, Zerbey noted, "love to watch the Amish people."¹²

In this relationship we can see the same basic elements present that account for the popularity of any living history program:

- Visitors are fascinated by a glimpse of premodern or preindustrial lifeways (particularly when these are demonstrably "authentic," as in the case of the Amish).
- Those doing the work are given an opportunity to perpetuate meaningful practices and knowledge woven into their sense of individual and shared identity.
- The institution sponsoring the project acts as something of a go-between, mediating the public/performer interface and providing an appropriate site for the demonstration of traditional skills and knowledge.

The park's "in-between" role becomes clearer when we note that park employees and local contractors, many of whom had longstanding family ties to the area, worked alongside the Amish crew. The modern dairy barn had in fact built by a local contractor who was a descendant of one of the old Hopewell families. The same contractor was also hired to work on the demolition of the barn in 1959, along with NPS employees Charlie Seidel (later Hopewell's Chief of Maintenance). Bill Bitler's uncle, Frank Hoffman, a stonemason, had worked on stabilizing the furnace stack early in the park's history (Glaser 2005:44), and Hoffman's son Harold, a woodworker, worked with his father on the first reconstruction of the waterwheel in 1952 (Glaser 2005:127). Bitler's father also worked with "Sherd" Painter to construct the modern dairy barn. So the handskills, Pennsylvania German backgrounds, and longstanding links with the Hopewell area were found among these workers and park staff as well as among the more high-profile and easily identifiable Amish construction crew.

The architectural and other projects of the Mission 66 period went a long way toward creating a physical infrastructure for the "vitalized village" that Roy Appleman had envisioned at Hopewell. Superintendent Prentice, who was at the helm for much of this period (1955-1961), spoke to a journalist about his own goal for the park: "When federal restoration plans are completed," he said, "this place should look as if the workmen had just stepped out for the day" (Reading Automobile Club 1958:5).

For some visitors, however, seeing a setting where the workmen had just stepped out for the day was not enough; they wanted to see the workmen themselves. Irwin Richman, a professor of art and architecture at Pennsylvania State University, reviewed the park's exhibits for the journal *Technology and Culture* in 1968 and found the restored and furnished buildings somewhat "barren and lifeless." He noted that "The newly reconstructed Cast House was too new and too clean. . . . The blacksmith shop is furnished with security rather than accuracy in mind, and the recently restored office-store is also lifeless abetted by use of paper maché or plastic bacon slabs and hams" (Richman 1968:213-217). Audio way-stations installed

¹² From Leah Glaser interview with former Superintendent Benjamin Zerbey, July 15, 2003.

throughout the park did not solve this problem; they were often inoperative, and some visitors complained that the loud volume of the recorded voices disrupted the peaceful atmosphere of the site (Glaser 2005:270-71). Prentice's recruitment in 1958 of Elmer Kohl, one of the last traditional charcoal-makers in the area, did add a sense of animation and real-life demonstration of a traditional skill at the site. But this was an occasional event, not a regular program, and many visitors and NPS staff felt that more was needed to bring life to the village. (The charcoal-making program is discussed in more detail in the following section.)

NPS Director Hartzog's 1965 statement in favor of living history interpretation opened the way for a greatly expanded program at Hopewell that would "people" the site in a much more consistent and lively way. Beginning in 1968, the park began to hire regular seasonal rangers to do costumed interpretation (some were exclusively costumed interpreters, while others alternated between uniform and costume).¹³ The park's early promotion for its living history program directly reinforced the "Hopewell problem" by foregrounding the bucolic nature of the park and its interpretation. Living history, one 1970 press release extolled, was a way for visitors to "catch a glimpse of long ago with its merits of simplicity and closeness to the earth" (Hopewell Village 1970). This approach continues to be reinforced today by the park's introductory slide show, a Bicentennial-era production which emphasizes the pastoral and scenic qualities of the park and prominently features costumed interpreters throughout (Glaser 2005:1986).

The summer of 1969 saw the addition of a molder, molder's assistant, blacksmith (with two assistants on the weekends), and storekeeper (Glaser 2005:274). Superintendent Bill Riddle sought out seasonals from among local teachers, a pattern that has continued at the park (as at many parks) over time. In the words of Harry Hart, one such seasonal interpreter who was also a teacher, "I very quickly realized that there was no such thing as a real national park employee—they're all schoolteachers!" Hart's own great-grandfather, David Hart, had worked at both Hopewell and Joanna Furnaces, but Hart was unaware of the connection with Hopewell until after he started working at the park (see Chapter 5, "Hart family").

As with other local residents who have subsequently developed connections with the park or have made use of its resources in historical or family research, then, Hart's awareness of a family connection to Hopewell came about through his association with the park rather than predating it. The backgrounds of some other seasonal personnel in the living history program also reflected other areas of overlap and other instances where people who might be considered as members of traditionally associated groups—local residents, Hopewell descendants, Pennsylvania Germans, practitioners of traditional trades or skills—constructed their sense of the past at least in part through their activities as Hopewell employees or volunteers. The examples of Anna Witman and Bill Bitler, presented as case studies later in this chapter, will illustrate some of those overlapping areas. Seasonal rangers were also recruited through the

¹³ The development of the living history program at Hopewell is covered in some detail on pp. 271-81 of Leah Glaser's 2005 Administrative History of the park. My summary here is indebted to her fine archival research, which I do not attempt to duplicate in the same level of detail.

Student Conservation Corps, college work-study programs and internships, and other sources (Glaser 2005:274).

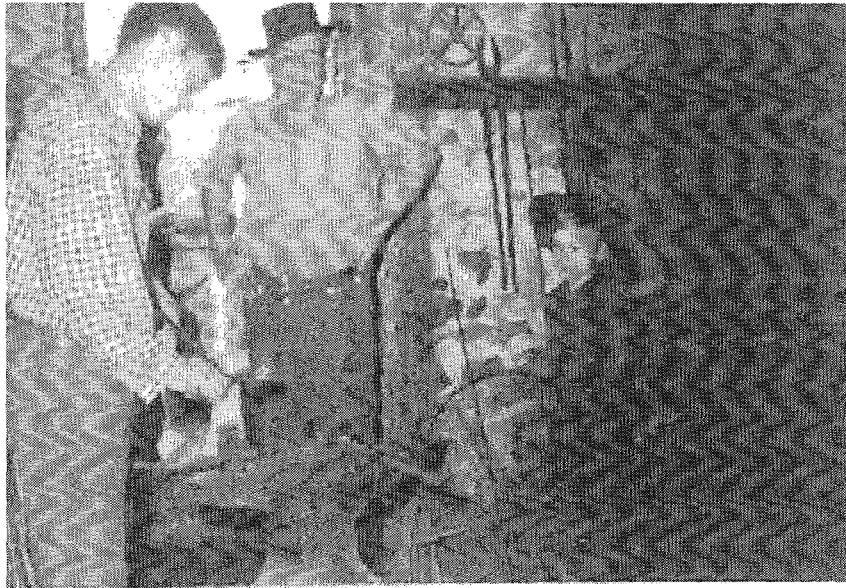


Figure 6.1 An unidentified blacksmith and two “apprentices” in the Hopewell living history program, 1969. (Source: HOFU.)

The period between 1969 and the early 1980s was something of a “golden age” for Hopewell’s living history program. Much of this was linked with the fervor of the national bicentennial, which sparked a great deal of enthusiasm among members of the public, the living history community, and the NPS alike. In 1969, the NPS American Revolution Bicentennial Commission designated Hopewell as one of twenty-two official “Bicentennial areas” for the period of 1975-1983, prompting the park to re-tool its interpretation considerably to focus on the earliest period of Hopewell’s existence (Glaser 2005:162-65). Starting sometime in the early 1970s, a Revolutionary War reenactment unit, the 1st Continental Regiment of Foot, was a part of the park’s annual Independence Day programming. Seasonal ranger Dale Biever was an avocational member of the unit and facilitated its connection with the park.¹⁴ One of the reenactors portrayed Mark Bird and read the Declaration of Independence from the porch of the ironmaster’s mansion each year. The group also did drilling demonstrations and participated in a 1973 flag-raising ceremony to mark Hopewell’s official recognition as a bicentennial area. For the bicentennial anniversary itself, Hopewell staged a special event on May 2, 1976, featuring a visit from Colonel Daniel Bird of Alexandria, Virginia, a descendant of Mark Bird. The park fired a cannon in honor of the occasion, something that was not

¹⁴ This information is drawn from Leah Glaser’s interview with Dale Biever on July 23, 2003. In addition to being a teacher, like many of the other seasonals, Biever was the grandson of a foundry worker and recalled hearing his grandfather talk about molding and other metal-working skills.

historically accurate but which pleased the very large crowd in attendance (Glaser 2005:289-90). The relationship between Hopewell and the 1st Regiment of Foot continued for a short time after the bicentennial period, but eventually ended when the reenactors began to chafe at stricter NPS controls on weapons and safety-related issues.

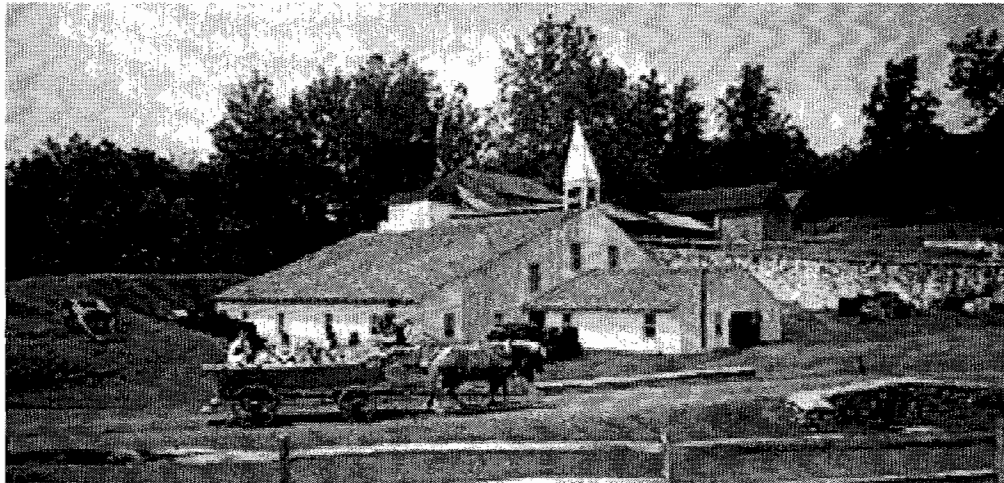


Figure 6.2 A wagon-driver, operating under a Special Permit, takes visitors on a wagon ride c. 1975. (Source: HOFU.)

Throughout the remainder of the 1970s and into the 1980s, Hopewell presented living history programming throughout the village seven days a week during the summer season. Bill Bitler recalled being one of perhaps twenty seasonal rangers hired each year.¹⁵ The living history program included demonstrations of both male and female work at Hopewell Furnace. Molding and casting were (and remain) a core part of the program, along with blacksmithing, costumed interpretation at the office-store, and popular wagon rides offered by a wagoner from nearby St. Peters.¹⁶ Women seasonals took domestic roles, doing baking and cooking and often sharing the results with visitors. They also tended the park's produce garden (in competition with the local wildlife), practiced textile arts such as dyeing and spinning, and made candles (see Figure 6.3).

¹⁵ Bitler himself, along with two other local teachers, were “permanent seasonals” who could be called in outside of the summer months to do living history on special occasions and to help with other duties when needed.

¹⁶ The horse droppings troubled some visitors, and an incident involving a runaway horse that injured the wagoner eventually prompted the park to end the wagon rides.



Figure 6.3 Two unidentified costumed interpreters demonstrate candle-making at one of the Hopewell tenant houses, 1969. (Source: HOFU.)

The park inaugurated a Christmas program in 1976, inviting staff, volunteers, neighbors, and friends to help trim a tree in the Visitor Center. The Elverson Garden Club, a local group, decorated the mansion for many years, a tradition that has now been discontinued due to changes in the group and some dissatisfaction with its relationship with the park (Glaser 2005:188).

Despite the growing concerns of some NPS administrators about relying too heavily on living history as an interpretive technique, Hopewell's program was highly regarded in this period. "We were kind of a show park, really," seasonal ranger Dale Biever recalled, and several staff members from this time remarked on the high quality of the presentations at the park, often crediting the core of long-time seasonals who were experienced teachers and performers as well as craftspeople. "You have taken the bull by the horns and forged a program that is both stimulating and instructive," wrote Bill Everhart, the NPS Assistant Director of Interpretation, in 1969 (Everhart 1969). Staff from this era also recall substantial crowds of visitors in the summer months. Hopewell's annual visitation peaked in the bicentennial year of 1976 at 198,800 people, but visitation remained around or above the 150,000 mark between 1969 and 1985, when it began to decline to its present levels around 50,000 people annually. (See Appendix F for complete annual visitation figures at the park.) The Park Service as a whole may have been moving toward a more pragmatic and cautious approach to living history during the bicentennial years, but visitors, seasonals, and many permanent staff at Hopewell remained deeply enthusiastic about the use of this technique at the park.

Enthusiasm and popularity were not enough to carry the program through the lean years of the 1980s. At that point, the mandated Gramm-Rudman cuts to the federal budget combined with the need to face deferred maintenance issues at Hopewell and the general shift away from living history at national parks. Rangers were reassigned to resource management rather than

interpretive duties and the number of seasonals dropped substantially, leaving far fewer staff available for costumed interpretation. If the park was to continue “peopling” its quiet village setting, it would need to rely more and more on volunteers to do it.

Volunteers had been a part of the living history program from the outset. The families of many seasonal and permanent staff had long participated in costumed activities on Establishment Day and other special events, as well as during regular summer programming. Personal contacts among communities of avocational living historians and reenactors, as well as links with local schools via the many teachers who worked as seasonal interpreters, have furnished additional volunteer interpreters over the years. These informal networks of contacts have continued to provide a cadre of living history volunteers for Hopewell.

The park’s list of current volunteers includes 89 names, of whom about half participate as living historians. About half of those are active in the charcoal program; some of these do double duty as “colliers” (charcoal-makers) and as interpreters at other sites in the park. A handful of seasonal rangers (still mostly teachers) staff the cast-house and some other areas during the summers, along with occasional paid specialist demonstrators (for example, the park hires a professional sheep-shearer who works along with the park’s own farmer on Sheep-shearing Day each spring). Some permanent park employees also occasionally appear in costume on special event days.



Figure 6.4 At Sheep-shearing Day in May 2005, a professional shearer (left) works alongside the park’s farmer (center) to shear the Hopewell sheep. At right is one of the daughters of the then-superintendent, continuing a long-standing tradition of family members of staff participating in living history programming on special event days.

During 2004 and 2005, I observed most of the special event days at Hopewell:

- 1) Harvest Time (formerly “Women’s Work”), September 2004 and 2005
- 2) Iron Plantation Christmas, December 2004
- 3) Sheep-shearing (including a charcoal burn), May 2005
- 4) Fueling the Furnace (formerly Establishment Day)¹⁷, August 2005

Living history volunteers are also an important part of Family Social Day in October and take an active role in Hopewell’s school programming, offered occasionally during the school year (there was only one day of school programs in the 2004-2005 school year, which I was unable to attend).

Volunteers present nearly all of the skills and roles formerly taken by seasonal rangers, including blacksmith, storekeeper, cooks and bakers, candle-makers, textile artisans, and members of the ironmaster’s family. Some volunteers have specialty activities that they pursue; one woman, for example, offers children’s games for young visitors. There was little activity in the park’s gardens during the time that I was doing fieldwork, but there were plans in spring 2006 to begin working more regularly on the decorative gardens of the mansion lawn, which had been allowed to grow over after a losing battle with the deer and the end of the long-time relationship between the park and the Elverson Garden Club. Occasionally a volunteer will also bring horses to the park, sometimes with wagons or buggies, an activity that always proves popular with visitors.

As noted above, one recurring issue for the National Park Service in utilizing living history interpretation has been how to link performances with parks’ interpretive themes rather than sponsoring more generic impressions of the past or presenting purely entertaining or dramatic scenarios that do not necessarily illuminate the park’s central stories. This issue was visible in the living history presentations I observed and heard about at Hopewell. In December 2004, park staff decided that rather than depicting a single time period, they would have each building reflect a different era from the furnace’s history. This was a way to work against the hyper-realism that many living history sites seek to achieve, and to remind visitors of the site’s long history and the fact that the park itself was in some sense a restoration or re-creation, rather than offering an apparent chance to step fully into the “real thing.” However, some volunteers expressed frustration with this approach, noting that many visitors were confused by

¹⁷ This was the first year since 1957 that Establishment Day had not been held as a special event. Although it was still advertised on the sign outside the park during the previous week, it was decided to treat the day as essentially a regular summer weekend day, except for the charcoal burn which was ongoing that week. One rationale for the change was that this would allow the park to showcase the charcoal program more visibly. In 2006 the day is being publicized as “Fueling the Furnace.” Volunteers were not informed of the 2005 change in advance and some expressed confusion and disappointment about the decision. Visitation for the day was about 250 people, a busy day by current Hopewell standards but a far cry from the several thousand visitors reported at Establishment Day celebrations in the 1960s and 1970s.

it. Several staff and volunteers also spoke to me about living history events held by the Friends of Hopewell Furnace that had been popular and well-attended but that had not directly related to the park's themes. These included "mock weddings" that had drawn sizeable audiences. Members of the Friends saw these as highly successful because audiences—including local people and people who had not previously attended park events—had enjoyed them. Staff noted that the events were time-consuming and did not further the park's stated interpretive missions. As we will see below ("Characteristics of living historians at Hopewell Furnace NHS"), these are the areas where the practices and values of the NPS are in tension with those of the neo-traditional groups who now constitute most of the living history interpreters at many national parks.

Living history days are still among Hopewell's busiest, but the overall size of audiences has shrunk dramatically in recent years.¹⁸ Park visitation is now approximately half what it was just



Figure 6.5 During the Iron Plantation Christmas program in December 2004 (clockwise from left), Ranger Frank Hebblethwaite appears as the Belsnickel, a traditional Pennsylvania German figure;¹⁹ living history volunteer Peggy Gingrich leads musicians in a program of Christmas music; a choir of children from a nearby school performs at Bethesda Baptist Church.

¹⁸ For detailed visitation figures for Hopewell Furnace NHS, see Appendix F.

¹⁹ The Belsnickel (also known as Pelzebock or Pelznickel, among other terms) is a carnivalesque Yuletide figure who appears in ragged clothes, often made of fur, with a blackened face. The name means literally "Nicholas in furs"—he is a form of Saint Nicholas, but retains the sense of menace that adhered to the

over a decade ago, and a third of its peak years between 1969 and 1985. Volunteers frequently remarked to me on how quiet the park was compared with the past, citing various reasons (lack of advance publicity, lack of innovative programming, the admission fee for something that the predominantly regional audiences had once known of for free, etc.) The highest daily visitation I noted during my visits was 364 people on Sheep-shearing Day in May 2005; other special events tended to draw 150-250 people. One seasonal ranger from the early 1990s recalled visitors commenting,

'I remember when this and this and this and this was going on,' and when you just had an empty room with furniture, it was really boring. Nobody was interested in that. And we used to get comments—at one time they used to have a comment thing out, and people would write in, 'I want living history, where are the—' They wouldn't use those words, but you know, 'Where are the people in costume?' And I always felt, because Landis Valley would have these special things, like they would have a funeral. And they would do like these little windows into somebody's life, a slice of life. And I always wished Hopewell would have gone that route.

As we will see later in this chapter, seasonals and volunteers alike are motivated by the desire to attract large audiences, something that is not always the case for permanent NPS staff. This difference in motivation occasionally causes tension between the living historians and the park. Two former living history volunteers, frustrated by the restrictions the park placed on its costumed interpretation, said to me,

The bottom line of what Hopewell has to do is declare themselves a museum, let somebody else take it over, put plastic things in and buttons that you press that say, 'Hi! I'm Molly. I work in the cast-house.'

And they're going to lose completely because there's so many other places around...

character before its sentimentalization as Santa Claus in the late nineteenth century. The Belsnickel interrogates children as to their behavior, rewards the good ones with candy, and whips the naughty with wooden switches. The custom of visits from the Belsnickel (or sometimes a group of Belsnickelers) continued in Pennsylvania until the early twentieth century, but the activity gradually became absorbed into either the Santa Claus or the Halloween traditions. See Shoemaker and Yoder 1999 for more on this and other Pennsylvania German Christmas customs.

Hopewell Furnace NHS

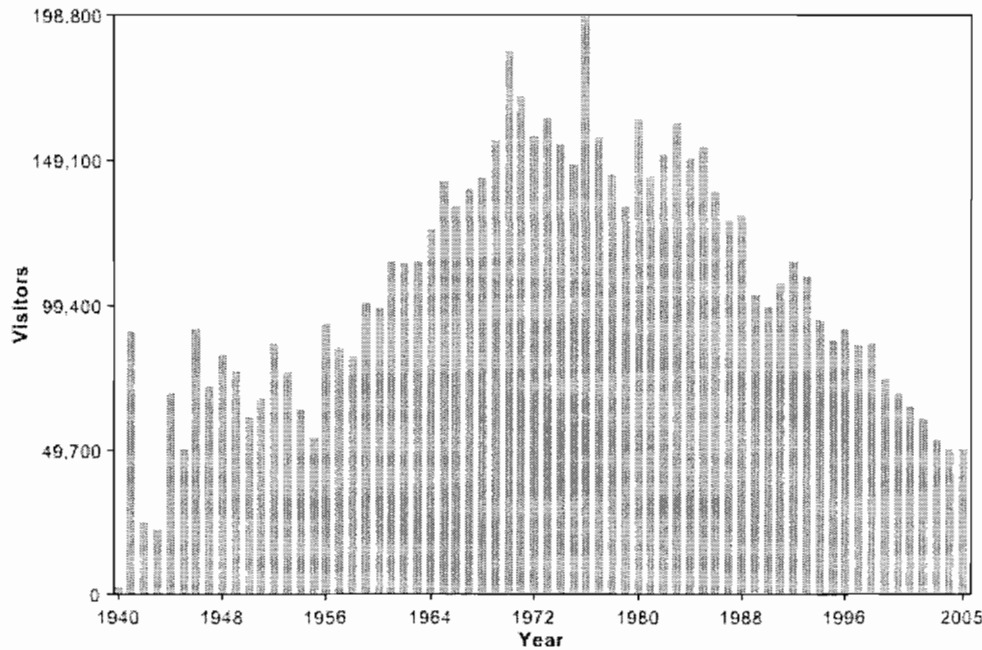


Table 4 Visitation at Hopewell Furnace NHS, 1940-2005. (Source: Public Use Statistics Office of the NPS.)

All of the living history volunteers and former seasonals I interviewed expressed tremendous affection for the park. We will see below how the values and characteristics of this particular group of people relate to the park’s resources, particularly its depiction of small-scale community and hand-skills. In the words of one woman, she loved Hopewell because

It was the place I learned to do living history. But it’s a unique site because I don’t know of any other sites except, well, not in Pennsylvania, there are no other sites in Pennsylvania, that have a complete village. We have homes, we have a boardinghouse, we have a company store, we have the furnace, we have the farm, we have the ironmaster’s house, we have the spring house, and that includes—implies all the servants that were involved. They did their laundry in the spring house, they did their butchering, they kept their food cold there, they have the bake ovens and made sixty or eighty loaves every Saturday to accommodate all the people that they fed, you know, different of the men that worked in the furnace would come, the molders and whatnot, would come, and they had a molders’ dining room and a molders’ kitchen. And they had maids and stuff... I don’t know of any other, none that I’ve participated in, where there was a village involved.

Another, who demonstrated basket-making and other skills, told me,

I won't ever leave. They'll have to beat me to death! [laughs] Because I say to the people that I see, when they come and say, 'You look like you're really enjoying making baskets,' and I will say the same thing every time: 'There's nothing better in the world than sitting here under these lovely trees with a blue sky and just doing my thing.' And I feel that way. That's so good—I just love it.

Despite this affection, however, it was evident that the relationship between the park and its living history volunteers was by no means always smooth. Recurring tensions between the park and its living history volunteers will be discussed at the end of this chapter, in the section "Hopewell's living historians in relationship to the park and its interpretation."

CHARCOAL-MAKING AT HOPEWELL FURNACE

Many historic sites in the U.S. offer living history interpretation and crafts demonstrations, but very few present the traditional craft of charcoal-making. Among those few, Hopewell Furnace NHS is acknowledged as an important source of knowledge about this skill, which is still practiced regularly in many parts of the world but has become quite rare in modern and Western places.

In many ways, the cadre of volunteer charcoal-makers (or colliers) has the strongest claim to be considered a traditionally associated *group* at Hopewell. Unlike the more individual family units of Hopewell descendants, and much more than the loose-knit community of costumed interpreters, the colliers do constitute quite a cohesive group, constituted around the preservation and practice of an archaic body of knowledge that has been passed along orally in a continuous line from those who once made their living by making charcoal in these same woods. At the same time, the colliers' group challenges the definition of traditional association in that it has never existed apart from the park itself. The activities and composition of this group, therefore, give us an outstanding opportunity to think about the workings of culture at historic sites like Hopewell, and to consider how the concepts of ethnographic resources and traditional association might apply to this kind of neo-traditional entity.

Charcoal and the metal industries

In its natural state, wood contains water, resins, and other volatile substances, in addition to a considerable amount of carbon. When wood is burned, much of the heat of the fire is devoted to burning off these non-carbon substances, limiting the overall temperature that the fire can reach. Wood carbon itself, however, will burn at much higher temperatures. Humans appear to have learned this quite early in their association with fire; cave drawings made with charcoal have been found dating to more than 30,000 years ago. The intensified heat of charcoal fires made possible the development of metallurgy starting about 5,000 years ago (Harris 1999). By the start of the Bronze Age, the use of charcoal for metal-working, combined with its existing uses for cooking and heating, resulted in the decimation of old-growth hardwood forests

throughout the Mediterranean area. After the end of the Dark Ages, forests across Europe were felled to feed the growing need for charcoal (Raymond 1986:147).

Charcoal is made by burning wood slowly within a contained space so that its volatile components are burned off, leaving the lightweight carbon. In modern charcoal-making, the contained space is usually a brick or metal kiln, but for many millenia, colliers created an enclosure sometimes called an “earth kiln” by stacking cut wood around a central core designed to facilitate air flow within the pile, and then covering the entire thing in a thick layer of leaves, dirt, and charcoal dust. This thick layer served to limit the oxygen flow to the fire. The pile was lit by introducing fire into the chimney and then carefully monitoring and controlling the rate of burning until as much of the wood as possible had been turned to charcoal. It could take two or more weeks to complete a single burn of twenty-five or more cords of wood, and colliers generally kept multiple piles going at once, in varying states of completion. A skilled collier could reap 35-40 bushels of charcoal from each cord of wood (Walker 1966:245). Once the wood was charred, the colliers would “rake out” the pile, being careful not to let fires start in the still-warm charcoal that could quickly consume the entire valuable pile.

Like blacksmiths and others who worked with fire and metal, colliers were often ambivalent social figures, valued yet somewhat uncanny, living on the edges of “civilized” society. In anthropological terms, they can be seen as mediating figures between nature and culture, inhabiting a boundary region rich with symbolic power and danger (Douglas 1966). They worked deep in the woods, finding it more efficient to go to where their raw materials were than to haul wood over great distances before charcoaling it. Their “flats” or “hearths,” the circular areas where they built their fires, remain visible in many areas where charcoal-making was once prevalent, including southeastern Pennsylvania.

Demand for charcoal grew much greater after the iron-making industry began to develop in the fifteenth century. At the same time, European populations were growing, particularly in Britain, and new industries like glass-making were in competition for the dwindling amounts of wood. Charcoal-making, a venerable craft practiced throughout much of the world for millenia, was already beginning to decline in Britain by the time the first English colonists sailed to the New World around the turn of the seventeenth century. Starting around 1700, iron-makers found ways to turn to coal, and its somewhat purified form, coke, to fuel their operations (Raymond 1986:148-53). By the time of the American Revolution, the charcoal-fired cold-blast iron furnace was a thing of the past in Britain (Walker 1966:135).

In America, however, it was a very different story. The vast American forests provided a tremendous new source of wood for charcoal-making. Pennsylvania’s abundant forests were one of the three main ingredients—the others being iron ore and water power—that prompted ambitious young entrepreneurs like Mark Bird to defy England’s 1750 ban on colonial iron manufacture and to set up iron-making furnaces in the colonies. Walker reports that the forest and farmland associated with Hopewell Furnace ranged from about 4,000 to 8,000 acres in different periods of the furnace’s history, and that the majority of this land was devoted to growing wood for charcoal-making (Walker 1966:121).

Colliers were a crucial element of the work force at furnaces and forges. By 1830, at the

1 acre of land
 = 30-40 cords of wood
 = 1300 bushels of charcoal
 = 43 hours' worth of fuel
 when furnace was in blast
 = enough fuel to produce
 8 tons of pig iron
 (based on figures from
 Walker, *Hopewell Furnace*)

peak of its production, Hopewell Furnace was consuming the equivalent of 5-6,000 cords of wood a year in charcoal (Walker 1966:141). Charcoal-making was not a year-round job; once the weather became inhospitable in the winter, operations would cease, although wood-cutting did go on through the year and it appears probable that many of the charcoal workers also cut wood in order to earn a year-round wage (Kemper 1937:10). There have historically been disagreements

among ironmasters and colliers about which kind and age of trees produced the best quality charcoal, but these arguments were minimal at Hopewell because the forested tracts were clear-cut, using up all the wood at once and then waiting for new trees to reach harvestable size, a process that took approximately 30 years (Walker 1966:240). Hopewell's colliers were paid by the amount of charcoal they produced, and their payment was reduced if they delivered loads that were too small, that included too many uncharred pieces of wood, or loads where the fire was not completely out (Walker 1966:249).

Some of Hopewell's colliers were of German background, including Henry Houck, a master collier at the furnace between 1818 and 1842. Walker reports that many were Irish, including both Catholics and Scots-Irish Protestants, which led to occasional sectarian differences. Although in some cases (including Henry Houck and his son Samuel) charcoal-making appears to have been a trade passed down in families, Walker's research suggests that this practice was not particularly widespread (Walker 1966:340-41). Walker does not cite any examples of black colliers at Hopewell, and there is no clear written evidence of the presence of escaped slaves working in any capacity at Hopewell. However, given the furnace's proximity to at least two Underground Railroad routes, the known abolitionist sympathies of ironmasters at both Hopewell and other nearby furnaces at various times, and the suitability of both wood-cutting and charcoal-making for those who wished to remain largely invisible to the authorities, it seems reasonable to speculate that if any escaped slaves did spend time among Hopewell's workers, it may have been in these positions (Walker 1966:313-16). Although Walker notes a handful of women who worked as wood-cutters for Hopewell over the years, he does not provide any evidence that women were ever among the collier crews (Walker 1966:323).

Cold-blast charcoal-furnaces still slightly outnumbered anthracite furnaces in eastern Pennsylvania in the middle of the nineteenth century, but the older technology was being eclipsed by that point. The railroads preferred iron made with coal and coke,²⁰ and both the ore deposits and the forests in the region had been depleted over the decades, as had happened more than a century earlier in Britain (Walker 1966:59-60). Making iron with charcoal was

²⁰ The Pennsylvania legislature authorized the granting of charters to companies using the newer fuels starting in 1836 for coke and 1838 for anthracite (Walker 1966:59). Coke is to coal as charcoal is to wood: a somewhat refined form of the same fuel, with some of the impurities driven off by heat.

becoming prohibitively expensive, largely because of the labor involved in extracting the raw material (wood) and processing it into fuel (charcoal). In 1848, it was estimated that a ton of charcoal iron at Hopewell cost \$12.35 in labor costs, as compared with \$2.50 a ton for iron made with anthracite coal; by the 1850s the labor figure for charcoal iron had risen to \$15.44 a ton (Walker 1966:62). Charcoal was also more “frangible” than mineral fuels; that is, only so much of it could be packed into a given space before it would begin to break up and stifle a fire. This meant that there were limits on the physical capacity of cold-blast furnaces. The only way to expand production of cold-blast iron was to build additional furnaces, which required enormous capital outlay (Eggert 1994:52-57).

The owners of Hopewell Furnace built an anthracite facility in 1853, but it was never successful. Its equipment was later moved to another furnace, and the masonry furnace core became (and remains) a ruin on the Hopewell property. Perhaps at around the same time or shortly afterward, two long brick buildings were constructed at Hopewell. Their exact purpose is unknown, but archeologists and historians have speculated that they may have been charcoal kilns, designed to make the production of charcoal more efficient and thus to prolong the working life of the old cold-blast furnace a little longer (Robinson 2004:36). This was a rear-guard action, however. As Pennsylvania’s coal mining industry developed rapidly in the nineteenth century, the days of charcoal-making as an essential component of the iron industry in the U.S. drew to a close. There continued to be charcoal production at Hopewell Furnace into the twentieth century, but it was made and sold for specialty purposes rather than to fuel the old furnace (Walker 1966:68).

Charcoal-making since the nineteenth century

Charcoal-making remains an important industry in many parts of the world. In other places, like the U.S., it has become a specialty craft. The continued practice and evolution of this skill illustrate some of the twists and turns that traditional knowledge may take as it intersects with historic preservation, industrial and postindustrial development, environmentalism, and ethnic expression.

Charcoal-making of the past century and a half can be assigned to one of the following three categories:

- 1) Cooking/home fuel

As it has been for countless centuries, charcoal is still used in many places today to cook food and heat homes. Many of these are in poor rural and urban parts of developing countries, where charcoal offers a relatively economical, home-grown, sustainable fuel that can be produced along with agricultural activities. In Thailand, rubber trees that have passed their prime for latex production are often used for timber and charcoal, with the majority of the fuel going to home cooking markets in both rural

and urban areas (Buranakul: no page). In sub-Saharan Africa, where 80% of households depend on wood fuels for cooking and heat, charcoal is preferred by many because it burns more cleanly, an important consideration in parts of the world where many houses have grass roofs and chimneys are impractical, resulting in dangerously smoky interiors from cooking and heating fires. At the same time, charcoal is cheaper than fossil fuels, which are increasingly favored by more well-to-do and urban households (Williams 2005). One source sets the value of the charcoal market for 26 sub-Saharan African countries at more than \$1.8 billion a year (Resch 1998).

