

Ethnographic Survey 1992

WASHINGTON COUNTY

Final Report

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Introduction

Because of time constraints I began my fieldwork with very little research under my belt. Not being a Pennsylvania resident, my lack of knowledge made me feel a little uncomfortable. However, the packet of information I received from the Steel Industry Heritage Corporation at our first organizational meeting helped me overcome some of these problems. My fieldwork began the day after this meeting.

I drove from Bowling Green, Kentucky, with my car packed for a month's stay in a student dorm at the California University of Pennsylvania. Besides my clothes and necessary items, I had a Radio Shack tape recorder and a Cannon AV-1 camera. I intended to buy a better quality recorder once I settled in my new location.

Because there was not a direct route to my destination, the forty-mile drive took me over an hour. The hilly terrain and the condition of many of the roads also contributed to the length of my drive. Later, I discovered that this problem of lengthy travel times is an important issue among the people I was about to meet.

In the process of finding my room and unpacking, I spoke to a few people (students) who were living in California. However, my first introduction to the people of Washington county came from my previous readings of background documents. Most of the readings I received took a historical approach. Many of these articles spoke about early settlement patterns and monumental dates in history. In my opinion, these types of articles are helpful for a basic understanding of an area, but they are not a complete survey of a culture.

I also discovered oral histories about individuals who lived in Washington county. Many of the articles were memories of early immigration into Southwestern Pennsylvania and of past traditional culture. Although these writings were informative, they conveyed no sense of what this area is like today. Are these social groups still here? Are they continuing any traditions? If so, which ones exist and why do those traditions remain and not others? Have the functions behind the surviving practices changed?

Other articles gave me a better idea of unemployment in the Pittsburgh area and what happened to the steel industry. However these readings focused more on Pittsburgh, McKeesport or Homestead.

I was not sure if all of these elements were present in Washington county. I was also unaware of the drastic reduction in population due to the rise in unemployment.

Another aspect missing from my readings was a link between the coal and steel industry. I knew that the steel mills needed coal to make steel but what about a social exchange? How did the two industrial workers feel about each other? Did coal miners live in different areas than mill workers? Did the two different industries affect cultural traditions?

Completing my research, I was able to deduce the extensive cultural diversity in the area. I discovered ethnic groups settling in Washington county that were atypical. In my opinion the Belgians and Finnish fell into this category. I suspected that many immigrant ancestors were still around. I also expected to find a few people still maintaining traditional elements of their ethnic culture.

Of the articles I read, the ethnographic approaches were the most helpful. Bruce Weston's journal, Southwestern Pennsylvania provided historical documentation of past cultural traditions. Later I used this information to form my interview questions. Susan Kalcik's report on Cambria county was also helpful because many of the author's findings paralleled what I found in Washington county.

A resident of California gave me a special edition of the now defunct Brownsville newspaper, the Telegraph, celebrating John Mitchell day. Printed in 1981, this edition focused on coal mining in the Brownsville area. Although Brownsville is in Fayette County, I found this reading related closely to the coal mining region in Washington county. Through their discussions of the mining process and cultural expressions, the oral histories included in this publication enabled me to develop an understanding of the coal region. I found Thomas Bell's, Out of This Furnace and Muriel Earley Sheppard's, Cloud by Day helpful while learning about the early years of the steel industry.

And the Wolf Finally Came provides a good history of the decline of the American steel industry. However, several magazine articles focusing on the mill closings in the Pittsburgh area in the 1980's gave me a more humanistic idea of this history. An article in Esquire about a family in the Mon-valley dealing with unemployment and the breakup of family and friends reflected the attitudes of the area. One can only speculate about what the towns in Washington County are like from these readings

because the article focuses only on Pittsburgh.

Centennial publications and local history books reflect a vernacular lifestyle and helped me to individualize each borough. Most of the towns in the Mon-valley had been so dependent on the mill or the coal industry that their history shows a blend of both occupational and cultural expressions. From this information I was able to deduce an idea of the people I was studying. The city of Washington, however, proved to be problematic. Most historical information concentrated on the national pike. I was also refused help by the local historian, Roy Sarver, who may have been able to direct me to important resources.

My best resources of information were of course my informants. Barbara Rankin, a part time journalist in California, gave me a large number of contacts and a general sense of California, Crescent Heights, Coal Center, Allenport and Roscoe.

Donora has many residents who will be very happy to help with research. Ruth Miller of the Donora Historical Society and the librarians at Donora's library are good starting places for finding information. Tony Menendez and John Lignelli are community leaders whom I also found very cooperative. The library in Bentlyville is another place where librarians are eager to help people in their research. I was even able to use one of their extra rooms to interview my informants.

After finding it hard to establish a rapport with the African-American community in Crescent Heights, I finally found someone interested in helping me, John Tylor. This man is a good future contact for the area. I had similar problems finding informants of any race or ethnic origin in Washington. Speaking with the priest of the Polish National Catholic church, Father Felix, was helpful and would be a good beginning for future research. The residents of the once Polish neighborhood above Washington Steel is another starting place. Contacting my informant Aldean Giecek may also be helpful.

Originally I intended to approach my research from a foodways perspective. I planned to examine occupational, religious, regional, historical and ethnic aspects of food. As I continued with my work, I discovered that this topic conflicted with the amount of work required for the Steel Industry Heritage Corporation's needs.

A month in the field gave me an uneven representation of food practices in Washington County. Lack of time excluded many ethnic groups from my research. I was not able to interview a large variety of religious groups either. In other words, my expectations of surveying an area this size and this culturally diverse were not realistic for the time I had to spend in this location.

I do believe, however, that a survey such as this would contribute to the understanding of the area involved. Focusing on one of the areas mentioned above may be a better approach for a project. Setting up a proposal for examining only ethnic identifiers in this region could simplify a project and be a more realistic approach. Included in this report however, is a section on foodways. I will then offer other examples of research needed in this area.

Doris Dyen's suggested approach to ethnographic research was the method I used in the field. By asking questions concerning ethnicity, occupation, religion, family, community, environment and the ethnographic futures technique, I gained an even perception of the people of Washington County. I recommend more research through this approach.

Geography and Early Settlement Patterns of Washington County

To understand the people of the county, it is important to know its geography. The surface and the minerals beneath the ground have influenced the lifestyle in this region in the past and even today.

A visitor's first impression of the land is reminiscent of rural life. The hilly surfaces and winding thoroughfares weave a driver through tree-lined roads and poorly marked street signs that could cause someone to miss any sign of a settlement. The landscape is deceiving: while turning around a bend in the road a motorist may suddenly see supermarkets, towns or a mountainous coal deposit.

Marking the eastern border of Washington County is the undulating Monongahela River. To the West is the West Virginia border; the Green County border is to the South and Allegheny County to the North. Located in the center of the county is Washington. (Called little Washington by natives) For purposes of this project the area west of little Washington will not be discussed; it is debatable if the western part of the county is connected with Pittsburgh steel.

The surface of this region was originally part of one great slope extending from the mountains to the Ohio River. Water erosion over countless years formed the county's present shape. The indentions formed have created bituminous coal and limestone seams close to the surface of the earth making the mineral resources in the county easily obtainable. Instead of the costlier deep shaft method, mining coal in this area is through the side of a valley.

Before coal, the area's first industry was agriculture. Scotch and Irish immigrants began to farm along the Monongahela river and in central Washington county after the Revolutionary war. Eventually most farmers became dairy and wool producers.

Washington became a county in 1781 and industry remained the same until after the Civil war. Because of the location of the Monongahela River and the national road, (built by George Washington) traveling west became easier and the population of the county grew rapidly. Although many towns in the area were important stops on the Underground Railroad, very little fighting occurred in Washington county.

By 1860 Pittsburgh was the largest manufacturing center west of the Allegheny Mountains. Barges, rafts and other craft moved along the Monongahela carrying coal, timber and other raw materials to Pittsburgh's rapidly growing industries. The river was an important link between the eastern half of the state and the West. The shipping of manufactured goods from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia took approximately eleven days.

Originally used for heating homes, firing steam boilers or powering railway engines, coal later became more important for producing coke and other chemicals. With the new steel blast furnaces developed after 1870, coke became increasingly important as their fuel. By this time, the by-product coke producing ovens replaced the less efficient beehive oven. The new ovens saved valuable gases for fuel, while recovering tar, ammonia, and oils and using them elsewhere. By-producting coking prompted the opening of many new mines in Washington County.

During the beginning of the twentieth century companies such as, Carnegie Steel and Jones and Laughlin began buying the coal mines in Washington County and using them exclusively for their steel

production. With the demand for steel increasing, steel companies began to build farther away from the city into Washington, West Mooreland and Fayette Counties. Washington county soon became heavily congested with factories and immigrants from mainly European countries. The great migration to the land of opportunity arrived and people could find plenty of work in this area.

Immigrants settled close to the industry that hired them. Coal miners moved from town to town after a mine closed down. Living in areas consisting of people of their own ethnic groups, neighborhoods often became nicknamed, "Little Italy" or "Hunky Hollow" after their habitants. However, people from other cultural groups often settled in the same area. The result was a cultural integration of different groups.

Instead of continuing to work with the Scotch and Irish first employed in the industry companies began to hire newly arrived Eastern Europeans to keep labor costs low. The workers lived in towns owned by the company. Early steel workers rented their houses from the company and bought their food in the company store. According to John Tylor, the workers also supplied the explosives and tools used for working in the mines. The coal company deducted all of these purchases from the worker's small paycheck.

Eventually the European immigrants became tired of working conditions and began to organize and strike. Reacting to this labor problem, companies began to import African-American workers from the South and hired men called the coal and iron police to control picketing and union organizing. If three people meet on street, the coal and iron police rode through town on their horse and broke-up the conversation. Many informants mentioned stories about innocent people being killed by these men.