Although charcoal itself burns more cleanly than wood, the process of making charcoal produces considerable smoke and gas, raising concerns about pollution as well as potential deforestation as charcoal use increases in developing countries. In recent years, governmental and non-governmental health and environmental organizations have addressed these questions, reaching mixed conclusions. A 2002 French study of charcoal use in Africa concluded that good forest management and improved equipment for making and using charcoal could readily offset the possible environmental disadvantages, with the added benefit of slowing the switch to petroleum fuels among many populations who do not yet use them widely (Girard 2002). New high-yield, low-emission charcoal kilns greatly reduce pollutants by burning the gases produced during burning, recapturing their heat for other purposes. This technology is beginning to be used not only in environmentally-conscious Western Europe, but also in Eastern Europe, China, South Africa, and elsewhere (Casselmann 2007). In Singapore, a planned municipal plant will convert waste wood to charcoal (Stassen 2002: 35). However, some have questioned whether places in poorer countries can afford this state-of-the-art technology, and have also wondered about the disruption to longstanding social patterns that exist around the craft of making charcoal by hand. Much of the charcoal made for cooking use is still produced using earth kilns, although in some places more permanent enclosed kilns of brick or steel are utilized.

In places with more established urban populations or more developed service economies, restaurants are as important as homes as a market for charcoal. This is the case in much of Asia. In Indonesia, charcoal is both made and used in urban as well as rural areas, with restaurants in Jakarta and Singapore using fuel made from mangrove wood and—especially as the quality and quantity of mangrove forests has been deteriorating—coconut shells (Sjahrial 2005). A 1990 ethnographic film, *The Charcoal-Makers* (Piault 1990), follows an extended family of itinerant colliers as they spend a summer under contract to a Greek town that is clearing a hillside to expand its cemetery. The documentary emphasizes the hard work and uncertain profits of this trade. At the end of the film, the narrator notes that most of the resulting fuel will be sold to restaurants, particularly during the busy summer months of the tourist season. Meanwhile, closer to home, some small companies in North America still produce charcoal for cooking purposes, often for restaurants specializing in foods traditionally

cooked using charcoal. These include Portuguese, Greek, and southern barbecue restaurants. One such company, Nature's Own of Warwick, Rhode Island, emphasizes the "natural" characteristics of its "chunk charwoods," as well as the fact that it uses wood from continually reforested areas of Quebec. In this continuation of the age-old charcoaling trade, we can see connections with the developing service and cultural economies in many parts of the world, along with a connection to environmental consciousness and the celebration and marketing of ethnic and regional traditions themselves. This brings charcoal-making full circle, linking it with the third category on this list, preservationist reasons for making charcoal.

One additional home/cooking use of charcoal worth mentioning here is the development of charcoal "briquettes" in the early twentieth century. The charcoal briquette was invented by Orin F. Stafford, who chipped wood into small bits, converted them to charcoal, then ground the charcoal to powder and added a binder in order to produce small squares. Henry Ford was looking for a profitable use for scrap wood from the sawmills that supplied his automobile manufacturing plants, and used Stafford's process to create a secondary market for the scraps. E. G. Kingsford, a distant relative of Ford, briefly managed the briquette plant and lent his name to it and to a Ford company town built nearby in 1923. Kingsford charcoal briquettes are currently made using wood charcoal, anthracite coal, mineral charcoal, starch, sodium nitrate, limestone, sawdust, and borax (O'Connell, Scott)—considerably more ingredients than are found in traditional charcoal!

2) Industrial uses

Charcoal continues to be used in industrial processes in some parts of the world, including in the making of pig iron. It is also used for its absorbent properties in some industrial operations and other applications.

Brazil has become an important producer of pig iron, supplying automobile manufacturers and other kinds of companies. Brazil's case offers a revealing parallel with the earlier history of iron-making in the U.S., as well as a challenge to environmentalists and others working to balance forest management with industrial production. As was done in the productive years at Hopewell, Brazilian iron companies hire laborers to clear-cut enormous areas of forest using chainsaws and bulldozers. Mobile groups of colliers, often traveling in extended family units, set up temporary encampments in an area that is being cut, and build up to several hundred temporary brick kilns in which they process the wood into charcoal (Kato et al. 2005:128). Many observers have questioned the environmental costs of clear-cutting the rain forest, as well as the social burdens borne by the poorly-paid colliers and the people (including Tupinikim and Guarani Indians) who have been displaced from former forest areas. Model programs have been proposed to reforest clear-cut areas with monocultural

eucalyptus plantations. The goal is for the new forests to absorb the greenhouse gases produced by charcoal and iron production and to conserve the region's biodiversity (Prototype Carbon Fund: no date). Critics of such projects have questioned the wisdom of replacing a diverse ecosystem with a monocrop system, and have also pointed to the extreme poverty suffered by local residents (Environmental News Service 2004).

Brazil and other places are currently experiencing the same level of deforestation and displacement of forest-dwelling indigenous peoples that occurred in Europe in the late Middle Ages and in the eastern U.S. in the early nineteenth century. Charcoal-making is not the only contributor to these recurring periods of displacement and "energy crisis," but it has historically been one of the most voracious consumers of forests, especially when paired with the needs of industrial production on even a modest scale (as was seen at Hopewell). These regional and national problems are now linked with the larger crisis of global climate change, giving environmentalist critiques of charcoal-making a new urgency.

3) Preservationist

In places where industrial production is becoming a thing of the past and there is money and political will to clean up the environmental effects of large-scale industry, the processes associated with the industrial past—like charcoal-making—are often memorialized and put on display. Often these are part of new economic strategies emphasizing tourism and cultural production. Such is the case at Hopewell. The charcoal made at the park does have a practical purpose—it fuels the small furnace in which metal is melted for the molding and casting demonstrations. But its larger purposes are commemorative and educational. The charcoal program is designed to preserve a craft that is no longer actively practiced in the region and to teach postindustrial visitors about how and why this was once done.²¹

Hopewell is an important repository for this knowledge, and it has been sought out by many people from other historical institutions. Over the years, it has "lent" personnel to other sites with a history of charcoal-making; Elmer Kohl, the park's first on-staff collier, went to Catoctin Mountain Park in Maryland to build a demonstration charcoal pile,²² and staff from Hopewell have done charcoal-making demonstrations at Cornwall Furnace and elsewhere. More commonly, people have come to Hopewell

²¹ Some sites outside the U.S. evidently also demonstrate charcoal-making as part of the preservation and interpretation of historic crafts. The Forest of Dean Heritage Museum in Soudley, England, formerly had a charcoal-making program, for instance. See <http://www.fweb.org/dean/deanhist/charcoal.htm>.

²² Kohl, apparently a former bootlegger himself, was also asked to help Catoctin Mountain recreate an authentic mountain whisky still. According to former seasonal ranger Harry Hart, upon his return from Catoctin Elmer "just smiled and said the still worked just fine, but all they made was condensed water—not the good stuff from the Welsh Mountain!" (Hart 2004).

itself to learn how to make charcoal. Interpreters have visited Hopewell from Plimoth Plantation and Saugus Ironworks NHS in Massachusetts, Conner Prairie Living History Museum in Indiana, and other places. Both Conner Prairie and Plimoth Plantation hold an annual charcoal burn most years; at Plimoth this tradition is now more than a decade old. Saugus Ironworks has never hosted its own burn, in large part because it is in a fairly urban area where smoke and safety issues have arisen, but it continues to consider a burn as a future interpretive possibility. Because Plimoth and Saugus interpret a much earlier period than Hopewell, staff at both sites have needed to do additional research to learn about the variations in charcoal-making techniques over time.

Plimoth Plantation and Conner Prairie report two quite different audience responses to their charcoal presentations. At Conner Prairie, visitors show considerable interest in the early stages of the burn, when there is more activity and smoke, but once the pile settles down and just smolders quietly, people are more drawn by the many other activities offered at the living farm. At Plimoth, blacksmith Mark Atchison, who runs the charcoal program, reports that the burns are quite popular with visitors. Plimoth relies entirely on staff members to watch the pile, but Atchison notes that occasionally visitors will ask if they can come back after hours and assist, something the site has allowed. Conner Prairie also uses staff entirely for its charcoal burns. Both sites burn only small amounts of wood: two to three cords at Plimoth and one or two (or even less, for very small demonstration burns) at Conner Prairie. Plimoth supplements its charcoal supply with commercial charcoal bought from companies that make it in the traditional manner. As at Hopewell, both sites also report that visitors frequently mention having seen or participated in charcoal-making elsewhere, including Vietnam, China, various African countries, the Caribbean, and Eastern Europe. Some visitors have seen modern metal kilns used to make charcoal, while others have encountered people using earth kilns or holes in the ground (as is sometimes done in Asia).

Mark Atchison of Plimoth Plantation and Curtis White, lead ranger at Saugus Ironworks, learned to make charcoal directly from Ted Ziegler at Hopewell during the 1980s, before the apprenticeship program was implemented (see next section). Nathan Allen, Manager of Historic Trades, oversees the charcoal-making at Conner Prairie; he learned the skill from Melvin Litton, a former Conner Prairie interpreter who learned it from Ted Ziegler at Hopewell.²³ Allen reported that he and others have passed on the knowledge to others, particularly to new blacksmithing and other interpretive staff at the site, but also to some volunteers and people from other historic sites (for example, the Iowa Living Farm Association).

²³ Conner Prairie's instructions for making charcoal, dedicated in part to the memory of Ted Ziegler, can be found at <http://www.connerprairie.org/historyonline/fuel.html>.



Figure 6.6 A charcoal burn at Plimoth Plantation, Massachusetts, in the fall of 2003. Mark Atchison, the Plimoth blacksmith, is on the left. (Source: Plimoth Plantation.)

Reviving charcoal-making at Hopewell Furnace

From the beginning of the park's existence, park planners and managers recognized that charcoal-making was an important part of Hopewell's iron-making and environmental history, and that as with the skilled molders and casters still working in the metal industries of the area, there were still people who knew how to make charcoal using traditional methods. Harker Long, the last furnace manager and the caretaker at the Brooke property when the NPS first arrived, introduced park researcher and Hopewell descendant Jackson Kemper to Lafayette "Lafe" Houck, who had been working as a collier for Hopewell at the end of the furnace's active life. In late 1936, the Park Service recruited Houck, then 82 years old, to demonstrate "the life and skills of the collier" (Kemper 1937:i). Along with his son William, Houck built and tended a charcoal pit in a process that took three weeks from bringing in the wood to raking out the charcoal. Kemper took careful notes throughout the 1936 burn and subsequently published several pieces on charcoal-making for the NPS.²⁴

²⁴ These include the 1937 booklet "American Charcoal Making in the Era of the Cold-Blast Furnace," published by the NPS and still available in a reprinted edition at the Hopewell bookstore; *The Making of*

Harry Hart, then a boy of nine, recalled being taken to watch by his father, the editor of the Birdsboro newspaper. The sight of the pit “blowing” when the accumulated gases caused an internal explosion impressed itself on his memory, as did the evening he and his father spent talking with Lafayette Houck in the collier’s hut the two Houcks had constructed for the demonstration. Anna Witman, Houck’s great-niece, did not witness the 1936 burn, but she recounted a piece of family lore about it: “[Uncle Lafe] died shortly after that. And the family always resented it and said that if they wouldn’t have coaxed him to come out there and show them how to do a charcoal pit, he wouldn’t have got the pneumonia and died.” In fact, the elderly Houck fell off a ladder partway through the process and had to be hospitalized, leaving his son to finish the burn alone. Houck died in 1939, not immediately after the burn as Witman’s story suggests, but the family’s resentment may have reflected some sense that the Park Service was extracting traditional local knowledge at a cost to local inhabitants.

No further charcoal was produced at Hopewell for more than twenty years after the 1936 demonstration burn. Then, in 1958, Superintendent Joe Prentice decided to include charcoal-burning as one of the traditional crafts demonstrated at the annual Establishment Day festivities, and shortly Hopewell was sponsoring a demonstration burn each August for the popular public event.



Figure 6.7 (left) Harker Long, last Hopewell caretaker, and Lafayette Houck, last Hopewell collier, c. 1936. Figure 6.8 (below) Lafayette Houck “jumping the pit” to find soft spots in the burning pile, 1936. (Source: Jackson Kemper, “American Charcoal Making in the Era of the Cold-Blast Furnace [1937].) ”



To demonstrate the craft of making charcoal, Prentice located a man named Elmer Kohl. Kohl came from a family of eastern Pennsylvania colliers, many of whom had worked for

Charcoal as Followed by the Colliers of the Schuylkill Valley with Arthur Sylvester in 1937; and “American Charcoal Making” in *The Regional Review*, Vol. V, No. 1 (July 1940), available online at http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/regional_review/vol5-1.htm.

Hopewell and/or Joanna Furnaces. The Kohls were Pennsylvania German, having settled in the Reading area in the eighteenth century. Elmer Kohl was born in Brecknock Township, near the Lancaster/Berks county line, in 1907, and had worked with wood all his life. In the 1940s he started a small charcoal-producing operation just south of Reading. Among his customers were Carpenter Technologies in Reading and some Lancaster County telephone companies, who used the high-quality charcoal as a rust-inhibitor for metal in high-moisture situations. In the 1950s Kohl was living and working closer to his birthplace, an area known as “Kohls Hill” not far from Maple Grove Park, where he and a partner, Pat Williams, had built a permanent shelter under which they could burn charcoal (Soulliard 2000:154-55). The park arranged to hire Elmer to run a demonstration charcoal burn in 1958, housing him in Tenant House 1 for the two-plus weeks that he was in residence. He returned in 1959, sleeping in the lower part of the office-store in the intervals of tending the pile, which was located on the flat lawn between French Creek and Tenant House 1.²⁵

By the early 1960s, Elmer had moved his residence again, and the park lost track of him. They found him again through a joint effort by seasonal ranger Harry Hart and the new Superintendent, Ben Zerbey, who often hiked together. As Hart recalled,

I was teaching industrial arts and history, and we were doing a series of stories on “things your grandmother could tell you” . . . And one of the kids said, “There was a man who made—” a bootlegger, up in the hills. That was interesting! So we had that, and along with bootlegging he also made charcoal. So when Ben Zerbey said, “You know anybody who can make charcoal?”—“Yeah, I’ll get back to you.” So I got back, talked to the kid, and his name was Elmer Kohl, and he lived somewhere up in the wilds. So checked with the post office, he’d come down every so often to get his mail, and got in touch with him. But he was no longer here, he had moved, he’d moved up to the Blue Mountain area above New Tripoli. And so Ben and I one Friday afternoon went up and we started going to all the little stores and post offices trying to find—Finally something, I forget the little town, “Yeah, he’s up there in the hills!”

An afternoon’s worth of conversation with local people eventually led them to Kohl, who was not enthusiastic at first about Zerbey’s proposal that he come and work for the park full-time in a unique capacity: “Laborer-Collier” (Soulliard 2000:155).

So we went up and Elmer was not taking this suggestion too warmly. He was making charcoal for the labs in Bethlehem Steel and was quite happy doing that. He had a little green trailer that he had up there, came down to Hopewell eventually. So Ben softened it with, “We’ll give you a thousand dollars if you’ll come down for two weeks.”

That’s pretty good money!

Gee whiz! So he came down. And he showed everybody how to—And then of course Ben, he kind of treated Elmer with kid gloves, you know, because you never knew what

²⁵ Information about these early charcoal demonstrations is drawn largely from Frank Hebblethwaite’s April 17, 1996 interview with former Chief of Maintenance Lloyd Huyett, and from Glaser’s Administrative History.

he was thinking about. He'd just kind of stand there and he'd ponder, you know, and some of the other people—"He's lazy! He doesn't do anything!" [But we knew,] "He's thinking things through!" So finally we discovered that Elmer liked beer. So you'd take a case of beer out. He'd go through that case of beer in an evening—whew! Just like that. So then Bill Bitler invented Hopebrew Beer...and so we would take Hopebrew Beer up. . . . *So that's how you kept Elmer happy.*
Yeah.

Maintenance worker (later Chief of Maintenance) Lloyd Huyett, who became a particular friend of Kohl, recalled:

We moved him down. Yeah, we brought him back down here. And we had a trailer, a little trailer sitting right out here, on the other side of the fence here. . . .and he stayed in that. And they had him on like temporary, you know, he'd work so many months. And then he was a park employee, then he'd burn the piles. And after the piles—well, he used to help with mowing, trimming the trees and things like that. He was good at trimming the trees and mowing and things like that. . . . When he first came here I'd say he was about 50. And he stayed here, and then eventually had the trailer up here, and got another trailer and moved it up there. And then he had a stroke, and he couldn't work anymore.

. . . The way it was done at that time, there was only one person burnt that pile. He got no overtime, he watched it all the way through, they'd give him maybe four hours or six hours. . . . If you'da saw him, he looked like a dead man at the end of the two weeks! I mean, how much can you sleep, and get up and go down, and—he had to go from here down to the pile I don't know how many times a night because he was watching it. . . . And there was no way I was going to—I said if I took that job, they'd find out what it cost to burn a pile of coal!



Figure 6.9 Elmer Kohl on a charcoal pile he built at Hopewell, pre-1966. (Source: Undated park photo from Joseph Walker, *Hopewell Village* [1966].)

Kohl had a stroke in 1973. He had other health problems, including diabetes, which required him to have a leg amputated shortly before he died, in the Zerby Sisters nursing home near Reading, on February 18, 1980. He is buried at Centre Church, Lancaster County (Soulliard 2000, 156). Recollections of Elmer Kohl emphasize his deliberate nature, his quiet strength, and his knowledge of his craft and the landscape that it was linked with. Charles Seidel recalled:

He was a man that lived in the woods for a lot of his life, and he knew the trees and even the birds and things like that. He was a woodsman. And he was an interesting person. I don't think he had very much of an education, but he sure knew—he was a perfectionist in the charcoal making. I mean, it had to be right. I recall taking him to Catoctin to build a demonstration pile one time, and Elmer got very upset because they weren't following his rules! I tried to tell him, "Elmer, it's just for a demonstration," but he wanted them to do it right.

Two authors who interviewed Kohl for a book on *Vanishing Crafts and their Craftsmen* in 1959 noted that, "He doesn't look like a bear, but somehow he gives the impression of a bear—a large, rather shy, very strong bear" (Steinmetz and Rice, 60). Louise Zeigler, whose husband would carry on the charcoal-making craft at Hopewell, described him as a "Back-woods type person, I think. Simple man. Happy with his simple life." Bill Bitler said he was, "Uneducated, extremely knowledgeable about flora and fauna. To me, just a wonderful guy."

Fortunately for the park and for the practice of traditional charcoal-making in the area, Kohl had passed along much of what he knew to another Hopewell employee, Ted Ziegler. Like Kohl, Ziegler was a native of the area, born in Robeson Township in a village known as Plow Church. Ziegler's father was of German extraction, his mother Polish; like Kohl, Charles Seidel, and other local Hopewell employees, Ziegler had deep roots in southeastern Pennsylvania and a family connection to the prevalent Pennsylvania German culture of the area. The Zieglers were stonemasons by trade, and Ted Ziegler worked for many years as a mason before being hired by the national park in 1971. At that point, he had been laid off from a job, and Charles Seidel, who had known Ziegler and his family for many years, recruited him for the maintenance division at Hopewell. Although the NPS job paid less than doing construction work, Louise Ziegler reports that her husband "wasn't into material things. He liked what he did and what he did, he did well. And he was happy with the way it was."

One of the things Ziegler quickly came to like when he started working at the park was charcoal-making. He had known Elmer Kohl previously, and once the two men became co-workers, Ziegler began to learn the craft seriously. Some former staff at Hopewell report that there was tension around who the "heir apparent" to the charcoal program was, and that not everyone was pleased that Kohl favored Ziegler for the role. When Kohl was no longer able to work, Ziegler was able to take over the charcoal-making demonstrations on Establishment Day and other special occasions. Throughout the 1970s and 80s, he supervised other staff who assisted with the burns, often coming in to the park outside of his working hours to monitor the pile. It was during this period that he trained many people from other historic sites, as described above.

It is clear from descriptions of Ziegler that he shared many characteristics with Elmer Kohl. In Louise Ziegler's words,

He wasn't educated as far as, know you, completing high school, he didn't, but he did go to votech on his own, he was very much interested in any kind of mechanics in cars, trucks, tanks... And that was his hobby. Anybody that had a car problem and such, like family and friends, would call on him. An outdoors person by all means. If it wasn't that he needed to sleep, eat, and use the bathroom, you'd find him outside. He didn't sit in front of the TV at all. Yardwork, he did all the yardwork. He was happy with the simple life. You found him in, you know, just work pants and a shirt, not a suit and tie by any means. He had no problem with looking rough and ragged for charcoal burning—I mean, he wore a beard and a moustache and he was happy doing charcoal. He enjoyed that. He did. That was a hard, dusty, dirty job, hot job, dangerous job...



Figure 6.10 During the 1970s, Ted Ziegler tends a charcoal pile as visitors watch. (Source: HOFU.)

Hopewell Ranger Dick Lahey, who took over the supervision of the burns from Ziegler, described him as,

A wonderful man. He was a great instructor, very warm heart. He was—he came from a mixed ethnic background, I think Polish and Pennsylvania German. And he had a bit of that kind of not immediately warm, you know, that you find in that area. But once you got to know him, oh my gosh, he was just very giving, he would give you the shirt off his back. Just very kind. . . . He had a good way of teaching you without feeling like you were being taught.

I was going to ask you, how did he convey what he knew about charcoal-making?

He would tell you everything, and when he'd do something, he was very slow and deliberate, you know, so you tended to absorb things pretty quick. And I tend to be pretty deliberate and slow, and I think we bonded pretty quickly there.

That seems to be sort of a common trait among the colliers, sort of low key, you know, good people—

Yeah. And in fact, if somebody's sort of hyper, dramatic, they don't tend to fit in very well. . . . Which is funny—you know. . . . a lot of good interpreters tend to be somewhat dramatic, but the colliers, you know, none of them have any problem talking with people, visitors and things like that, but they're just not dramatic people. And that was true I think of Ted, and that was a tradition that sort of stayed that way.

Jim Corless, Chief of Interpretation in the early 1990s and himself of Pennsylvania German background, thought of Ted as, “a classic old-timer. You just loved to be around and listen to

his stories. He was quite willing to share, he was, in my memory, certainly completely non-possessive in terms of his skills, his desiring to share them.”

By the early 1990s, however, it had become clear that despite the park’s commitment to continuing the charcoal-making demonstrations, the labor-intensive two-week burns did pose problems for management. Maintenance Chiefs were understandably reluctant to devote very large amounts of their staff’s time to an interpretive activity that was not technically within the scope of their jobs.²⁶ Yet there were also advantages to retaining the maintenance connection. Maintenance staff had the specific skills and equipment—for cutting and hauling wood, for example—to make the burns possible. And employees like Ted Ziegler were the “real thing”—workers rooted in the kinds of knowledge, landscapes, and cultures historically linked with charcoal-making in this part of the world. Another management question was how to make the program sustainable in the long term, rather than dependent on individual, isolated practitioners like Elmer Kohl and Ted Ziegler. In essence, this traditional practice had come into the keeping of the national park, and now a decision had to be made about how to maintain it over time.



Figure 6.11 Hopewell master collier Ted Ziegler in the summer of 1993. (Photo: Susannah Brody.)

Discussions among maintenance and interpretive staff in the early 1990s led to a decision to begin recruiting volunteers—who would be known as “apprentices”—to help continue the charcoal-making program. The park sent out press releases to local newspapers, and a number of people from the local area responded with interest. Many of these people have remained a part of the core group of colliers ever since, including current master collier Wayne Ramer. Others have left the area or are no longer associated with the park. It is clear that a shared sense of identity did begin to emerge with the

²⁶ At Plimoth Plantation, the same dilemma has arisen and been resolved differently. Plimoth has been moving toward integrating its interpretive and maintenance tasks more seamlessly, so that the same people are able to perform the various kinds of maintenance-related crafts (for example, repairing roofs or building structures) that they present to the public in their jobs as interpreters. In other words, the goal is to merge the “real thing” with the representation of it. In a more segmented setting like a national park, there is more of a distinction between people who do “real” work (eg. cutting trees as part of maintaining the landscape) and those who portray historical work (eg. charcoal-making or casting iron).

earliest volunteer charcoal burns, and that the volunteers looked to Ted Ziegler as a teacher and guide in the traditional craft of charcoal-making.

The apprenticeship program began at what Jim Corless called “an unknowingly wise time,” because Ted Ziegler died very suddenly of a heart attack in October of 1993. The park’s farmer, Dick Lahey, had been working closely with Ted since arriving at the park in 1991, and a number of volunteers had started to become somewhat familiar with the craft, but as volunteer Suzy Brody recalled, everyone “recognized the difficulty of running an apprenticeship program without a master collier. For the first few years both the quality and the quantity of the charcoal were less than when Ted had been in charge” (Brody 2002:3).

In the summer of 1998, a number of the apprentices and some park staff got together to pool their knowledge and consider what might be done to improve the burns. Although there were written materials about charcoal-making, those at Hopewell recognized that ultimately, this was a craft that was learned by doing, not reading. As Dick Lahey put it,

One of my qualities is I’ve always been able to pick up a lot of stuff from reading and then apply it, and I get a lot of gratification from that. And I think the only thing that I’ve ever done that I know I couldn’t have read about and then tried to do was charcoal-making, because it was something you really had to sort of pass on. And there was so much judgment involved and you know, “Does this mean it’s too hot? Does this mean it’s not hot enough?” . . . And sometimes Ted would do something one way and then another time he would do it another, and you didn’t always know why he was doing it differently both times. And sometimes he wasn’t real clear about it, you know. Sometimes he wanted to speed up and sometimes he wanted to slow down. There were different motivations behind that.

The 1998 gathering elicited memories of lessons learned from Ziegler, which the apprentices and staff put to use in a September 1998 burn. Another important recollection was that Maintenance Mechanic Ray French, who had been at the park since 1988, had picked up a good deal of knowledge about charcoal-making while assisting Ziegler in the five years before he died. French, a former miner, ironworker, and pipefitter, had the same kind of experience and skills as Ziegler: a general “handiness” and an interest in mechanical problems, along with patience and an ability to teach by example. “I’m not much of a bookworm,” French told me when I interviewed him in 2004, adding that he felt his contribution to the charcoal-making program was to balance the more theoretical or technical approaches by reminding people that “the most important source of information is the pile itself. . . You just need to stop and look at the pile.”

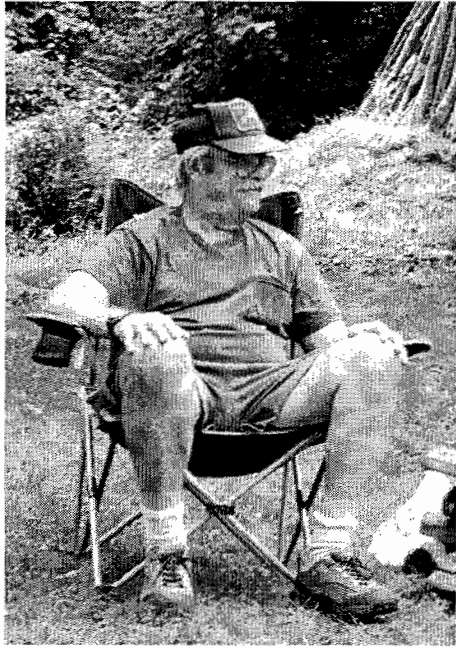


Figure 6.12 (left)
Master collier Ray
French supervises his
last charcoal burn,
summer 2005.



Figure 6.13 (right)
Louise Ziegler, charcoal
volunteer and widow of
former master collier
Ted Ziegler, summer
2005.

Dick Lahey became the park's new master collier after Ziegler's death, and ran the apprentice program until he left the park in 2001. As the park's farmer, Lahey already straddled the line between the programmatic work of interpretation and the hands-on work of maintenance. Park management saw him as the natural person to take on the charcoal burns. Working closely with volunteer Bierce Riley, a chemist, Lahey and the park offered annual training sessions that included some classroom orientation and some hands-on learning about how to build and tend a pile.

During this period, the core group of volunteers began to grow stronger and more cohesive. Suzy Brody notes that Ziegler's loss did a great deal to form the apprentices into a closer-knit group who felt a shared and personal responsibility for preserving the knowledge of charcoal-making. A perusal of the Hopewell collier newsletter reveals that sharing food and meals became a common experience, both during and after a burn. This budding community became slightly more like an extended family when Dick Lahey married one of the volunteers, Wendy Herdman (Figure 6.15). A connection was re-made with the Kohl family when Elmer Kohl's grand-niece, Susan Soulliard, volunteered at a couple of charcoal burns. Soulliard was working on an extensive, well-illustrated family history of the Kohls (see Soulliard 2000) and had become interested in learning about charcoal-making as part of that project. Louise Ziegler, Ted's widow, has also attended some recent burns as an apprentice collier (Figure 6.13). "I wish now I would have done it when he was doing it," she told me during our interview. "I really do. And I wish my two sons would have taken an interest, too, but I don't think Teddy ever asked them to or you know, and so they were teenagers at the time with their own things, and so, you know, dad's just at work, you know. I don't think they ever really looked into, you know, he's not going to be doing it forever, maybe we should learn this." This kind of indirect

continuity—through the park and its volunteers rather than through a family or occupational lineage—is characteristic of neo-traditional cultural production.

Unlike the other living history volunteers, who are largely defined by the costumes they wear and the roles or characters they take on, the colliers seldom engage in costumed or theatrical forms of interpretation. At the burns I witnessed, someone was designated as an interpreter *per se* on particularly busy days (for example, on Sheep-Shearing Day), and these people often seemed to be the teachers or former NPS employees who belonged to the charcoal cadre. Overall, however, the emphasis in the charcoal program is on the craft of charcoal-making itself rather than the craft of interpretation. That is, the activity is presented as the practice of a traditional skill, and although the people who are doing that activity willingly talk to visitors who are interested in learning more, the central focus is on the skill itself. In the words of one charcoal volunteer,

I'm not an actor, you know! [laughs] I'm a pretty good talker, but some people are into that, I really am not. I think the colliers' group as a whole is not.

It's more the technique.

Yeah. That doesn't mean—you know, you've got to dress appropriately, don't get me wrong. But I know there's some resistance to costumes, you know, within the colliers' group. It doesn't bother me one way or the other. My biggest problem with some of the costumes would be safety aspects. You know, you're around fire and what have you and this stuff is natural materials and it's baggy and you're not used to working in that environment. I'm not—you know, so—

So you wear whatever you're comfortable with.

Yeah, exactly. Exactly.



Figure 6.14 Master collier and park ranger Dick Lahey splits wood at a charcoal burn. (Photo: Susannah Brody.)



Figure 6.15 Wendy Herdman and Dick Lahey met through the charcoal group and were later married. (Photo: Susannah Brody.)

Adjustments were made to safety and administrative procedures at the pile in the period when the volunteer group was solidifying. After some accidents and near-accidents, it was decided that no one would “jump the pile” (climb on top to check for soft or burning spots) any longer, and volunteers are now scheduled in pairs (at a minimum) instead of singly as sometimes happened in the early days of the apprenticeship program. The size of the pile has gradually become smaller, now most often four or five cords of wood rather than the ten-plus-cord piles that were customary before Ted Ziegler’s death. Over time, Hopewell secretary Barbara Gergle has assumed the key job of scheduling people to cover the three eight-hour shifts each day during the seven or more days of a burn. The park produces a regular newsletter focusing on the charcoal program, an important form of communication and documentation of collective memory and knowledge.²⁷

When Dick Lahey left to work at George Washington Birthplace NM in 2001, Maintenance Mechanic Ray French became the master collier. The craft of charcoal-making had now passed through several stages at Hopewell Furnace NHS:

²⁷ This newsletter, *The Colliers’ Courier*, has recently been merged with the park’s general newsletter.

	Traditional/Professional	NPS	Community/Volunteer
1930s	Lafayette Houck (demo)		
1940s			
1950s	Elmer Kohl (demos)		
1960s		Elmer Kohl	
1970s		Ted Ziegler/staff	
1980s		Ted Ziegler/staff/volunteers	
1990s		Dick Lahey/staff/ volunteers	
2001-05		Ray French/staff/ volunteers	
2005-		staff/ volunteers/Wayne Ramer	

Table 5 Master colliers at Hopewell Furnace, 1930s-2005

Over time, the center of gravity has shifted gradually toward the “volunteer” side of the chart, with professionals and then paid park staff taking a less central role with each passing decade. With the retirement of Ray French in late 2005, the shift has become even more pronounced. The park and the colliers held discussions, separately and jointly, about the succession of the key “master collier” position, and a decision was reached to appoint one of the volunteer colliers for the first time. Wayne Ramer, a member of the volunteer cadre since the beginning of the apprenticeship program, took over the position in early 2006 and supervised his first burn in May of that year. “It was a joy!” he told me, when I asked him how it had gone. Despite the shift away from having a fully-involved park collier—or perhaps because of that shift—the already strong relationship between the park and its volunteer colliers appears to have been strengthened.



Figure 6.16 Volunteer collier (now master collier) Wayne Ramer speaks to two visitors at the charcoal pile, May 2005.

I attended two charcoal burns in 2005, participating as an apprentice collier during one. As an apprentice, I helped to cover two eight-hour shifts and participated in “raking out” the finishing charcoal. Along with many other volunteers and staff, I also dropped by the charcoal area frequently while the burn was going on; a burn becomes something of a park campfire, which people often visit even when they are not scheduled to cover a shift. In August 2005, I attended the end-of-burn party to commemorate Ray French’s final burn as master collier (see photos below).

Many of the characteristics of the collier group overlap with those of Hopewell’s living historians in general, and these are discussed in more detail in the following section of the chapter. Two qualities that are particularly noticeable in relation to the colliers, however, are:

1) Low-key style

Like their historical predecessors, the volunteer colliers tend to be deliberate and low-key, in contrast to other living history interpreters who are often more extroverted and verbose. When I remarked on this to the colliers themselves, some suggested that it was in keeping with the job of charcoal-making itself, which is generally slow-paced and lends itself to a contemplative mood, particularly when practiced on a very small scale, as at Hopewell (although colliers were quick to admit that tending a number of much larger charcoal pits as full-time colliers would be anything but relaxing). Others pointed to the fact that despite the apparent peacefulness of the smoldering pile, there was always the potential for danger, which required that colliers be attentive and exercise good common sense—two qualities that contribute to the overall ambience of the activity.

This ambience was illustrated on one of my May 2005 visits to the charcoal pile, as shown in an excerpt from my fieldnotes:

The pile was *much* smaller than yesterday, and Henry Wood and Wayne Ramer, who were the colliers on duty, said it was burning quite quickly and might actually be all done by Sunday, rather than taking until Wednesday as had been scheduled. Howard Smith was also there, still being the eager new apprentice and hurrying to put charcoal dust and plugs into every possible hole almost before it had opened up. “I think he’s trying to make the pile bigger!” Henry said at one point. The two experienced guys were ribbing Howard gently about his eagerness, and he was taking it in good humor. At one point Wayne got up and sort of slouched over to the pile to take a look around it. “Note,” he said to Howard, “my hands never leave my pockets.” That is, he was just moseying around, not doing anything active or energetic. “Basically unless we see big flames, we mostly just let it sit,” Henry said.

2) Camaraderie

The sense of community among the colliers was much more noticeable than among the living history volunteers as a whole. They have a considerable sense of collective identity and memory, bolstered by many hours of round-the-clock vigils at the smoldering pile over the years. As I discuss at the end of this chapter, the sense of being within “liminal” or non-ordinary reality, always intense at Hopewell because of its otherworldly atmosphere, is intensified at the charcoal pile, which is like a world within a world at the park. The experience of tending the charcoal pit combines some of the aspects of summer camp, hunting, and bonfires, all of which conduce to experiences of bonding and camaraderie. In the words of one volunteer, “It’s just something to do to go sit with people. It’s quiet here. After you do it for a while, you come out to see the other people in the group, as much as anything else.” Another, asked what the main rewards were of participating in the charcoal program, said, “Well, the people I meet. Relaxing. It’s kind of like camping. You go sit by a campfire.” Most colliers spoke to me of the sense of community being central to their enjoyment of the activity.



Figure 6.17 Ray French makes an adjustment shortly after lighting the pile, May 2005

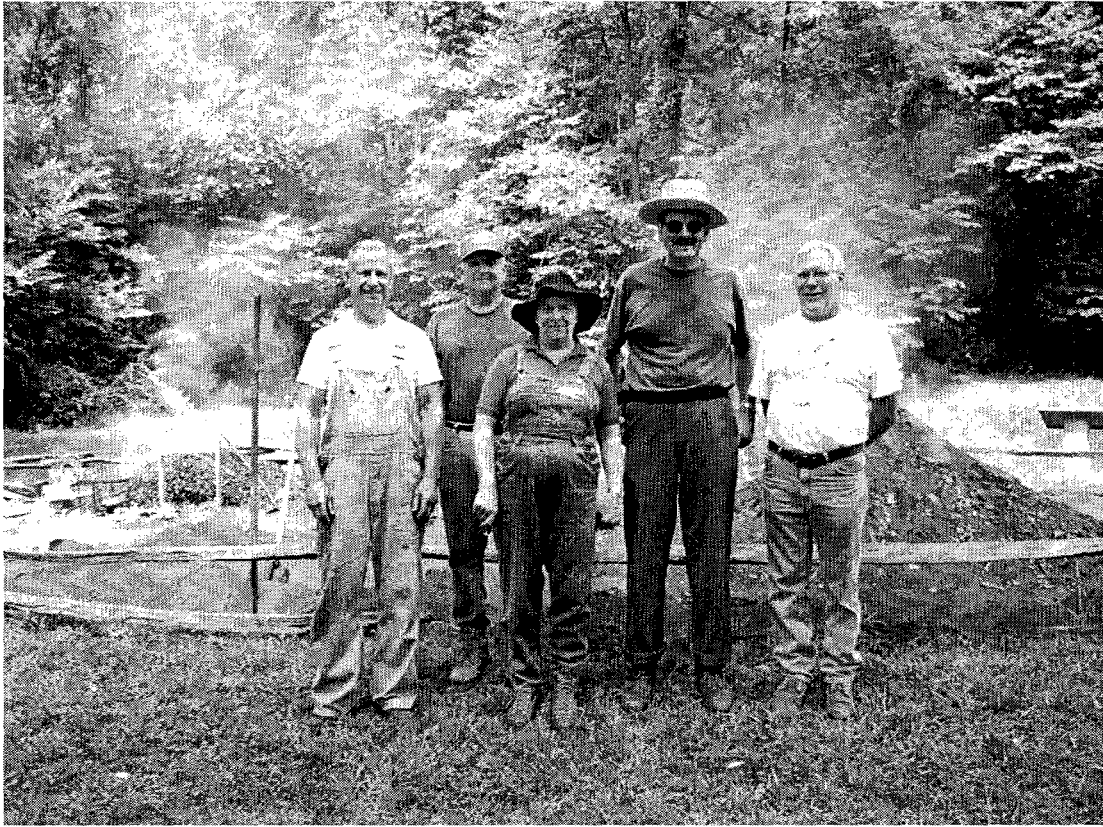


Figure 6.18 Volunteer colliers (left to right) Wayne Ramer, Cliff Brahmstadt, Suzy Brody, Cory Putt, and Henry Wood, August 2005



Figure 6.19 Colliers at end-of-burn party, August 11, 2005: (kneeling) Steve Miller, Chris Miller, Henry Wood, Mike Rottmund; (standing on lawn) Suzy Brody, Davida Waters, Jim Boyce, Walt Malewitz, Wanda Misiaszek, Ray French, Deb Fluck (front), Rich Schulze, Alan Schulze, summer intern Ryan Dively, Colleen Schulze, Michie Thomas; (on porch) Frank Hebblethwaite, Louise Ziegler, Bill Rigg, Joan Rigg, Barbara Gergle, Bob Rhoads, Dick Scott, Sue Baldasty, Howard Smith, Steve Klopp, Carol Baldrige, Cory Putt, Michael Louie, Nickalys Goda, Linnae Goda.

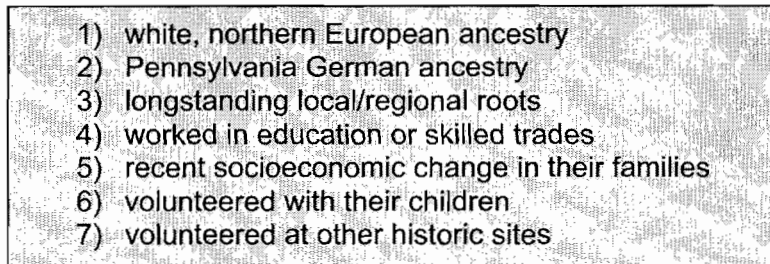
CHARACTERISTICS OF LIVING HISTORIANS AT HOPEWELL

This section will examine Hopewell's living history volunteers as a group, asking about their demographic characteristics, their values and motivations, and how these shape their approach to living history and their activities at the park. For the purposes of this section, I am including the costumed interpreters and the charcoal volunteers within the same *frame of analysis*, with differences noted where appropriate. I conducted formal, taped, transcribed interviews with ten people who volunteered as costumed interpreters only, five who did charcoal-making only, and three who did both. I also conducted informal, non-taped

interviews with many other members of the living history and charcoal-making programs. Data below were gathered through these interviews and through participant-observation activities on special event days and at charcoal burns.

No individual volunteer embodied all of the characteristics listed below. However, most people represented several of them, in differing combinations. Following the description and analysis of the seven key demographic characteristics and four key values and motivations, I offer profiles of six people who have worked or volunteered as living historians at Hopewell over the past 50 years, as a way of illustrating how these qualities combine within the experiences of specific individuals.

My interviews with Hopewell's living historians showed that the following seven demographic characteristics were common, if not universal, within this group:

- 
- 1) white, northern European ancestry
 - 2) Pennsylvania German ancestry
 - 3) longstanding local/regional roots
 - 4) worked in education or skilled trades
 - 5) recent socioeconomic change in their families
 - 6) volunteered with their children
 - 7) volunteered at other historic sites

1) They were almost all of white, northern European ancestry.

See the chart in Appendix G for a detailed listing of demographic information about Hopewell's living historians, including their ethnic backgrounds. The most commonly mentioned ancestries were:

- German (mentioned 13 times)²⁸
- English (6)
- Welsh (4)
- Irish (4)
- Italian (2)
- French (2)
- Dutch (1)
- Scots (1)
- Scotch-Irish (1)

This pattern of assimilated northern European ancestry mirrors what my previous research has shown among living historians and reenactors of various periods, and also among National Park Service staff (see Stanton 1997, 2006).

²⁸ Some people mentioned multiple ancestries. This list notes how many times each individual ancestry was mentioned.

2) Many had at least some Pennsylvania German ancestry.

Of the 18 people with whom I conducted formal interviews, 13 (72%) had at least some Pennsylvania German background. Many of the people with whom I spoke informally also traced at least some of their ancestry to German immigrants in Pennsylvania. Some people directly linked their interest in living history with this background, like one volunteer who told me:

I think it gives you a sense of worth to know that this is how this country developed, you know, from hardscrabble tough living, not easy. And that people survived and persevered and really because of their resourcefulness. And some of this is reflected in the kind of people that emigrated to this part, you know, the work ethic is very strong in those people of German descent [who] came here.

3) Many had longstanding roots in the immediate local area or the larger region of southeastern Pennsylvania. Their awareness of the heritage of the area often included a lifelong familiarity with its agricultural or woodland landscapes, including the charcoal flats to be found throughout the woods in this region.

Hopewell's living historians had various types of connections to the area. A few had ancestors who worked at Hopewell Furnace. These volunteers had become involved at the national park specifically because of interest in learning more about their family history or maintaining a sense of connection with significant cultural or familial landscapes. Elmer Kohl's niece Susan Soulliard is one of these; park neighbor and Hopewell descendant Fritz Moeller is another. During our interview, I asked Moeller:

Is that important to you, to have that sort of sense of continuity and connection?

Yeah. It's become so, yeah.

Didn't used to be?

Well, I was a kid, I didn't think about—well, I sort of did, a little bit. But it was impressed upon me by my mother and my aunts who were very family, very tight, very tight, that number one, you can't know where you're going if you don't know where you've been, and also the continuity of the family.

Other volunteers felt a more generalized sense of connection to the local or larger area and its history. One woman, speaking about her reasons for volunteering at the park, told me,

I grew up in these woods and have seen the charcoal hearths, seen the remains of the colliers' huts, I lived here when this was halfway in ruins—It's just, people go out there and they pass right by these things and don't even notice, let alone have a clue what they were.

Although this volunteer spoke of “hearths,” it was more common to hear people use the term “flats” when speaking of charcoal-burning areas. “We never called them hearths,” one local man told me. “That’s a Park Service term. They were flats.”

Sometimes the connections with lineal ancestry were indirect, as in the role that Hopewell descendant and former seasonal interpreter Anna Witman played in the formation of a fiber guild group that volunteered for several years at Hopewell:

Someone knew Mrs. Witman up at the [seniors’] home, and that’s how we got the connection up there. And the somebody also knows someone somewhere, you know, and that’s—And then it’s sort of like a star, and it just, the connections get made. But this group of women are friends and they work together well. Some of them spin, some of them dye, some of them felt, some of them, they cook on the open fire, and you know, they do all—They have a lot of skills. Lot of eighteenth century skill.

These “star-like” connections are typical of an area still populated by many long-time residents, where extended families and village or neighborhood networks underpin many social relationships and structures. Bruce Hoffman, a local historian in Birdsboro, told me that until fairly recently, “You were born here, you went to school here, you married someone from here, you worked here, and you died here. The only reason you went even to Reading was to go to court.” One day at the August 2005 charcoal burn, a charcoal volunteer related a story that illustrates the high degree of localness that still prevails despite the many changes of recent years in the area. While donating blood for the Red Cross, he found himself standing next to an elderly farmer who was scratching his head at the long questionnaire he was asked to fill out. “They want to know if I’ve been to Europe this year,” the farmer said. “Hell, I haven’t been out of the *county* in ten years!”

Some volunteers felt a much more general sense of connection to the area’s history. For example, collier Henry Wood is descended from one of Pennsylvania’s original Quaker families, who have been at the forefront of many of the state’s economic changes over time. The Woods built ironworks, textile mills, and a large-scale dairy business that eventually became the Wawa convenience store chain—a one-family encapsulation of Pennsylvania’s agricultural, industrial, and service economies (Thompson and Price 2004).

Finally, some volunteers expressed a sense of connection that might be called a *fictive lineage* or *fictive localness*, similar to the sense of fictive kinship that anthropologists sometimes note among family units that incorporate non-blood relatives. Some volunteers talked about feeling that they belonged in this area or at Hopewell specifically, an affinity clearly linked to the other values that prompted their involvement in living history. One volunteer, who was born in Tennessee and lived throughout the U.S. before settling in southeastern Pennsylvania, told me:

I feel that I'm definitely a throwback... I appreciate the older things, especially not having them in Miami. Everything was glass and diamonds and plastic. So now I'm into the earthy things.

Do you think that's why you're so drawn to living history?

No, I think that I was this way all the time. I was just a shoe on the wrong foot. I needed to be here.

Interestingly, this woman's great-grandparents had run an inn near Mauck Chunk (now Jim Thorpe) in the Schuylkill County anthracite coal area, one of the nation's very earliest sites to combine tourism and the industrial landscape.

- 4) Many worked in or around educational settings (this was particularly true of the costumed interpreters) or skilled trades (this was particularly true of the charcoal volunteers).

Just as many of Hopewell's seasonal living history interpreters have been professional teachers, many of the volunteers and/or members of their families have worked in various educational settings—as one volunteer put it, they tend to be “Teachers in a lot of ways, not just the classroom.” Several specialized in special education or therapy-related educational activities, while others were more traditional classroom teachers. In general, this was a somewhat gendered activity; more women volunteers than men worked as teachers.

On the other end of the gendered work spectrum were several men—particularly among the collier group—who worked with their hands in various kinds of skilled trades including electrician, builder, auto mechanic, and draftsman. Just as many of the women had grown up learning about cooking, gardening, and sewing from their female relatives, many of the men had gone hunting and camping from an early age with their fathers, and many commented on the relationship between their activities as living historians and their possession of these “traditional” kinds of knowledge.

- 5) Most had experienced some degree of socioeconomic change in their own recent family histories. Often their own generation was a transitional one between blue-collar and white-collar work, or between more traditional and more modern lifeways. For many of these people, their activities as living historians appeared to be a way to bridge the discontinuities caused by these changes.

At other national parks and similar historic sites, I have documented this pattern among employees, visitors, and volunteers alike. Very often, it seems that people of Western/European heritage are drawn to historic places as a way of understanding and coming to terms with changes in their own lives. These sites fulfill a ritual function that I

have termed “rituals of reconnection” (see Stanton 2006, Chapter 6). Some type of discontinuity—a change in socioeconomic status, a geographical relocation, a move away from a close-knit ethnic community or a cultural practice (for example, the use of Pennsylvania German as a first language)—often seems to prompt a desire to bridge the resulting gaps by accessing historical places and kinds of knowledge at public historical sites.

This pattern reflects a much more longstanding pattern of human cultures visiting significant, sacred, or ancestral sites as a way of understanding where they fit in the larger scheme of things. This access becomes particularly important in times of change or stress, or in situations where people are grappling with some difficult cultural issue. A comparatively recent national park like Hopewell Furnace NHS clearly does not have the depth or cultural lineage of a site that has been used for this purpose for hundreds or thousands of years. For most of the people who use it to help bridge their own discontinuities and make sense of their present-day world, it is a neo-traditional site rather than a fully traditional one. But the function is essentially the same.

The profiles in the next section illustrate some of the kinds of cultural changes that these people appear to be addressing through their activities as living historians.

- 6) **Many volunteered with their children.** In fact, in many cases the children were the ones who initiated the activity, and the parents or grandparents were drawn into volunteering to supervise and keep the children company.

Living history is very often a family affair. However, in general it is parents who take it up, then bring their children along, often raising the children to a very large extent within the social worlds of particular living history communities.

At Hopewell, however, a surprising number of volunteers had become involved at the park because their children (or, in some cases, grandchildren) wanted to become costumed interpreters. Some of these children were being home-schooled, and the parents made volunteering a part of their educational experiences. Children of NPS staff have also been involved in living history activities since the park’s living history program began.

For many of the adult volunteers, especially those who work in education, working with children is a crucial part of what they do. They do not appear to make a sharp distinction between mentoring younger living history volunteers and teaching the children who come to the park as visitors. Rather, they see both aspects as a way of passing along skills and ways of thinking to a new generation.

One volunteer, who spent a great deal of time at various historic sites in the area, noted, “I’m always glad to see younger kids come in. . . I just love doing [living history] with the kids, because they’re enthusiastic, they’re open, they’re true, you know. . . . This is I guess what got me into wanting to do educational programs at other places.”

Another spoke of a period at Hopewell when many mothers and their children had been involved in the living history program, creating a village-like atmosphere where the interpreters blended and shared child-rearing, educational, and interpretive tasks. This woman felt that,

In today's world, both husband and wife are working. The children aren't—they're sent to day school. . . And so instead of taking your babies to a park where they learn to spin, knit, wash, play in the crick, poke in holes with sticks, they're going to kindergarten at age two to learn that orange is made out of red and yellow. And prepare—like two years old. But that's where we're going.



Figure 6.20 Two young living history volunteers, children of a Hopewell staff member, hurry through the village to their next interpretive task.

A former seasonal ranger expressed reservations about this communal child-raising system, noting that during her time at the park, the women seasonals had too often been expected to keep an eye on the children, especially the children whose parents were not as actively engaged in living history themselves. “Some days you just wanted to do your interpretation and you didn't want to watch children!” she told me. “And I had a group of homeschoolers that—it was, you would say a prayer every day before you got there, because it was very stressful.” The involvement of children in the living history program,

then, was clearly not always entirely harmonious. Yet just as clearly, the park has played an important and often a very positive role in the upbringing of many young interpreters. (See the profiles of Colleen Schulze and Stacy Ruland for illustrations of this.)

7) Most were active volunteers at at least one other historic site, often several.

When considering the role that Hopewell Furnace NHS may play as an ethnographic resource and a site of community or ritual-like activity for its volunteers, it is important to ask whether the site's functions in the volunteers' lives are unique to Hopewell, or shared by other similar sites.

For some volunteers, Hopewell does play a unique role. It may have a special significance in terms of their own family history, a particular place in their hearts because of personal associations or an affinity for the site, or it may be the only site where they volunteer as living historians. For other people, Hopewell is just one site within a regional network of historical institutions where they practice their avocation as living historians. The majority of volunteers I spoke to were active at more than one site, often at several. Interestingly, the most common overlap was with the Hay Creek Valley Historical Association, which is restoring the nearby Joanna Furnace. Historically, Joanna and Hopewell were “sister” furnaces, close enough geographically that they shared many workers. Today, the two restored cold-blast furnaces share many volunteers who depict the former life of these sites.

The chart in Appendix G lists the other sites at which some of Hopewell’s volunteers were active.

In addition to these seven core ethnographic characteristics, interviews and observation among Hopewell’s living historians revealed four central recurring clusters of **values and motivations** among this group:

- 8) valued handskills and hard work
- 9) drawn to small-scale communities
- 10) strong sense of historical consciousness
- 11) motivated by interactions and connections with audiences

- 8) The volunteers attached tremendous value to **handskills** and to **hard work**, and an appreciation for the ingenuity and hard work of people in the past. Most people had acquired this kind of skill and work ethic from their own family and work experiences. Shared hard work was seen as an expression of solidarity and commitment to the activity, the group, and the site. In some cases, participating in living history was an act of homage to their own ancestors or to a more generalized or national sense of honoring forebears.

This is a value widely shared by living historians as a whole. Whether the skills they are depicting are industrial, military, domestic, mechanical, or agricultural, living historians in general place a strong emphasis on knowing how to do and make things by hand. Hopewell’s volunteers frequently spoke to me of their admiration for the ingenuity of our forebears. “They survived on so little, and...they became good at what they did,” as one volunteer put it. Another echoed many of her fellow volunteers when she said, “We don’t appreciate how far we came and what we have.”

In some cases, the preservation and practice of handskills is a way to link to volunteers’ own ancestors, as with one woman who told me, “The hoe here in the corner is my great-grandfather’s hoe. Hopewell tried to reproduce it, we can’t even

find iron that's that thick now. So you know, it's nice to use tools. That makes my spark." For others, the ancestors being honored are more general. One volunteer collier said, "I want to give people the sense that before we had machines and computers and whatnot to do everything for us, people did this, and they learned by using their senses and using their hands." She gave the example of learning to "read" the charcoal pile by seeing what color of smoke the pile is producing—the blue smoke indicates a hot spot and a possible problem, while the white simply means that the moisture is burning out of the wood. "Our forebears might not as well understand the mechanics of things, but they got a sense of how things should be," she noted.

Living historians do not conceive of these skills as associated only with the past, but as something to be practiced and improved in their own present-day lives. Many have learned traditional crafts and practices from their families or from older practitioners in the area (see the profiles of Bitler, Putt, Schulze, and Witman for examples). Others have learned more recently, but are constantly working to gain more knowledge and proficiency. Wayne Ramer, the new master collier at Hopewell, also volunteers at Hay Creek Valley Historical Society, where he is a regular member of the "Over the Hill Gang" of retired men who keep the site's historical machinery in operation:

Everybody brings something, you know, a little talent that they have. And it just [fills] up a void.

And is there a sense that, you know, you're learning from the guys that are there?

Oh, yes.

And you're passing on what you know, so there's that continuity?

Mm hmm. Yeah, what I like about it, they've got me in hit-and-miss engines and machinery and tractors, you know. I never drove a tractor, because I was a city boy! And now I know about hit-and-miss engines and tractors and sawmills and boilers and—it's just everything you learn. Because you get involved in that stuff.

So the learning must be fun.

It is. And the guys are great.

What kinds of backgrounds do they have, the older guys?

Oh, they're machinists. They all used to work at Birdsboro... Birdsboro Steel, whatever it is. Some were casters and some were machinists. They worked every place.

Here we can see the traditional skills that once undergirded the area's industrial economy—skills like molding, casting, and charcoal-making—passing into the keeping of local historical sites via the presence of long-time residents and the interest of their younger counterparts or newcomers to the area. The same is true of agricultural and domestic skills, many of which are now largely practiced only at sites of representation such as folk festivals, historical parks, and living history villages.

Two important elements of living history that go along with this focus on handskills and hard work are:

- a) A relaxed sense of time, markedly different from the more frenetic pace of the contemporary world

Despite the emphasis on hard work, living historians create a social world where they do not feel pressured by time and technology as many people do in the present. It is fair to say that the construction of this more relaxed sense of time is one of the key goals of living history, even if it is sometimes unconscious or unstated. In the words of one Hopewell volunteer,



Figure 6.21 Living history volunteer Sandy Reitz at Hopewell Furnace NHS, summer 2005

I find Hopewell a very relaxing place to be, which sounds strange, because there are times that I need to carry buckets of water, which are rather heavy, for a distance. And yet by the end of the day, I just feel so relaxed because of the lack of technology, I think. Technology I find not relaxing.

So in your everyday life, do you find yourself getting more stressed by dealing with the technology?

Yeah, in the summertime I try and spend a lot of time in the garden, because I'm away from things then.

And Hopewell's just a way to completely unplug. Mm hmm.

Yeah. I'm hearing that from a lot of people.

It is, and it's very nice, and you go back in time for a day and then you just feel refreshed and you can go attack whatever.

- b) A focus on ingenuity, playfulness, flexibility, discovery

For living historians, traditional skills are not static bodies of knowledge to be learned once and repeated over and over. Rather, these people construct their avocational communities and social networks around the constant upgrading and sharing of their skills. If there is no challenge or discovery, the activity quickly palls. "I would rather give them, the public, something that they're not going to get somewhere else, rather than just a repetition of the same old thing," one Hopewell volunteer told me. And it is not only the public they are trying to please. For themselves as well, it is important to maintain that element of discovery and challenge.

This sense of innovation and discovery often expresses itself as a playfulness that some observers mistake for frivolity. In fact, nothing could be farther from the truth. Although living historians—even those who are professional interpreters—recognize the aspects of recreation or playacting in what they do, the lighthearted atmosphere serves other key functions. It helps to “level” the community, creating an egalitarian sense of cooperation and collaboration. And it is in a very real way a test of participants’ characters. Flexibility and good humor, especially in adversity, are valued attributes. Living historians who maintain their equanimity and humor even under trying conditions are demonstrating their commitment to the collective undertaking, expressing their ability to deal with whatever arises, and—in an important sense—emulating their historical models, those forebears whose hard work, perseverance, and ingenuity these interpreters so admire.

This inventive approach to historical interpretation is often at odds with the National Park Service’s more routinized style of interpretation. Volunteers frequently commented on this tension. One noted to me, “As long as you stay within the parameters of safety and regulations, there shouldn’t be so many restrictions. You know, you stifle people’s creativity, you crunch on their ideas and their plans and you don’t even want to listen to them, well then, they’ll go somewhere else and play.

“Play,” for living historians, can be a deeply serious activity, but also one that is most often approached in an improvisational spirit. The use of the word “play” to describe what they do is a way to remind themselves and others of the importance of remaining open to new ideas and experiences within the framework of the historical reality they are depicting.

- 9) Many people were drawn to small-scale communities. Most expressed concern about the degree and effects of new development in the area. For some, their activities as living historians at Hopewell and elsewhere amounted to a network of *fictive kinship*, or voluntary family-like associations.

Many of Hopewell’s volunteers grew up in small-scale communities, often in the immediate area of the park. One woman told me,

I grew up about 10 or 15 miles away from here on a small, isolated farm. I was one of seven children and one of the things that probably makes it easier for me to do living history at Hopewell is that I grew up without electricity. And I was out of high school before we had electricity, not until after World War II. . . I never lived where I had neighbors. . . My husband didn’t either.

As with family descent, however, the sense of connection that the volunteers felt for Hopewell as an element of their community was not necessarily about Hopewell specifically. Rather, it was about the *kind* of community that the park represented for them.

This is one key area where the “Hopewell problem” recurs in relation to the park’s living history volunteers. Because the park’s resources include a restored village linked with the time period of the very early industrial era, Hopewell is a very attractive site for enacting and making symbolic connections to the kinds of small-scale communities associated with this era. This focus overlaps in some ways with the park’s interpretation of the site, but in other ways it clashes. Like the current Bethesda Baptist Church members, many volunteers are drawn to the park because of its beauty, peaceful atmosphere, and association with a simpler, more community-oriented time. Although the living history volunteers are the first to acknowledge that there was nothing simple or easy about the early nineteenth century, they are nevertheless attached to the image and the enactment of the more close-knit, local social worlds that were typical of the period. By virtue of interpreting the early nineteenth century, Hopewell is positioned within a network of sites in southeastern Pennsylvania which focus on agriculture, rural life, Pennsylvania German culture, hand skills, and related topics. In many places the park’s interpretive focus is compatible with this cluster of topics. Where it is not, however—for example, when the park de-emphasizes the “village” aspect of the site—tensions arise with its volunteers.

Furthermore, park staff become woven into this network not only as keepers of an attractive site for performing these visions of the past, but also as “fictive kin” themselves. Park staff are tested by the volunteers according to their willingness to share the hard work, treat everyone with equal respect, and act as “one of the family.” In other words, the community that is being enacted in the restored village is in some ways a real one, with the park itself one of its central components. Volunteers frequently spoke to me about their admiration for staff who were willing to work as hard as the volunteers themselves were. Just as frequently, they noted times when staff remained in their offices on living history days or did not participate in any way in the special events the volunteers were working hard to put on. One woman noted that if the superintendent “gets out of their office and does what the volunteers are doing. . .just once a summer or once a time in the spring, it makes a difference.” Volunteers who feel slighted by staff are likely to go elsewhere to the many other historic sites in the region that are soliciting their participation. One couple who no longer volunteer at Hopewell noted,

All of these other things have come along, and we don't have time to do them all. Our biggest problem, starting December/January, is starting to look at our calendar and decide. . . And our decision-making thing is, 'who is nice?' We're not paid for any of this, right? Who is nice to us?

During my NPS study of reenactment at national parks, one Revolutionary War reenactor told me, "We're a cheap date—you can put a minimal amount of money into amenities for the reenactors, and a lot of money into promoting the event to attract big crowds, and everyone will be happy" (Stanton 1999, 60). One of the key "amenities" living historians hope for is a sense of collegiality and community with the people at the sites where they perform. Having grown up either in a small-scale community or eager for one, and having to a large extent created or re-created that kind of social network via their activities as living historians, these volunteers seek to incorporate national park staff into their community. This is both a test of present-day solidarity and commitment and a way of expressing their vision of values and social practices that operated in the past.

The values associated with small-scale communities are increasingly being tested and realigned in the present, as the area around Hopewell changes with the influx of new residents and development. All the people I interviewed spoke to me about these changes, and most were disturbed by them, sometimes deeply so. One asked, "If all the land's gone, first of all, where is our food going to come from? And the other thing is, there's too many people anyway!" Another commented,

I used to call this the boondocks when I moved out here. And now it's—you know, the streets are crowded, [Routes] 23 and 100, they're busy. Before they weren't too busy. It's just the way it goes, I guess. You can't stop progress.

I'm assuming there's both good things and bad things about that?

I don't see anything good! It's just—I'd like to move farther out if I can. Someday I will.

A third noted,

It is still sort of, you know, for a couple of miles around, it's still sort of the same.

Isolated.

Yeah. But go five, ten miles in almost any direction. . . built-up, traffic, highways.

Sounds like you are not pleased about this.

No, I'm not!

The changes in the area, then, lend a new urgency to the search for small-scale community that is taking place—on both a social and a representational level—within the living history program at Hopewell Furnace.

- 10) Most showed a **strong sense of historical consciousness** and were concerned that the general public does *not* have a strong sense of connection to the past. Volunteers saw depicting the material culture of the past as an important mechanism for encouraging a stronger historical consciousness among visitors, particularly children. Some felt a sense of personal responsibility to encourage greater historical awareness among the public.

Again, this is a value widely shared among all living historians. They feel a personal and passionate awareness of the past and how it has shaped our present, and a strong desire to foster this kind of awareness in other people, many of whom they see as largely lacking any kind of historical consciousness. In a modern culture characterized by constant change, tremendous mobility, and an emphasis on image and surface rather than reflection and depth, they see their performances as ways to disrupt the surface of everyday reality and to “get people thinking” about many of the taken-for-granted aspects of contemporary life. For many, there is a quality of mission, responsibility, or even duty in this task. “It’s our roots,” one volunteer said to me.

It’s where we came from. If we don’t do that, who would know what it was like? Who would know it was dirty, or hard, or frustrating? You know, we live in such an instant society now. It’s important for kids to know that, I think. And adults.”

Another, in response to my question about why we should carry on crafts and skills that we no longer need in day-to-day life, said:

For history, to carry this on to know what people did, how they did it. And for instance with me, I learned the old ways and now to me the old way is the good way. And I just feel more American or whatever—I just enjoy doing this.

So it’s a sense of connection—

Mm, a sense of connection to the old, because we’re all part of the old in one way or the other.

Two extended quotes from Hopewell living historians convey this central value. The first is from an interview transcription:

[People] don't have a clue. Sweaters come from Wal-Mart, for goodness sakes. Nobody *made* 'em. [laughs] That's the thinking today. And it's not just children, it's young adults and older people that live in the city. They have no exposure to it. And it's just—I can't help but think when they are so in awe of what we're doing, not that it's so wonderful, but they go away from there with a different perspective on things that may show up again and again in their lives. And that's what's rewarding, when a child will come back a second year or someone will say, "Oh, I came here a long time ago," and they'll say, "Wow, they did this and that's what you're doing and—" It's very rewarding. It really is. Because you're making a difference in what someone thinks about how we live.

... Do you think that you always had sort of an understanding of where things came from, or is that something that has developed more as you've done more of this hands-on living history?

I would say over the years I have a clue. Just because my generation growing up knew more about those things. It wasn't as far removed as today's generation is.

So it's a way in some sense of passing on that sense that you have.

Mm hmm. Like I said, I've learned an enormous amount about history, not just facts but about the way of life. It just makes such a difference. But as a child, my grandfather had a cabin up in the Poconos, a cottage, on the lake, we took our baths in the lake, we washed our hair in the lake, and we used Ivory Soap, so it didn't contaminate. And we did our laundry in the lake, and we cooked on a wood-stove and when it was really, really cold we had a little wood-stove in the parlor that we lit. You know, I was familiar with those things. But that was in the 1940s, and things were not so terribly different in the 1940s from what they were in 1900. We had an outhouse. We had a pump out on the porch, we didn't have running water, we didn't have electric, we had kerosene lamps. So I wasn't as far from it as children are today. And that's what I want to get across to them.

Yeah. Now it's like light-years.

Oh, incredible. Each year that we exist in this world, things increase exponentially. You just can't imagine. My father-in-law lived to be almost a hundred, he died in '99 I think. And what he saw in his lifetime from 1900 till he died in 1999 was amazing. He saw the automobile come into being, he saw telephones, he saw electricity, he saw plumbing and central heat and radios and just—it's mind-boggling. It is.

And the computer.

Oh—that still boggles my mind! I don't even have a computer!

The second quote is an excerpt from the Fall 2005 colliers' newsletter, in which one of the volunteers describes an informal interview with me around the charcoal pile, and the epiphany that it sparked for him about why he feels so strongly about doing living history.