By the 1930's the Roosevelt administration passed labor laws protecting worker rights that helped workers form the United Steel Workers and the United Mine Workers. The relationship between company and worker improved along with the economic quality of life of everyone involved. With the coming of World War II, steel became increasingly important and employment was high. Many informants talked about these prosperous times with expressions such as; "It was so easy to get a job. If you quit a job in the morning, you could get another job in the afternoon." or "The sidewalks

were so crowded with people in the evening, you had to walk on the streets." The business boom persisted until the 1960's.

The people of Washington County loved their home and ignored the dark clouds of smoke hovering over their boroughs. In 1948, the air quality became so poor in Donora that an inversion occurred and ten people lost their lives. These deaths inspired a government investigation that led to the close of both the zinc works and the steel mill.

Donora was the first to experience what would later happen to other mills in the area. Eventually the mills closed and the mines either closed or cut-down their staff. Devastated by the closings, unemployment and welfare rocketed to all time highs. Many people lost their homes and left their families looking for work elsewhere. With the population of towns cut in half, the tax base of boroughs decreased and the maintenance of schools and roads no longer existed. The closing of the mills affected everyone in the county, especially the people living along the Monongahela River valley. For little Washington the decline in the glass industry influenced their economy more than the steel mill closings.

Washington County never recovered from the rapid decline in industry and looks for opportunities to bring industry into the region. With the population of Washington County consisting of mostly retired people living off pensions and young people leaving the area, today's towns could become tomorrow's ghost towns.

Social-Cultural Life and Traditions

Kim Falk and I divided the research for Washington County into pie shaped wedges alternately taking slices. The areas I received from this exchange consisted of Donora, Charleroi, California, Coal Center, Crescent Heights, Richeyville, Bentleyville, Ellsworth and the Polish area in little Washington.

I will make overall conclusions about the entire county but the focus of my work will be on these communities.

Donora

The two most noticeable characteristics influencing the culture of Donora is its location and the zinc works. The borough stands on the edge of an oxbow off the Monongahela River across from Monessen. The most efficient way to travel to and from Donora is to cross the river and leave Washington County. This physical characteristic augments Donora's distinctiveness from its own county.

After residents described the past landscape, it is hard for an outsider to understand why anyone would have so many fond memories of the borough. During the boom days of the mill and zinc works, the air was black and vegetation never grew along the hillside across the river. Glen Howis remarked about a comment made to him while he was in college: "One of the doctors at the school, his dad was a Lutheran minister at Donora...he got me out of line...he says, 'I can always tell you boys from down in the valley. I can look at your chest x-ray and pick you out.'" On the day of the major inversion, the smog was so thick that people could not see in front of them. Donora's location on the river caused the air to hang over the city for several days, resulting in the loss of ten lives.

According to Glen Howis:

"The steel industry, as far as Donora is concerned, was married to the U. S. Steel Corporation...Donora was one of the early plants in the corporation to be phased out because of obsolete equipment, foreign competition, and high labor costs. The initial phase-out started with the zinc plant in the middle fifties...They continued to operate the acid plant...In 1960 the hot end of the mill was shut down...In 1967, the phase-out was completed..."

Experiencing mill closing earlier than the rest of the valley, many workers eventually found jobs elsewhere. Some had to commute fifty to a hundred miles a day. Others moved. Donora adjusted but not without cost.

The tax base decreased and Donora schools merged with Monongahela City's school district to economize. The merge proved disastrous for the spirit and athletics in the area. Many of Donora's past problems remain, but many have been solved. John Lignelli, a local politician claims that Donora is not in debt and looks towards the future. The borough will never be the buzzing metropolis it was but the

people of the area have hope for the future.

Ethnicity

The zinc works was also instrumental in giving Donora its Spanish population. When the zinc works moved to the area, they recruited experienced Spanish zinc workers from both Spain and West Virginia. During the 1930's fifteen hundred people worked at the Donora factory and most of them were Spanish. Today the population of Spaniards is approximately one hundred people.

Other groups who settled in the area are; Eastern European, Irish, French, Italian and African-American. At one time Donora even had a synagogue.

Most ethnic groups had their own club. Today only a few remain. The Spanish Club, once the mill supervisor's house, has approximately seventy-five members. Most members are from out of town and pay their dues to maintain traditions. One informant, Tony Menendez feels disappointed that the president of the club is not Spanish. This is not out of anger but because of the loss he feels for all of his people who have left the area.

Several social functions reflect the ethnicity of the area. One obvious but not necessarily the most ethnic is Donora's Ethnic Days. Held in August, the borough blocks off the north and south entrance of their main street and sets-up tables and booths occupied mostly by food vendors. Representatives of both commercial and public organizations rent booths and sell different products. Of the thirteen booths used in the celebration, about half the foods sold were notably ethnic. The other booths sold, hot dogs, hoagies, shaved ice, sodas, pizzas and gyros. (I classify this food as a "fast food" instead of an ethnic food because it was served at a booth selling French fries and pizza) The ethnic groups represented by the food were Italians, Slovaks, African-Americans and Filipinos. The entertainment representing ethnic groups were Scottish Bag Pipes, country music, cloggers, gospel singing and a polka band. The festival also had carnival games, an antique car show, clowns and a firemen's parade.

The Chinese (Filipino) booth was the only booth using color and language to earmark it as a

cultural identifier. The booth sold Chinese and Filipino food and was run by Filipinos. Others looked more generic because of the decorations and titles on these booths. It is interesting that the census population of 1990 indicates only seven Filipinos in Donora. Other groups with a larger population such as the Spanish had no booth.

By its name one would assume that Donora Ethnic Days is an important ethnic event, however, only half of the items indicated reflect specific cultural groups. Donora recognizes its multi-cultural beginnings by calling their celebration Ethnic Days but also continues from that point and displays and performs events that entertain all audiences in what the borough recognizes as a changing environment.

A past event that was very important to the people of Donora was the Spanish Fiesta. Stopped in 1960 because of under age drinking, this event was the largest social event of the year. Because of its national reputation three to four thousand people attended each year. Everyone looked forward to seeing Spanish dancers, shows and soccer games. This July, a few people from Donora even assembled a smaller fiesta in honor of the old one.

Weaving and story telling are other traditional activities I found in Donora. Although I never had a chance to speak with a weaver, I was told there is at least one rug maker in town. In her interview Judy Kolvalcik remembers hearing stories about the European epic hero Marco Kraljevic. Polka music is also somewhat popular and there is a local band.

Occupation

Before unionization, people heard of job openings through friends and family and they applied for that position. Often generations of families worked in the mill. This caused an inadvertent segregation of ethnic and racial groups. However, if competition amongst departments was friendly and consisted of bowling and softball leagues. Even today, the retired steel workers of Donora celebrate reunions in Florida.

During the 1930's, U. S. Steel practiced minor public relation tactics with their workers and townspeople by handing out bags of candy for children at Christmas time and by encouraging softball

leagues. These actions however did not stop the workers from striking and later joining a union.

Most people I spoke with did not mention a bad relationship between worker and employer. When asked this question, a number of informants responded by mentioning that U. S. Steel Corporation helped Donora somewhat when they returned the land used by the mill back to the town after the mill closed. For longtime service in the zinc works, the company superintendent's house, now the Spanish Club was also a gift to the Spaniards from U. S. Steel. If past relations between company and town or workers were poor, it became over shadowed by the more resent actions of U. S. Steel when the mill closed.

According to Glen Howis, Donora has two important industrial related sites, cement city and the gravesite in the former steelworks area. Cement city is a group of houses built by the steel company for supervisors in the mill. This area of town received its name from the concrete construction of each home. Ruth Miller from the Donora historical society has a great deal of glass negatives documenting the construction of this area.

The grave site located in the old steelworks area contains the grave of a man by the name of Posey. Mr. Howis explains the significance of the grave:

"He was down in the steel ladle, setting a ladle nozzle, when the steel heat tapped out prematurely. Needless to say Mr. Posey became part of that heat. The corporation decided that the proper thing to do was to take the ladle full of steel, solidified, out and bury it in the ground adjacent to the facility. That was done and that grave site is in existence even today."

Besides this somewhat gruesome tale, other tales and jokes emerged surrounding the mill: Glen Howis also mentioned a story he heard (He is not sure of the validity of this tale) about strikebreakers brought in and kept in boats on the river. At this time, mill men from the other side of the river hurled bullets into the scab living quarters.

Tony Menendez mentioned two jokes referring to the effects of industry on the environment:

"When the zinc works was operating nobody in Donora owned a lawn mower. You could look on that hillside over there- no vegetation...I'd say five-seven-eight years then the vegetation started growing. Now we have an ammonia plant down here that makes

it grow even more. So now we have a problem. One of the biggest problems we have in Donora is -every family has two lawn mowers."

Another joke about the mill talks about how before the mill you could not see the river. Now that the mill closed, you can see the river. Unfortunately I do not have this on tape and cannot remember the complete joke.

Looking hopeful towards the future, John Lignelli believes that employment levels will increase upon the completion of the new access road from across the river. Glen Howis feels that the completion of the Mon-valley expressway will make it easier for people to commute to work in Pittsburgh. Both factors will bring more people into Donora. New housing is also being built in one area of the Borough.

Unfortunately, the changes mentioned are not enough for many of the younger individuals in Donora. Wayne Dattis age forty, frustrated with opportunities in the area, is working as a part time martial arts instructor and lives with his sister. Wayne feels Donora will soon become a ghost town. Today many people are in Wayne's position and living with relatives. Wayne's fear is: What will happen when the elderly population living off a substantial pension dies and that financial support disappears?

Religion

In Donora it is hard to determine if religion influences ethnicity or the reverse. In the past, every church was in a different ethnic neighborhood. This type of structure allowed immigrants to maintain a great deal of their past heritage with church activities.

Often neighborhood churches have a large ethnic population and use traditional foods, songs and languages at their picnics. St. Dominic's church opened their anniversary celebration with the singing of the Slovak anthem and prayers for peace in their homeland. Today, mergers due to church closings threaten the variety of traditions practiced in parishes.

However, enough of the middle age population (ages 40 to 50) still remembers and continues many

of these traditions during religious holidays. Exchanging decorated Ukrainian eggs (Pasanky) at the Byzantine Catholic Church is still a common practice during Easter season. The Eastern European members of St. Dominic's church honor their Christmas tradition with the Christmas Eve supper. Many of the current tradition bearers cannot remember the religious symbolism of each dish served. This is why the division between church and ethnicity is not clear. Are these people maintaining religious practices or are they displaying cultural identifiers?

Judy Kolvalcik mentioned that activities while growing up revolved around the closest church. The parish functioned as a community center and no one had reason to leave their neighborhood. Today, people worry about the decline in the church population and the lack of activities for children.

Family and Community

Because of unemployment, families like churches have diminished. Most residents have relatives living in other areas of the country. Many people say if their son or daughter could find a job in Donora their relatives would be in the area today. Despite the reduction of population a few social activities such as Kennywood Days still exist in Donora. The popular appeal of many of the events has declined, however. In the past everyone packed picnic lunches and rode the train to the park. Today, people complain about the large crowds at the park and say they will never go again. People feel Kennywood has allowed too many local picnics in at one time to pay for the recent expansion of the park.

Because of the dangerous working conditions in the mill a death of a spouse was common and women needed to find ways to take care of their family. In Donora, working at the clothing factory was an additional alternative to the more common options of renting rooms and remarrying. An investigation of this clothing industry is a worthwhile future project for a fieldworker.

Although not around very often because of working constantly, the boarders became like members of the family. During holidays, women would cook traditional foods for their tenants and welcomed them to social functions. Many of these men have returned to visit their past landlords.

Significant buildings in Donora's community are the gazebo in the town parking lot where local people sit outside during the day and meet friends and relatives. The building that now houses the library is also very important because it served many functions in the past. It was originally a hotel. Tony Menendez is also proud of the local roller rink because of its use in national competitions. The rink also provides vital entertainment for school age children in the Monongahela River valley area.

Whenever I asked a Donoran about local heroes the name of sports figures such as Stan Musial, Arnold Griffin and Ken Griffie immediately roll out of everyone's mouth. Everyone in town is very proud of their local heroes. Donora's town slogan was, "Home of the Champions." One reason the school merger disturbs so many people in town is that it is harder for people to go to games and see the local talent.

Donora has a reputation from people in Bentlyville and in California as being the friendliest town in the Mon-valley. Trusting their friends and neighbors, the people of Donora feel safe in their community. However, almost everyone mentioned that people in neighborhoods are not as close as they used to be and they hope the situation does not worsen.

Environment

Donorans value their land by how well their environment can benefit them economically. The people of Donora use their land for practical purposes. They have strip-mined both the local park and a new housing development.

Pragmatic land use means survival to the people of Donora. Mining and domestic road repair allows the town to operate on a balanced budget. Strip mining for revenue and repairing the streets with a local road crew keeps the cost of running the city down. Almost everyone cans and gardens in Donora providing they have the space to plant things. In the past, unlike other towns along the valley very few people owned their own livestock or lived off their gardens. Because of the air quality and little yard space allotted by company housing large gardens or small farms were scarce.

Hunting and fishing are popular sports that reflect the Donorans' awareness of their environment.

The interaction of geography and ethnicity is shown by the naming of neighborhoods such as, little Italy and Cement City.

Everyone I spoke to also carried a strong opinion about pollution controls. The townspeople remember the black smoke of former years and feel that they would rather have the smoke than be unemployed. Judy Kolvalcik and Tony Menendez both claim that people were happier and less often sick during those times.

The attitude toward environmental controls is negative. Most townspeople believe that the government has gone too far with pollution laws. Tony Menendez and John Lignelli feel that Donora lost a chance at having a glass factory in the area because of the Department of Environmental Resources' oppressive considerations and their inability to issue a permit punctually.

Charleroi

Because of time limitations I sacrificed oral interviews of people in Charleroi for other locations. Also influencing my decision was that Charleroi's major industry is a glass company and not steel. With the combination of oral interviews elsewhere and a few incidental interviews with people from Charleroi, I learned the municipality's importance in the Mon-valley. I would like to suggest that future surveyors spend more time in this city.

Ethnicity

Experienced in the local industries of glass and coal mining, Belgians began immigrating into the Mon-valley. This group eventually incorporated an area and named their new city after a town in their homeland, Charleroi, Belgium. Joined later by Asians, Hispanics, Italians, Germans, Irish, Czech, Slovak, Austrian, English, Finish and African-Americans, many groups began forming clubs representing their own ethnic background. Today, Charleroi has five clubs remaining, the Belgian, Italian, French, Slavic and Slovak organizations.

Many of the buildings in Charleroi and in a few boroughs south have second floor balconies made from black rod iron. This style may reflect an influence by an immigrant group. I did not have the

time to investigate the origin of these balconies. Finding the origin of this motif could be another future study for the area.

This city also provides an ethnic base for people in the surrounding communities. Parks are used for ethnic picnics and the local bakery sells Italian and Eastern European baked goods.

Occupation

After the mill closings in the 1960's, Charleroi became one of the only cities in the area having industry. The few times Corning Glass began to hire, hundreds of people applied for thirty or forty jobs. Today, the glass factory still exists, however, some of its business has dropped and the company does very little hiring.

The glass factory was not the only employment opportunity for the Mon-Valley. At one time, Charleroi was the central shopping area for the Mon-valley. Betty Swartz from California and Judy Kovalcik from Donora both remember visiting Charleroi around Christmas time. According to most of the people I interviewed, a visit to Charleroi in their childhood around Christmas was the highlight of their holiday memories. The decorated streets and shops gave the city a magical quality.

Today, every street sign and storefront has a matching Spanish, French or Belgian motif with elaborate rod-iron ornamentation. Many of the shops are empty but they still have the old sign hanging over the door. The popularity of shopping malls has caused the closing of many Charleroi stores. Besides the local shops the borough also has a Montgomery Wards, a Ponderosa and a McDonalds.

Religion

Like the shops in the past, the churches in Charleroi provide services for people along the Monongahela River. Even Today, many churches attract people willing to travel twenty to thirty miles to worship. The parishes try to maintain as many ethnic customs as possible. However many traditions are slowly dying off with the original immigrants. The Slovak Lutheran Church, St. John's Evangelical, has stopped holding Slovak Language services and only periodically sings native language hymns. The tradition of eating honey with the communion wafer on Christmas still remains but is altered because of

the amount of elderly people unable to travel to church. Today, the minister drives to the homes of many of his parishioners to administer the wafer and a blessing for a sweet year.

Family and Community

The little league park, the weekly farmer's market, the theater and the nearby YMCA provide community and family services for the Mon-Valley. Again this reflects Charleroi's ability to provide services for other towns.

Environment

Charleroi's central location along the Monongahela River helped establish the city as an important shopping area. The increased popularity of shopping malls has hurt this industry. The new Mon-Valley expressway may threaten the economy even more by making it easier for the people in the valley to travel to other places more efficiently. Like other towns in Washington county, Charleroi also fears extinction.

California

Because of its university, California is a little different from other towns along the river. One informant, Danny Swartz, claims that California does not think of itself as a part of the Mon-Valley. Californians shop and work in either Uniontown or Little Washington not in the river area.

The river never acted as a cultural barrier. Route forty determines the places where the people in the area travel more than the river. Louis Petrucci remembers walking across the river regularly on the way from California to Brownsville. On a personal level California was different for me because I knew a family in the area. This made it easier for me to establish contacts who became my main informants.

Ethnicity

Unable to find California in my census reports, I used nearby Allenport to obtain an idea of the variety of ethnic groups in the area. The listing consisted of: Austrians, Belgians, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Polish, Russian, Scotch-Irish, Scottish, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Welsh, Yugoslavians, Hispanics and African- Americans. Because of the Chinese restaurant in town, I would like to add Korean to this list. Today, only remaining ethnic club is the Italian club.

At one time, California was filled with Eastern Europeans weaving rag rugs and going to weekend polka dances. Every club in town had a polka dance on the weekend. Today, few ethnic activities remain. The California Senior Citizens Center often hires Tamberitzens from Cokeburg and polka bands for entertainment. Demonstrations of quilting and Pasanky are also sponsored by the center. Another traditions bearer in the area is Holy Trinity Orthodox Church, they sell pierogies in the fall.

Occupation

Today, California is a college hamlet with problems similar to a coal company town of years past. The town's people dislike the university and feel that its influence is overpowering. The loss of Phillipsburg, an ethnic neighborhood in California characterizes the towns fear of university policy. Over a hundred people lost their homes and many of them died from grieving over this loss while Phillipsburg became the university's parking lot.

Another concern over the university is student housing. Many landlords neglect student apartments and property values decline. Last year, a student died in an apartment fire that triggered an investigation of housing in California. The study caused the closing of several houses.

Besides the majority of people working in the university, others worked in the Allenport mill or traveled to Washington and Brownsville. My informants Danny and Andy Swartz both worked in the Allenport mill. Andy retired and Danny, Andy's son, lost his job in 1980 when the tube mill closed. Danny had a college education and found work fairly quickly in Little Washington.

Andy's earliest recollection of working in the mill was one of camaraderie. Andy says that he

grew-up with the supervisors and it was like belonging to a family. Usually, someone obtained a job by knowing someone who worked in the mill. Andy's cousin got Andy the job at the mill and Danny got his job through his father.