“This Collier’s ‘R’ and ‘R’”

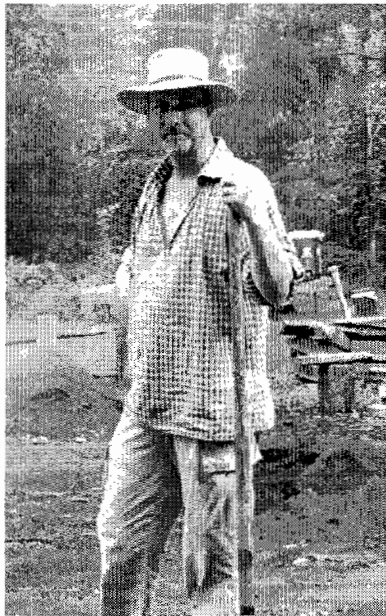


Figure 6.22 Volunteer collier Rick Brouse

... At first glance, one would think that “R” & “R” would mean rest and relaxation. Well, I would not consider OUR jobs as colliers being the toughest job I have ever done (not so, of course, for the “real” colliers of the past.) I would also not consider it to be restful and relaxing. No... “R” & “R” has a different meaning in this article.

During my 2:00 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. shift on Friday, August 5, 2005 of the Establishment Day charcoal-making demonstration (alongside the knowledgeable Wayne Ramer) I had somewhat of an epiphany - not in terms of the charcoal burn, but in terms of the broader picture of early American history as a whole. Now, before you move on to the next article thinking that I must have inhaled too much smoke, or that I might possibly be one of those leftover hippies from the 70s, stay with me here and allow me to explain.

I was interviewed that day by Cathy Stanton (who is writing an ethnography report on Hopewell Furnace for the National Park Service)... One of the questions she asked me was why I volunteered to help with these charcoal-making demonstrations. I simply said, *“Because I like to.”* To which she replied, *“Why?”* (Thinking)... *“Because I like history.”* Her reply, *“Why?”* (Thinking again)... *“Because I like to keep history alive.”* Reply, *“Why?”* O.K. now after about 4 or 5 “whys” – I was beginning to feel like I should have been lying on a couch! Finally, with a bit of irritation in my voice, I said, (here is the epiphany) *“Because I have such tremendous RESPECT for the people of our American past - how hard they worked and what little they had. And I have taken it on as a personal RESPONSIBILITY to learn about those people and the ways of the American past and then tell others what I have learned.”* Her reply... *“Wow, that is good!”* And at that point I realized why I have a passion to learn about early American history and then tell others what I’ve learned through a means called living history interpretation.

As a tour guide at Landis Valley and at the charcoal burns at Hopewell, people always say to me...“They really had it hard back then. How did they ever survive?” (especially without air conditioning – that’s always the “biggy”). And my response to them is usually the same. “Compared to the way things are today, yes they did have it hard. And many did not survive very long because of that. But some apparently survived long enough to allow you to have life.” They had the desire and fortitude to survive - to make the best out of what they had and what they knew. They worked hard from sun up to sun down. To use the modern cliché, 24/7/365...that would describe the amount of time put forth just to exist. They did not know of a 40-hour work week. They did not pack their bags

and travel to some “distant” town for a week or two each year simply to sit back and do nothing and call it a vacation. I’m not even sure of the origin of the word vacation, but it probably did not exist until the 20th century. So folks, get out there and study your early American history. Learn what the people of our past went through to get you to where you are today, and you too will have a greater RESPECT for them. Then take it on as your own personal RESPONSIBILITY to tell others what you have learned. (Brouse 2005, 10-12).

- 11) Many were strongly motivated by the experience of interacting and connecting with audiences. (This was much more the case with the costumed interpreters than with the charcoal volunteers, although present to some extent in both groups.) It was important to them to reach as many people as possible.

This value is an extension of the strong passion that most living historians feel about communicating their sense of the past as a place that is intimately connected with our present-day lives. Although a few living historians pursue their avocation largely for their own interest or pleasure, for most, interacting with audiences is a central reason for what they do.²⁹

In the words of one volunteer, “I’ve always liked old-fashioned things and old-fashioned ways and it’s an opportunity to step into a different life. It is. And I love sharing that with people, with the visitors.” Another said enthusiastically, speaking of visitors to the sites where she volunteers, “I want them to go away having a *wonderful day*.” Another, one of the charcoal cadre, said, “I guess it’s important to me more that we demonstrate [charcoal-making], not that we do it. If there was no people that came to see it, it wouldn’t be that interesting. . . It’s for the people. The visitors.” A couple who are active as volunteers at many historic sites told me, “Yes, we enjoy dressing up and we enjoy doing it, but it’s meeting with people. It’s talking with the people, the children.”

When we go to a park, the public fills us up, so our paycheck is at the park. I don’t think that we have ever come—not once have we ever come away with the feeling of, ‘I’m not going to do that again because the people were so miserable,’ you know, the public. The public has been so fantastic that you just, when you come home you go, ‘Wow, I need to do that again, because that’s the best feeling!’ I was sitting at Hopewell one day and I was doing some card weaving and there was a little boy that came up to me and he looked at me and I smiled to him and he handed me a

²⁹ Those who avoid audiences are often the “super hard-core” people who want to test themselves by, for example, surviving in the wilderness unaided for a period of time. Some others, like groups who are motivated primarily by a fascination for military equipment or tactics, sometimes stage events that are not open to the public, where they can focus intensely on their own interests. Even these types of living historians, however, do generally also participate in public events, and are usually eager to share what they know about the past, even if it is not a primary motivation for them.

dandelion and turned around and ran away. That's the best paycheck! I mean, there's no money, but that's where it is.

Noting that their home in southeastern Pennsylvania gave them plenty of opportunities to interact with traditional cultures themselves, the volunteers quoted above pointed out that that was only a small part of why they did living history: "We're living in living history right here, with the Amish and Mennonites, so do we need to go out? But the people are giving us that." That is, their encounters with audiences in the present are more of a motivation than the simply dressing up in costume and experiencing something of the life of the past themselves.

Historic sites are an essential component of the relationship between living historians and audiences. The sites provide the stage sets on which these interactive encounters and performances can take place, and contexts in which to situate the smaller-scale stories and crafts that living historians are so eager to share. Because living history is a particularly holistic type of performance, much of its impact is lost in a non-historic setting (for example, in a school classroom or a modern museum). Living historians need historic sites, then, just as much as many historic sites need living historians.

A final aspect of the performer/audience relationship in living history is that living historians usually seek the widest audiences possible. It is important to them to reach large numbers of people with their message of respect for and connection to the past. They are eager to help historic sites attract large audiences, and to contribute to keeping sites open and flourishing. "We could bring you a *lot* of people," one volunteer told me. "And I love to make money. I mean, *love* to make money! I make a lot of money for parks and for people, bringing people in."

When I talked with volunteers about their relationship with Hopewell, most of them commented on the declining visitation over recent years, and spoke of their ideas and concern for bringing more visitors to the park. "I just remember sometimes just being absolutely mobbed with people," one told me. "And I wish it were still like that." When I noted that park staff did not necessarily share their concern about increasing visitation, many were amazed. For living historians, attracting a large audience is one way of affirming that what they do is important to the wider society they live in—a society which in many ways feels at odds with their values and experiences. Large audiences are also seen as a measure of the health of the historic sites and institutions that host events, thereby assuring that there will continue to be a platform from which to communicate those values and experiences.

Living historians as a neo-traditional group

Having taken this historical and cultural look at living historians at Hopewell Furnace NHS and elsewhere, we will now return to a key question of this study:

Are living historians in some sense a “cultural group” that might be considered to be “traditionally associated” with national parks like Hopewell Furnace NHS? Is the park in some sense an ethnographic resource for these neo-traditional practitioners?

On balance, the answer is “yes.” Although they do not fully meet the definition of traditional association, there are enough intriguing and important areas of overlap that we are justified in calling these “neo-traditionally associated groups.” The areas where living history overlaps with more conventional traditional association are as follows:

- Many members of this group have family/lineal connections to Hopewell Furnace and the area.
- There is considerable multi-generational participation in living history activities at the park. Passing along skills and knowledge to children is of great importance to these volunteers.
- Many of the volunteer living historians have family connections with traditional lifeways and skills of Pennsylvania German culture in area, and many use their activities at the park as a way to share and show the value of those connections.
- The living historians at Hopewell Furnace NHS—particularly the volunteer colliers—have a clear sense of themselves as carriers of traditional knowledge which is of practical and/or symbolic importance to society as a whole.
- These people exhibit a strong attachment to Hopewell Furnace NHS and to particular *kinds* of places in a more general sense. These kinds of places are sites of contemporary “rituals of reconnection” through which living historians, park visitors, and to some extent, NPS staff alike seek to locate themselves within a continually changing postindustrial world.
- There is a strong sense of collective stewardship among volunteers, of the park and its stories but in a more general sense of the history and landscape of the region and its traditional cultural groups, particularly farmers, metal-workers, and Pennsylvania Germans.
- In an indirect way, the volunteers emphasize the creation and depiction of the kind of close-knit, small-scale, self-sufficient communities that are historically linked with traditional rather than modern societies. They enact these communities, as well as depicting them, in their activities as living historians.

- Living history itself has a lineage of more than a century in this area. It is linked with a nineteenth century backlash against modern industrial society, specifically in places like Pennsylvania where the most damaging social and environmental effects of industrial development were being felt. This backlash led to the creation of various modes of preserving and educating people about preindustrial knowledge, including living history, organization into cultural conservation and historic preservation institutions, and natural conservation efforts. These are neo-traditional practices, linked with long-standing traditions that are reconstituted across the divide caused by modern change and discontinuities.

An important obstacle to thinking about Hopewell's living historians as a traditionally associated group is that there is much less of a sense of collective identity among these volunteers than is sometimes found among living historians. Military reenactors, for example, are often organized into extremely cohesive and structured units, which band together within "umbrella" organizations and exhibit very strong internal communication and decision-making structures. At Hopewell, the collier group does exhibit this kind of internal cohesion, particularly with the recent shift of the master collier position from park staff to a member of the volunteer group. As a whole, however, the living historians do not constitute a "group" that is separate from the park. It might be more accurate to think of them as a "grouping" or a distinct sub-culture rather than a cultural group or a "people" in and of themselves.

This characteristic, however, is just one of several that make this neo-traditional social grouping typical of the kinds of social formations that are emerging within early twenty-first century culture. As the world becomes more globalized, people and cultures more mobile, and communications technology more embedded in our everyday lives, the following kinds of qualities, while not new, are becoming more and more typical of human cultures in general:

- 1) Communities are increasingly diffuse geographically and non-centralized structurally.
- 2) Cultural groups are not always as definitively tethered to specific places, although certain places and certain *kinds* of places continue to play important roles in the construction of cultural identities.
- 3) Membership in cultural communities may be as often determined by consent as descent. That is, the boundaries of some cultural groups have become much more fluid in response to the voluntary, mobile nature of much cultural life. In some cases— as with living historians -- communities may exhibit hybrid characteristics, being constructed through both consent *and* descent.³⁰ The anthropological

³⁰ This terminology is borrowed from Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, who has noted that, "We are witnessing an era of historical identification by consent (and dissent), rather than descent" (1998:200).

concepts of *fictive kinship* and *voluntary association* are also useful here in thinking about how people may construct and reconstruct cultural ties.

- 4) Where connections exist with past traditions, the lines of connection are often indirect or discontinuous.
- 5) Construction of group and individual identity is often interwoven with cultural performances of many kinds, including performances in tourist settings. Historical and cultural institutions, including those created to preserve threatened or “lost” traditions, play an active role in this identity construction, although this is more often framed as preservation of a pristine tradition rather than a continual process of cultural creation.

Within the kinds of settings now found throughout the globe—and very noticeably in postindustrial places like southeastern Pennsylvania—these kinds of social formations are very common. Moreover, anthropologists now recognize that our former emphasis on “pure” or “traditional” cultures was misguided, and that the processes of cultural formation have always been quite fluid. As we saw in Chapter 2, for example, many Lenape and other indigenous people realigned themselves with other groups as a way of coping with cultural dislocation in the wake of European contact, creating a collective identity that was labeled “Delaware” by colonists, and that has subsequently been used to underpin new collectivities based on kinship, place-attachment, and other factors. While the specific history of the Delawares extends much farther back in time in southeastern Pennsylvania, the *processes* of cultural expression and adaptation are very similar for human groups across a wide range of times and places.

This perspective makes it possible to see how living historians at Hopewell Furnace NHS and other national parks can be understood as neo-traditionally associated groups. Parks constitute ethnographic resources for these groups because they help to preserve the kinds of settings, material objects, and bodies of knowledge that living historians use in their construction and depiction of the past. At the same time, parks themselves actively participate in the construction of sub-cultural identity among living historians. As we saw with the descendants of Hopewell families, it is impossible to draw a neat line that divides “the park” from its “associated groups.” Rather, they serve as resources for each other, participating in the joint preservation and construction of knowledge and community.

Does that mean that all cultural groups, new, old, or hybrid, have equal claims to being considered traditionally associated with national parks? This was the question posed by Alexa Roberts at the 2003 Ethnography Program symposium dedicated to the concept of traditional association. “Is there a ‘hierarchy’ or varying degrees of cultural and historical associations between each group and the park?” she asked (Roberts 2003).

Based on the complexities of contemporary cultural production and the difficulties of drawing distinct lines that separate parks from traditional groups at places like Hopewell Furnace, this study proposes that parks should assess each neo-traditional group—in this case, volunteer living historians—within the context of its own historical development, demographic

characteristics, values and practices, and length of association with the park. Weighing these factors can help a park to determine the role that the park's resources play in the creation of each specific group's identity.

PROFILES OF LIVING HISTORIANS AT HOPEWELL FURNACE, 1955-2005

Bill Bitler

Seasonal living history interpreter, 1955-1989

Long-standing local/regional roots
Pennsylvania German ancestry
Valued handskills and hard work
Recent socioeconomic change
Motivated by audience connections
Worked in education

As a child growing up in Birdsboro, Bill Bitler was very aware of the Brooke family who owned and ran Birdsboro Steel and still owned the old Hopewell Furnace property just south of the town. Bitler's father Ralph, a builder, built "a fine brick home" for Robert Brooke, and also worked on the construction of the modern dairy barn at the Hopewell property in the 1920s. Bitler's father told stories about when *he* was a child, when "every afternoon a station wagon drawn by horses would come down the driveway right aside of his home, and they would go over to, across the river bridge to pick up passengers from either Philadelphia or Reading, and take them up to the Brooke complex." The ironmaster's house at Hopewell had become the Brooke family's summer and weekend home by then, and Bitler noted that "they would cut ice, store it in there, and put their liquid refreshments in there. And Sherd Painter...told me that he and some of his compatriots would regularly break in there and imbibe some of the Brookes' stuff." Bitler himself recalled being taken to the old village as a child, wandering in and out of the abandoned office-store and watching the CCC workers building the dam at Hopewell Lake.

The Bitler family arrived in southeastern Pennsylvania from Switzerland in the early eighteenth century wave of Pennsylvania German immigration. His mother's family were Finns and Swedes, one of whom ended up in Birdsboro working as a tailor. Bitler's paternal grandfather became a draftsman at Birdsboro Steel, and the family hoped that Bitler would follow that trade and acquire the skills to work as a professional within the still-thriving regional metal industry. They were non-plussed when young Bill applied instead to work as a laborer at another Birdsboro plant. "When my grandfather found out...he called me on the phone. He said, 'I want you to stop in here.' So I went out, and he said, 'You have no business working as a laborer.'" The assumption, as in many working-class places, was that those who could move from shop floor to office work would do so, and the senior Bitlers were disconcerted to see one

of their own apparently moving in the opposite direction. Always strong-willed and independent, Bitler said, “I did [it] anyway! In fact, I did several summers of that.”

The move, however, was only temporary. Not long afterward, Bitler enrolled in Albright College, where he majored in history and got a teacher’s certificate—a much more of typical route into the professional middle classes. Like most teachers at the time, he had to take summer work to make ends meet, so he did odd jobs for his father, including helping out on some of the reconstruction at Hopewell Village. In 1955, when Sherd Painter and Ralph Bitler had been contracted to finish rebuilding the bakeoven, young Bill came in to put the finishing touches on the project by painting the metal doors. In the course of conversation with Joe Prentice, the superintendent, he revealed that he had been a history major, and Prentice immediately offered him a job as a seasonal ranger.



Figure 6.23
Seasonal ranger Bill Bitler demonstrates sand molding for Hopewell visitors, summer 1969. (Source: HOFU.)

For thirty-four summers, Bitler demonstrated molding, casting, and other skills to visitors at Hopewell, as well as working on historical research and other projects. Although his early career as an industrial laborer was short-lived, he retained an interest in handskills, and made good use of his avocational interest in wood-working. “We had a carpenter shop where the cleaning shed is now, and that’s where I worked. We copied all kinds of things from the collection here, with hand tools.” Like many of the other seasonal interpreters, he was happiest working in a fairly informal atmosphere, and he enjoyed the camaraderie of the other seasonals and some of the permanent staff both during and after work hours. One of the younger seasonals from the Bicentennial period recalls of Bitler and his fellow interpreters,

these were guys who liked to joke around a lot. . .you know, pranks and things like that. But I remember particularly when I was working, not so much as the storekeeper but the molder thing, I mean, we kind of played that up. You know, these were ironworkers and

they were rowdy and all this. So we allowed ourselves to kind of act out as part of the role.

Problems with his eyesight have recently curtailed Bitler's ability to make and fix things, but he remains articulate and opinionated, with clear memories of his time at Hopewell. He described Hopewell's summer offerings as, "the best living history program in the Park Service," adding that, "We had many people who were really, really good." As with the other volunteers, the biggest satisfaction of doing costumed interpretation came from his interactions with visitors: "As long as you had somebody who was interested, that jacked me up. Because that's what I'm there for." Also like his counterparts in the present-day volunteer cadre of living historians at the park, he expresses great affection for the site: "I always really identified with Hopewell. I liked it. I felt very strongly about the importance of this place, and it really irritated me immensely when we... had people here who didn't care (and we had some of them)—it just perturbed me no end." Visiting the park in recent years with some other former seasonals, he found himself "appalled" by the changes caused by many years of declining budgets and staff levels.

For Bill Bitler, the park was one way to negotiate some of the earlier changes as the region straddled agricultural, industrial, and postindustrial economies. Through his own family and early work connections, he was very familiar with the skills, people, and histories of the iron and steel industries in southeastern Pennsylvania, even while his own career as a teacher took him into the kind of knowledge- and service-sector work that is more typical of the newer U.S. economy. His connection with Hopewell Furnace NHS illustrates many of the indirect yet strong connections between the park and the surrounding area—connections that have emerged from the many layers of overlap between park staff and local people, between industry as interpreted at Hopewell and industry as it still survives in the area, and between the landscape and history of the park and the traditional agriculture, ethnic, and occupational histories and landscapes of the area as a whole.

Anna Witman

Seasonal living history interpreter, 1974-1984

Long-standing local/regional roots
 Pennsylvania German ancestry
 Ancestors worked at Hopewell
 Valued handskills and hard work
 Recent socioeconomic change
 Motivated by audience connections
 Worked in education

“Sooner or later, everyone finds their way to Anna Witman,” says Barbara Gergle, secretary at Hopewell Furnace NHS. Witman is the holder of some of the oldest living memories of the landscape around Hopewell Furnace. At the age of ninety-five, she is remarkably clear about people and events from the early part of the twentieth century. She now lives in a Lutheran nursing home in suburban Reading, but she keeps in touch with people from the park and is happy to recount her family stories to visitors. Virtually every person I interviewed during the course of this project was acquainted with Anna or knew of her by reputation.

Born Anna Wolf Houck in Elverson in 1910, she traces her ancestry on both sides of the family to Pennsylvania Germans who worked at Hopewell Furnace. Her paternal great-great-grandfather, Henry Houck, came to Hopewell in 1818 and worked as a collier.³¹ Evidently he was highly skilled at his work. In 1825, when 35-40 bushels of charcoal per cord of wood was considered a fine yield, Houck was producing more than 39 bushels per cord according to the furnace records (Walker 1966:245). The charcoal trade was passed down in the family; Lafayette Houck, the last Hopewell collier who performed a demonstration burn for the park in 1936, was Witman’s great-uncle. On her mother’s side, the Wolf family also worked for Hopewell as teamsters. Her grandfather Wolf may have hired Isaac Cole, patriarch of the Cole family in the Hopewell area, as a substitute when he was drafted during the Civil War (see Chapter 5, “Cole family”).

When Anna Witman was a small child, she moved with her mother and two brothers back to the Wolf family farm, to the northwest of Hopewell Furnace itself. As the youngest child and the only girl, Witman frequently found herself alone or in the company of her grandparents, and she recalls spending evenings listening to her grandfather tell her stories about the history of the area, including Hopewell. She learned early on about the charcoal flats in the woods, and also recalls finding iron balls that she believes were test shots fired from cannon made at Hopewell during the Revolutionary War (Witman 2003:4).

³¹ Henry Houck was born in 1794 and died in 1848; he is buried at St. Peters Cemetery in Knauertown. He appears to have been one of three brothers who emigrated to the U.S. in the early eighteenth century. (See <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/h/o/u/Ralph-D-Houck/ODT5-0017.html> for the Houck family genealogy.)

Witman speaks fondly of her maternal grandparents, whom she describes as “so progressive”:

Grandfather always liked to raise something that nobody else did. So way back then, he was raising asparagus and cauliflower and eggplant and peanuts and all kinds of things, which the other people weren't raising. And then of course he raised all the same vegetables and things that everybody—I can remember Grandfather coming down from the field with a wheelbarrow full of sweet corn. Today that would be worth a pile of money. But to him it was just sweet corn. And the same way with cabbage and tomatoes and all those things. The thing that my mother always depended on was berries. And we had the back fields, what Grandfather called the far commons, the far commons was mostly forest land. And it was all huckleberries and blueberries. And we had to go back there and pick those. I used to cry, I didn't want to go, because there's ticks or something, huckleberry ticks that make you itchy. And I'd cry and she'd say, “You want shoes to go to school?” “Yeah.” “Well, then, pick berries.” So we picked berries.

Her grandfather Wolf died in 1928, shortly before the Depression rendered farming unprofitable and much of the land around Hopewell was classified as “submarginal.” Witman recalls many farmers in the area being glad of the opportunity to sell their land to the federal government when the Recreation Demonstration Area was created. “I know my mother and my uncle did, because the taxes was more than they could ever raise produce to pay the taxes.” The family lived in the farmhouse for about a year after it was sold, then moved—an uncle and one brother to Birdsboro, where they worked for Birdsboro Steel Corporation, and Witman, her husband, her mother and second brother to nearby Geigertown. The old house was torn down not long afterward, although some of its stone was recycled for use in the Hopewell Dam and the renovations to some of the Hopewell buildings (Witman 2003:4).

Witman's husband worked as a timekeeper while the RDA was in its initial stages. Later, he took a job with Birdsboro Steel, and eventually became their in-house photographer, producing images for their catalogues. A talented performer, he also worked as a clown, playing music and performing magic tricks at events throughout the region. His wife often worked with him on stage; she was also a teacher in the Robeson and Union Townships elementary schools. They kept an eye on what was happening at Hopewell:

Whenever there was anything down there, my husband and I sure went. He was just as interested in seeing what was going on as I was. So yes, we were always down there. Whenever they had that Establishment Day, we would go down and see what progress had been made.

After her husband died in the early 1970s, Witman reports that her son said to her,

“You and Dad were always working in costume” . . . And he said, “What are you going to do now? Dad's gone, you can't work in costume.” I said, “I'll find something I can do in costume!” So he came down a little later, I said, “Well, I'm working in a costume.” He

said, “Where?” I said, “Down at Hopewell.” And so he was very happy to know that I found something that I liked to do. And it went very well. I enjoyed every minute that I spent at Hopewell.

Witman worked as a seasonal costumed interpreter between 1974 and 1984, through the height of the bicentennial years and into the much quieter period of the early 1980s. She recalls learning a good deal from Joseph Walker’s book on Hopewell, although “a lot of the things that were in the Walker book I already knew from my grandfather talking.” Her upbringing on her grandparents’ farm also provided an important foundation for her work as an interpreter:

Sometimes the children would ask me, how did I know to do this, and I’d say, well, I was raised on this big farm with my grandmother, and Grandmother was doing all these things, so of course I tagged along and I learned how to make soap and how to make butter and how to make apple butter and whatever.

“It was nice to raise things,” she said, “just to prove that you *can* raise things outdoors. . . I liked to bake in those outside bakeovens. That was fun.”

Like many living history interpreters, Witman was motivated in large part by the sense that many visitors felt little or no sense of connection between the past and their own lives, particularly the material aspects of everyday life. The traditional knowledge that she learned from her family was more than just an object lesson for park visitors, however; it was also a means for her to find a new kind of employment in the changing economy of the region. “I’m never sorry that I learned what Grandmother taught me,” she said, “because it came in very handy when I wanted to go down there and work.”

Stacy Ruland

Living history volunteer, 1991-2004

Volunteered as a child
Motivated by audience connections

Stacy Ruland was all of 11 years old when she began to volunteer in the living history program at Hopewell Furnace. In the process of relocating to Pennsylvania to follow her father’s career with the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the family was living in temporary quarters while house-hunting:

My mom was trying to entertain three kids in a miserably hot summer, and so she found out about Hopewell Furnace and took us out there. And at that time Hopewell I guess had enough funding that they had volunteers I mean all summer long, every single day. It wasn’t just special event days, it was *every day* they had living history people out there. And so my mom took us out there. And we just fell in love with it. I mean, we made her take us back there at least several times a week. Which was good for her, because we

were out of harm's way and we would talk to the rangers or the living history volunteers, we got to know them, they recognized us because we were there so often. We started talking with some of them about volunteering, and they said, "Oh yeah, you know, you kids should volunteer." And my mom said, you know, that we could do it.

After a serious interview with volunteer coordinator Frank Hebblethwaite, who made it clear to them that this was real work and not just play, Stacy and her younger sister signed on as volunteers, becoming knowledgeable about the Ironmaster's Mansion and taking on roles as young servants there. Stacy's sister encountered health problems after her fourth summer of volunteering, but Stacy continued throughout her teen and college years and into young adulthood, winning the superintendent's award one year for creating a junior ranger program for Hopewell and ultimately leaving only because she had decided to embark on a career as a park ranger herself. In early 2005, she completed law enforcement ranger training in Washington state, and took a job at a state park there.

Stacy Ruland does not embody many of the characteristics we have seen in other living historians at Hopewell. She has no longstanding ties to the area, does not share any of the



Figure 6.24 Stacy Ruland adds some seasonal music to the Iron Plantation Christmas program in December 2004.

dominant ethnic heritages of southeastern Pennsylvania, and was not raised in a way that emphasized the importance of handskills or self-sufficiency, as many of the other living historians at Hopewell were. Her profile is included here because she shows how the larger *ambiance* of tradition at Hopewell—the creation of a neo-traditional setting where particular kinds of values are respected, displayed, and practiced—exerts a powerful attraction for certain kinds of people in contemporary society. Her experiences also illuminate the role of children at Hopewell, particularly the children who are drawn to the site for its story-book qualities and who have been, to some extent, raised within the community of people who have gathered there.

Ruland clearly values the kind of small-scale, close-knit community that develops among living historians and, in a larger sense, among those who are drawn to these kinds of sites in general. Speaking of her time in the ranger academy, she said, "For the first time I really felt like I found my niche. Not so much in just law enforcement, but the whole, just the community of the people that I was with and the overall goal of, I guess public service." Asked what it is about public service that appeals to her, she said,

“Just the fact that you’re working for a common goal to just make people happy. You aren’t working to make money, or at least not what I do. . . I really like that.”

She feels a strong bond of affection for both the park staff and her fellow volunteers. “I always felt like the people there were very family-like,” she said. From the perspective of an admiring young girl, the permanent rangers were “these immortal, sort of ageless people that I’ve just kind of grown up with.” Her social network expanded to include other volunteers while she was growing up. When her sister became sick, two of the Hopewell volunteers who run a therapeutic riding stable worked with her to regain her strength. Stacy became involved in musical performances at the park and elsewhere, joining another Hopewell volunteer and other musicians in an ensemble called “A Step Back in Time” that specialized in performing at historic sites. It seems likely that much of her notable poise and confidence can be traced to these early experiences of performing and interpreting.

To a very considerable extent, Ruland clearly thinks of the park as a kind of “home”—a sense of fictive localness—that is deeply ingrained in her sensory memory:

I don’t think that any park would ever be able to take the place of Hopewell for me.

That’s interesting. What is it about Hopewell, do you think?

I don’t know. It’s a weird sort of nostalgia that, I mean, you can’t even really describe.

It’s just like this kind of feeling that I get every single time I go there. There’s like a particular smell that the air has, and I mean, if I ever smell something that smells similar to it, even if I’m not there, it’s instantly, I don’t know if it’s the charcoal dust or what that I’m inhaling, but there’s some sort of weird—and I always get it the same way. And it’s funny, because when I was little, my mom and dad would actually drive us to Hopewell and I would always get this great feeling, we’d be sitting in the back of the minivan, and we’d come up over this one hill, and you could actually see the kind of steeple thing—

The cast house?

The cast house, and I just got this great feeling every time I saw that. I was just so excited to be there.

And like many of the volunteers, she saw the idyllic village as something of an escape—even a refuge—from the development that was engulfing the town of Limerick, where she lived in the 1990s:

As the town grew, it was nice to be able to find kind of a solace somewhere else that always stayed the same. You know, it just never really changed. I mean, it’s still the same. . . It’s this constant thing that no matter what was happening in my life or the town or anything, I guess going there was always this kind of good thing that was just a part of my life.

Cory Putt

Charcoal volunteer, 1993-present

Long-standing local/regional roots
Pennsylvania German ancestry
Valued handskills and hard work
Motivated by audience connections
Recent socioeconomic change

When asked about his family background, volunteer collier Cory Putt says, “Well, I’m a Pennsylvania Dutchman. . . Basically this is where I lived all my life and my ancestors lived here all their lives, too.” He traces his maternal ancestry to German immigrants who came to Berks County in 1710, while his father’s side of the family was part of the later wave of German immigration to Pennsylvania in the mid-nineteenth century. A tall, deliberate man in his late forties, he describes his own generation as a transitional one. He grew up almost entirely within a close-knit Pennsylvania German community:



Figure 6.25 Master collier Ray French (left) in consultation with volunteer collier Cory Putt, summer 2005

I didn’t know what a Presbyterian church was when I was a kid. I didn’t know what an Episcopal was. The only churches I knew were Lutheran and Reformed, and we had a couple Catholic kids! There was no Catholic church nearby, but we knew a couple Catholic kids.

He is at home in the out of doors, and admits that, “The only place I get lost is in New York! . . . I can’t see the sun. . . so I just have no concept when I’m in Manhattan.” He speaks Pennsylvania German quite fluently, having learned it to some extent at home and then adding more knowledge of it by studying at a local Groundhog Club in his early adult life. He is still embedded within longstanding social and family networks in the area where he was born. But he also went away to college and was raised speaking English as a first language, a great difference from his parents’ and grandparents’ generations. He runs an auto repair shop in Robesonia, some ten miles west of Reading, and lives on a rural road outside the small town.

Putt notes that elements of the longstanding Pennsylvania German culture in the area are still

very noticeable. “They know if you’re an auslander, you’re an outsider. And you’re not pulled in right away.” Yet the area has changed and continues to change rapidly, largely because of development and suburbanization. “Years ago...I could go down all those streets and I could tell you where everybody...lived—and you associated locations with people. And you don’t do that anymore.” Pragmatic and tolerant, he is not necessarily averse to change, and he welcomes the new diversity of the area’s population. At the same time, he wishes the newcomers would be equally tolerant: “They move into a rural area and then in the summer when it’s dusty or they smell manure or whatever, they want to complain. Well, I’m sorry. This is the way it is. That’s how I knew when I come home, when I can smell manure in the summer, I know I’m home. “

A hunter and woodsman, Putt had always known that the flat areas he saw throughout the woods in the area were old charcoal flats, but he didn’t know the specific connection between charcoal-making and the regional iron industry. In 1993, his wife saw one of Hopewell Furnace’s press releases in the newspaper, calling for volunteers to help make charcoal at the national park. “She said, ‘Well, you were always interested in this.’ I said, ‘Well then...I’ll see what it’s about.’” After taking an initial training led by Dick Lahey and Bierce Rielly, he signed on for a couple of shifts tending the pile, and has remained as a core member of the collier group, often scheduling his vacation time to coincide with burns so that he can cover multiple shifts at the park. As with many of his fellow colliers, he is low-key about his work at the pile, attentive but never rushed. He is often to be found leaning on a rake or a shovel; another collier commented during the August 2005 burn, “I don’t think Cory can start talking to visitors until he’s got an implement of some kind in his hands.”

When asked about his reasons for participating in the charcoal program, Putt talks about the importance of maintaining and telling others about handskills:

I work with my hands, I’ve always worked with my hands, and the things I’ve been involved in are [hand-work]. There’s some nuances of doing this I can tell when I explain to visitors, that they don’t understand it at all because they’ve never been in these situations. So you have to approach it when they’re speaking to people like that because...this is really foreign to them... Just a simple thing like throwing a pile of dirt on the pile and hitting where you want to throw it, you know! I’ve done that, not throwing dirt, but I threw a lot of manure in my day. And just stuff like that.. You know, they’ve never been exposed to that type of lifestyle.

Like many of his fellow volunteers in the living history and charcoal programs at Hopewell, then, Putt is concerned that the newcomers to the area—and in a larger sense, contemporary people in general—have lost the sense of, as he puts it, “how you do stuff.” “People today are very much removed from their environments,” he notes, and goes on to draw the conclusion that there are potential dangers for a society that becomes too detached from the realities of how to grow food and make the materials it needs to survive. And beyond the practicalities of maintaining these kinds of knowledge, he feels it is important to recognize the hard work and

ingenuity of our collective ancestors, whose labor and inventions laid the groundwork for the very different life most of us live today:

That's the other scary thing, you know, most people, to raise a garden, you know, they have no concept of how to plant a plant! And the really fascinating thing to me as far as any plants or animals, you've got to do very little for them to prosper! ...It's like the greatest wonder in the world! You don't have to do hardly anything and this thing's going to make it!

...So do you think places like Hopewell help in a little sense to reconnect people?

Very much so. Yeah. At least they see it, most of the people are from an urban environment, so they don't really understand it. I think they have some connection to it. They might, you know, distant past. But it does help.

Yeah... My sense is that in the back of their mind they know that they should know this stuff, and that that's what drives them to come to these places.