Later, the Allenport, Pittsburgh Steel Company merged with Wheeling Steel and the mill brought in supervisors from West Virginia. Many of the out-of-state workers commuted to Allenport and never moved into the area. Andy said this caused a decline in the friendly atmosphere in the company.

Danny, however, never worked with just Pittsburgh Steel and never felt any bad feelings towards the West Virginia workers. He enjoyed the atmosphere of the work environment but claims that production was poor in the mill. Many workers were using drugs and sleeping on the job. Danny claims that this and poor management caused Wheeling Pittsburgh to close. However, Andy says lack of orders caused the closing of Allenport's tube mill.

Both Danny and Andy remembered jokes and pranks workers played on each other. Older workers would send younger workers out for an imaginary tool called a smoke grinder. Danny's memories were of pranks such as substituting Feenamints (a laxitive) for chewing gum.

Danny also mentioned an interesting occurrence that he calls the "Mon-Valley mentality." Danny feels people are living in the 1950's today and keep waiting for the mill to open-up. "...they are stuck in the fifties and sixties. They listen to...only fifties' and sixties' music. The houses if you go inside, is the fifties' and sixties' decor. They are stuck-they have not changed." It would be difficult to determine if people in the Mon-Valley have this attitude more than others I have seen across the United States. However, the hypothesis is interesting and I found myself noticing fifties' and sixties' motifs throughout the time I spent in the area.

Other than the Jones and Laughlin company office, that is now a student apartment, very little exists of the once large coal industry in the area. The tipple for Washington County's largest coal mine, Vesta four once emptied into the banks of the Monongahela in California. Vesta four closed in the 1970's and only stories remain about the mines. Danny recalls a labor leader named Jaques Kablowski: "Jaques was a dissonant in the United Mine workers, They made a movie out of it...He went up

against Tony Boil who was the president of the United Mine Workers..." On the lighter side, Louis Petrucci recalls a tale a miner told him about a rat that crawled over to his lunch bucket, lifted the lid off of the bucket and ate the miner's sandwich. Today, the major issue with coal miners is black lung compensation. Sometimes it takes ten years to receive money, while others are never compensated.

Religion

For its size and compared to other towns in Washington, California has a small population of churches. The Presbyterian, Baptist, Christian, Gospel, Church of the Nazarene, Methodist and Russian Orthodox churches are the only parishes in town. People often travel to Charleroi and Brownsville to attend services for different religions or ethnic origin.

The populations of most of these parishes have decreased and so have many church activities. However, two churches in the area the Presbyterian and the Orthodox parishes still have a large congregation. I was unable to contact people from the fundamentalist protestant churches in the area; this would be another opportunity for a future study.

Community

Of all the areas I surveyed, California is the only borough that demonstrated factionalism between community and company. The company I am speaking of is not the steel industry but the university. Although the college provides activities, most residents have more interest in their own organizations.

The local clubs usually offer weekly raffles, annual picnics and tournaments (horseshoes or darts) to entertain the townspeople. These organizations require a membership, but are not exclusive; anyone can join if they pay their dues. The booster club, the American Legion and the Young Men's Club promote athletic teams in the area. (It is debatable if the latter club still does this.) Other clubs are professional business organization or gun clubs.

Grade school athletics and the Halloween parade are the major social events in the borough.

Like Donora, people are proud of their past athletic heroes such as: Vince Depoles (football), Park Parkinson (football), and Doctor John (baseball). California residents also play pranks and tease each other similar to the behavior Danny described while he was working in the mill. The younger generation (ages 20 to 40) often calls each other by nicknames relating to something foolish they have done in the past. I did not delve deeply into this tendency but it sounds like an initiation rite. This could also be a part of the Mon-Valley mentality that Danny speaks about or it could separate the townspeople from the university. Perhaps it is a combination of all of these things.

Parents in California claim their children have no place to play and feel this is an important issue for them. Athletic teams feel that using the university's park facilities for games is inconvenient and they wish they had their own field. Adults also have to travel a distance for recreational outlets. (Many townspeople bus to Brownsville and other towns to play Bingo)

The people of California also feel frustrated by the borough's inability to build a senior center promised to them last spring. Betty Swartz also feels the town makes no effort to progress when it stops fast food chains like McDonalds from building in the city.

Environment

Another difference between California and other towns along the Monongahela River is its use of the land. Even today Californians garden, hunt and fish. Students even fish. In the past many Californians owned cattle, pigs and vegetable gardens near their homes and lived off the land.

Both Danny Swartz and Louis Petrucci also show more concern for their environment than for industry by valuing clean air and water. Other towns in Washington County feel that environmental laws eliminated jobs. One reason for the difference in attitude could be because California never had poor air quality and depends on an industry (the university) that adjusts to environmental restrictions.

Today, the earth below California is hollow. The Vesta four coal seam was directly under the city. Although miners were not allowed to take coal too close to the earth's surface, coal was removed anyway. Louis Petrucci believes most of this illegal mining occurred when the smaller mining companies

leased Vesta four from Jones and Laughlin. Pru Petrucci can remember hearing people working in the ground below her in areas she knew no mining should occur.

Mining close to the surface causes the land to shift. Although not a concern for all citizens in the area, this land subsidence has affected the foundations of many buildings, farms and houses. Louis Petrucci mentioned one farmer who lost his water supply because the crack in the earth went through his property. The result is costly repairs for the owners if she/he has no coverage for subsidence in his/her insurance.

Other environmental issues concerning the people of California are road repair and the use of the river. Since the closing of the mill, the population of California has decrease. Unable to generate enough revenue from the town's remaining citizens, California has not been able to pay for road repair. The loss of revenue sharing, eliminated in the 1980's with the Reagan administration also contributed to the decline of road repair in the area.

Danny Swartz also feels that California could benefit by having a marina and wonders why the city never attempted to build one. Concerned about the use of the river also, Louis Petrucci canvased for money to bring fish back into the Monongahela. Louis also pointed out that one of the largest polluters of the river in the past was not the steel and coal companies but the university.

Coal Center

Next to California is a small nearly abandoned town called Coal Center. If you are driving too fast along route 88 you would probably miss the small sign directing you to this borough. I only interviewed two people in Coal Center and was unable to find ethnic groups in the area. Because so many people have left the area, it is possible that the town may have very little cultural groups remaining. However, Garnett Barli remembers Lithuanians living in Coal Center and recalls many of them weaving rag rugs by the river.

Occupation

As its name implies, the major source of industry in Coal Center was coal. Founded before the

town of California, Coal Center was the first boomtown in the area. The town had funeral parlors, a lumber company, and two banks. According to Dick Dowler one bank only lasted a few years because someone absconded with the bank's money. Coal Center also had a great deal of river trade in the early thirties. Freight trains also went through town regularly. People would hop the train and ride to West Virginia. Garnett Barli remembers people hopping the train, then kicking off coal when the train stopped so that the townspeople could have free heat.

The coal strikes in the 1930's were serious in Coal Center. Many people recall being afraid to walk into town during these times. Dick Dowler claims that the severity of striking in Coal Center was triggered by the superintendent living in town: "I can remember we had a boss...someone set a bomb off at his place...The superintendent had the Yellow dogs (the coal and iron police) parade around his home..." Garnett Barli remembers the police dynamiting the porches off houses. Despite this policing, people managed to sneak out of their houses and organize picket lines in front of the portal. After the 1930's the strikes stopped and Coal Center became a peaceful place to live.

Religion

One of the most notable characteristics of Coal Center's main street are the abandoned churches. Of the three churches lining the street two are deserted; the Catholic and Methodist churches. The other church is Presbyterian and Garnett Barli believes it is important because it is the "mother" church to four other Presbyterian churches in the area. The congregation is smaller than some of the other churches, but its history is important.

Family and Community

Today Coal Center is a quiet community of retired persons and people living off of government aid. Although desiring industry, the townspeople do not want to lose their peaceful neighborhood. Both Garnett and Dick worry about students from California moving into Coal Center and disturbing this

tranquility.

Another concern for both Dick and Garnett is having to incorporate with California. They feel that taxes would be higher and Coal Center would not benefit from such a merger. Other locations such as Phillipsburg have merged with California and the results have been negative. Because of Dick and Garnett's involvement as community leaders, I believe this attitude is representative of other people in Coal Center.

Environment

The local people remember hunting and gathering berries nearby. Dick Dowler used to be a butcher and recalls the large amount of people who brought deer into the shop. Children's games also revolved around the natural resources in the area. Ice skating and swimming in the local pond were popular pastimes for children.

Coal Center has also had to fight environmental tragedies that influenced the economy of the area. In 1986, the river flooded and destroyed seven properties in town causing a decrease in the tax base. Today, Coal Center has only recently installed plumbing. They are planning to have a sewer system within the next few years. Dick Dowler's wife remarked about the drought last year and was grateful a water system was installed before this incidence occurred.

Unlike most areas in Washington County, Coal Center enjoys its isolation. If it weren't for the abandoned buildings in town, one would think of the area as a new settlement. I do not get the impression of a group of people wanting to go back to the way things were. I see a group of people trying to be independent of their overpowering neighbor, California and living a quiet lifestyle.

Crescent Heights

Another isolated community close to California is Crescent Heights. Because of the road construction on route 40 the road to this town was unmarked and it took me over an hour to find. The street signs were small and while I was driving, I kept wondering if I was on the right road. Reaching

Daisytown, the area just below Crescent Heights, I saw a sign point to this hill saying Crescent Heights. The hill made a sharp turn and was unpaved. This did not appear to be a place where everyone went. Traveling uphill, I Expected to see only a few homes, I found more then I envisioned.