Yeah, because they see it for what it is today. But if you, you know, things like charcoal making and any of your living history, it shows them what it was like. And it wasn't a real easy life! They should appreciate what they have today!

Colleen Schultz

Living history and charcoal volunteer, 1994-present

Long-standing local/regional roots
Pennsylvania German ancestry
[Ancestors worked at Hopewell]
Valued handskills and hard work
Recent socioeconomic change
Motivated by audience connections
Worked in education
Volunteered with children

Colleen Schultz, her 18-year-old son, and 15-year-old daughter have been volunteers at Hopewell for the past twelve years. Residents of nearby Douglassville, they are all living history volunteers and have been active in the charcoal group as well; Colleen's husband Rich is also a charcoal volunteer. She works as a teacher's aide, while he runs the clock department of a Douglassville antique business.

Schultz's personal history illustrates many of the ways in which Hopewell's volunteers are connected with local, ethnic, and craft traditions, and how they use their activities at the park as a way of blending those traditions with education, recreation, and the creation of a new kind of community. Her paternal ancestors came from German in the second wave of German immigration to Pennsylvania, during the 1850s. They worked as boat-builders, then in later generations as steelworkers; Schultz's grandfather, father, and three uncles worked at Carpenter Technology and other steel companies in Reading. Her father grew up speaking Pennsylvania German and laboriously learned English when he went to school; he insisted—as did the parents of other Pennsylvania Germans of this generation—that his children speak

English from an early age. Shultz's more rural relatives continued to speak the traditional "Dutch." "If you listened, you could always tell when they were speaking about you!" she says. The family lineage includes some Mennonites, Amish, Lutherans, and some forebears who may have been Jews or gypsies, perhaps escaping persecution by throwing in their lot with the Anabaptists. On her mother's side, her ancestry is a mix of Pennsylvania German and Irish. She speaks and understands a small amount of Pennsylvania German.

She remembers coming to Hopewell Village and French Creek State Park as a child, on some of her family's many trips to parks and historic sites. The idea of volunteering occurred to her when she brought her own children here and noticed how her son, who is autistic, was soaking up information and obviously fascinated by the site. Looking for ways to strengthen his social skills, she hit on the idea of living history as a volunteer activity for the whole family. One of the seasonal rangers trained her son to give short tours for visitors, something that Schultz credits with having greatly helped him to relate to other people. As with other parents, she found the village a safe and stimulating environment where her children could experience a combination of independence and supervision. Her daughter has been drawn more to the agricultural side of Hopewell, and currently volunteers with the farm activities, while the entire family covers shifts at the charcoal pile during most burns.

After volunteering for some time, Schultz discovered some connections between her own family history and Hopewell Furnace. One of her ancestors went to Bethesda Baptist Church, and another married into the family of one of the characters she portrays in costume, Sally Hampton, who was

a woman of questionable background. And was a woodchopper. And she would come to get whisky and to get her axe sharpened. And she had many children of many different ethnic groups. So when I play it, I play it up. And now that I know I'm somewhat, somehow related to her in the background, it's just funny.

This connection, however, is a minor aspect of Hopewell's attraction for her. In addition to the loose community that has played an important support role in her children's education and social lives, she appears to be drawn to the park because the history and skills presented there resonate very deeply with her own life experiences and her belief, as instilled in her by her family, that "you [should] never lose the old ways." For her, this means knowing how to make and grow things for practical uses, not merely preserving skills for their aesthetic value. The family does not generally go to Pennsylvania German fairs or similar events "because we really know what they do there. I grew up doing that." She has taught her children many of the traditional skills she learned from her parents (including open-fire cooking, gardening, raising animals, and quilting), feeling that

If you look at the world today, and even in the past, things go around. You know? Things repeat. And maybe not now, maybe not in the next hundred years, but if something would ever happen, who'd be able to survive if they don't have the old

traditions? I mean, with kids only learning to use a microwave, if they ever had to use a campfire—

They'd starve!

They'd starve, right. And with anything in history, we've learned that they tend to repeat. And I think the United States has just become so technically oriented that if anything would ever happen, it would not survive.

The park, then, is a site where these kinds of skills can be preserved, commemorated, practiced, and communicated to people who are far removed from “the old ways.” Colleen Schultz sees many of those people in southeastern Pennsylvania now—people who do not fit into the traditional “clan” designations in which she locates herself, and who do not understand local customs such as a two-day trick-or-treat tradition, designed originally so that rural children who lived on far-flung farms could visit their friends one night, then stay home and play host the next night, rather than all taking to the roads at once. Recalling the days when she could snowmobile for miles over open country around her home, she notes, “Probably when our children are all grown and that, we will probably move to a less populated area, just because we're not used to it.”

Fritz Moeller

Living history volunteer, c.1996-present

Long-standing local/regional roots
Pennsylvania German ancestry
Ancestors worked at Hopewell
Recent socioeconomic change

Fritz Moeller's experience as a living history volunteer at Hopewell is quite different from that of many of the other volunteers. He is not necessarily drawn by an affinity for handskills or small-scale community, or by a strong desire to help members of the general public gain a stronger sense of historical consciousness. His interest in the park stems almost entirely from his family connection to it. At least half a dozen of his ancestors worked at Hopewell Furnace, including his great-grandfather, Henry Henry (originally Heinrich Heinrich), a blacksmith. Yet there are also similarities between Moeller's association with the park and those of other volunteers, most notably his use of the site as a way to reconnect with or rediscover elements of his past. In this way, he also resembles those other members of old Hopewell families—including Anna Witman, to whom he is distantly related—who have found in the park a way to celebrate and add to their existing knowledge about their families' pasts.

The discontinuity and reconnection in Moeller's association with Hopewell is clearly shown by how he describes his origins: “I was born in South Bend, Indiana,” he says, “but I was conceived in Wyomissing [Pennsylvania].” His father, who had gone into the family trade of brewing beer, took a job in Indiana shortly after World War II, uprooting his family from their

roots in Berks County. Moeller grew up there, and remained even after his father died and his mother moved back to Pennsylvania. When his mother and aunt became elderly and needed more help, it was decided that Moeller should be the one to return to Pennsylvania to be closer to them, in part because his career as a seller of industrial equipment was somewhat portable.

As long ago as the 1970s, Moeller began collecting genealogical information about his family, becoming more serious about it when he acquired his first computer in the 1990s. Others in his family were avid amateur historians, and he recalls hearing family stories whenever he was back east visiting on summer vacations.

My aunt was very active here at the [Berks County] Historical Society and she also was very big on history in the area, and she would always—as we would drive around, she would point—And of course during the day I couldn't be under my uncle's foot all the time, so she would take me hither and thither, and one of the places that we went to often was Hopewell Village. And she would take me down and say, "Look, this is where your great-grandfather had his blacksmith shop," all that sort of thing.

He and his wife now live on Hopewell Street in Birdsboro, just a mile from the edge of French Creek State Park. The address and the proximity to the park were not intentional; the couple were looking for a smaller house after deciding to sell a larger property near the Daniel Boone Homestead. Like the volunteers I interviewed, Moeller expressed concern about the rapid development in the area. He opposes a proposed racetrack project in Birdsboro, worrying that because of the noise, "Every Friday and Saturday night I'd have the racetrack in my backyard." And like other volunteers, he points out the problems inherent in growth: "You know...people say, 'Oh, this is great, we'll get more people, and there'll be more people to contribute for the taxes' and everything. That doesn't work that way. More people means more services means higher taxes." He is also unhappy about renewed activity at the Haines and Kibblehouse mine not far from his house, pointing out the constant parade of ore-laden trucks and the freight trains that now pass the end of his quiet street.

Moeller began to volunteer at Hopewell Furnace NHS about ten years ago, after seeing a piece in the paper about the Friends of Hopewell Furnace. He is a member of the Friends group, which has struggled to become active again in recent years, and he also participates in the major special events each year as a costumed interpreter. When I encountered him, at the Iron Plantation Christmas in 2004, he was in the boardinghouse kitchen along with three other volunteers, portraying a "traveling man of business"—a role not too far removed from his real-life work as an industrial salesman.

Living history is an occasional activity for Fritz Moeller, not the absorbing or avocational calling it is for many practitioners. However, it is clear that he values the opportunity to be involved with a site so closely intertwined with his family's history. He values the fact that so much about the landscape of the Hopewell area is similar to what it was in the past. As he says, "If my great-grandfather, who died in 1902, could come back now and walk through Birdsboro,

and he would know, the main part of the town he would know, and he could say, well, who lived in each of these buildings, and all that hasn't changed."

It also seems, in considering his range of interests and skills, that Moeller remains at least somewhat attached to some traditions and patterns of behavior carried down from the past, as do other Hopewell volunteers. His choice of small-town or rural living and his passion for genealogy mirror the interests and choices of many living historians at Hopewell. He is a frequent visitor at the Berks County Historical Society, and a member (although not an active one) of the Hay Creek Valley Historical Society that owns Joanna Furnace. In his work, he retains a connection to the remaining industrial economy of the region. And it would appear that he has an interest in his father's family trade of brewing, as well; a number of years ago, he and a friend started a small birch beer company in Reading (they have since sold it). The lines of continuity between his Hopewell ancestors and his present-day life are indirect yet strong, illustrating one of the many ways in which the park serves as a point of connection for the different kinds of people who are associated with it.

HOPEWELL'S LIVING HISTORIANS IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE PARK AND ITS INTERPRETATION

A twelfth key characteristic of living historians at Hopewell could be that they are, in many ways, extremely similar to the people who work at the park. This is particularly noticeable with the seasonal rangers who often serve as living history interpreters, which is why two former seasonals are included in the six profiles above.

At the same time, there are certain key differences that frequently lead to tension or misunderstanding. This final section of the chapter examines these similarities and differences, and makes recommendations for how the park might work more productively with its living history volunteers in the future.

Similarities between living historians and park staff

Many of the characteristics, experiences, and values of the volunteer living historians can also be found among seasonal and permanent park staff.

- Park staff often feel a sense of mission and responsibility for preserving and practicing historical knowledge and skills, and for communicating about these to the public.

Jim Corless, Chief Ranger during the period when the charcoal apprenticeship program was launched, spoke about the importance of charcoal-making at Hopewell from the standpoint of its added value to the park's other interpretive offerings (in the form of actually producing charcoal for the molding

and casting demonstrations), its key role in the early iron-making industry, and its appeal to the public.

But none of those compare, I think, to just the value of making sure that that traditional activity and the knowledge of how to do it would not disappear. Each of these are windows that provide some understanding of the past. From an interpretive perspective, they all provide stories that you'd hate to shut the window and have that window be lost. . . . Even just preserving this allows for the future reclamation of an activity, the potential for that.

- Park staff often express the same sense of the importance of practical handskills, working hard, maintaining a sense of humor, and contributing to one's community. The expression of this value at the park can be traced back through many years of the living history program.

In a 1973 letter, written in the period when the NPS was beginning to reassess its commitment to living history, Chief Ranger Larry Points acknowledged that living history should not be the sole focus of interpretation at national parks, but added an eloquent plea for its value:

For ten months in the year, Hopewell visitors get recorded messages and a mini-folder while in the village. They look through windows of locked doors at the shadows of their past and they peer across barricades at rooms adequately furnished but barren of the warmth and realism only a human can offer. . . . [L]iving history can be theorized, talked and written about, hashed and rehashed, but one must see the enthusiasm on summertime faces at a place like Hopewell to really gain appreciation of it. A thousand years from now no one may really care to see a candle dipped, a collier at work, or bread baked. I rather suspect, however, in that far away push-button world, man will still appreciate where his hands have been and what they have done. . . . It is my hope that the park service will still be there to show him how. . . .and why (Points 1973).

Dale Biever, a seasonal interpreter at Hopewell from 1969 to 1975, noted, "We had a good time. It was a good place to work, because everybody was a little wild and crazy. . . . Everybody did a really outstanding job, but at the same time, you know, we were a little on the loose side."³²

A former seasonal ranger at Hopewell told me of an experience during the Bicentennial period that illustrated this combination of flexibility and workmanship:

³² Leah Glaser interview with Dale Biever, July 23, 2003.

They built these two elaborate cranes right next to the furnace. . . beautiful pieces of work, that they think would have been there to help with the casting, and with winches and—For some reason this sticks in my mind, you know, but there’s this guy and I don’t remember his name, but he had to install this massive wooden, I guess it was like a winch mechanism, onto this tall crane thing, you know, so that you could turn it and it would do various gears, it would lift and all this stuff. I mean, the thing was just beautiful, wooden block, weighed a ton. He spent at least four hours installing the thing. He looked at it, and he said, “You know, I put this thing in upside down.” And he had to obviously undo it and the whole thing. But when he looked at it, I remember he said, “*Well, time for a sandwich.*” And I just admired that sense of calm, you know, that somebody could say, “Okay, well, I just wasted four hours, but what can I do?” I try to remember that in my own, you know, when I do things.

This overlap of represented or historical values with present-day community and knowledge is also revealed in a comment by former master collier Dick Lahey, speaking about how visitors gravitated to both Ray French and Ted Ziegler when visiting the charcoal pile at Hopewell:

It’s funny—people tend to be drawn both to [Ray] and to Ted, because people aren’t fooled. They know who really does the work. And so I think they’re real interested in Ray. And it was sort of funny, you know Ray is a talker, but a visitor would just sort of automatically get drawn to Ray before they would talk to somebody in costume, because they knew Ray actually did the work. They wanted a straight answer and they would get it there.

- The demographic background of NPS staff very often mirrors those of the living history volunteers at Hopewell and other parks. Most are white, of northern European descent, and middle class (often quite recently middle class, with blue-collar, agricultural, or other manual kinds of work represented fairly recently in their own family histories).
- There were some lineal connections to Hopewell Furnace, particularly among the seasonal staff. One of John and Barbara Cole’s sons, for example, participated in a seasonal youth program at Hopewell. A generation earlier, so was Harry Hart, although he was unaware of the specific connection until a visiting professor at the park pointed it out to him. Anna Witman was of course descended from colliers and other workers at the furnace. One full-time ranger had recently discovered that her own family appeared to have worked at Hopewell before migrating to West Virginia to work in coal mines after the cold-blast iron industry declined in Pennsylvania. As with the volunteers, then, there is some of the “consent/descent” hybrid relationship with the park among NPS staff.

- Some staff, particularly seasonals, spoke to me about the creation of a kind of community at the park, something that appears to have been more vigorous in the past than at present.



Figure 6.26 Chief Ranger Jeffrey Collins and volunteer collier Suzy Brody strike an “American Gothic” pose after raking out the pile. (Photo: Susannah Brody)

One former seasonal noted,

In the old days, Hopewell was essentially a partying community... It was just back and forth, and the seasonals—your house or mine?, and off we would go, maybe three nights a week, and consumed vast quantities of adult beverages [laughs]. But it was really a fun thing.

Tensions between the park and volunteers

This study identified four main areas of tension between Hopewell Furnace NHS and its cadre of living history volunteers. These are discussed briefly below. Recommendations for actions the park might take to ease them are discussed in the final section of the report, “Recommendations.”

- 1) For the volunteers, hard work is seen as an expression of solidarity and commitment to the shared enterprise of demonstrating or interpreting the past. For staff, interpretation and demonstration are work in themselves—a job, rather than an avocation.

Clearly, many NPS employees are exceptionally dedicated to their work. And as noted above, many share the values of volunteer living historians in relation to working hard themselves and expressing a sense of respect for the hard work of the historical people whose lives they interpret. Nevertheless, a divide remains between volunteers who do this primarily out of love and NPS staff who participate in living history as part of their jobs. As parks like Hopewell Furnace become more dependent on volunteers for their living history programs, and as volunteers are more in demand at other historic sites, this divide becomes more noticeable and problematic. In exchange for their own hard (avocational) work, living historians sometimes demand more of the sites where they perform, including a consistent

presence at living history activities and a visible commitment to the interpretive programs.

One Hopewell volunteer, active in both costumed interpretation and charcoal-making, pointed out that a lack of consistent interaction could ultimately make it harder to retain volunteers:

There used to be more volunteer and ranger interaction. Like when you were doing the charcoal burn, there were also rangers there doing the charcoal burn. And they volunteered and they would do the stuff with them. Now, I don't know if they're not allowed to volunteer—

I think they're just so strapped for personnel—

That they don't do it anymore. So now you have a gap between volunteers and rangers.

So the relationship is not there.

Yeah. Now, we've been with the rangers, well—Like we know Christine well, we know Norm, [laughs] we've known them all for years, so we know the personalities and, you know, we get along. But if you don't know, there are just differences.

So somebody coming in now wouldn't have a chance to build up a relationship with any of the park staff, because they're not around.

Not mostly, they work in the office.

I did notice that last summer when I was working on the pile, that it was mostly the volunteers.

Yeah, there's just—there's no interaction. It's not—it's not personal anymore. It's "you are the volunteers, we are the rangers, you do what we say."

Other volunteer colliers noted that the park seemed less willing or able to have the master collier spend as much time at the pile during burns as previously. Often these tensions expressed themselves in terms of space—time spent in the village demonstrated social solidarity, while time "up the hill" in the office or the maintenance buildings was felt as distant from the interpretive center of the village. This same perception was echoed in interviews with former seasonal rangers, who expressed the same appreciation for managers and other permanent staff who shared the experiences and to some extent the hard work of the interpreters. Speaking of Superintendent Joe Prentice, one former seasonal said approvingly, "When we were working, he was always right there in his brown Keds, his tie pulled down to here, his sleeves rolled up to here, and his shirt soaked in perspiration."

- 2) Volunteers assume that bigger crowds are always desirable. Park staff may have reasons for preferring that events stay smaller.

As noted above, most living historians do what they do because of a strong desire to reach as many people as possible. Those who volunteer at other historic sites and events are also accustomed to the assumption that bigger is better, as most sites rely on gate revenue and audience numbers in order to meet their budgets and/or attract public funding to continue their programs. When I mentioned to these volunteers that national parks operate on a somewhat different set of assumptions, most were astonished. Many also expressed concern that even if higher visitation numbers were not necessary for Hopewell Furnace's short-term future, a continuing decline in visitation at the park could eventually jeopardize the park's long-term prospects for support. Given the volunteers' great affection for Hopewell, this was a distressing prospect for many of them to consider.

- 3) Park staff approach the task of interpretation within an institutional, rationalized framework that emphasizes park themes first and foremost. Volunteers often approach it in a more improvisational, experiential, or audience-oriented way, seeking new experiences for themselves and new ways to appeal to visitors. In essence, this is the tension between the Park Service's pragmatic approach to living history interpretation and the more experiential approach of living historians themselves.

At Hopewell, this tension between park and volunteer approaches has come to the surface around some events initiated by the volunteers. For example, in the past, the Friends' group has sponsored programs such as nineteenth-century style "mock weddings," which proved popular with audiences but which the park did not feel contributed to its general interpretive mission. Volunteer-initiated fashion shows at the park have similarly pleased visitors but have not been closely linked to the park's central identity as an iron-making plantation. The park's lack of enthusiasm about these events has hurt and puzzled the volunteers, who have assumed that any event that draws larger and more interested audiences to the park is a positive thing. For the volunteers, the key first step is to catch people's interest and attract them to the site; once that is accomplished, they believe the connection with the park's themes can be made in various ways.

This tension also manifests itself when the planning process for special interpretive programs is communicated to volunteers only after the fact. This was the case in the summer of 2005, when the park decided not to feature the

traditional Establishment Day programming but did let volunteers know in advance. Similarly, the park regularly “tweaks” its living history programming to try new things and address past problems, but volunteers are usually unaware of these plans until they arrive at the park. Some spoke to me of their willingness to show up and be directed to do whatever the park needed, but it was clear that their overall level of enthusiasm was greater when they were a part of conceiving and planning the programs as well. Greater volunteer participation in planning discussions about these changes could add to volunteer “buy-in” for the events, as well as taking advantage of the creative talent of the volunteers themselves.

- 4) At times, the park has enforced standards of historical accuracy in ways that volunteers have perceived as unnecessarily inflexible or arbitrary, resulting in hard feelings and damage to the sense of community between the park and the volunteers.

Living historians inevitably compromise with the past, as they can never (and in many cases would not want to) depict it with complete accuracy. However, no two practitioners, whether avocational or professional, make these compromises in exactly the same way. As a result, the topics of authenticity and historical accuracy in living history are hotly debated—and never fully resolved—within the living history community.

My research suggests that when disputes about accuracy arise, living historians themselves tend to resolve them in ways that acknowledge the importance of the historical record but that also favor the maintenance of the overall community. For example, the issue of whether women should portray soldiers has been vigorously, sometimes acrimoniously debated among military reenactors over the decades. The question now appears largely settled, in part through a general acknowledgement that a few women did disguise themselves as soldiers during the wars that living historians portray, and in part through a general consensus that women soldiers must meet certain basic standards of credibility in their depictions (Stanton 1997). My study of this debate suggests that an underlying motivation for the resolution was that the community not become permanently divided by issues of accuracy, but that the maximum number of participants should remain included, within the limits of certain basic standards. As with the desire for the largest audiences possible, living historians also emphasize the importance of not turning away anyone who can contribute to the overall ambience they are working to create. In a sense, community itself—particularly the kind of small-scale, close-knit community that they both depict and create through their performances—is where true authenticity resides for living historians.

By contrast, the NPS's pragmatic approach tends to favor literal accuracy over community concerns. For example, a popular local living historian, trained as a traditional baker in France, is well-known for his exceptional open-hearth and brick-oven cooking and baking. He was once an active volunteer at Hopewell, but no longer volunteers at the park because park staff felt it was misleading to have a male cook depicting what would have been women's work at the iron plantation. The baker's clothing, too, was seen as inaccurate. His departure for other historic sites created considerable ill will among the park's volunteers, and many spoke to me of their wish that the park had been able to find a way to keep him. One woman formerly associated with the park said,

That's so easy to get around. He could say to the kids, "I'm doing this now, but back in the 1830s, this would have been woman's work. Let me tell you about these ovens. I learned as a child—" *Oooooh*, goose-bumps! You know? ...And not only do the kids have the option to ask about the bake ovens in the park, but look at this man with all this knowledge—wow! What would a little girl have learned here? What would a child have done? You did it as a child—what would a child here have done? I mean, my God! You know, and that's the kind of stuff, when I go to a historic site, wow, I'm fascinated. I want to come back and hear that guy talk more! And think about the number of people—when I was on the bake oven, I had no idea what I was doing. Basically, light a fire, shovel it down, put the bread in—imagine what that guy could have taught.

This woman also suggested that the park might build on this kind of connection by offering summer courses in open-hearth and brick-oven baking techniques, as is done at some other area sites. Here we can see the overriding concern with participation and community (among volunteers, and between volunteers and park staff, and among park, staff, and audiences) which drives most living historians. The narrower interpretation of history in a way that excludes available stories and people causes friction between Hopewell's neo-traditional knowledge carriers and the park.

This issue is exacerbated at Hopewell Furnace because the park's central interpretive theme—iron-making—involves a type of production that has historically been male-dominated, whereas the world of living historians, particularly in its non-military aspects, is equally weighted between men and women. In order to attract and retain the women volunteers who are a central aspect of the living history community, historic sites must find ways to accommodate the particular skills and interests of women living historians. This has occasionally caused tensions at the park as women volunteers have pushed

for types of programs and interpretations that park staff have felt were too far from the central message the park needs to convey.

It is also worth noting that there has been support at the park for non-documented types of interpretation when park staff themselves have perceived value in those interpretations. For example, park staff invited and welcomed Stacy Ruland's violin-playing even though, in Ruland's words, there is no evidence that her character "ever played an instrument in her life. I think it's...definitely a stretch of the interpretation, but it's something that they want at the park, just because it's nice. And I love playing the violin for people."

CHAPTER SEVEN NON-TRADITIONAL GROUPS

This final chapter will very briefly examine some non-traditional groups and people who are associated in some way with Hopewell Furnace NHS. The previous two chapters have shown that the lines between the park, Hopewell and area descendants, and neo-traditional groups such as the living history and charcoal volunteers are often quite blurred. The same is true for these non-traditional groups and people. This chapter will survey four such types of people:

- apple-pickers
- hikers and orienteers
- hunters
- state park campers and day users

While remaining primarily in the category of recreational or educational use, their activities do overlap in some ways with the traditional and neo-traditional groups. These activities are a way for people to remain or become connected with particular kinds of landscapes that sometimes have significance in relation to users' personal or family backgrounds.

APPLE-PICKERS

Apple orchards have been a part of Hopewell Furnace's landscape from its very beginnings. Walker reports that when the furnace was advertised for sale in 1787 and 1788, orchards of 250 young apple trees were listed among the property's assets. 160 trees were bought in 1829 and another 304 in 1834, suggesting that apples were a regular aspect of local food production for the people living at and around the furnace (Walker 1966:133-34). During the early years of the national park, the orchard was among the projects proposed by planners and managers. Historian Roy Appleman included it in his development proposal of 1936, and wartime superintendent Emil Heinrich ordered a number of trees, intending to reproduce the appearance of a c. 1830s apple orchard (Glaser 2005:217, 225-26).

These early plans viewed the restored orchard as an element of the historical landscape rather than as an actual source of produce. In the 1950s, the park hoped to find someone who would manage the orchard under a Special Permit, but this plan did not work out. During the 1960s, an additional 150 trees were planted. Because human consumption was not the primary goal for the trees, the park pursued a pesticide spraying program through the 1960s and 1970s. Visitors were, however, free to pick up windfall apples or to pick fruit from the trees until 1981, when it was felt that damage was being done to the orchard. Visitors were still allowed to collect windfalls after the annual Harvest Festival, and the park donated some fruit to local non-profit organizations (Glaser 2005:225-26).

In the mid-1980s, faced by severe budget cuts, the park and the region began to reassess policies relating to orchards in national parks. In 1986, the first year of the apple-picking program at Hopewell, the park advertised that members of the public could pick apples for 25

cents a pound. \$5,000 was earned through the sale of 27 varieties of apples that year. A national NPS policy on marketing fruit was drafted in 1988, by which time Hopewell was regularly bringing in several thousand dollars each year from apple sales—an important supplement to a shrinking budget. By 1999, the price was set at 50 cents a pound, where it remains (Glaser 205:226-27).



Figure 7.1 Apple-pickers at Hopewell Furnace NHS, September 2005

Apple-picking is currently a popular annual activity at Hopewell Furnace NHS. The park uses low-spray techniques on its trees, producing apples that are less aesthetically pleasing but more appealing to many people who wish to avoid pesticides. In 2003, a Philadelphia newspaper voted this activity the “Best Retro Fun” in the area, an award which helped to publicize the park and its offerings. During the two autumns that I was observing activities at the park, there was a steady stream of visitors picking apples in the orchard. The majority of these were couples or families with young children. I spoke to several apple-pickers in September 2005 and found that they were from the larger area served by the state park (see below)—the 50-mile radius that encompasses Reading, Allentown/Bethlehem, and southern Chester County rather than the immediate Birdsboro/Pottstown area. Most people had been to either the national or the state park previously, or knew of the parks even if they had never visited before. Some were visiting or camping at the state park and came over to Hopewell to pick apples as a part of their recreational activity for the day or the weekend. Everyone I spoke to had specific plans for what they were going to make with the fruit, suggesting that this was not an impulsive or random outing but a part of people’s family cooking and eating activities. People spoke readily of recipes they were planning to use, implying that like the living history

volunteers who demonstrate baking techniques, they arrived with some skill—possibly learned through their own families—in baking pies and so on.

However, I did not speak to any visitors for whom Hopewell was a regular or annual apple-picking destination. Rather, it seemed that picking apples was one among many outdoor recreational activities that these visitors enjoyed, and that it perhaps overlapped with family or traditional skills in preparing food. Hopewell's apple orchard does not constitute an ethnographic resource for any identifiable group of people. It appears to be linked in many people's minds with rural and agricultural atmosphere of the site and its immediate area. It is perhaps also connected with traditional or family domestic practices of the type that are demonstrated at the park and that many volunteers, area families, and more recreational visitors have learned through their own families. As with the charcoal burns, the products of this aspect of the park are also put to interpretive use in other demonstration activities; apples from the park's orchard are used in apple-butter making demonstrations during the Harvest Festival and other park events.

HIKERS AND ORIENTEERS

Many trails criss-cross Hopewell Furnace NHS and French Creek State Park. The 134-mile long Horseshoe Trail, which runs from Valley Forge to just north of Harrisburg, overlaps with the trails in both parks. Many of these trails were formerly local roads or logging roads associated with the area's charcoal- and iron-making past. For example, the six-mile "Boone" or Blue Trail, created in 1956, was the old Joanna Furnace Road running between the two neighbor furnaces (Glaser 2005:200). Charcoal flats and stone foundations can still be seen at many points along the trails.

Several traditional and neo-traditionally associated people spoke to me about their involvement in the use and maintenance of these trails. Those who grew up in the area frequently talked about hiking or biking along the parks' trails. At least one Hopewell descendant and former living history interpreter was actively involved in re-mapping the trails that had originally been laid out in the 1930s. In his interview with me, Harry Hart told me that he had found a copy of the 1938 trail map created by the National Park Service, but that by the mid-1960s, most of the trails had been overgrown.¹ Along with his children and a fellow hiking enthusiast who worked for DuPont Corporation, Hart re-blazed the trails, finding occasional rotting signs from earlier trail-marking efforts. Some other Hopewell-associated people are also involved in present-day local hiking clubs or trail maintenance teams. When I attended a breakfast hike sponsored by the Natural Lands Trust at the Crow's Nest Preserve in May 2005, I

¹In fact, the Horseshoe Trail Club and the Wilmington [Delaware] Trail Club had protested about the conditions of the French Creek/Hopewell trails by the late 1950s. Hopewell superintendent Joe Prentice noted in 1961 that there seemed to be a strong revival of interest in hiking, and promised to do what he could with the limited resources he had at his disposal for trail maintenance (Glaser 2005:200).

spoke to several people from within and outside the area who regularly hiked at French Creek State Park.

I also participated in trail-clearing activities at the park one evening in August 2005, along with a crew of four local people. The leader of this group told me that by the early 1990s, the trails had once again become badly overgrown, and a staff member at the state park had recruited volunteers to help clear them and rebuild bridges and dams along them. The group is less active now than in previous years, seemingly owing to the fact that the staff member who was particularly interested in the project has now left the park. However, they do still maintain the trails on a regular basis, managing to cover most of the park each year. Members of the trail crew also participated in the network of conservation/preservation/ cultural projects that we have seen emerging in the industrial era and becoming more elaborated in the postindustrial. One crew member had been trained as a gamekeeper and forester; another was active in Pennsylvania German organizations, including folk dancing and music; a third was a regular living history and charcoal volunteer at Hopewell, in addition to many other similar activities. These areas of overlap show the interconnections among natural, recreational, historical, and cultural projects within contemporary settings.

The trails in the southeastern area of the park are open to mountainbikers, and have generally been maintained by a group called PATH (PA Trail Hands). This group was formed specifically to maintain the trails in French Creek State Park, which is a popular destination for mountain bikers.

Another set of users of the woods and trails around Hopewell are the members of the Delaware Valley Orienteering Association (DVOA), which holds regular orienteering events at the park.² This group traces its origins to a Norwegian immigrant, Harald Wibye, an engineer who came to the Philadelphia area on a temporary assignment in the late 1960s. Wibye worked to interest local people in his passion for orienteering, a sport that originated in Sweden in the late 1890s. Along with a small group, he held an event on the campus of Swarthmore College in 1967. Valley Forge (at that time still a state park) was the second site chosen by the group, and remains on the DVOA's list of regular event locations.

² Information about this group was gathered from conversations with organizers in May 2005 and from the DVOA website, <http://www.dvoa.us.orienteering.org/>.



Figure 7.2 Scouting groups prepare for the start of an orienteering event at French Creek State Park, May 2005

French Creek State Park was added to this list in 1970. The DVOA holds events at French Creek several times each year, utilizing different areas of the park each time. I observed the start of the annual event held for scouting groups in May 2005, which featured several hundred children and adults from around the region (Figure 6.2). The DVOA created detailed maps of the park between 1984 and 2000; these maps are available for sale in the Hopewell Furnace NHS bookstore. The maps include the locations of many of the charcoal hearths (noted as “charcoal platforms” in the legend) around the park. This is not a usual feature on orienteering maps. However, the map-makers felt the charcoal hearths were prevalent and locally significant enough to include among the list of human-made features at French Creek.

With over 800 members, the DVOA is currently the largest of the clubs associated with the United States Orienteering Federation. Organizers at the May 2005 event noted that their usual attendance is around 300 people per event. At least one set of Hopewell Furnace NHS volunteers became acquainted with the park through participating in a DVOA scouting event. French Creek State Park offers a self-guiding orienteering course for the use of visitors who come to the park because they are interested in the sport.

While the trails and woods around Hopewell are much more of a recreational than an ethnographic resource, it is also clear that the people who have used and maintained them over time include many people for whom these sites are a part of family, local, or regional memory on some level.

HUNTERS

Hunting is an activity that straddles the traditional/modern and preindustrial/industrial/postindustrial lines in southeastern Pennsylvania. Historically, it was an important aspect of food-gathering for both Indian populations and European settlers in the preindustrial and early industrial periods. Walker reports that Hopewell employees hunted fox, rabbits, pheasant, partridges, wild geese, and deer, and records an incident when a group of Hopewell workers gave themselves a self-declared holiday in 1825 so that they could go hunting (Walker 1966:265, 383-84). However, as we have already seen in Chapter 3, a great deal of the habitat of wild game animals had been destroyed by the middle of the nineteenth century, and many believed that deer had been all but eradicated in Pennsylvania (Kosack 1995:21-22). There was, therefore, already a considerable discontinuity in hunting as a traditional practice by the time the state game commission began to turn the situation around in the early twentieth century.

Once game preserves were created starting in 1905, animal populations began to rebound. Within a decade, Pennsylvania went from having almost no deer to having too many (Kosack 1995:47). Many people still hunted for food, particularly during the Depression, when illegal as well as legal hunting became more widespread. By that time, the Pennsylvania Game Commission was well-established, with more than 660,000 acres of game preserves by 1940 (Kosack 1995:92). The 1940s saw a further increase in hunting, with the overall number of licenses sold in the U.S. increasing by 50% between 1943 and 1947 as many young veterans took up the sport (Kosack 1995:102). At the same time, the deer population continued to rise, to the point that they constituted a serious problem for farmers and game managers (Kosack 1995:106).

It was this setting in which the French Creek RDA and Hopewell Village NHS were created. In a time of increased interest in hunting, an area where hunting was a traditional activity, and a setting designed to provide recreational opportunities for people from the nearby cities, the National Park Service's ban on hunting did not sit well. In fact, as Leah Glaser notes in her discussion of the "Hopewell problem," "Nowhere was the conflict between recreational use and historic preservation more profound than in the issue of hunting" (Glaser 2005:97). Hunters, lobbyists, and politicians clashed repeatedly with Hopewell's managers and other NPS personnel during the 1940s over the issue of hunting. The eventual solution was for the NPS to hand off the bulk of the RDA—more than 5,300 acres at that point—to the state for use as a state park. Along with the state game lands to the south of the park (see Figure 3.3),³ this offered hunters considerable territory outside of the historic area of Hopewell Village itself. Because the distinction between the state and national parks was not clear in many people's minds, hunting in the national park continued to be something of a problem for some years to come (Glaser 2005:112), but over the decades it became less of an issue. "Spotlighting," or the practice

³ These lands appear to have been transferred from the state park to the state game commission during the 1970s. See Glaser 2005:197.

of observing or hunting wildlife at night using flashlights or headlights, was an issue for state and national park staff alike. It is now banned within the national park (Glaser 2005:198).

By the late 1970s, Kosack reports, the deer population had grown to a level “almost beyond anyone’s control” (Kosack 1995:175). In 1979, a Pennsylvania Game Commission study established an average target density of 21 deer per square forested mile, but the density in many places exceeded 50 per square mile (Kosack 1995:199, 176). In Kosack’s words, “The white-tailed deer, although a symbol of Pennsylvania’s wilderness to many, was increasingly becoming a nuisance: People were beginning to refer to deer as ‘rats with hooves’” (Kosack 1995:178). Deer found Hopewell Village to be something of a refuge from hunting, and they overran the park during hunting season, wreaking havoc with the historic vegetable and flower gardens and the field crops. Park staff found themselves deciding to be less vigilant about illegal hunting, in the interests of controlling the overpopulation (Glaser 2005:223).

Deer continue to be abundant around Hopewell Furnace NHS (see Figure 7.3); hunting continues to be a popular sport in the area; and there is still some contention about illegal hunting within the national park and by those without licenses. Over 6,000 acres of French Creek State Park are open to hunters during hunting season. Deer, turkey, rabbit, pheasant, and squirrel are among the game species hunted there and in the neighboring State Game Lands. The initial ethnographic surveys for this study suggested that area poachers might in fact constitute an ethnographic group making use of the park lands in traditional ways (Jenkins 2002:9). However, the park’s current law enforcement ranger told me that there are very few problems involving hunters at present, and that he does not see poaching as a problem at or around the park.

I spoke with several Hopewell volunteers (particularly among the collier group) and some local men among the state park staff who were also hunters. All of these men had learned to hunt with their fathers, making it clear that this remains a traditional generational activity even though it is no longer so closely associated with practical food-gathering. Many of the local hunters I spoke to traveled some distance to hunt elsewhere in the state, suggesting that this tradition is not necessarily linked to specific localness, but rather to the kind of diffuse localness that we have seen in the case of some traditionally and neo-traditionally associated people. The reforestation of “Penn’s Woods” over the past century has created a broad network of game lands that supports the traditional and familial activity of hunting. Hopewell Furnace and French Creek State Park are within that network, but rather than being specific ethnographic resources for the traditional lifeways of any particular group, they offer a more general or neo-traditional type of resource.



Figure 7.3 Deer in Hopewell orchard, September 2005.

STATE PARK USERS⁴

French Creek State Park currently encompasses almost 7,500 acres and surrounds Hopewell Furnace NHS to the west, north, and east. Hopewell Lake, originally created by the damming of French Creek for Hopewell Furnace's use, is a 68-acre body of water that is used for fishing, sailing, and canoeing. A smaller lake created by damming a tributary of French Creek, Scott's Run, is also used for fishing. Hopewell Lake was once a popular swimming spot, but in recent decades, the presence of many Canadian geese has led to pollution of the lake's water, making it unsafe for swimming. A large swimming pool, open during the summers, was constructed as an alternative to swimming in the lake. Total visitation at the state park was 980,000 in 2004. The park is administered jointly with another state park unit, Marsh Creek State Park, and has about 30 full-time and seasonal employees.

State park users can be broadly divided into two categories: day users (those who come to swim, hike, picnic, or use the park in other recreational ways) and campers. There are more

⁴ Information about French Creek State Park was gathered in interviews with Lou Williams, the park's Assistant Park Manager, as well as the current and former heads of maintenance at the park. I also camped at French Creek State Park during my August 2005 visit, and spoke with the "camp hosts" on two occasions.

than 200 camp sites within the park, including several group camping areas. Park staff estimate that most day users come from within a 30-mile radius, primarily from the Reading area, with others from Birdsboro and Pottstown. In general, these visitors are from urban areas, precisely the people who were originally envisioned as the primary users of the park. About half of the campers come from within this same 30-mile radius, many from Reading. The other campers are from farther away, notably from Philadelphia, New Jersey or New York. Some campers have come to French Creek State Park for many years, often taking the same campsite for the same block of time each year. However, the camp hosts reported that there was no noticeable degree of community formation at the campgrounds, beyond the ephemeral kind of relationships that emerge in any temporary community of people. One camp host noted that sometimes families with small children would become acquainted and would then arrange to camp next to one another in subsequent years, but that these arrangements only lasted while the children were small. Some of the groups who camp at French Creek do have longer-lasting social structures, notably French Creek Bible Camp, a New Jersey based organization that has booked one of the group campgrounds for the full summer since 1948. Valley Forge Military Academy, the Chester County Conservation Corps, and the Sierra Club have also camped at the park, along with more specialized groups (such as a recent outing by a dulcimer club, which park staff noted as one of the more off-beat groups they had hosted). While the French Creek and Hopewell lands may have long-term associations for some people who use the state park, however, it appears unlikely that these could be considered ethnographic resources for any identifiable group of people.

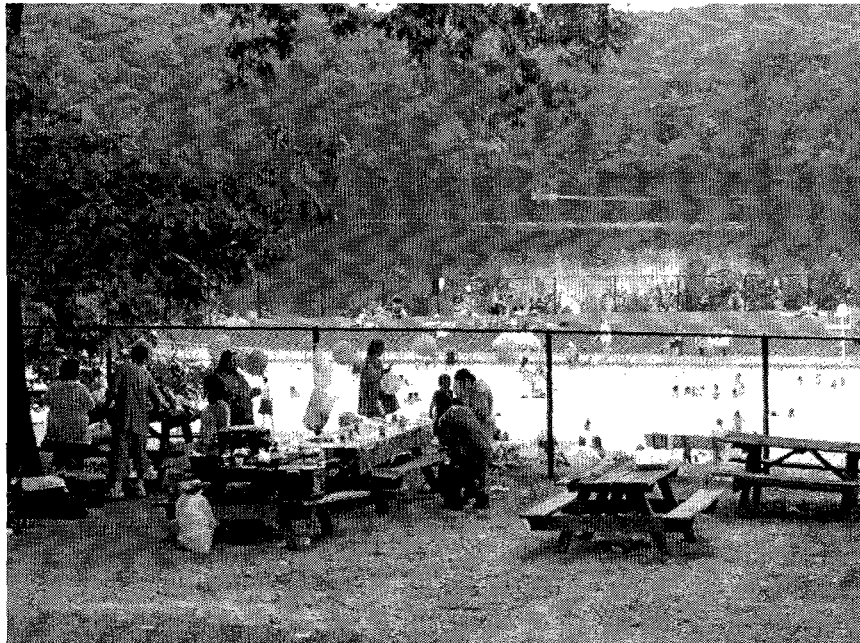


Figure 7.4 Swimming area at French Creek State Park, with Hopewell Lake in the background, August 2005

It is unclear how much overlap there is between state park users and visitorship at the national park. National park staff reported that 40% of Hopewell's visitors also go to the state park, as campers or as day users. The state park, meanwhile, estimates that perhaps a third of its visitors also go to Hopewell. There is a considerable discrepancy in these estimates, as a third of the state park's visitation totals many more people than visit Hopewell in a year.

Overall, the state park reports that its visitation and funding, like Hopewell's, have declined in recent years. The perception was that other "eco-tourism" ventures—for example, heritage areas and the kinds of trails and river projects associated with contemporary land conservation projects—were currently more popular with visitors and public funders, leading to a decline in state support for the older state park system. The park's current Assistant Director commented that the older parks were created "for the common people"—that is, working-class urban dwellers—and that this represents a very different target audience than that for the newer types of projects, which tend to be more associated with suburban and professional-class people. This class-based analysis of what is happening with Pennsylvania's state parks intersects in suggestive ways with the larger narrative this report has sketched for industrial and postindustrial development in the region:

- (1) Parks like French Creek State Park/Hopewell Furnace NHS were created from the vestiges of obsolete or non-viable forms of production ("old industry" like the charcoal iron-furnaces or small-scale agriculture on what had become classified as "submarginal" land). They were artifacts of the industrial period, left behind by the volatile and changing industrial economy.
- (2) These places were then re-shaped for recreational use by working people from what was then the area's "new industry"—the larger industrial centers like Reading, Allentown, and Bethlehem, and smaller iron and steel towns like Birdsboro and Pottstown. People from these industrial centers have long established a pattern of using the state parks for recreational purposes.
- (3) As manufacturing has left the area, another re-shaping is taking place. This involves making these older places more "visitable" (Dicks 2003) and appealing to the white-collar workers of the new information/service-based economy. Public and private funding is largely directed toward these newer efforts, which take the form of more regional, tourism-oriented, and professionally-marketed projects like the Schuylkill River Heritage Area.
- (4) In the process, the older recreational patterns of people from the older urban industrial areas have become less of a funding priority. It may also be that these recreational patterns are changing as the demography of the older cities is changing. In any case, places like French Creek State Park—and to some extent, Hopewell Furnace NHS—now represent an older generation of conservation and recreational projects.

Both the state and national park do benefit in some ways from the newer projects. French Creek State Park has received 400 acres of land that was bought by the French and

Pickering Creek eight years ago, and local land trusts have helped add to the land within many state, county, and local parks. Similarly, visitation at Hopewell Furnace will likely receive a boost from the park's inclusion in the Schuylkill River Heritage Area's network of informational kiosks, designed to inform visitors about a wider range of attractions within the area.

A final point to note in relation to the state park's association with Hopewell Furnace is that several current and former staff from both parks spoke to me about the deterioration of the relationship between the two parks over recent decades. This relationship was once quite close. During the early 1980s there were regular Sunday brunch get-togethers between the staffs at the national park's maintenance building, with shared coffee and pastry, and an ongoing friendly rivalry in the form of occasional scratch volleyball or softball games at the state park. Staff members were sometimes invited to each other's park Christmas parties, and would assist as needed with snow-plowing after storms. However, there is now little or no communication between the two neighbor parks. One state park staff member told me, "We operate in parallel, but we don't really have anything to do with each other." The distance appears to stem from a series of unfriendly encounters with newer staff members who did not have the depth of relationships that had been built up among long-standing employees (many of whom were also long-time local residents) over the decades. With the retirement or transfer of some key people within those relationships, the social and collegial network appears to have fallen apart.

French Creek State Park is clearly a part of the family, local, and personal memories of many people from the immediate and larger Hopewell area. Many traditionally- and neo-traditionally associated people at Hopewell Furnace NHS spent time at the park as children, in activities that included (and often blended) recreational, educational, and traditional or neo-traditional uses. The state park contributes to the sense of diffuse localness that is experienced by many in the area, and serves as a site where many groups of people, linked with many aspects of the area's long history, intersect with one another and with the changing landscape of southeastern Pennsylvania.

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CHAPTER EIGHT RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATION #1

Park managers should re-think the park’s overall relationship with “tradition” and “traditionally associated peoples” in light of the park’s history in the region and its role within its current social, cultural, and economic contexts.

This is not a concrete recommendation for specific action, but a suggestion for some of the ways that it might be helpful to re-envision the park’s role in its socioeconomic setting. This study has traced a long series of changes in that setting over time, showing that

- Hopewell Furnace has been on the cusp of sweeping macrostructural developments of both the industrial and the postindustrial eras, and
- the park itself is a product of a set of ideas that developed during the nineteenth century about conservation, preservation, and cultural identity—ideas which have become more elaborated and consciously marketed in the postindustrial economy.

In this setting, the park is not separate from its associated peoples, even those who can be considered traditionally associated. Rather the park is a co-curator and co-producer of local historical knowledge, and an integral part of local memory for many people. Embracing that role more fully could strengthen the park’s relationships with many community people and groups.

RECOMMENDATION #2

The park could strengthen and extend its network of local relationships by becoming a more active and public co-curator of local occupational, family, and historical memory.

The park already serves as an ad hoc repository of local occupational, family, and historical knowledge. This resource is already used by some individual people, some of whom are descended from old Hopewell families. Very occasionally this use has led to closer association with the park, but there are many Hopewell descendants who do not use the park’s resources or who do not think of the park in this collaborative way.

The park could cultivate its relationships with these associated people in a more sustained way. It offers a space of discovery and reflection for those who are exploring their individual pasts, as well as a place where knowledge about those pasts can be linked with larger historical and economic contexts. Bella Dicks has argued that such places provide “a means of appreciating the intersection between individual biographies and

wider social and cultural changes” (Dicks 2003:126)—an important function and one that national parks are well-placed to fill.

The park could host events such as genealogy workshops, local history fairs, Hopewell “old home days,” or other programs aimed at audiences of local or Hopewell-associated people. Such events could let more people know about the historical and genealogical resources available at the park, and could in turn open connections with people who could supply useful knowledge for the park’s own interpretation. Given the persistence of some metal industry in the area, the park could expand its network of connections to include people in these trades. There are some indications (for example, in the sense of Hopewell descendant Joe Kemper that he is part of an occupational lineage dating to the founding of Hopewell Furnace) that some in the metal trades might welcome an opportunity to share their knowledge and to learn from the park through an exchange of knowledge.

This study has noted some existing and possible avenues for this kind of exchange. However, the benefits of having an outside researcher conduct such a study on a more extended basis are limited. Of far greater benefit to the park would be the expanded local connections, social relationships, and deepened knowledge that could arise from a more active program involving local history and genealogy.

RECOMMENDATION #3

Further research could be done to determine the chronology of events relating to the Cole family, the Civil War service of Isaac Cole, and the Coles’ ownership of land around Six Penny Creek.

As discussed in Chapter 5, questions remain about the history of the Cole family in the area. Research could be done to determine whether Isaac Cole was a substitute for another local man during the Civil War. This knowledge could help to create a historical context for understanding the persistence of this family in the area, among the original residents of the African-American community at Six Penny Creek. The Six Penny Creek ruins (which I was unable to view during this fieldwork) could also be a site of possible future archeological research, to gain a fuller understanding of this community. Land records showing ownership of the tracts of land northwest of Hopewell Furnace over time could give a fuller picture of the Cole family’s history in the area.

RECOMMENDATION #4

A connection could be re-opened with the present-day Bethesda Baptist Church congregation. The old church could be made available to the congregation for occasional services or programs at an affordable rate.

While there are discontinuities in church membership that make this group not fully “traditionally associated,” it is also clear that this congregation regards the old Lloyd’s Church as its traditional and historical homeplace. Despite the lack of membership continuity, there is still a sense of lineage within the congregation, which represents a living religious tradition with extremely long ties to this park resource. Continued change and financial uncertainty in the congregation has contributed to the gradual severing of the relationship between the church and the national park over time. However, there are clear signs that some in the church would welcome a closer connection with the old building. Cost has been a major obstacle to this closer connection.

The park could monitor the ongoing changes in the congregation—for example, its current search for a new minister and a renewed sense of direction. When these are accomplished, there may be an opportunity for a renewed relationship with the church. Occasional use of the old building for church special events could be very meaningful for members of the congregation and perhaps for the park as well. It could also be an important piece of community outreach.

RECOMMENDATION #5

The park should find ways to highlight its charcoal program more consistently.

The charcoal program is one of the most unique facets of Hopewell Furnace NHS, and a central component of its interpretive offerings. This program has become the custodian of a body of traditional knowledge which has passed from local practitioners into the hands of park staff and from them to a growing and quite cohesive cadre of dedicated volunteers. The park can continue to strengthen both its community relationships and its interpretive programming by fully supporting the activities of this group.

In addition to the very strong support that the program already receives from park staff, connections might be made with area organizations concerned with land conservation, energy use, and other issues conceptually related to charcoal-making. These organizations could include local and regional land trusts and the Schuylkill River Heritage Area, with which Hopewell Furnace NHS already has institutional connections.

The park could also add depth to its interpretation of charcoal-making by supplying staff and volunteers with more contemporary information about charcoal-making today, such as is presented in Chapter 6 of this report. Placing Hopewell’s charcoal-making history into this context could link the park with current issues relating

to energy use, industrial development, conservation, reforestation, land management efforts, etc. In this way, the park could become a more active custodian of this traditional knowledge and practice, as well as a more effective public interpreter in relation to it.

RECOMMENDATION #6

Hopewell Furnace NHS could strengthen its relationship with its living history volunteers in four ways.

- (1) Staff should make the symbolically-important gesture of appearing in the village whenever possible during special interpretive events. For the volunteers, hard work is seen as an expression of solidarity and commitment to the shared enterprise of demonstrating or interpreting the past. For staff, interpretation and demonstration are work in themselves—a job, rather than an avocation. This underlying difference sometimes leads to misunderstandings and tension.

My research on living history volunteers at other national parks and historic sites shows that small gestures—making sure that wood provided for fires is dry, helping to carry heavy equipment from the parking lot—are enormously appreciated. These actions go a long way toward showing that NPS staff recognize and to some extent enter into the “community of consent” within which the volunteers construct their sense of the past and their present-day identity as carriers of neo-traditional knowledge.

- (2) Park managers should clearly communicate to volunteers the park’s priorities in terms of attracting visitors, preserving the resources, and interpreting the park’s key themes.

Volunteers assume that bigger crowds are always desirable. Park staff may have reasons for preferring that events stay smaller. If, as several park staff told me, attracting visitors is a lower priority, this should be made clear to the volunteers.

At the same time, the park should take into consideration volunteers’ contention that the continued decline in visitation might affect the park’s long-term prospects for survival and the health of its relationship to its volunteers. Volunteers see themselves as partners in preserving and interpreting sites like Hopewell, and many have considerable experience within historic preservation and cultural resource management settings. While it is true that Hopewell’s short-term prospects do not necessarily suffer because of a lack of visitors, the park is by no means completely insulated from the realities of the current volatile cultural economy and heritage tourism market. The volunteers’ concern for the park stems in part from their awareness of that volatility, and their desire to ensure that this little-known but

extraordinary unit of the national park system survives in a changing economy and society.

- (3) The park should clearly explain its reasons for supporting or rejecting certain programmatic ideas.

Park staff approach the task of interpretation within an institutional, rationalized framework that emphasizes park themes first and foremost. Volunteers often approach it in a more improvisational, experiential, or audience-oriented way, seeking new experiences for themselves and new ways to appeal to visitors. In essence, this is the tension between the Park Service's pragmatic approach to living history interpretation and the more experiential approach of living historians themselves.

As with most management issues, straightforward communication is essential here. The park could provide volunteers with some context for understanding the NPS's pragmatic approach to living history and how it has developed over time. This could help the volunteers to see their own activities within the larger framework of NPS interpretation. Such a context might be part of an advanced orientation for experienced living history interpreters at parks, designed to foster more of a peer relationship between living historians and interpreters inside and outside the Park Service.

At the same time, park staff should recognize that there is potential wisdom in the volunteers' approach of attracting audiences first, then working to link with park themes. A collegial discussion between volunteers and staff about the virtues and limitations of certain kinds of programming could produce innovative new ways of incorporating volunteers' enthusiasms and linking them more closely with the park's themes.

- (4) Park and volunteer interpreters should work together to find creative solutions to the eternal question of how to depict the past as accurately as possible.

At times, the park has enforced standards of historical accuracy in ways that volunteers have perceived as unnecessarily inflexible or arbitrary, resulting in hard feelings and damage to the sense of community between the park and the volunteers. As with park expectations about other programming issues, communication about questions of historical accuracy should be very clear and participatory. The park should also be consistent in applying standards of accuracy. If it is willing to make room for one particular skill, even though it is not demonstrably authentic to Hopewell's past, it should find ways to accommodate others or make clear why an exception has been made in a particular case.

Park staff should also consider the issue of historical accuracy in the wider context of the park’s role as a site for the construction of neo-traditional communities—communities in which park staff themselves are participants.

RECOMMENDATION #7

The park could re-establish its formerly close working relationship with park staff at French Creek State Park.

Although state park use does not appear to qualify as full “traditional association,” there are many state park users whose backgrounds and activities overlap in some ways with those of traditionally and neo-traditionally associated people. For example, some state park staff have long-standing local roots, while hunters are practicing a multi-generational skill embedded in the long history of “Penn’s Woods” and regional rural culture. Furthermore, the shared history of the state and national parks is important within the area’s transition into a postindustrial place. Both parks are connected in significant ways to the construction of local and regional identity.

Improved relations with state park staff and users could strengthen Hopewell’s community profile and re-establish a connection with an important park neighbor. As with the living history volunteers, small gestures of support and solidarity could create considerable good will where it is now lacking.

APPENDIX A

National Park Service Cultural Resource Management Policies pertaining to traditionally associated groups and ethnographic resources

The excerpts below are drawn from Chapter 5 (“Cultural Resource Management”) of the 2001 NPS Policies for Management, accessible online at:

<http://www.nps.gov/policy/mp/chapter5.htm>

(from Introduction)

The National Park Service will preserve and foster appreciation of the cultural resources in its custody, and will demonstrate its respect for the peoples traditionally associated with those resources, through appropriate programs of research, planning, and stewardship.

(from Section 5.1.1 National Park Service Research)

The National Park Service will conduct a vigorous interdisciplinary program of research into the cultural resources of each park. The principal goals of such research will be to:

- Ensure a systematic, adequate, and current information base representing the park’s cultural resources and traditionally associated peoples, in support of planning, management, and operations;
- Ensure appropriate protection, preservation, treatment, and interpretation of cultural resources, employing the best current scholarship;
- Develop approaches for managing park cultural and natural resources that ensure consideration of the views held by traditionally associated peoples and others, as appropriate;
- Collect data on subsistence and other consumptive uses of park resources in order to reach informed decisions; and
- Develop appropriate technologies and methods for monitoring, protecting, preserving, and treating cultural resources.

(Section 5.1.3.1 Inventories)

The Park Service will (1) maintain and expand the following inventories about cultural resources in units of the national park system, (2) enter information into appropriate related databases, and (3) develop an integrated information system:

- Archeological sites inventory for historic and prehistoric archeological resources and the related Archeological Sites Management Information System (ASMIS) database;
- Cultural landscapes inventory of historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, ethnographic landscapes, and historic sites, and the related Cultural Landscapes Automated Inventory Management System (CLAIMS) database;

- Ethnographic Resources Inventory (ERI) of places, including sites, structures, objects, landscapes, and natural resources with traditional cultural meaning and value to associated peoples and other resource users;
- List of Classified Structures (LCS), encompassing historic and prehistoric structures; and
- National Catalog of Museum Objects, encompassing all cultural objects, archival and manuscript materials, and natural history specimens in NPS collections and the related automated version, the Automated National Catalog System (ANCS+ or its successor).

(from 5.1.3.2 Evaluation and Categorization)

Ethnographically meaningful cultural and natural resources, including traditional cultural properties, will be identified and evaluated in consultation with peoples having traditional associations to park resources. Examples of traditionally associated peoples include Acadians, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans. (For editorial convenience, in these Management Policies the term “Native Americans” includes American Indians, Alaskan natives, native peoples of the Caribbean, native Hawaiians, and other native Pacific islanders.) Some ethnographically meaningful resources do not meet National Register Criteria for Evaluation, but will be inventoried in consultation with traditionally associated peoples and considered in management decisions about treatment and use.

(from Section 5.2 Planning)

Effective park stewardship requires informed decision- making about a park’s cultural resources. This is best accomplished through a comprehensive planning process. Effective planning is based on an understanding of what a park’s cultural resources are, and why those resources are significant. To gain this understanding, the Service must obtain baseline data on the nature and types of cultural resources, and their (1) distribution; (2) condition; (3) significance; and (4) local, regional, and national contexts. Cultural resource planning, and the resource evaluation process that is part of it, will include consultation with cultural resource specialists and scholars having relevant expertise; traditionally associated peoples; and other stakeholders. Current scholarship and needs for research are considered in this process, along with the park’s legislative history and other relevant information.

Planning decisions will follow analysis of how proposals might affect the values that make resources significant, and the consideration of alternatives that might avoid or mitigate potential adverse effects. Planning will always seek to avoid harm to cultural resources, and consider the values of traditionally associated groups. To ensure that approaches and alternatives for resource preservation have been identified and considered, planning processes that could affect cultural resources must include cultural resource specialists, traditionally associated peoples, and other stakeholders, and provide them with appropriate notification about opportunities to become involved.

The general management planning process will include goals and strategies for research on, consultation about, and stewardship of cultural resources, and for research on and consultation with traditionally associated and other peoples. Planning for park operations, development, and

natural resource management activities will integrate relevant concerns and program needs for identifying, evaluating, monitoring, protecting, preserving, and treating cultural resources.

(Section 5.2.1 Consultation)

The National Park Service is committed to the open and meaningful exchange of knowledge and ideas to enhance (1) the public's understanding of park resources and values, and the policies and plans that affect them; and (2) the Service's ability to plan and manage the parks by learning from others. Open exchange requires that the Service seek and employ ways to reach out to, and consult with, all those who have an interest in the parks.

Each park superintendent will consult with outside parties having an interest in the park's cultural resources or in proposed NPS actions that might affect those resources, and provide them with opportunities to learn about, and comment on, those resources and planned actions. Consultation may be formal, as when it is required pursuant to NAGPRA or Section 106 of the NHPA, or it may be informal when there is not a specific statutory requirement. Consultation will be initiated, as appropriate, with tribal, state, and local governments; state and tribal historic preservation officers; the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation; other interested federal agencies; traditionally associated peoples; present-day park neighbors; and other interested groups.

Consultations on proposed Park Service actions will take place as soon as practical, and in an appropriate forum that ensures, to the maximum extent possible, effective communication and the identification of mutually acceptable alternatives. The Service will establish and maintain continuing relationships with outside parties to facilitate future collaboration, formal consultations, and the ongoing informal exchange of views and information on cultural resource matters.

Since national parks embody resources and values of interest to a national audience, efforts to reach out and consult must be national in scope. But the Service will be especially mindful of consulting with traditionally associated peoples— those whose cultural systems or ways of life have an association with park resources and values that pre-dates establishment of the park. Traditionally associated peoples may include park neighbors, traditional residents, and former residents who remain attached to the park area despite having relocated. Examples of traditionally associated peoples include American Indians in the contiguous 48 states, Alaska Natives, African Americans at Jean Lafitte, Asian Americans at Manzanar, and Hispanic Americans at Tumacocori.

In particular, it is essential to consult traditionally associated peoples about:

- Proposed research on, and stewardship of, cultural and natural resources with ethnographic meaning for the groups;
- Development of park planning and interpretive documents that may affect resources traditionally associated with the groups;
- Proposed research that entails collaborative study of the groups;
- Identification, treatment, use, and determination of affiliation of objects subject to NAGPRA;
- Repatriation of Native American cultural items or human remains based on requests by affiliated groups in accordance with NAGPRA;

- Planned excavations and proposed responses to inadvertent discoveries of cultural resources that may be culturally affiliated with the groups;
- Other proposed NPS actions that may affect the treatment and use of, and access to, cultural and natural resources with known or potential cultural meaning for the groups; and
- Designation of National Register, national historic landmark, and world heritage sites.

Consultation with federally recognized American Indian tribes will be on a government- to- government basis. The Service will notify appropriate tribal authorities (such as tribal historic preservation officers) about proposed actions when first conceived, and by subsequently consulting their appointed representatives whenever proposed actions may affect tribal interests, practices, and traditional resources (such as places of religious value).

When engaging in the consultation process, group meetings may be held only for the purpose of exchanging views and information, and to solicit individual advice on proposed NPS actions. NPS may not hold meetings to obtain consensus advice from a group unless the group is chartered pursuant to the Federal Advisory Committee Act (FACA). FACA does not apply to inter- governmental meetings held exclusively between NPS officials and elected officers of tribal governments (or their designated employees with authority to act on their behalf) acting in their official capacities, when the meetings relate to intergovernmental responsibilities or administration.

(from Section 5.2.2 Agreements)

The National Park Service will seek to establish mutually beneficial agreements with interested groups to facilitate collaborative research, consultation, park planning, training, and cooperative management approaches with respect to park cultural resources and culturally important natural resources. The goal of the NPS is to allow traditionally associated peoples to exercise traditional cultural practices in parks to the extent allowable by law, and consistent with the criteria listed in section 8. 2. To the extent this goal can be legally reached through agreements, park superintendents should do so.

(from Section 5.3.5 Treatment of Cultural Resources)

The Park Service will provide for the long- term preservation of, public access to, and appreciation of, the features, materials, and qualities contributing to the significance of cultural resources. With some differences by type, cultural resources are subject to several basic treatments, including (1) preservation in their existing states; (2) rehabilitation to serve contemporary uses, consistent with their integrity and character; and (3) restoration to earlier appearances by the removal of later additions and replacement of missing elements. Decisions regarding which treatments will best ensure the preservation and public enjoyment of particular cultural resources will be reached through the planning and compliance process, taking into account:

- The nature and significance of a resource, and its condition and interpretive value;
- The research potential of the resource;
- The level of intervention required by treatment alternatives;

- The availability of data, and the terms of any binding restrictions; and
- The concerns of traditionally associated peoples and other stakeholders.

 (from Section 5.3.5.2.6 Land Use and Ethnographic Value)

Many cultural landscapes are significant because of their historic land use and practices. When land use is a primary reason for the significance of a landscape, the objective of treatment will be to balance the perpetuation of use with the retention of the tangible evidence that represents its history. The variety and arrangement of cultural and natural features in a landscape often have sacred or other continuing importance in the ethnic histories and cultural vigor of associated peoples. These features and their past and present- day uses will be identified, and the beliefs, attitudes, practices, traditions, and values of traditionally associated peoples will be considered in any treatment decisions.

Contemporary use of a cultural landscape is appropriate if it:

- Does not adversely affect significant landscape characteristics and features; and
- Either follows the historic use or does not impede public appreciation of it.

All uses of cultural landscapes are subject to legal requirements, policy, guidelines, and standards for natural and cultural resource preservation, public safety, and special park uses.

(Section 5.3.5.3 Ethnographic Resources)

Park ethnographic resources are the cultural and natural features of a park that are of traditional significance to traditionally associated peoples. These peoples are the contemporary park neighbors and ethnic or occupational communities that have been associated with a park for two or more generations (40 years), and whose interests in the park's resources began prior to the park's establishment. Living peoples of many cultural backgrounds— American Indians, Inuit (Eskimos), Native Hawaiians, African Americans, Hispanics, Chinese Americans, Euro-Americans, and farmers, ranchers, and fishermen— may have a traditional association with a particular park.

Traditionally associated peoples generally differ as a group from other park visitors in that they typically assign significance to ethnographic resources— places closely linked with their own sense of purpose, existence as a community, and development as ethnically distinctive peoples. These places may be in urban or rural parks, and may support ceremonial activities or represent birthplaces of significant individuals, group origin sites, migration routes, or harvesting or collecting places. While these places have historic attributes that are of great importance to the group, they may not necessarily have a direct association with the reason the park was established, or be appropriate as a topic of general public interest. Some ethnographic resources might also be traditional cultural properties. A traditional cultural property is one that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that are (1) rooted in that community's history, and (2) important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community.

The Service's primary interest in these places stems from its responsibilities under

- The NPS Organic Act— to conserve the natural and historic objects within parks unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations;
- NHPA— to preserve, conserve, and encourage the continuation of the diverse traditional prehistoric, historic, ethnic, and folk cultural traditions that underlie and are a living expression of our American heritage;
- AIRFA— to protect and preserve for American Indians access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites;
- ARPA— to secure, for the present and future benefit of the American people, the protection of archeological resources and sites which are on public lands; and
- NEPA— to preserve important historic, cultural, and natural aspects of our national heritage; and
- Executive Order 13007— to (1) accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners and (2) avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sacred sites.

The Service must therefore be respectful of these ethnographic resources, and carefully consider the effects that NPS actions may have on them. When religious issues are evident, the Service must also consider constraints imposed on federal agency actions by the first and fourteenth amendments to the U. S. Constitution.

The National Park Service will adopt a comprehensive approach that considers parks and traditionally associated and other peoples as interrelated members of an ecosystem. As an aid to appreciating the diverse human heritage and associated resources that characterize the national park system, the Service will identify the present- day peoples whose cultural practices and identities were, and often still are, closely associated with each park's cultural and natural resources.

ANILCA recognizes the importance of maintaining the Alaska Native culture, and contains several provisions that authorize activities by the NPS that would assist in the cultural preservation of Alaska Native communities. For many rural Alaskans, the land and the way of life are inseparable. The Service will explore opportunities in Alaska to forge a mutually beneficial relationship between Alaska Natives and the NPS. In Alaska and elsewhere, the Service will try to strengthen the ability of traditional and indigenous peoples to perpetuate their culture and to enrich the parks with traditional knowledge and a deeper sense of place.

Ethnographic information will be collected through collaborative research that recognizes the sensitive nature of such information. Cultural anthropologists/ ethnographers will document the meanings that traditionally associated groups assign to traditional natural and cultural resources and the landscapes they form. The park's ethnography file will include this information, as well as data on the traditional management practices and knowledge systems that affect resource uses, and the short- and long- term effects of use on the resources.