Besides the problem of locating Crescent Heights, I also had trouble finding informants for the area. Crescent Heights has no public meeting place such as a library or community center where I could drop in and tell people what I was doing. I relied on people I meet in California to suggest informants. Many of my first leads were uncooperative and not interested in being interviewed. By the initial reaction I received, I first thought that the people in the area were isolated and distrustful because of rumors I had heard about a high juvenile delinquency rate. I later found this not to be the case. I was just dealing with a different cultural group (African-Americans) that required a different approach. Eventually someone gave me the phone number of a woman who worked at the university willing to put me in contact with her uncle, John Tylor. I later discovered that this man is the son-in-law to Reverend Green, one of Bruce Weston's informants for his research. I am certain that Dr. Weston's previous research helped my informants understand my research and opened the door of opportunity for me. So as not to have future problems of this nature, I suggest a good relationship be developed between John and the SIHC.

Ethnicity

Crescent Heights was first inhabited by Finns in the early part of the century. According to Bruce Weston, the Finns were a fairly militant group of people and left the region when the first attempts of unionization failed. Afterwards, Hungarians moved in followed by African-Americans thus creating the majority of ethnic groups in the town.

Although African- Americans originally moved into the area as strikebreakers, John Tylor's (An African-American) recollections of ethnic and racial relations were positive. John says that both races of people played with each other. However, interracial dating was not accepted by either group. John interjects: "you didn't have no international dating- nothing like that. But as far as mixing...they would

have to sneak..."

John Tylor also recalls times when Hungarians would say things to him in a foreign language to tease him. Both John and Herb Green, his brother-in-law, feel this behavior was only done in jest. Other expressions of the Hungarian group remaining on the hill are the Hungarian club and the Presbyterian church.

Occupation

Because the portal to the Crescent mine was in Crescent Heights, the area became a coal patch. The company store, the mining office and the jail (Which is now John Tylor's house) still remain in the area. Resembling apartment complexes, the company houses connect with each other forming rows. Danny Swartz and Barbara Rankin both jokingly refer to these structures as precursors to condominiums.

After the mine closed, residents continued to work by commuting to other mines. The bus route for the Vesta four portal in Richeyville stopped in Daisytown every day. Other miners drove to work sites fifteen to twenty minutes from Daisytown/Crescent Heights. John Tylor however, left coal mining to learn a trade in the steel mills near Pittsburgh. After he retired from the mill, he moved back to Crescent Heights.

John never liked coal mining and complained about the working conditions in Crescent mines. Before the company closed the mine, water had moved into the working area and people had to dig in places standing water up to their waste in cold water. John also mentions areas that required crawling. In other areas the ground would move while they were working. Herb Green admitted that these conditions existed in the mines but preferred this to working with steel beams over his head, as John did in the mill.

John Tylor did not remember any major strikes in the area, but recalled the Yellow Dog Police. Partly in jest, John stated that the Yellow Dog police kept law and order in the area and should be reinstated. He feels that curfews are a good idea and believes policing Crescent Heights regularly

would help control the juvenile delinquency problem in the area. John is concerned that the lack of law enforcement in small towns such as Crescent Heights encourages drug dealers and criminals to come in and hide from the authorities.

The company fire control system was also superior in the past. Today, the residents of Crescents Heights have to wait for the Richeyville, California or Brownsville fire department if there is an emergency. John recalls an incident: "...I know four kids was burnt up in that house up the street there. Me and Herb tried to get them out- we couldn't save them..."

Discrimination in the mine was not a racial problem, but it did exist. John Tylor said that the people whom the supervisor liked received the easiest jobs. Both John and Herb were assigned day work or less dangerous jobs because their supervisor liked them. They took advantage of these practices but never thought it was fair. Herb claimed that most of these practices stopped after the 1960's.

Although the work was hard, miners always found time to drink and play ball. John recalls: "We had speakeasies galore up here. And on the weekends all you heard was music and dancing and gambling." Softball games were played in the summer after work. Both men wondered how they had the energy to work all day then play ball all evening long.

When the mine closed down, John and Herb were without work for about four years. During that time they went on welfare and which then required you work part time to receive a check. Like the coal and iron police and the company fire system, John also wonders why this practice does not exist any more.

Religion

I was unable to survey the two churches in town but from Bruce Weston's articles on Daisytown I was able to draw an idea of the relationship between ethnicity, race and religion. The Daisytown Presbyterian Church has not held the Hungarian community as closely together as the church's former minister Reverend Silay. However, a congregation still survives in the area and so far

has not talked about closing. The Baptist church, started by Reverend Green, provides a religious base for the African-American population.

Family and Community

People in California claim Crescent Heights has a high Juvenile delinquency rate. However, both men I spoke to feel safe in their neighborhood. Their biggest complaint is that kids do not play like they did in the past. The park across from John's house is rarely used by the neighborhood children. John also feels he was lucky to have a bike when he was a child; today's children have motorcycles and cars.

Only a few families with young children remain in the area. The rest of the population is retired persons. The people of Crescent Heights hope to encourage more retired people to live on the hill by building senior citizens housing. John says:

"I look for housing say like for senior citizens to pop up through here. Crescent Heights would be a good place because they have the new sewer system...I wouldn't want to see none of these projects - like for all these young guys wouldn't come in because that's too much trouble."

Environment

Very much like the people of Coal Center, the people of Crescent Heights enjoy the quiet of isolation and have enjoyed farming and gathering in the past. John can recall everyone having a garden and never a lawn with grass. He also remembers being sent into the woods to gather berries or apples. Today he has no idea if these plants or trees exist.

Richeyville

A few miles west of California, on route forty, is the town of Richeyville, this is where the portal for Vesta four still stands.

Ethnicity

Richeyville has a strong Scotch-Irish group of people coming from local farm communities. The other major group in the area is Eastern Europeans. The local bar (the Friendship Inn) and the city

residents still maintain some of their past traditions.

During the 1970's the Friendship Inn was the popular polka hall on Friday and Saturday nights. Later the interest in polka bands died out and the owner, Lou Gawsowski, could no longer afford to hire a band. Today Friday night Karioke (this is a "lip sync" to popular music contest) replaces the polka bands.

Being Polish, Lou still tries to sustain as many old world traditions in the bar that he can. Ann, his wife claims that the reason Lou's business succeeded is because he was Polish and was welcomed into the area by people of his same ethnicity. As I set in the bar this summer, I would hear Lou greet a few customers in his native language as they entered the building. During the holidays Lou usually fixes traditional Polish foods and sets Polish style appetizers on the bar for customers.

Lou also mentioned another town's person who demonstrates his ethnic traditions by having a Greek style pig roast every year. This would be an interesting event to document. I was unable to speak with any Greeks during my stay in Washington County.

Occupation

Most of my information came from fairly young people (ages 25-40) and no one remembered the early mining days. I was however, able to procure an idea of what the early seventies were like in the mines.

Like other towns I have mentioned, Richeyville was once a booming coal town. The local mines began to close in the late seventies and early eighties and the town never recovered. Some closed because the demand for coal decreased, others closed because the coal seams were "tapped-out," the Marianna mine remained closed after a fire caused its closing.

The general attitudes about the closing of the mines are mixed. Everyone would like more industry in the area, but not everyone feels sorry that they are no longer working in the mines. Rodney Roher, an ex-coal miner feels that the money was so good in the mines that he would have never left. Now he is a supervisor at an ambulance company and enjoys his work more then he did when he was

mining. On the other hand, Norman Detrick feels the comradeship he experienced in the mine was important to him. Norman remarked that he had a better sense of who he was when he worked in the mines.

Most of the buildings for the Vesta four portal still stand vacant in Richeyville. Next to this structure is a club called the Miners Club. Of course today no minors belong to the club but the name still remains. The only other tangible cultural expression from the community are coal carvings from a man who is now deceased.

Religion

Many of the people in town travel to other locations to attend church because Richeyville has only two churches, the Richeyville Community church and a local catholic church. I did not have a chance to speak with anyone who attends these organizations. I was told however, that each church has picnic that are popular events.

Family and Community

Besides the Friendship Inn and the churches, the local firehouse is the only other place in town that provides community activities. Attracting college students from California University along with the local townspeople, the Friendship Inn often hosts class reunions. One of the bar's drawing points is that it has the largest variety of beers and liquor in the area. This attracts college students from California University along with the local towns' people. Town council meetings and weddings are also held in the larger section of the bar.

Trying to encourage a community spirit Lou also has a bulletin board where he posts local activities and current news about the area. After I gave Lou my letter of introduction from the Steel Industry Heritage Corporation, he posted it on his board.

The fire hall has Bingo weekly and sponsors an annual firemen's parade in the fall. Done in conjunction with other towns in the area, This parade is the biggest social event in Richeyville.

Like other people in Washington County, the other important social events in the area are sports. Richeyville also has its sports hero, Fred Pagoch. Owned by Fred's mother, The Blue Diamond Grill is the only other bar in town and also functions as an important landmark in the area.

Environment

The most interesting thing about Richeyville is how it relates to other communities in the area. While I was talking to Rodney, Norman and Lou I became very confused as to where people were from. I was told they all lived "here." (Which I thought was Richeyville) After speaking with Rodney and Norman I discovered that they both live in nearby Beallsville. Rodney was originally from Fredricktown. Eventually I discovered that the people in the area group all of these towns, including Marianna, together. They feel they belong more to the area than to a particular town.

Although Richeyville is an equal distance from both Uniontown and Washington, people from the area are more likely to shop in Washington. No one could explain why they do this but Washington is their choice. What is interesting about this is that California is only ten miles away and people in this location usually drive to Uniontown.

One of Richeyville's major problems is water. The DER suggested a water system to the borough that resulted in poor drinking water. This faulty system may be the reason Richeyville has as many bars as it does churches.

People in Richeyville do not feel isolated, but Lou feels the opening of the Mon-Valley expressway will create opportunities for new business. If Lou were younger he claims that he would take advantage of this opportunity and expand his bar. Instead Lou feels he is too old for the business and is looking to sell the place.

Bentleyville and Ellsworth

Because of their proximity the towns of Bentleyville and Ellsworth almost blend perfectly. Unlike other mergers of towns in Washington County, this union appears to be more amicable. Both

towns support the same school and library system. My informants, Robert Umbel and Betty De Busk were proud of the way the joint communities work together on projects. The main intention of my interviews here was to find out about Bentleyville. I ended up speaking to two people who were not from this town. Robert Umbel is from a farm near Bentleyville and Betty De Busk is from Ellsworth. Because of this confusion I found information on both Bentleyville and Ellsworth and would like to discuss the area as one unit.

Ethnicity

As I moved west and farther from the Mon-Valley, I found a stronger Scotch-Irish influence in Washington County. (Because Little Washington is a larger city influenced by other factors, I would like to exclude it from the observation I have just made) Although other ethnic groups live in the area and still maintain a few traditions, it is the Scotch-Irish group that I found predominating in this region.

When I inquired about people to interview, I was directed mostly to Scotch-Irish citizens. While speaking about important buildings in Ellsworth, Robert Umbel mentioned the English influenced company houses with the low-pitched roofs. Betty De Busk also belongs to the Daughters of the American Pioneers that promotes traditional crafts that originated from the British Isles such as quilting. Because of dominating Scotch-Irish traditions, my brief survey missed other ethnic groups in this region.

Occupation

Farming was once the major industry in the Bentleyville area until the early part of the twentieth century. At this time the coal and coke industry began to grow and many farmers' sons left the field and moved into town to mine coal or work at the coke ovens.

For a short time, beehive coke ovens were located in Bentleyville on what now is a supermarket. According to the people I spoke to, nothing remains of this industry. Robert Umbel describes the early ovens: "At night, the smoke and the fire, the reflections- I've heard about heaven and

I've heard about hell. It's about as near to looking like I think hell would look like." As the equipment grew out of date, the ovens closed and mining became the major industry in the area. Because Bentleyville is a major exit on Interstate seventy today, some of the business lost from the mines was picked-up by the service stops for travelers.

Although he could not remember why, Robert Umbel remembers Bentleyville as a dangerous place. Growing up on a nearby farm, my informant recalls that the people of Bentleyville had a reputation of fighting with strangers from out of town. Reading the Bentleyville's Sesquicentennial catalogue, the strikes in 1922 were so severe that the area was under martial law. Mr. Umbel may be recalling part of these memories when he speaks about Bentleyville's character in the past.

Religion

I discovered that my area phone books did not cover Bentleyville after completing my fieldwork; thus I was unable to gather information about churches. By the time I realized this problem, it was too late to solve. I would like to suggest at least a telephone survey of churches in the area.

Family and Community

Bentleyville's library and community center are the area's important buildings. The community center offers karate, gymnastics and other classes for children. Bentleyville also has a bowling alley that provides entertainment for adults and children. Both Bentleyville and Ellsworth have community parks with a running track, playground equipment and benches.

Betty De Busk believes that if something needs repaired or built, the people of both Bentleyville and Ellsworth work together to accomplish their task. The Daughters of the American Pioneers help encourage these activities. The group sponsors story telling in the local library. The town's parks are also in good condition and are maintained by the people in the community.

The major social occasions in town are the firemen's parade and the Halloween parade. During

the fireman's parade in October, the community also holds a carnival. Along with the parade of trucks and high school bands, organizations in the area setup booths and sell various foods and crafts. Food is usually home baked cakes and pies, hot dogs and canned goods. Crafts are usually quilts and ceramics.

Robert Umbel remembered two people in the area he felt were important, his cousin Chuckie Ludit, who was a war hero in Monessen during the Korean war. The other man was an outlaw hero of questionable virtue, Paul Jaworski. The outlaw belonged to a group called the Purple Gang and supposedly killed twenty-five people. He moved from Detroit to Western Pennsylvania and stayed in a farmhouse called the Bandit House.

I would like to include Robert Umbel amongst my list of expressive culture in the Bentleyville area. Mr. Umbel is a good storyteller and has had quite a few interesting experiences to talk about. I would recommend other interviews with Mr. Umbel and suggest people listen to his tape if one is trying to find out information about the Bentleyville area.

Environment

Like Richeyville, the people of Bentleyville relate very closely to other towns in the area. Besides Ellsworth, Cokeburg is included when speaking about the area. People generally shop in Washington but in the past they shopped in both Charleroi and Monongahela City.

Canning and other farming activities are very popular in the area. Robert Umbel believes that Bentleyville will eventually revert to the farming community that it was originally. Similar to other people in the area he feels environmental organizations are keeping industry from moving into the area.

Washington (Goat Hill)

Ethnicity

The hill above Washington Steel, known as goat Hill was originally settled by working class

people from Poland. Although other ethnic groups lived in the area, the Polish influence is the strongest on the hill. Today, many Poles have moved out but their legacy remains with the organizations they established. Goat Hill has a Polish club, park and graveyard. Now owned by another group, the original church in the area was the Polish National Catholic Church.

A resident of the area said that ethnic relations were not always that great on the hill. She claims that Polish people did not like other Eastern European groups. Although she married a Polish man, Aldean never felt accepted into the family because she was Lithuanian.

Occupation

People on the hill worked in two places, the glass factory and the mill. In the early days, the mill belonged to another company that made tin. This closed and later became Washington Steel. In most families the women worked and their main employer was the glass factory.

Religion

Religion and ethnicity are closely tied together on Polish Hill. Holy Trinity National Catholic Church used to be the main church in the area. The Polish national Catholic Church began in Scranton, Pennsylvania out of a need for ethnicity in the church. At one time, church members left the Roman Catholic denomination to practice Polish customs that still exist in the church today. On Polish hill, Irish and Poles originally fought over what denomination of Catholicism would be on the hill. Eventually the Poles won.

Many non-Polish people belong to the church today but still continue Polish traditions. Every Easter the church blesses baskets of food and makes pierogies. Polish masses are no longer held, however weekly services usually included one hymn sung in Polish. Out of respect for the church's history Father Felix says he will always sing a Polish hymn until the last Polish speaking person in the church dies.

Aldean also recalled a drama held on Easter in the Polish graveyard on goat hill. Every year the neighborhood people reenacted the resurrection of Jesus with men dressed like Polish guards at the

front gate waiting for Christ to arrive. The event involved all the townspeople and like other folk dramas was partially ritual.

Family and Community

People from the original Polish community have moved to different areas in the country and in Little Washington. Father Felix claims that a Polish community does not exist anywhere in Washington anymore. The Polish National Catholic Church has moved to a new area and has less Poles attending than other groups.

In the past however, the neighborhood was a closely knit group of people. Everyone participated in major life events such as weddings and funeral. Aldean can recall her children dressing up on the weekend to go to weddings in the neighborhood without invitations.

Environment

Washington is a city. However, like other steel industry communities in Washington County, Goat Hill was somewhat isolated from the rest of the town and depended on farming. Having only one entrance into the neighborhood, the people on the hill developed a small village attitude. Every one farmed and owned goats. Grape arbors and gardens were main staples in the area. The hill acquired its name because people could see the farms and goat eaten grass from a distance.

General overview of Washington County

Ethnicity

The maintenance of ethnic traditions is still important to the people of Washington County. Just as today's adults practice fewer cultural customs, tomorrow's children will probably participate even less in this endeavor. However, the ethnic groups in the past have made the Pittsburgh Steel region what it is today and pieces of those old world customs will remain a part of this region for a long time.

Many cultural expressions have become regional trademarks. Words like Helupki and Heluski are used by people of many ethnic backgrounds throughout Washington County. The traditions of the Polish Catholic church are being taught to non-Polish people. Polka bands still perform for public events. Even the lost traditions shaped the thinking of people who decide America's future today. It is also possible that many of these traditions reveal themselves in ways we have not discovered.

New immigrants like the Korean residents in California and Victor Krachenko in Donora are not always enthusiastic about being in the area. Victor does not find the people in the area as friendly and helpful as people he knew in the Ukraine. Kim Falk tried to speak with the Korean restaurant owner in California and encountered resistance from this group. As much as we like to think of America as the land of opportunity, perhaps it is not as easy to adjust as we think. We also often forget that our earlier immigrants had similar feelings about the United States. After all the Eastern Europeans who came here in the early 1900's faced the stigma of being a strike breaker and near poverty wages.

The people in Washington County usually celebrate their ability to live with all ethnic groups. For the most part I believe this to be true. Most ethnic or racial problems I have heard of in the area seem minor to things I have heard of in other places. Instead of blaming racial or ethnic groups, the people in Washington County are more likely to blame government and corporations for their problems. This could be because: 1. Of the Steel area's past history with labor. 2. Class differences are not as noticeable as in other places (most people in the area are working class) 3. Populations of African-Americans are smaller and keep to themselves.

Occupation

When people in the area were questioned about local heroes, they responded instead by naming national sports figures, labor leader John L. Lewis or Franklin Roosevelt. Perhaps the real heroes in Washington County are the workers, especially coal miners. People often spoke with reverence about their relatives who worked in the mines. Obviously, this occupation is a very dangerous and

backbreaking job but some hero worship also comes from the mythical characteristics of the job.

Like mythical gods and goddesses, coal miners travel back and fourth into two different worlds; the top of the earth and a magical place below the earth. In the early days, miners often left their home before dawn and returned after dark. Miners also had to have special tools and wore special clothes for their jobs.

Throughout the area small shrines are also erected to coal mining. Near Eighty Four Pennsylvania is an old mining cart out on someone's property. Someone in California has saved the old company sign for Jones and Laughlin. Coal carvings created by local artists also reflect this sentiment. Most of the carvings are of the coal industry and express an emotional sentiment about those days.

Although not given as much regard as coal miners, steel workers are also considered important to the people of Washington County. Everyone I spoke to feel that the steel worker deserves the pay he receives. However, The personalities of these two workers appear to be a little different.