(from Section 5.3.5.3.1 Resource Access and Use)

Consistent with the requirements of the Organic Act, NHPA, AIRFA, ARPA, NEPA, and Executive Order 13007 cited in section 5. 3. 5. 3 above, the Service will strive to allow American Indians and other traditionally associated peoples access to, and use of, ethnographic resources.

Continued access to and use of ethnographic resources is often essential to the survival of family, community, or regional cultural systems, including patterns of belief and sociocultural and religious life. However, the Service may not allow access and use if it would violate the criteria listed in section 8.2.

The Service generally supports traditional access and use, and is considering policy and regulatory revisions that will clarify when reasonable accommodations can be made under NPS authorities to allow greater access and use. Park superintendents may reasonably control the times when, and the places where, specific groups may have exclusive access to particular areas of a park.

(from Section 5.3.5.3.2 Sacred Sites)

The National Park Service acknowledges that American Indian tribes, including native Alaskans, treat specific places containing certain natural and cultural resources as sacred places having established religious meaning, and as locales of private ceremonial activities. . . Various ethnic groups, local groups with recently developed ties to resources in neighboring parks, and visitors to family and national cemeteries and national memorials also might use park resources for traditional or individual religious ceremonies. Mutually acceptable agreements may be negotiated with known groups to provide access to, and the use of, such places, consistent with constitutional and other legal constraints.

(Section 5.3.5.3.3 Research)

The Park Service will maintain a program of professional cultural anthropological/ ethnographic research, designed to provide NPS managers with information about relationships between park resources and associated peoples. Research will be undertaken in cooperation with associated peoples in an interdisciplinary manner whenever reasonable, especially in studies of natural resource use and ethnographic landscapes. Research findings will be used to inform planning, cultural and natural resource management decision- making, and interpretation, as well as to help managers meet responsibilities to associated peoples and other stakeholders in the outcomes of NPS decisions. Information required for an ethnographic resource inventory will be drawn from ethnographic research reports to the fullest extent possible.

Collaborative research dealing with recent or contemporary cultural systems and the resources of park- associated peoples will involve the groups in the design and implementation of the research and the review of research findings to the fullest possible extent. The Service will provide individuals or groups involved with, or directly affected by, the research with copies or summaries of the reports, as appropriate.

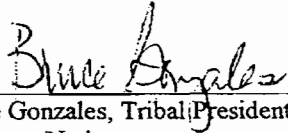
APPENDIX B

Delaware Nation responses to park inquiries

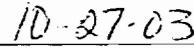
TO: William A. Sanders, Superintendent
Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site

At this time, The Delaware Nation has no concerns that need to be addressed in the General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement for Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site in Pennsylvania.

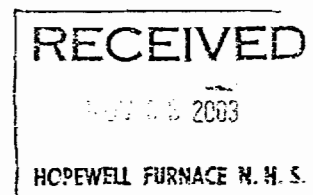
Please keep us informed of the project as it progresses.



Bruce Gonzales, Tribal President
Delaware Nation

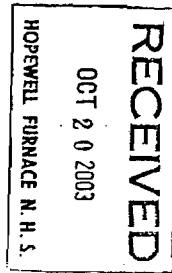
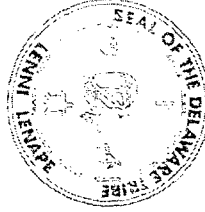


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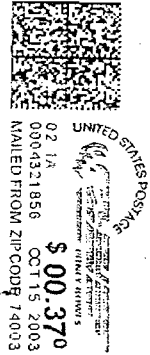
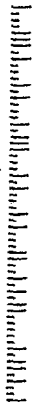
DELAWARE TRIBE OF INDIANS

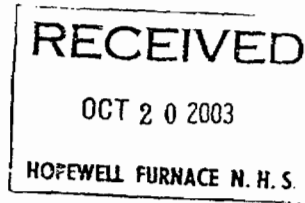
220 N.W. Virginia
Bartlesville, Oklahoma 74003



NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
ATTN: William Sanders
Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site
2 Mark Bird Lane
Elverson, Pennsylvania 19520

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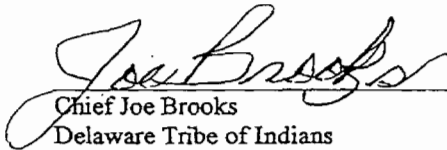




TO: William A. Sanders, Superintendent
Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site

At this time, The Delaware Tribe of Indians has no concerns that need to be addressed in the General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement for Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site in Pennsylvania.

Please keep us informed of the project as it progresses.


Chief Joe Brooks
Delaware Tribe of Indians

10-9-03
Date

APPENDIX C

Fieldwork activities

First fieldwork trip – September 16-19, 2004

1. General orientation activities
 - a. Tour of park, provided by Becky Ross, Chief of Cultural Resources
 - b. Orientation to park library
 - c. Independent driving tour of French Creek State Park and general area around state/national parks
 - d. Brief driving tours of nearest neighboring towns
 - i. Elverson
 - ii. Morgantown
 - iii. Birdsboro
 - iv. Pottstown

2. Conversations with staff, volunteers, and some neighbors
 - a. Park staff
 - i. Bill Sanders, Superintendent
 - ii. Jeffrey Collins, Chief Ranger
 - iii. Becky Ross, Cultural Resource Manager
 - iv. Frank Hebblethwaite, Interpretive Ranger
 - v. George Martin, Facility Manager
 - vi. Steve Ambrose, Law Enforcement
 - vii. Barbara Gergle, Superintendent's Secretary
 - b. Volunteers
 - i. Dick Scott, collier/desk volunteer
 - ii. Clarissa Dillon, costumed interpreter
 - iii. Donna Silbaugh, equestrian/gardener
 - iv. Cory Putt, collier
 - v. Dave Tatum and Walter Malewicz, seasonal costumed interpreters
 - vi. Bill Hochella, blacksmith
 - c. Neighbors
 - i. Lou Williams, Assistant Park Manager, French Creek State Park
 - ii. Mrs. Wayne Darkes, wife of camp host at state park
 - iii. Mr. Wickenheiser, camp host at state park

3. September 18 Harvest activities
 - a. living history demonstrations (games, blacksmithing, iron plate molding, cooking)
 - b. apple-picking (very limited due to extreme bad weather)

Second fieldwork trip – October 7 – 10, 2004

1. Orientation to park library and archives
 - a. survey of library catalog
 - b. survey of vertical files
2. Other orientation activities
 - a. orientation to state park lands
 - b. further orientation to general HOFU vicinity
3. Interviews
 - a. Steve Ambrose, Law Enforcement
 - b. Jeffrey Collins, Chief Ranger
 - c. Christine Almerico, Park Ranger and educational program coordinator
 - d. John and Barbara Cole, park neighbors and owners of former Mt. Frisby AME church
4. Other
 - a. apple-picking

Third fieldwork trip – December 1 – 5, 2004

1. Visited nearby cultural/historical institutions
 - a. Pottstown Public Library
 - b. Reading Public Museum
 - c. Reading Visitor Center
2. Taped interviews
 - a. Anna Houck Witman (Hopewell descendant, former park neighbor, former park seasonal costumed interpreter)
 - b. Cory Putt (charcoal volunteer)
3. Informal contacts and interviews
 - a. people knowledgeable about area Native American groups
 - b. Ray French, HOFU Maintenance Mechanic and master collier
4. Participant-observation activities at HOFU Christmas program
 - a. concert at Bethesda Baptist Church
 - b. Belsnickle presentation
 - c. brief informal interviews with park Interpretive Rangers, volunteers at desk, and 14 living history volunteers
5. Archival research

Fourth fieldwork trip – March 14 – 18, 2005

1. Taped interviews
 - a. living history and other volunteers
 - i. Donna and Phil Silbaugh
 - ii. Peg and Bill Deegan
 - iii. Fritz Moeller (descendant of Hopewell workers)
 - iv. Dick Scott
 - v. Peggy Gingrich
 - b. Wenonah Riegel, former seasonal employee of Lenape descent
 - c. John and Barbara Cole, park neighbors and descendants of members of Sixpenny Creek African American community
2. Orientation visit to Berks County Historical Society, Reading

Fifth fieldwork trip – May 4 – 9, 2005

1. Visit to French Creek State Park
 - a. informal interviews with camp hosts
 - b. observation/conservation with Delaware Valley Orienteering Association members
 - c. observation of Scouting Day orienteering competition
2. Visit to Bethesda Baptist Church
 - a. attendance at Sunday morning service
 - b. conversation with pastor and long-time members
3. Observation/conversations with Mennonite visitors to HOFU
 - a. discussion of annual Mennonite visitors to HOFU and other area recreational/historical sites on Ascension Day
4. Observation/informal interviews with charcoal-makers
 - a. observation of “lighting the pile” on Thursday, May 5
 - b. daily observation of progress at charcoal pile
 - c. conversations with volunteer colliers about their activities and their relationship to the park
5. Observation/informal interviews with “living history” volunteers
 - a. spinners/weavers
 - b. bakers
 - c. broom-maker
6. Observation of Sheep-Shearing Day activities
7. Visits to nearby historic sites with connections to HOFU or its volunteers
 - a. Joanna Furnace/Hay Creek Valley Historical Society
 - b. Old Morlatton Village/Mouns Jones House

8. Participant-observation of Natural Lands Trust outdoor event
 - a. wildflower walk and breakfast at Crow's Nest Preserve, adjacent to HOFU
 - b. conversations with Dan Beringer, manager of Crow's Nest Preserve, and others associated with Natural Lands Trust

Sixth fieldwork trip – July 11 – 17, 2005

1. Interviews with colliers and living history volunteers
 - a. Wayne Ramer, collier
 - b. Ellen Boyer, living history volunteer
 - c. Louise Ziegler, collier and widow of Ted Ziegler, former HOFU master collier
 - d. Henry Wood, collier
 - e. Harry Hart, former seasonal employee and living history program participant (1968-75)
2. Other personal interviews
 - a. Jim Thorne, director of Science and Education, Natural Lands Trust (also coordinator of their Hopewell Big Woods project, with which HOFU is associated)
 - b. Rick Wolf, former HOFU supervisory ranger in charge of living history program 1980-84
3. Observation of molding and casting demonstration/living history interpretation at HOFU
4. Telephone interview with Bruce Hoffman, Birdsboro Historical Society
5. Visit to Bethesda Baptist Church
 - a. Attendance at Sunday morning service
6. Research in park archives/library
 - a. Listened to/partially transcribed taped interviews with former HOFU employees by Leah Glaser for HOFU Administrative History
 - i. Harry Hart (seasonal ranger 1968-75)
 - ii. Bill Bitler (permanent seasonal ranger 1955-89)
 - iii. Dale Biever (seasonal ranger in mid-1970s)
 - iv. Charlie Seidel (HOFU maintenance division 1959-87)

Seventh fieldwork trip – August 4-12, 2005

1. Participant-observation at August charcoal-making activities at the park
 - a. Volunteer collier for three shifts during the week
 - b. Visits with other volunteers at the charcoal pile
 - c. Informal and taped interviews with colliers (continued from previous visits)
 - d. Attendance at final party at end of charcoal-making
2. Camping at French Creek State Park campground
 - a. Interviewed Lou Williams, Assistant Director of state park
 - b. Conversations with current (Jim Doaty) and former (Bob "Pete" Millard) heads of maintenance at the park, both long-time local residents
 - c. Accompanied volunteer trail-clearing crew on weekly activities
 - d. Informal interactions with campers in campground

- e. Informal interview with camp hosts (Mr. Darkes, Mr. Wickenheiser)
3. Taped interviews
 - a. Christy Martin, board president of French and Pickering Creeks Land Trust
 - b. Bruce Hoffman, Birdsboro local historian and long-time area resident
4. Visit to Bethesda Baptist Church
 - a. Attendance at Sunday morning service
 - b. Informal conversations with pastor, several parishioners
5. Informal interviews
 - a. Crew leaders and participants in Student Conservation Corps group at HOFU
6. Visited headquarters of Schuylkill River Valley National Heritage Area

Eighth fieldwork trip – September 15-17, 2005

1. Interviews
 - a. Bill Bitler, long-time seasonal ranger/costumed interpreter
 - b. Dawn Houck, former Bethesda Baptist Church member and treasurer
2. Informal interviews
 - a. apple-pickers in HOFU orchard

For complete list of interviews, see Appendix D.

APPENDIX D

List of interviews conducted by Cathy Stanton

Taped interviews	Interview date
Bitler, Bill (former seasonal park ranger)	9/16/05
Boyer, Ellen (living history volunteer)	7/13/05
Cole, John and Barbara (park neighbors)	3/17/05
Corless, Jim (former chief ranger, HOFU)	1/27/06
Deegan, Peggy and Bill (living history volunteers/Friends of HOFU)	3/15/05
Gingrich, Peggy (living history volunteer)	3/17/05
Glassberg, David (former seasonal park ranger)	5/19/05
Hart, Harry (former seasonal park ranger)	7/16/05
Houck, Dawn (former treasurer, Bethesda Baptist Church)	9/16/05
Kegerise, Cory (programs manager, Schuylkill R. Heritage Area)	9/23/05
Lahey, Dick (former park ranger, master collier)	7/24/05
Moeller, Fritz (living history volunteer, Hopewell descendant)	3/16/05
Putt, Cory (volunteer collier)	12/2/04
Ramer, Wayne (volunteer collier)	7/12/05
Reitz, Sandy (living history volunteer)	3/12/06
Riegel, Wenonah (former seasonal ranger)	3/15/05
Ruland, Stacy (former living history volunteer)	7/31/05
Scott, Dick (volunteer collier, park volunteer)	3/17/05
Schulze, Colleen (living history volunteer/collier)	4/1/06
Shugar, Beth (living history volunteer)	3/22/06
Silbaugh, Donna and Phil (living history volunteers)	3/15/05
Waters, Davida (living history/charcoal volunteer)	8/11/05
Whedbee, Greg (former pastor, Bethesda Baptist Church)	7/14/05
Witman, Anna (former seasonal ranger, Hopewell descendant)	12/2/04
Wood, Henry (volunteer collier)	7/15/05
Ziegler, Louise (volunteer collier, widow of former master collier)	7/14/05
Informal interviews/not taped (see fieldnotes and progress reports for summaries)	
Allan, Nathan (Historic Trades, Conner Prairie Living History Museum)	4/4/06
Ambrose, Steve (HOFU Law Enforcement Ranger)	10/8/04
Atchison, Mark (Blacksmith, Plimoth Plantation)	4/5/06
Barringer, Dan (manager, Crow's Nest Preserve)	5/7/05
Boyce, Jim (seasonal living history interpreter)	7/16/05
Bramstadt, Cliff (volunteer collier)	8/6/05
Brody, Suzy (volunteer collier)	8/6/05
Brouse, Rick (volunteer collier)	8/5/05
Busenkell, Greg (descendant of Lloyd family)	8/2/06
Cole, Pat (descendant of Cole family)	7/17/06
Collins, Jeffrey (HOFU Chief Ranger)	9/16/04, 10/8/04
Doaty, Jim (head of maintenance, French Creek State Park)	8/5/05

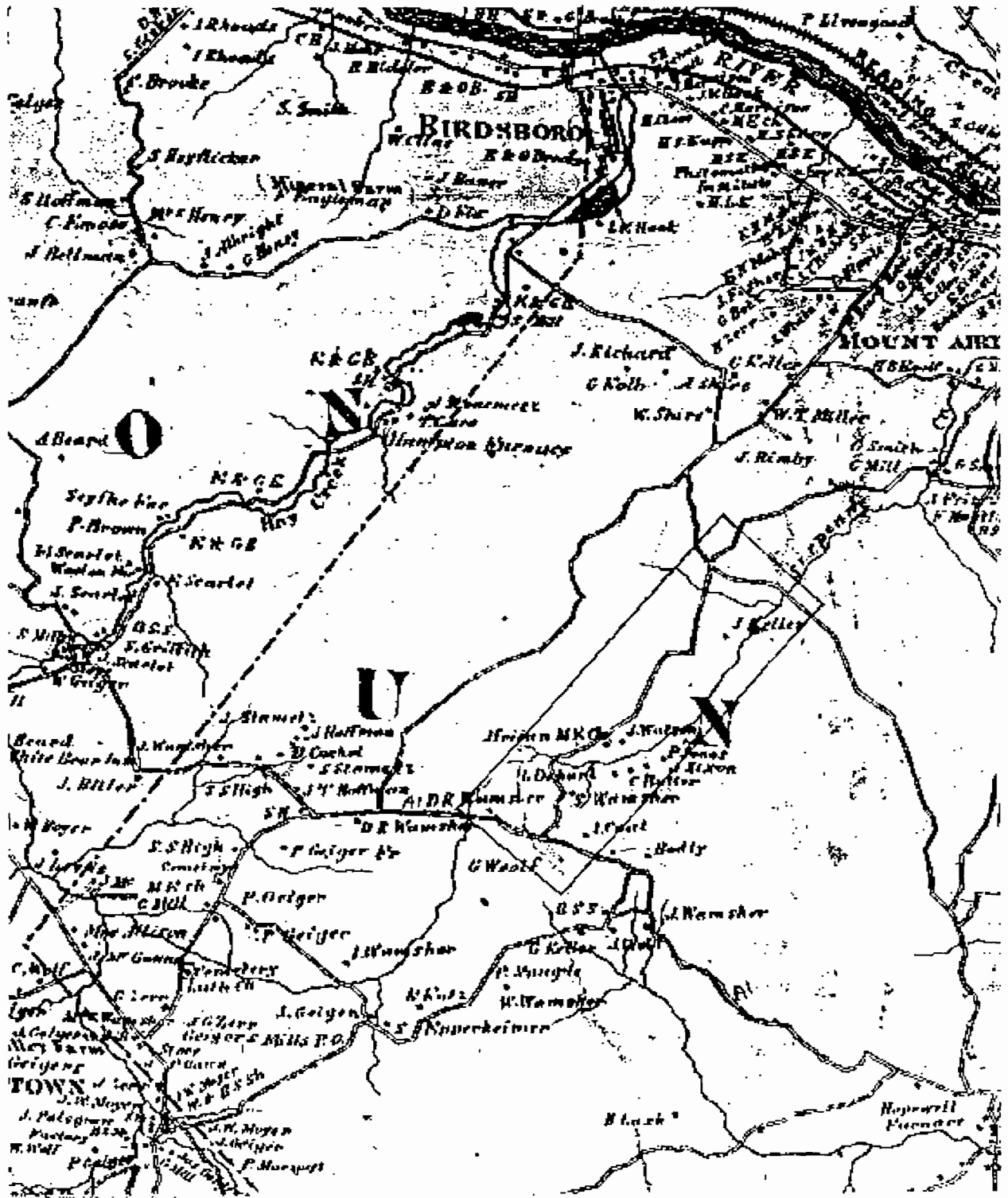
Dylan, Clarissa (living history volunteer)	9/18/04
Embich, Nancy (descendant of Care family)	6/17/06
Feil, Norman (HOFU Farmer)	12/4/04
French, Ray (HOFU Maintenance Mechanic)	12/3/04
Gergle, Barbara (HOFU Superintendent's Secretary)	9/17/04
Gilmore, Bill (pastor, Bethesda Baptist Church)	7/20/05
Goda, Linnae (living history/charcoal volunteer)	8/6/05
Hebblethwaite, Frank (HOFU ranger)	9/17/04
Hochella, Bill (volunteer blacksmith)	9/18/04, 12/4/04
Hoffman, Bruce & Mary Ann (local historians)	8/9/05
Kemper, Joe (descendant of Clingan, Kemper families)	4/22/06
Klopp, Steve (volunteer collier)	8/10/05
Malewicz, Walt (seasonal living history interpreter)	7/16/05
Martin, Christy (director, French & Pickering Ck. Conservation Trust)	8/9/05
Millard, Bob "Pete" (former head of maintenance, French Ck. St. Pk.)	8/5/05
Painter, Mark (Hopewell descendant)	6/5/06
Paulson, Jim (NPS employee/volunteer collier)	5/3/05
Potts, Bob (Bethesda Baptist Church member/former trustee)	5/8/05
Quaintance, Darren (Bethesda Baptist Church member)	8/7/05
Ross, Rebecca (HOFU Cultural Resource Manager)	9/17/04
Rogers, Christine (HOFU Park Ranger)	10/9/04
Rottmund, Mike (volunteer collier)	8/10/05
Sanders, Bill (HOFU Superintendent)	9/16/04
Seguin, Helen (former living history volunteer, now HOFU ranger)	5/8/05, 5/15/06
Siedel, Charles (former chief of maintenance, HOFU)	6/1/06
Silbaugh, Donna (former living history volunteer)	9/17/04
Smith, Howard and Fran (park/charcoal volunteers)	5/4/05
Stokes, Edward (Ted), Jr. (descendant of Brooke family)	8/23/06
Thomas, Michie (volunteer collier)	8/6/05
Thorne, Jim (biologist, Natural Lands Trust)	7/12/05
Weinstein, Stan (living history volunteer)	12/4/04
White, Curtis (lead ranger, Saugus Ironworks NHS)	6/5/06
Williams, Florence (living history volunteer)	5/8/05
Williams, Lou (Assistant Park manager, French Creek State Park)	8/5/05
Wolf, Rick (NPS employee/living history volunteer)	5/8/05, 7/14/05
Zwikl, Kurt (director, Schuylkill Valley National Heritage Area)	5/3/05

Summaries from interviews taped by others

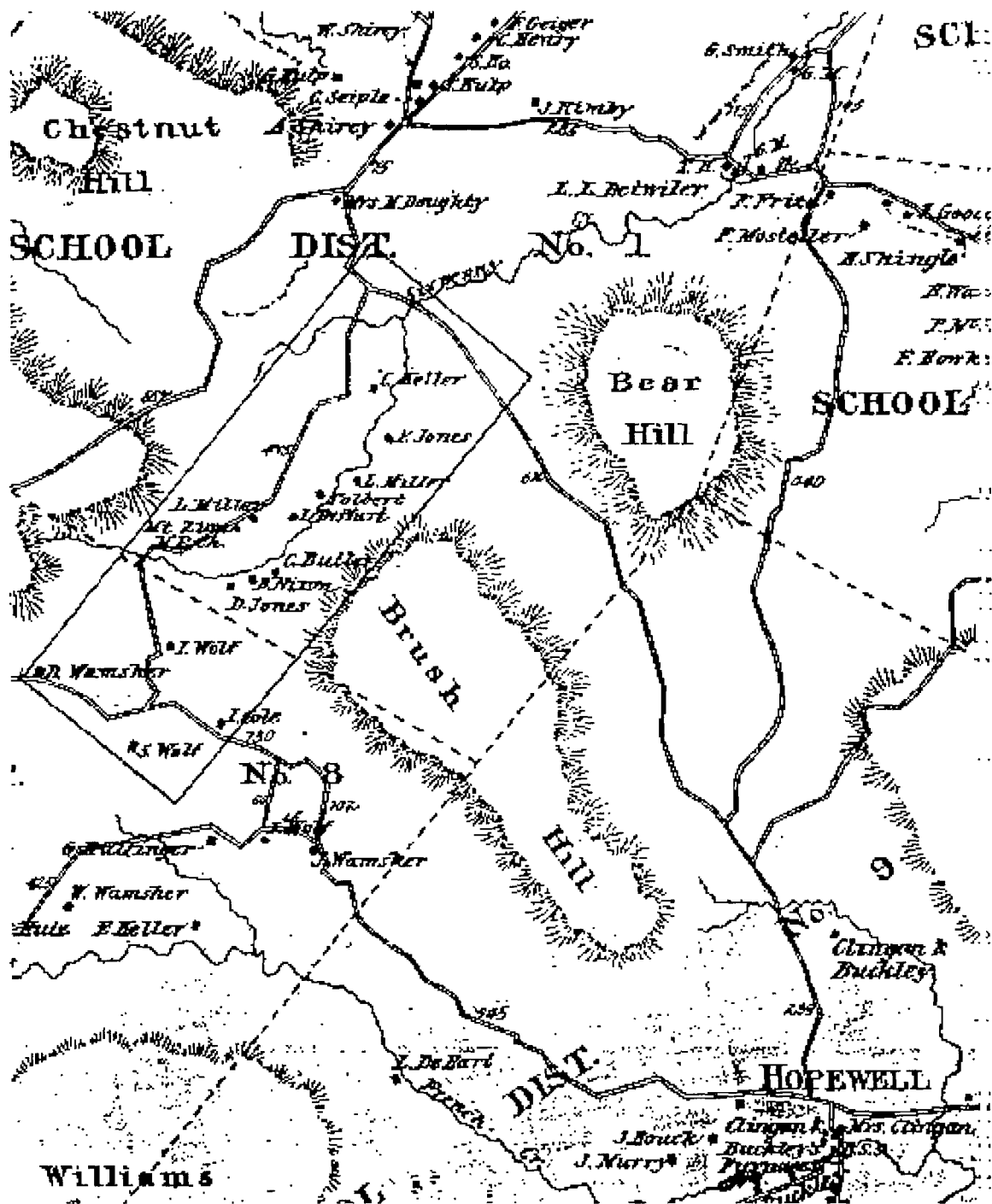
Dale Bieber interview w/ Leah Glaser	7/23/03
Bill Bitler interview w/ Leah Glaser	7/25/03
Lloyd Huyett w/ Frank Hebblethwaite	4/17/96

APPENDIX E

Maps of Six Penny Creek Community



Map of Six Penny Creek community, 1860 (Source: HOFU files.)



Map of Six Penny Creek community, 1876 (Source: HOFU files.)

APPENDIX FAnnual Visitation Figures
Hopewell Furnace NHS

1940	2,364
1941	90,357
1942	24,992
1943	22,664
1944	69,360
1945	49,966
1946	91,712
1947	71,680
1948	82,384
1949	76,903
1950	61,242
1951	67,948
1952	86,830
1953	76,714
1954	63,600
1955	53,800
1956	93,200
1957	84,600
1958	82,000
1959	100,200
1960	98,700
1961	114,300
1962	114,200
1963	114,600
1964	125,400
1965	141,900
1966	133,600
1967	139,200
1968	142,900
1969	156,400
1970	186,300
1971	171,200
1972	157,468
1973	163,400
1974	154,400
1975	147,700
1976	198,800
1977	156,800
1978	144,279
1979	133,450

Appendix F Annual Visitation Figures

1980	163,074
1981	143,430
1982	150,975
1983	162,159
1984	149,820
1985	154,027
1986	138,638
1987	128,870
1988	130,420
1989	103,195
1990	99,216
1991	107,238
1992	114,510
1993	109,219
1994	94,416
1995	87,965
1996	91,412
1997	85,936
1998	86,546
1999	74,303
2000	69,152
2001	64,898
2002	60,733
2003	53,694
2004	50,246
2005	49,980

From the Public Use Statistics Office of the National Park Service,
<http://www2.nature.nps.gov/stats/>

APPENDIX G Characteristics of living history volunteers

Name	Born	Live	Occ	Parents	Ethnicity	Aware of HOFU	LH how long?	Vol how long?	Other sites	Reasons
Boyer, Ellen	Lynnfield, PA	Pottstown	milliner, window dresser, sewing shop	father: carpenter parents: farmers	PA German, some English	took kids to visit when they were small (1960s) + family connection w/ Peggy Gingrich	~ 12 yrs.	~ 15+ yrs. early 90s (sewing)	various (incl. PA German festival)	national history/heritage; knowing abt resourcefulness and toughness of forebears
Brody, Suzy	Cheltenham, Mont. Cty., PA	Exton	ret'd special ed teacher	??	??	1992	??	1992	??	gives physical link to past, makes it seem real, educate people about knowledge that forebears had
Brouse, Rick	Lebanon Cty (wife from Lancaster)	Lancaster, PA	arch. designer/drafter	father: contractor	PA German	since 1999	??	5 yrs. (2000)	Landis Valley (vol. + bd.)	keep history alive, share knowledge, responsibility to show respect for forebears' ingenuity and strength
Deegan, Peg	Philadelphia (German-town)	N. Coventry twp	retired elem. school teacher	father: florist	mother: Welsh and English father: Italian (b. German-town)	very long time	~ 20 yrs.	~ 20 yrs.		preserve old ways of doing things; need to know how things were done; part of history
Deegan, Bill	Pottstown	N. Coventry twp	retired petroleum engineer	father: RR, inventor mother: home	Irish (CT) German (Reading – from late 17 th c.)	very long time	??	~ 20 yrs.		
Gingrich, Peggy	Pottstown area	Robeson twp	retired nurse	pat. gf: machinist, mat. gf: RR conductor father owned radio and clock businesses	paternal: some PA German, maternal: Eng/Welsh	??	1993 ~ 13 yrs.	~ 13 yrs. (sewing, then sheep, then LH)	Beidler House, Daniel Boone, Potts Grove Manor, Mouns Jones (Hist. Pres. Trust of Berks Cty),	know where we came from, how hard life was change visitors' perspectives on how they live now
Moeller, Fritz	Indiana (conceived in PA!)	Birdsboro	sales	father and grandfather: brewmasters	PA German	from childhood – family summer visits	< 8 yrs.	8-10 yrs.	[member at Hay Ck, not active]	interest in family, local history
Putt, Cory	Womelsdorf area	Robesonia	auto mechanic	mother's family: farmers father: Car Tech (steel)	PA German	from press release 1995	??	1995	no	tells you "where your place is in the world" + educates people about handskills, survival skills, natural world
Ramer, Wayne	Upper Darby, PA	Knauertown	retired electrical engineer	father: phone co. mother: homemaker	Alsace-Lorraine (5 gen. ago)	after moving to area in retirement	15 years	15 years	Hay Creek (very involved)	"it's good to bring back the old things and not let them get lost"
Reitz, Sandy	Reading	Mohntown	misc. factory work	mother: beautician father: factory work	PA German, Welsh	women's clubs, involvement in tree-planting, gardening 1970s	12 yrs.	12 yrs.	Hay Creek [Elverson Garden Club] Berks Cty. Pres. Trust (Mouns Jones)	granddaughter was interested
Ruland, Stacy	FL	Washington state	park ranger	father: scientist mother: homemaker	Irish/French Italian	visit as child	1991	1991	[formerly Hay Creek, Mouns Jones,	childhood interest in doing costumed interpretation

Appendix G Characteristics of living history volunteers

Schulze, Colleen	Reading	Douglassville	teacher's aide	father: steelworker (Cartech)	PA German, Irish	went as a child w/ family	~ 12 yrs.	~ 12 yrs.	others]	no	activity for kids (esp. autistic son) use "old ways" which still have practical value
Scott, Dick	Florida	W. Brandywine Twp	office building manager/ Dupont Corp.	father: chemist mother: homemaker	Dutch, other	saw ad for charcoal vol's	5 yrs.	5 yrs.	Hagley Museum, Hay Creek, consulting at hist. sites		not sure overall about value of preserving historical knowledge, beyond its own interest
Shugar, Beth	Reading	Reading	home ec teacher	grandparents: entrepreneur, farmer/factory wkr, steamroller driver for city, homemaker	PA German	1962 family visit	~ 5 yrs.	5 yrs.	Berks Cty Heritage Ctr		daughter was HOFU intern and recruited her relaxation, unplug (esp. from technology)
Silbaugh, Donna & Phil	Donna: TN Phil: PA (Union Cty)	Morgantown	Donna: therapist/ teacher Phil: ret'd (both former graphic artists)	Donna: father/ AEC, g'parents/ inn&farm in Schuylkill Cty Phil: father/ laborer	Scots/Welsh/ English/French /German (Donna) PA German, some English (Phil)	??	Donna 1978 (herb garden) Phil 1996	Phil 1996 Donna earlier	Daniel Boone, Hibernia, Peter Wentz, Pennypacker, Hay Creek, Mouns Jones, Shirktown Days, Gettysburg, Greenbank, others		excite people about history make connections w/ audiences
Waters, Davida	Chester Springs, PA (13 mi. from pk.)	Chester Springs	teacher (home ec, then special ed)	mother's side: teachers father: truck driver (aunt was a teacher) grandparents: teachers and ministers on both sides	German, English, Scotch Irish	visited in grade school	< 16 yrs.	16 yrs. (1990)	many other vol. activities (incl. state, county parks)		knew ranger via horse boarding important to tell people the history of the place they live
Wood, Henry	Chester Heights, PA	Elverson	contractor/ painter	father: doctor family founded iron co's, etc.	English (Quaker)	~2000	~2000	~2000	no		give people a sense of history

APPENDIX H

Fieldwork activities

Informed Consent Form

Name of Study: Ethnographic Overview and Assessment
Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site

Principal Investigator: Cathy Stanton, Ph.D. (978)249-8299

The National Park Service and I are inviting you to be a participant in this research project, which is designed to develop information about cultural groups associated with Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site and the meanings these groups ascribe to this site. The study has been initiated by Hopewell Furnace NHS with funding provided through the Ethnography Program of the Northeast Region of the National Park Service. Possible benefits from this study include developing information for the General Management Plan, strengthening the relationships between Hopewell Furnace NHS and its associated groups, and gathering and preserving knowledge and information for management and educational purposes. The principal investigator is not aware of any personal risk from being in this study. The Institutional Review Board of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst has approved the study research design.

By signing this form, you give permission for the principal investigator to tape-record our interview, and you give the National Park Service all legal title, property rights, copyright, and exclusive rights of reproduction, distribution, and public display of this interview for resource management and educational purposes. Your words may be quoted and attributed to you in the final report based on this study and in other related written work or conference presentations produced by the principal investigator. However, at any time during the interview, you have the right to specify that you are speaking off the record, or to request that certain statements not be recorded or quoted. By initialing below, you may also stipulate that you not be identified by name in this study. You are under no obligation to provide information and you may choose to end the interview at any time. Tapes and transcripts of interviews will be part of a project archive that will be curated at Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site.

If you have any questions or concerns at any time during this project, please contact Dr. Chuck Smythe, Ethnography Program Manager, Northeast Region, National Park Service, 15 State Street, Boston, MA 02108, (617)223-5014.

A copy of this consent form has been offered to me. _____
I give permission to quote me by name except where I stipulate otherwise. _____
I do not give permission to quote me by name. _____

Participant's printed name

Date

Participant's signature

Interviewer's signature

Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site Project Summary

*Cathy Stanton, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator
October 30, 2004*

The National Park Service (NPS) is sponsoring a study of community, ethnic, family, and other groups associated with Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site. The purpose of the study is to collect information about how various cultural groups understand, value, and use this site. Ethnographic Overviews and Assessments of this type are conducted whenever a national park creates a General Management Plan, a process currently ongoing at Hopewell Furnace. The Park Service will use the data collected in this study to inform management decisions about park resources that may have particular meaning for associated groups. The data will also be used in planning educational activities and programs at the park.

The researcher is Cathy Stanton, Ph.D., a self-employed cultural anthropologist hired under contract by the National Park Service. She will conduct research in and around Hopewell Furnace intermittently from December 2004 through October 2005. She may be reached at (978)249-8299, 1139 Chestnut Street, Athol, MA 01331, cstanton@tiac.net, or by cell phone at (978)413-2312.

This project will evaluate whether any of the groups associated with Hopewell Furnace NHS can be considered “traditionally associated peoples” who see the resources of this park as an element of their cultural beliefs, practices, values, and identity. Strictly speaking, the NPS defines such traditional groups as ethnic, occupational, or other communities whose association with a park’s resources pre-dates the creation of the park, extending at least two generations into the past. Since it appears that no such strictly-defined groups are associated with Hopewell Furnace NHS, this study will investigate other groups with somewhat different kinds of connections to the park. For example, the researcher will explore what Hopewell means for the identities of descendants of former Hopewell Village residents and workers; “living historians” connected with the park; contemporary groups who transmit traditional knowledge (for example, of charcoal-burning techniques); long-term recreational communities (such as those at nearby French Creek State Park); and other groups who may use the park in ways that relate to their own creation of cultural identity.

The research will consist primarily of interviews with knowledgeable persons, study of documentary and archival materials at the park and elsewhere, investigation of regional projects devoted to historic preservation and interpretation and land conservation, and participant-observation at park-sponsored events involving living history, charcoal-burning, and traditional agricultural practices such as apple-picking.

Participation in the research is entirely voluntary. Persons choosing to participate in interviews will be asked to sign a consent form authorizing the use of the interview information by the National Park Service. Participants will have the option of not being identified by name in the final report if they prefer.

A *Research Design/Work Plan* for the study is available upon request from Cathy Stanton. Questions about the project can be directed to Chuck Smythe, Ethnography Program Manager for the Northeast Region of the National Park Service, 15 State Street, Boston, MA 02108, (617)223-5014.



IN REPLY REFER TO:

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site
2 Mark Bird Lane
Elverson, Pennsylvania 19520

December 4, 2004

To Whom It May Concern:

Between December 2004 and October 2005, the National Park Service (NPS) is sponsoring a study of community, ethnic, family, and other groups associated with Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site. The purpose of the study is to collect information about how various cultural groups understand, value, and use this site. The Park Service will use the data collected in this study to inform management decisions about park resources that may have particular meaning for associated groups and provide improved educational programs to the public. Ethnographic Overviews and Assessments of this type are conducted whenever a national park creates a General Management Plan, a process currently ongoing at Hopewell Furnace NHS.

The contracted researcher for the project is Cathy Stanton, a cultural anthropologist. She will be conducting interviews, library research, and participant-observation fieldwork at and around Hopewell Furnace NHS beginning in December 2004 and continuing intermittently until October 2005. She will be exploring the role played by Hopewell Furnace in the cultural identities of various groups, including descendants of former Hopewell Village residents and workers; "living historians" connected with the park, contemporary groups who transmit traditional knowledge (for example, of charcoal-burning techniques); and long-term recreational communities (such as those at nearby French Creek State Park). Dr. Stanton's final report based on this research will be available in early 2006. Those who have been interviewed for the project will be welcome to read the report when it is available.

Questions about this project should be addressed to Chuck Smythe, Ethnography Program Manager for the Northeast Region of the National Park Service, at (617)223-5014 or Chuck_Smythe@nps.gov.

Sincerely,

William Sanders
Superintendent

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- Prentice, Joe. September 13, 1961, "Hopewell Village NHS, 1960-62," General Correspondence 1953-63, Northeast Regional Office, RG 79, NARA-P.
- Hopewell Village NHS. 1970. "Hopewell Alive with Demonstrations." June 26, 1970 press release. HOFU files.
- Robinson and Associates, Inc.. 2004. "Historic Resources Study, Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site."

Witman, Anna. 2003. "What I Know About the Colliers at Hopewell Furnace/Village."
January 8, 2003. Hopewell booklet. HOFU files.

Young, Rogers W. 1963. "Visit to Hopewell Village National Historic Site, August
3-4, 1963." Correspondence 1960-1975, Historical Files, WASO.

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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

This Annotated Bibliography includes selected published sources of particular pertinence to the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Hopewell Furnace NHS.

Adams, Richard C. 1997. *Legends of the Delaware Indians and Picture Writing*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Collected by a lawyer who represented the Delaware Indians in the late 19th and early 20th century, these stories document Delaware narrative and ritual traditions from the period after the Delaware diaspora to the west.

AlSayyad, Nezar. 2004. *The End of Tradition?* London and New York: Routledge.

Makes a case for re-thinking the concepts of tradition, place, and culture in light of ongoing changes in cultural formations around the world.

Anderson, Jay. 1984. *Time Machines: The World of Living History*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History.

A generally good, if uncritical, overview of the field. Quite outdated in many ways now, but helpful in getting a sense of the formation of the various strands of living history—professional, avocational, recreational.

Bezis-Selfa, John. 2004. *Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers, and the Industrious Revolution*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Focusing on the “three intertwined revolutions” of industrialization, republicanism, and changing understandings of the meanings of work, Bezis-Selfa, a history professor at Wheaton College, examines the importance of slave labor in early American industry and argues that emerging forms of dependence—constructed along racial or gendered lines—were the necessary counterpart to new understandings of independence.

Bethesda Baptist Church. 1990. “History, Church Covenant, Constitution, By-Laws, Statements of Faith.” St. Peters, PA: Bethesda Baptist Church.

Includes a brief historical overview along with current by-laws (likely to be reviewed in the near future) of the current congregation.

Bierhorst, John. 1995. *Mythology of the Lenape: Guide and Texts*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

A solid survey of Lenape mythology and its documentation over time. Includes abstracts of stories and relates them to classic tale type indices.

Blockson, Charles L. 1981. *The Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania*. Jacksonville, NC: Flame International.

Draws on older sources (notably William Still’s foundational 1872 work, *Account of the Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania*) to trace the history and routes of the network in Pennsylvania. Makes note of Hopewell Furnace, Joanna Furnace, Mt. Frisby AME Church, Pine Forge, and other area iron sites and their associated communities.

Bluestone, Barry, and Bennett Harrison. 1982. *The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic Industry*. New York: Basic Books.

An early and influential analysis of the phenomenon of deindustrialization in the U.S., focusing on the specific factors that prompted the movement of manufacturing capital away from the industrialized northeast and other parts of the country.

Bodnar, John, ed. 1973. *The Ethnic Experience in Pennsylvania*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press.

A work from the early days of the “new social history,” breaking new ground in examining ethnic and labor history in Pennsylvania. Includes chapters on Irish, eastern European, Amish, African-American, Italian, and Jewish experiences in Pennsylvania, with a particular focus on the intersection of work and ethnicity.

Bomberger, Bruce, and William Sisson. 1991. *Made in Pennsylvania: An Overview of the Major Historical Industries of the Commonwealth*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Museum and Historical Commission.

A slim general overview, with some useful statistics on the growth of industry in Pennsylvania over time.

Brewer, Richard. 2003. *Conservancy: The Land Trust Movement in America*. Hanover, NH and London: University Press of New England.

Brewer, an emeritus professor of biology at Western Michigan University, has provided the first full-length study of the land trust movement in the U.S. The book covers the philosophy, history, and operations of land trusts. Brewer examines the handful of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century land trusts in some detail, but sees the still-growing present-day movement as primarily a response to late-twentieth-century neoliberalism, which has sharply curtailed public investment in land conservation.

Buck, Roy C., and Ted Alleman. 1979. “Tourist Enterprise Concentration and Old Order Amish Survival: Explorations in Productive Coexistence.” *Journal of Travel Research* (Summer 1979):15-20.

Notes that while tourism is making inroads on existing (in the 1970s) Amish practices, the Amish have coped in thoughtful and innovative ways with the growth of tourism in their economic and social lives.

Clark, Dennis. 1991. *The Irish in Pennsylvania*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical Association.

Each book in this accessible and useful series chronicles the history of a different ethnic group in Pennsylvania. Although very much of the conventional celebratory style of ethnic histories, focusing on each group’s contributions to the state and nation, the books are an admirable starting-point for gathering data about most of Pennsylvania’s primary ethnic communities.

Clepper, Henry. 1945. “Rise of the Forest Conservation Movement in Pennsylvania.” *Pennsylvania History* 12 (July 1945): 200-216.

This older article still contains much of solid value for understanding the emergence of Pennsylvania’s conservation movement.

- Comfort, William Wister. 1986 (1948). *The Quakers: A Brief Account of their Presence in Pennsylvania*. Edited and revised by Frederick B. Tolles (1955) and Edwin B. Bronner (1986). University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical Association.
[see Clark 1991 entry above]
- Custer, Jay F. 1996. *Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.
Custer, an archeologist at the University of Delaware, provides an extensive overview of the archeological record (with a focus on stone tools and ceramics) of Indian groups in eastern Pennsylvania up to the period of European contact. As a bonus, he surveys the history of archeology itself in the state, showing the unusually strong level of support from state agencies over time. Some additional maps would have been useful in aiding the non-local reader to link the sites mentioned in the text with their geographical locations.
- Dicks, Bella. 2003. *Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visitability*. Maidenhead, UK: Open University Press.
An extremely readable and useful volume that brings together much of the recent scholarship on the role of cultural production within postindustrial place-making and -marketing.
- Downey, Dennis B., and Francis J. Bremer. 1993. *Guide to the History of Pennsylvania*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
A very useful historiographical survey of the published and unpublished literature on Pennsylvania's history, approached chronologically by time period.
- Eggert, Gerald G. 1994. *The Iron Industry in Pennsylvania*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Association.
A concise but very solid history of Pennsylvania's iron industry, following it from its early developments through its period of urbanization, growth, and decline.
- Fisher, Sydney G. 1919. *The Quaker Colonies, A Chronicle of the Proprietors of the Delaware*. Toronto and New York: Glasgow, Brook and United States Publishers Association. Electronic document, <http://www.westjerseyhistory.org/books/fisher/fisher1.htm>. Accessed 1 June, 2006.
An early but still valuable discussion of the earliest Quaker immigration to Pennsylvania and environs.
- Florida, Richard. 2005. *Cities and the Creative Class*. London: Routledge.
An important work in the growing literature about the role of "creative workers" in postindustrial places.
- Fogelman, Aaron Spencer. 1996. *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Analyzes four components of German settlement in colonial America,

particularly in Pennsylvania: community, ethnicity, religion, and mobility. Helpful in gaining a sense of the roles played by farming, churches, and communications networks in shaping this community before the dawn of its own awareness of itself as “German-American” or “Pennsylvania Dutch/German.”

Folsom, Michael Brewster, and Steven D. Lubar, eds. 1982. *The Philosophy of Manufactures: Early Debates over Industrialization in the United States*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

A solid collection of writings from early republican America representing the many arguments advanced for and against industrialization in the new country. Shows that the debate was heavily weighted in favor of manufacturing, but that many moral and practical misgivings were voiced as well. The editors also note that what we now see as an industrial “revolution” in fact looked more like a shift in emphasis to many people experiencing its early phases, an insight that certainly applies to Hopewell Furnace and its small-scale, artisanal mode of industrial production.

Glatfelter, Charles H. 1990. *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Brief Account of their Influence on Pennsylvania*. University Park: Pennsylvania Historical Association.
[see Clark 1991 entry above]

Glaser, Leah S. 2005. “Administrative History of Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site, Elverson, PA.” Washington: National Park Service and Organization of American Historians.

Glaser’s study is an exceptionally thorough survey of the available documentary record (with the addition of some recent oral history interviews conducted by Glaser herself) pertaining to Hopewell Furnace NHS. Glaser focuses a good deal of attention on what she sees as the central paradox of this park: its complex character as an industrial history site, a rural “living history” village, and a place for outdoor recreation and escape from modern life.

Goddard, Ives. 1978. “Delaware.” In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 15, Bruce Trigger, ed. Pp. 213-39. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

A brief but thorough description of pre- and post-Contact Delaware cultures, including their languages, technologies, social organization and practices, subsistence strategies, and relationships with colonists and other Indian groups.

Gregg, Sara M. 2001. “Can We ‘Trust Uncle Sam’? Vermont and the Submarginal Lands Project, 1934-1936.” *Vermont History* 69 (Winter/Spring 2001):201-221.

Shows the considerable resistance to the declaration of upland farms as “submarginal lands” in Vermont by the WPA. A helpful context for understanding the quite different response to the French Creek Submarginal Lands Project of which Hopewell Village NHS was originally a part.

Grifo, Richard D. and Anthony F. Noto. 1990. *Italian Presence in Pennsylvania*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Association.
[see Clark 1991 entry above]

- Grubb, Farley. 1990. "German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1709-1820." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XX, 3(Winter): 417-436.
A demographic analysis of the characteristics of German immigrants to Pennsylvania in the late colonial and early republican eras.
- Grumet, Robert S. 1995. *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Norman, OK and London: University of Oklahoma Press.
A comprehensive and clearly-presented survey of northeastern Indian cultures in the "contact" period of early colonization by Europeans. Grumet details the complexities of military and economic alliances and conflicts as well as cultural change and adaptation. Well illustrated with maps and references to the archeological record.
- Guenther, Karen. 1985. "Religion in an Iron-Making Community: Bethesda Baptist Church and Hopewell Village." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 35(Winter 1985-1986):75-79.
A very informative article that provides considerable detailed data about the Lloyd's Church/Bethesda Baptist Church congregation over time. Information is drawn largely from Joseph Walker's work and from church records.
- Handler, Richard, and Eric Gable. 1997. *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
A pioneering ethnographic study of how a historical site functions as a "social world" for its employees and visitors. Places special emphasis on the use of living history interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg, as well as on the role played by the site within the larger service economy of which it is a part.
- Harris, Peter J. F. 1999 "On Charcoal." *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, 24(4): 301-306. Electronic document, <http://www.personal.rdg.ac.uk/~scsharp/Charcoal.htm>. Accessed 1 November 2005.
A highly technical discussion of charcoal-making and charcoal's properties.
- Hayden, Dolores, 2003. *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000*. New York: Vintage Books.
Provides a historical context for the proliferation of suburban development that continues to take place throughout southeastern Pennsylvania.
- Hebblethwaite, Frank. n.d. "Archival Research on Isaac Cole and James Jackson (Union Civil War veterans buried at Mt. Frisby A.M.E. Church." Hopewell Furnace NHS, manuscript.
Based on archival research into Civil War records of the two known Civil War veterans buried at Mt. Frisby AME Church. Provides some provocative indications for future research, as discussed in Chapter 5 of this report.
- Highlands Coalition. 2005. *The Highlands: Our Backyard Paradise, 2005 Update*. Titusville, NJ: Highlands Coalition. Accessed online at <http://www.highlandscoalition.org/documents/BackyardParadise206.pdf>
Outlines the planned Highlands project which is envisioned as a way of conserving land throughout the key uplands ridge that borders the east coast

megalopolis from Philadelphia to Hartford, Connecticut. Hopewell Big Woods, a smaller-scale yet highly significant project of which Hopewell Furnace NHS is a central feature, is something of a southern anchor for this massive regional conservation effort.

Hoffman, Bruce. 1976. *Forge and Foundry: An Historic Review of Birdsboro, Berks County, Pennsylvania*. Birdsboro, PA: Birdsboro Historical Society.

Hoffman, local historian for Birdsboro, produced a bicentennial-era survey of the development of Birdsboro over time. Includes little analysis, but useful information and photographs about key events in the town's history.

Hulan, Richard H. 1994. *The Swedes in Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

[see Clark 1991 entry above]

Kazal, Russell A. 2004. *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Based on a study of German Americans in Philadelphia from 1900-1930, Kazal explores how America's largest ethnic group submerged and re-shaped its ethnic identity and expression in response to the demands of mass culture and an increasingly racialized nationalism as well as the experience of being seen as an internal enemy during two world wars against their home country.

Kemper, Jackson. 1937. "American Charcoal Making in the Era of the Cold-Blast Furnace." Washington, DC: National Park Service. Popular Studies Series 14.

A small booklet produced in 1936 to chronicle a charcoal-making demonstration by Lafayette Houck, Hopewell's last collier. The author, Kemper, was himself a Hopewell descendant and area resident when he worked for the CCC as a researcher. Includes very thorough descriptions of the process of building and burning a charcoal "pit," along with several photographs of Houck at work.

Klein, Philip S., and Ari Hoogenboom. 1973. *A History of Pennsylvania*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Although somewhat out of date as a reference for more recent Pennsylvania history, this is probably still the best one-volume work on the subject.

Kniss, Fred. 1997. *Disquiet in the Land: Cultural Conflict in American Mennonite Communities*. New Brunswick, NJ and London: Rutgers University Press.

Starting from the irony that "the history of this sectarian pacifist group is a story about conflict" (2), Kniss explores American Mennonite history as a window into processes of social change as they intersect with religion and culture. He argues that even the most separatist or nonconformist of social/religious movements must be understood in terms of their larger social contexts and histories, and that the ideas and symbols generated within those contexts serve as key cultural resources for social actors within these movements.

Kosack, Joe. 1995. *The Pennsylvania Game Commission, 1895-1995: 100 Years of Wildlife Conservation*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Game Commission

A centennial history of the Pennsylvania Game Commission. Highly detailed

and perhaps overly focused on specific statistical accounts of types of game, numbers of hunters and animals, etc. Nevertheless, very helpful as a companion to the study of historical, cultural, and natural conservation projects in general in the past century.

Kraybill, Donald B., and Marc A. Olshan, eds. 1994. *The Amish Struggle with Modernity*. Hanover and London: University Press of New England.

An excellent book that helps to illuminate some of the contradictions of modern American life—i.e. how people wish to escape modernity while enjoying its many comforts and pleasures. The Amish struggle to remain outside this social and economic system sheds light on how the system actually functions for the kinds of people who constitute most of Hopewell's associated groups and people.

Lacy, Leslie Alexander. 1976. *The Soil Soldiers: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Great Depression*. Radnor, PA: Chilton Book Company.

Drawing clear parallels between the federally-sponsored conservation programs of the 1930s and later "War on Poverty" programs of the 1970s, Lacy traces the history of the Civilian Conservation Corps (originally the Emergency Conservation Work program) in an engaging narrative that draws heavily on primary sources and the words of CCC participants themselves. (Unfortunately these sources are very poorly cited.)

Lapsansky, Emma. 2001. *The Black Presence in Pennsylvania: "Making it Home."* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Association.
[see Clark 1991 entry above]

Lemon, James T. 2002(1972). *The Best Poor Man's Country: Early Southeastern Pennsylvania*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Lemon's well-known 1972 depiction of southeastern Pennsylvania as something of a paradise for immigrants of modest means has been challenged over time, but the book remains a sound resource for information on the early peopling of the area by European settlers.

Lewis, W. David and Walter Hugins. 1983. *Hopewell Furnace: A Guide to Hopewell Furnace National Historic Site, Pennsylvania*. Washington, DC: Department of the Interior.

A concise introductory history to the park. Includes a valuable overview of the post-iron life of the site and its reinvention as a national park in the 1930s.

Linehan, Peter. 2005. "Strategies for Forestry Success: Examples from the Early Years of the Pennsylvania Forestry Association." *Journal of Forestry*, July/August 2005: 224-299.

Examines some of the successful strategies employed in Pennsylvania to win wide public support for reforestation and conservation efforts around the turn of the 20th century.

- Linenthal, Edward. 1991. *Sacred Ground: Americans and their Battlefields*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
Approaches five iconic American battlefields as sites of homage and communion in the American “civil religion.” An important work for understanding the ritual and social functions of historic sites and national parks.
- Mackintosh, Barry. 1986. *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective*. Washington, DC: National Park Service. Electronic document, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/mackintosh2/. Accessed 1 June 2006.
A useful account of the development of interpretation within the National Park Service over time. The section on “New Directions” in Chapter 3 is particularly helpful in understanding NPS attitudes and policies on living history.
- Magda, Matthew S. 1986. *The Welsh in Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.
[see Clark 1991 entry above]
- . 1992. *Polish Presence in Pennsylvania*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical Association.
[see Clark 1991 entry above]
- Merritt, Jane T. 2003. *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press.
In a parallel to John Bezis-Selfa’s view of ideas about freedom becoming racialized in early republican America, historian Merritt argues that after an initial period of considerable exchange and interdependence with Indian peoples, colonial Americans in the pre-Revolutionary era came to construct difference and danger along racial lines. Particularly demonized were the Delaware people who had sought to create a niche for themselves between whites and more powerful Indian groups and an identity as mediators between cultures.
- Murdock, Eugene. 1971. *One Million Men: The Civil War Draft in the North*. Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
Provides useful information as a context for the questions posed in Chapter 5 about the Civil War service and possible substitute status of Isaac Cole.
- Nash, Gary B. 1988. *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia’s Black Community, 1720-1840*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Philadelphia’s urban experience was quite different from that of black communities in other, more rural parts of Pennsylvania, making this book more useful in terms of general historical context than specific information pertinent to the Hopewell area and blacks associated with it.
- . 1997. “Slaves and Slave Owners in Colonial Philadelphia.” In *African Americans in Pennsylvania: Shifting Historical Perspectives*. Joe William Trotter, Jr. and Eric Ledell Smith, eds. pp. 43-72. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and Pennsylvania University Press.
A detailed economic and demographic analysis of slavery in Pennsylvania in the early period of the colony’s development.

- O'Bannon, Patrick, and William R. Henry, Jr. 1986. "Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) Architecture in Pennsylvania State Parks 1933-1942: Thematic Resources." National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form.
This nomination form details the historical and architectural significance of ECW/CCC work done in Pennsylvania, showing how it fits within the national context of the CCC program's work. The remaining CCC camp structures in French Creek State Park are noted as one of only three still standing in the state.
- Oblinger, Carl. 1973. "Alms for Oblivion: The Making of a Black Underclass in Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1780-1860." In *The Ethnic Experience in Pennsylvania*. John Bodnar, ed. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press.
Shows how newly freed slaves and other blacks in Pennsylvania struggled during the Antebellum period to find an economic foothold in a society that was increasingly dominated by industry and populated by immigrants who competed for the unskilled laboring jobs that were open to blacks.
- Peterson, Brent O. 1991. *Popular Narratives and Ethnic Identity: Literature and Community in Die Abendschule*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
Uses materials from the German-language press to analyze the emergence of a specifically "German-American" identity around the turn of the twentieth century, showing how this development was in large part a response to the arrival of many new ethnic immigrants.
- Piault, Collette (dir.). 1990. *The Charcoal-Makers*. Paris: Les Films du Quotidien.
An ethnographic film which follows a community of itinerant Greek colliers during a summer's work of producing charcoal primarily for use in restaurants. Strikingly reminiscent of charcoal production at Hopewell, the colliers build a large number of traditional "earth kiln" charcoal piles on many *kaminolakos* or hearths. Each pile is four layers of wood high and takes approximately 2-3 days to build and 25 days to burn. All members of the family are involved in the work. "We work night and day, like slaves," says one woman in the film. "And the money we earn is so little... It's a rotten life!"
- Pisani, Donald J. 1985. "Forests and Conservation, 1865-1890." *Journal of American History* 72(2):340-359.
Traces some of the major philosophical debates and political developments within the American conservationist movement in this seminal period.
- Prado, Marcos (dir.). 2002. *The Charcoal People (Os Carvoeiros)*. Vanguard Cinema.
An ethnographic film chronicling some of the more than 60,000 itinerant colliers in Central Brazil, emphasizing the extreme poverty of their lives, their social cohesiveness and warmth, and the tremendous environmental destruction that accompanies charcoal-making in Brazil. The workers rebuild a series of brick kilns at each new job site, sealing them with mortar during a burn. The work involves primarily men, and the trade is passed from father to son even though the fathers express regret that their sons will likely remain in this grueling job. In a moving scene, a woodcutter fells an enormous tree, then comments, "Of course we feel remorse when we cut down a tree like that, but what can we do? We have no other way to make a living." A moving portrait of the kind of natural destruction and social cohesion that appear to have characterized charcoal-

making as a trade in other times and places, including Hopewell Furnace in the nineteenth century.

Prototype Carbon Fund. "Brazil: Sustainable Fuelwood and Charcoal Production for Pig Iron Industry in Minas Gerais. The 'Plantar' Project." Project Design Document. Electronic document, <http://carbonfinance.org/Router.cfm?Page=DocLib&CatalogID=26421>. Accessed 1 July 2005.

A project design document for a controversial Brazilian program. The program is intended to foster sustainable forestry and indigenous employment in the charcoal-making sector which supports Brazil's considerable pig-iron industry. However, some have charged that this project will reduce biodiversity by creating a monocrop forest, with further ill effects on the lifeways of indigenous people in the area.

Raymond, Robert. 1986. *Out of the Fiery Furnace: The Impact of Metals on the History of Mankind*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

A very thorough and readable account of metal-working over time. Clearly shows the intersections of environmental, social, technological, and economic developments as they relate to iron and steel making.

Redekop, Calvin. 1989. *Mennonite Society*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

A thorough and clear overview of the history and ethos of the many strands of Mennonite culture and religious practice. Redekop has a particular interest in issues relating to conflict, and explores how internal tensions paradoxically work both to create schisms and to reinforce existing structures.

Richter, Daniel K. 1993. "Indian Pennsylvania." In Dennis B. Downey and Francis J. Bremer, eds. *Guide to the History of Pennsylvania*. Pp. 3-56. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

A thorough historiographical essay on sources pertaining to Indian history in Pennsylvania, by a leading scholar in the field.

---. 2005. *Native Americans' Pennsylvania*. University Park, PA:

Pennsylvania Historical Association (Pennsylvania History Series, No. 28).

This recent addition to the Pennsylvania History Series adds an important perspective to the ethnic history of the state. Unlike earlier authors in the series, Richter, a history professor at the University of Pennsylvania and Director of the McNeil Center for Early American Studies, does not merely chronicle and celebrate Indian contributions to Pennsylvania history, but radically reconfigures that history to present a much more critical and nuanced view of the state's founding and development, as reflected in the experiences of the Native American groups who were ultimately either displaced or rendered largely invisible within mainstream American culture.

Saloutos, Theodore. 1982. *The American Farmer and the New Deal*. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.

This study of New Deal agricultural policy and farmers' response to it provides useful context for understanding the French Creek Submarginal Land project in the Hopewell area. While such projects were not as extensive in Pennsylvania as in western and midwestern states, many of the same dynamics were at play.

Schutt, Amy C. 2007. *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Historian Amy Schutt takes a broad look at the history of the Delawares from the early 17th to the late 18th century, with an epilogue chronicling their movements to the American west later in the 19th century. Although this long sweep through history inevitably glosses over many details, Schutt's re-reading of the documentary evidence about Indian-European interactions (for example, her contention that the Indians saw land sales as a kind of reciprocal trading relationship through which they hoped to create lasting quasi-familial bonds) is eye-opening.

Scranton, Philip. 1992. "Large Firms and Industrial Restructuring: The Philadelphia Region, 1900-1980." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 116, 4 (October 1992), 419-465.

Scranton, Rutgers University History professor and director of the Hagley Museum's research center, traces the early phase of economic restructuring in postindustrial Pennsylvania, showing the unevenness of the process and the many areas of persistence of older industry, even while the overall regional economy was moving toward services as a driving economic engine.

---. 1994. "Conceptualizing Pennsylvania's Industrializations, 1850-1950." *Pennsylvania History* 61, 1 (January 1994):6-17.

Suggests that we need to reconceptualized the history of industrialization in Pennsylvania by looking beyond state boundaries, examining the unevenness and range of industrial development, and more fully considering the interaction of industry with the natural environment.

Serrin, William. 1992. *Homestead: The Glory and Tragedy of an American Steel Town*. New York: Times Books.

A journalistic account of the aftermath of deindustrialization in one of Pennsylvania's best-known steel communities.

Shoemaker, Alfred, and Don Yoder. 1999(1959). *Christmas in Pennsylvania: A Folk-Cultural Study*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books.

A compilation of folklore relating to Pennsylvania German celebrations of Christmas over time. Yoder is the dean of folklorists in this specific area of ethnic study.

Shedd, Nancy. 1991. Talk for Pennsylvania Forestry Association. Unpublished. Hopewell Furnace NHS files.

Shedd, currently executive director of the Huntingdon County Historical Society in southwest Pennsylvania, gave this talk in 1991 as a way of showing the links between the declining cold-blast iron industry and the nascent forest conservation movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Extremely useful in tracing how and why conservation efforts emerged when and where they did, and in understanding how the cultural and environmental conservation projects that arose as larger-scale industries were leaving Pennsylvania in the late twentieth century.

Siegel, Peter E., Douglas C. Kellogg, and Robert G. Kingsley. 2001. "Prehistoric

settlement patterns in upland settings: An analysis of site data in a sample of exempted watersheds." Pennsylvania Archeological Council online document, accessed at <http://home.earthlink.net/~pxxmiller/spframeset.html>.

Documents archeological evidence of pre-contact Indian occupation of an area adjacent to and within the same physiographic region as Hopewell.

Smylie, James H. 2000(1990). *Scotch-Irish Presence in Pennsylvania*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Association.
[see Clark 1991 entry above]

Snow, Stephen. 1993. *Performing the Pilgrims: A Study of Ethnohistorical Role-Playing at Plimoth Plantation*. Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press.
Explores the techniques of first-person living historical interpretation at a major American living history site.

Soulliard, Sue. 2000. *Kohl (Cole) Family History*. Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press.
A highly detailed and well-illustrated family history, which goes far beyond the scope of most independently-produced genealogies. Includes considerable information about collier Elmer Kohl.

Stanton, Cathy. 2006. *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
Makes much the same argument advanced in this report: that within postindustrial settings, historical, cultural, and natural conservation and preservation projects are becoming increasingly interwoven with many types of cultural and economic production.

Stassen, H.E. 2002. "Developments in Charcoal Production Technology." *Unasyva* 211 Vol. 53:34-35. Electronic document <http://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/005/y4450e/y4450e05.pdf>. Accessed 1 July 2005.
Outlines recent developments in cleaner-burning charcoal technology, with examples of these in use.

Steinmetz, Rollin C. 1959. *Vanishing Crafts and their Craftsmen*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
This collection includes a chapter on Elmer Kohl, one of the area's last remaining skilled colliers (charcoal-makers). Kohl was hired by Hopewell Furnace NHS in the 1950s to recreate the charcoal-making process at the park, and passed along the craft to park staff who, with a cadre of dedicated volunteers, perpetuate it today.

Strong, Douglas H. 1988. *Dreamers and Defenders: American Conservationists*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
A general history of the American conservation movement, focusing on specific biographies of major figures, notably Pennsylvania native and governor Gifford Pinchot.

Switala, William J. 2001. *The Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books.
Includes detailed maps of the various routes throughout Pennsylvania used by

fugitive slaves and their helpers. Briefly mentions Hopewell and Joanna Furnaces, Mt. Frisby and other AME churches, and the role of iron-making communities in general within the Underground Railroad network

Tilden, Freeman. 1977(1957). *Interpreting Our Heritage*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

A ground-breaking work that attempted to lay out basic principles and methods for interpretation at natural and historic parks. Still used as a foundation for the work of interpretation by many sites and agencies. Tilden emphasizes the element of interpersonal connection, and although he does not address living history specifically, his ideas fully support the rationale for costumed interpretation as a method of engaging audiences in the presentation of history.

Unrau, Harlan D. and G. Frank Williss. 1983. *Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s*. Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service. Electronic document. http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/unrau-williss/adhi.htm. Accessed 1 June 2006.

Chronicles the relationship of the NPS to the many projects of the WPA and other Depression-era federal efforts. An important piece of context for understanding the "Hopewell problem" and the creation of a park designed simultaneously to provide an escape from industrialization and to interpret industrial history.

Utley, "Living History: How Far Is Too Far?" *In Touch*, June 1974.

Articulates the Park Service's growing reservations about costumed interpretation/ living history during the 1970s.

Walker, Joseph. 1966. *Hopewell Village: The Dynamics of a Nineteenth-Century Iron-Making Community*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

The "bible" on Hopewell's history, this thorough solid history focuses primarily on the interlocking social, occupational, and commercial worlds of 19th century Hopewell Furnace. Draws on the tremendous archival materials of furnace records. For many of the same reasons that early National Park Service managers sought to emphasize the "village" over the "furnace" aspect of the park, Walker emphasizes the idea of Hopewell as a close-knit, nearly self-sufficient community—a reflection of the interests and somewhat nostalgic perceptions of the period when the book was researched and written.

---. 1969. "Negro Labor in the Charcoal Iron Industry of South-Eastern Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. 92(October 2969):466-86.

Expands on the chapter on "The Colored Population" from the title above.

Wallace, Paul A.W. 1965. *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

A thorough work by one of the deans of Pennsylvania Indian studies, still the basis for much of what is known about Indian paths in Pennsylvania.

Wallach, Bret. 1991. *At Odds with Progress: Americans and Conservation*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Shows some of the essential contradictions of the conservation movement in the

U.S.—i.e. its ambivalent relationship with the powerful American notion of “progress.” While most conservationist efforts are prompted by resistance to specific developments and changes in the landscape and society, those within the conservation movement are also fully modern and American in their underlying belief in progress, which gives their efforts a paradoxical character.

Ward, Stephen. 1998 *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities, 1850-2000*. New York: Routledge.

Traces the extensive history of place-making and place-marketing from the relatively early industrial era through the more professionalized, public/private efforts of the postindustrial era in Britain, Canada, and the U.S.

Weaver-Zercher, David. 2001. *The Amish in American Imagination*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Shows how and why the image of Amish people has such resonance in the American popular imagination, and analyzes this fascination through novels, films, tourism, and other media and sites.