Most of the steel workers I spoke to say they would never go into a mine and work. A coal miner will say the same thing about a steel mill. John Tylor and Herb Green are good examples of this dichotomy. John feels coal mines are dangerous and he does not trust his ability to know when a problem will arise under ground. Herb feels steel mills are dangerous because other people are responsible for your safety. Herb feels more at home when he relies on his own instincts for survival.

The majority of people interviewed blame poor management, foreign production and environmental controls for the death of the steel industry. Other factors influencing mill closings such as labor problems are only considered minor considerations. The main response to why the coal industry collapsed points to mechanization and lack of orders from steel companies.

The initial reaction to mill and mine closings was anger and defeat. Divorces, suicides and vandalism often occurred after the shutdowns. Most workers who were able to find full time work elsewhere took approximately four years to find their new jobs. Others have not found work and deal with the frustration of living off welfare or with relatives. Many of the jobs open in this locality do not pay the wages earned from the industry and people cannot support themselves on these salaries.

Those that have moved to other jobs miss the money and the fellowship provided by the mills and mines. However, because of job uncertainty and the type of work they had to do, many people would not go back to working for these industries if jobs became available.

Collectively most towns in Washington County have not adjusted to the loss of industry in the area. First towns dealt with a loss of population and revenue. Now they face the deterioration of roads and buildings they cannot afford to repair. As people age the future looks even grimmer, older relatives will no longer be able to take care of their children who are unable to find work. Ten years ahead of other towns in the area in dealing with unemployment problems Donora is the only town I have seen that has developed a plan that handles some of these issues. It may take ten more years for the other towns in Washington County to reach the point Donora has today. On the other hand these towns may never reach this position.

Religion

Most of the churches in the county maintain ethnic practices and carry a degree of political importance. Customs such as pierogi sales and quilting groups are very popular in many of the neighborhood churches. People are willing to travel twenty to thirty miles to continue with parishes they grew-up in. If someone has moved out of state they return to their parish whenever they are visiting. The picnics of the Russian Orthodox Church, St. Nicholas Orthodox Church in Donora and the Syrian Church in Monessen both inspired the appearance of local politicians on special occasions.

As I mentioned in the Donora section of this report, the closing of neighborhood churches threatens the support of some of these customs. Some customs have already left the churches. Parishes rarely offer foreign language services anymore. Once very wide spread, private religious schools also face obsolescence.

Another regional practice related to religion is the care and maintenance of graves. Usually well kept with flowers, area people visit these sites three or four times a year. A more than usual amount of people visits gravesites once a week. Even more interesting is the number of young men who frequent

the graves of relatives on a regular basis. When I mentioned this to Father Felix of the Polish National Catholic Church, he suggested that this is an Eastern European practice. If this convention originated with Slavic people, it is practiced outside of the group today.

Community and family

Two important elements reflecting community in all towns in Washington County are the monuments to people who served in wars and the local firehouse. Every town has a monument to the people who died serving their country called an honor roll. This practice could be related to the patriotism in the Slovak Lutheran Church service I attended in Charleroi. For their 90th anniversary, St. John's Lutheran Church held a special service honoring the congregation that served in the armed serves. A topic for future research could be to survey the same area over a years time, it is my opinion that one would find a continuing need to recognize past soldiers throughout the year.

Towns that have a firehouse, often use their hall for community activities like Bingo. The signs in front of the building also announce important events such as weddings and anniversaries. Often the station's fund raising drive can also become a social event that attracts everyone in the town.

The family concerns of local people are dealing with the departure of relatives because of lack of employment and the lack of venues for entertainment. People in the area expect their children to leave when they graduate from high school. Children who have moved away say they would move back into the area if they could find a job. The other problem most parents worry about is that their children have no place for entertainment. Most towns need a community center that encourages adolescent activities like sports or even a local movie theater. Adults state they could use more entertainment by mentioning their desire for a sports complex. The majority of people I spoke to showed very little concern about the aging population in the area.

Environmental

Overall, people in Washington County believe in using the land for its maximum purpose.

Farming, gardening, hunting, mining and fishing all are popular in the area and reflect a very pragmatic land use. This attitude conflicts with other organizations that want to preserve the land in its natural form. Environmental agencies such as the DER (Department of Environmental Resources) are rapidly replacing coal barons for the position of local villain. The majority of the people I spoke with feel environmental laws have gone too far and are stopping industry from coming into the region. The DER has also made recommendations for sewer systems that proved to be disastrous. If a better relationship is not established between environmental movements and the people of Washington County, serious problems could surface.

Foodways

With the Exception of the occupational foodways section my survey usually only focuses on Slovak-Americans in Washington County. A survey of African-American and other ethnic group would be a beneficial research project.

Occupation

The Miner and His Magical Lunch Bucket

The lunch bucket served both realistic and symbolic functions for the miner. According to informants, the partitioned bucket that miners took back and forth to work met the needs of the miner. The labor-intensive work of deep shaft coal mining resulted in special eating habits. The bottom of the bucket was used to carry water manually underground. The top of the bucket was filled with several sandwiches and a cake of some kind for dessert.

The miner also packed enough food in his bucket for an extra meal in case he was trapped underground over night. The amount of sandwiches people took to work varies. An article in the Brownsville newspaper suggested that one miner took as many as ten sandwiches to work. The people I interviewed said they normally carried three or four sandwiches in their buckets.

Like uniforms for soldiers and policemen, the lunch bucket identified a person as a miner. While watching a video on California in the 1930's, Betty Swartz would periodically point-out a miner by saying "There's a miner. See his lunch bucket." Both Rodney Roher and Norman Detrick (an ex-miner) also remarked about a feeling of pride when they received their first miner's lunch bucket.

Another important aspect to this analysis is the reaction to the food that came out of the bucket. Both the Brownsville newspaper and my informant Rodney Roher, claimed food that had been underground tasted better than other food. On the basis of oral interviews, the Brownsville article quoted a man that stated he waited impatiently until his father came home to eat his father's leftover food. Rodney Roher said he used to wait outside the Vesta four portal to persuade miners to share their lunches with him. Rodney also recalled a similar reaction by his younger relatives:

"Food always tastes different in a coal mine...I remember my little nieces and nephews, when I come home from work in _____ - they wanted it. (He refers to food here) Because it was under the ground- it tasted better when it came from under the ground..."

After food has been underground a chemical process may occur which could result in food tasting differently. However, this food belief also reinforces the premise that miners have a mystical quality. Consuming food that has been transported from the mysterious underworld could symbolically help non-miners participate in the mythical experience. Rodney Roher expresses some of his feelings about this process:

"I remember going down to the mine when I was a kid and watching the coal miners go in and out of the mine. They had an outside elevator. And I always thought that it would be awesome. I tried to get them guys to take me down in the mine...They were always really nice to me- I wasn't supposed to be there...They'd share their lunch with me and stuff."

Not only does Rodney's statement indicate a feeling of comradeship with miners, but he also indicates the importance of sharing his food with this group of people. By sharing their food the miners were initiating Rodney into the world beneath the ground

In his article, "Passage to Play: Rituals of Drinking Time in American Society," Joseph Gusfield examines the ritual aspects of "Happy Hour" and drinking on Friday nights after work. The author suggests that the local bar functions as the passage from the weekly work world to the sacred world of the weekend. Using Gusfield's basic premise, I would like to suggest that the many of the bars in Washington county performed similar purposes for both steel and coal workers. Coal miners however, are the main emphasis in this thesis.

Louis Pettrucci and John Tylor both recalled miners consuming large quantities of alcohol on the weekends. Miners would dress up and go to the local bars to eat, drink and dance. Occasionally a fight might even breakout at one of these bars. This of course was after the miner had worked from sunup to sundown all week long. In the summer, a softball or football game commenced after work. With the hard work done in the mines, how could these people have the energy to celebrate all weekend long? It is my opinion that this behavior was ritual and that it helped the miner to live in his two worlds.

By serving meals and offering recreation rooms, the bars in the area supported more then just drinking activities. On Friday and Saturday nights the local bars served, fresh seafood, ethnic dinners or steak. The quality of the food was good and indicated that the local bar provided more then just alcohol. I would like to suggest that people came into the bar for more then just the purpose of drinking. It was also a gathering place where working class people can regroup before they enter into the world of the weekend.

Before I go on with my argument I would like to say that I have not had the time to investigate other factors that may govern heavy drinking activities. If I had more time I would question both regular citizens and local authorities about the incidence of alcoholism in the area. This could have a factor in the proposal I am giving at this time.

If the miner's job had mythical characteristics, the miner must be aware of the differences between both worlds. Underground, the miner was constantly listening for sounds or signs that indicated a disaster. The biggest key to successful mining is knowing when to leave. John Tylor

remembered how some of the older miners successfully predicted the amount of time it took for a disaster to happen. Under these conditions, a worker had to be alert at all times.

After work the miner shook off his survival instincts and relaxed. The best way to do this was through recreation. The local bar or a ball game provided the miner with a place where he released his survival forces and relaxed. When the miner went home he played the role of family provider and citizen. Previously he was only looking out for his own survival. At home he was responsible for his family and his community.

The use of the bar as a passage between two worlds was used by other groups besides miners but to the miner the transition may have been more powerful. Several bars in the area still offer the recreation and food services provided to the miner. However, the miner stepped from a world beneath the earth and this may have commanded the more intense behavior that John Tylor and Louis Petrucci spoke about.

Ethnic and Religious qualities of food

From the information I have received thus far in my research, both religious and ethnic food traditions are passed through the female in a group. If a man marries a woman who is not a member of his ethnic or religious group, that woman usually makes an effort to cook the foods he has grown up with. For example, Betty Swartz and her sister-in-law learned to cook most of the foods she makes today from her mother-in-law.

The husband's mother holds an important role in family life. If the wife does not learn her husband's foodways, the son will continue to receive food from his mother. The mother-in-law's house is also the place for the holiday supper.

Although foods served in the church such as the communion wafer and the food baskets on Easter still carry symbolic meaning, many Eastern European informants stated that the foods served in the private holiday dinners no longer represents religious symbolism. Most people cannot recall the significance of the foods served during ritual meals. However, eating these foods functions as

reminders of the family's cultural identity.

Sometimes it is not appropriate to demonstrate ethnic identity with the food. Because of the Washington County Fair's broader appeal, the name Heluski was not used for advertising the sale of cabbage and noodles. This way the dish becomes more regional and its ethnicity is disguised.

Like heluski and helupki some foods are eaten by the general public. However, other foods are still only eaten within that ethnic group. Why? Are people concerned that certain foods may offend the public? Asking this question and a further investigation of when ethnic foods are used over time could provide an answer to this puzzle.

Historical and Regional

In the past the independent farmer has shaped the variety of foods in the area. Although one would think of Washington County as rural, the variety of foods offered are more characteristic of a large city. Every ethnic group brought their own seeds with them when they came to the area. Syrians and Greeks planted grape arbors and the Belgians grew leeks. The variety of food also indicates the connection this part of Washington County had to the rest of the world in the past. Additional research is required to find out if the food variety has changed from the past and what are the factors that have caused these changes?

Another interesting point is how the past immigration created regional dishes. As I mentioned before, cabbage rolls and heluski are regional dishes which will probably remain in the area after Eastern European groups become homogeneous with other cultures.

Results of Ethnographic Futures Questions

Most responses for the hope for the future were for better community facilities, like recreation centers and encouraging new people to move into the area. Fears are that things will continue as they are now. Most people think the situation in Washington County cannot get much worse. Others fear that their town will cease to exist.

People hope that the Mon-valley expressway and Donora's new access road will bring new industry in the area. Small industries such as the Eighty-Four Lumber Company opening in California will bring some employment opportunities into the area. The people of Washington County are also encouraged by people who are investing in Donora and California with new housing developments.

Ideas for Public Programming

Overall responsible tourism could be encouraged in the area. Tourism could start with people who are interested in the culture because they participated in it at one time. Many people have retired and moved to Florida. Why not contact them and organize trips back into the area. Out-of-towners often come back to visit, perhaps they would return more often if trips were organized. People who have moved also need to keep informed about the events that are going on in Washington County. A quarterly newsletter could publish a calendar of events; let people know the local news (excerpts from the Mon-Valley Independent Newspaper's sound-off page published every Friday could be a possibility); and it also organize tour trips for the area.

If the roads are improved, a driving tour of the Mon-Valley area would be nice. Most towns have enough parking facilities to accommodate any problems. A map could be made pointing out important cultural and industrial sites along the river.

A listing of some of local talents (both artistic and occupational) needs to be made. Many of the coal and steel workers can also be encouraged to go into the classroom and give guest lectures on local geography, geology or metallurgy. An Education in the Arts program can also be set-up in the area. Judy Kovalcik, a teacher from Donora, is interested in getting funding for these types of projects. Perhaps organizations need to work with her so she can receive grant funding. Area schools can also be encourage to tour operating mining and steel facilities in the area.

Local residents also need to be utilized as interpreters for any cultural centers created by this project. Included in these centers should be honor rolls of significant local people or groups of people and exhibits of art related to the steel industry and coal. Along with ethnic crafts, the coal carvings

mentioned in my report can also be used.

Because of Washington County's overall interest in recreation for children, I suggest that cultural sites have leisure facilities geared towards youngsters. Programs interesting adolescents are usually in the most demand. Some of this problem can be remedied by sponsoring contests and having children helping with some of the programs.

With the closing of ethnic churches, group sponsored ritual events could be encouraged. This can be done by using ritual objects to stage public events that are usually private. A model for this can be found in an article written by Jack Santino in the book, Conservation of Culture.

Californians need to reestablish their identity with coal by having exhibits and revitalizing old buildings in Coal Center, Crescent Heights and in California. It also might help the university's reputation if one of its buildings is used for an exhibits. The librarians of Donora have emphasized the need for a larger space for their library. A revival of the Spanish Fiesta would also be a worthy project for the area.

Areas I recommend for historical sites are: Cement city, Vesta four portal, the California coal office, public buildings in Coal Center, English style houses in Ellsworth and the Polish gathering places on Goat Hill in Little Washington.

APPENDIX I

Annotated Bibliography

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A general overview of the history of California, PA.

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APPENDIX III

List of Names and Addresses in the Washington County area

Bentleyville

Bentleyville Public Library
931 Main
Bentleyville, PA
239-5122

Bentleyville Union Holiness Assn.
Rd. 1
Bentleyville, PA
239-2552

Bentleyville Veterans of Foreign Wars
200 Main
Bentleyville. PA
239-9965

California

American Legion
John F. Kennedy Memorial Post #377
2nd and Union
California, PA 15419
938-7320

California Baptist Church
435 2nd St.
California, PA 15419
938-8555

California Hill Gun Club
RT. 88
California, PA 15419
938-3480

California Public Library
Wood and Water
California, PA 15419
938-2907

California Center
750 Orchard Ave.

California, PA 15419
938-3554

Church of the Nazarene
777 Promised Land Dr.
California, PA
938-2589

1st Presbyterian Church

Full Gospel Church
5th And Green St.
California, PA 15419
938-7980

Gift Peddler
228 Wood St.
California, PA 15419
938-8606

Holy Trinity Orthodox Church
630 American
California, PA 15419
938-7216

12 Pennsylvania Ave.
California, PA 15419
938-9310

Mon-valley Renaissance
Nat'l Pike
W. Uniontown, PA
438-0686

Sepesy's Inn
334 Third
California, PA 15419
938-7663

United Christian Church
Malden Rd.
California, PA 15419
938-2270

Young Men's Club
1140 Edwards
California, PA 15419

938-8708

Charleroi

American Citizens L'Avenir French Club
448 Conrad Ave.
Charleroi, Pa
489-9771

American Legion Club of Charleroi
234 Fallowfield Ave.
Charleroi, PA
489-9825

Belgian Club
805 Meadow Ave.
Charleroi, PA
489-9987

Bethany Bible Fellowship
Rd 2
Charleroi, PA
483-1066

Calvary Bible Church
509 Liberty Ave.
N. Charleroi, PA
483-6108

Carroll TWP Social Hall
Baird Ave.
Monongahela, PA
483-5401

Carroll TWP Volunteer Fire Dept.
Flea Market
258-3552
Recreation Hall
379-5050

Charleroi Archery Club
5 St. Extension
Charleroi, PA
489-4777

Charleroi Community Park
Chamber Shopping Plaza

Charleroi, PA
483-4235

Charleroi Cougar Booster Club
817 Washington Ave.
Charleroi, PA
483-8448

Charleroi Elks Club
3rd and Fallowfield
Charleroi, PA
483-6354

Charleroi Sportsman's Assn.
Gun Club Rd.
Charleroi, PA
483-7441

Christ Lutheran Church
6th and Washington
Charleroi, PA
483-4908

First Christian Church
Fifth Ave. Extension
Charleroi, PA
489-9014 (Dr. George Hickok)

First United Methodist Church
6th and Lincoln
Charleroi, PA
483-2718

Full Gospel Fellowship Church
10th and Upper Crust
Charleroi, PA
483-1747

Holy Ghost Byzantine Catholic Church
828 Meadow Ave.
Charleroi, PA
489-8622 (Rectory 483-8622)

Holy Trinity Orthodox Church
1000 Lookout Ave.
Charleroi, PA
489-4343

Charleroi-cont'

Italia Unita Club
8th and Lookout
Charleroi, PA
489-4665

Knights of Columbus
702 Fallowfield Ave.
Charleroi, PA
489-4776

Mother of Sorrows Church
3rd and Lincoln
Charleroi, PA
483-6182
Rectory- 230 Lookout Ave.
483-4572

Mount Sinai Baptist Church
Brushston Ave.
Charleroi, PA
483-9940

Presbyterian Church of Charleroi
5th and Lincoln
Charleroi, PA
483-5861

Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter
Day Saints
5th and Washington
Charleroi, PA
483-6063

Speers United Methodist Church
Rebecca St.
Speers Hill, PA
483-2372

St. Jerome's Church
624 Washington Ave

Charleroi, PA
483-5533

St. John's Lutheran Church 327 Washington
Ave.
Charleroi, PA
489-9645

St. Mary's Episcopal Church
509 6th St.
Charleroi, PA
483-4072

Slavic Citizens Club
Rt 501 Center Ave.
Lock No. 4
Charleroi, PA
489-9977

Slovak Club
7th and McKean
Charleroi, PA
483-6786

Coal Center

Coal Bin Tavern
Water and Spring
Coal Center, PA
938-8727

Coal Center Boro of Council Chamber
938-2256

Daisytown/Crescent Heights

Daisytown Athletic Club
938-8225

Daisytown United Presbyterian Church
Crescent Heights, Daisytown
938-8449

Garwood Southern Baptist Church
Rt 481
Daisytown, PA
938-7431

Hungarian Club
Daisytown
938-8686

St. Mary's (Catholic) Church
Daisytown
938-9710

Donora

American Croatian Citizens Club
4th and Castner Ave.
Donora, PA
379-4871

American Russian Political and Beneficial Club of Donora
RR 502 McKean Ave.
Donora, PA
379-9902

Bethlehem Temple

713 Allen Ave.
Donora, PA
379-6421

Calvary United Presbyterian Church
800 Thompson Ave.
Donora, PA
379-8285

Church of God in Christ
1004 McKean Ave.
Donora, PA
379-6746

Donora Chamber of Commerce
638 McKean
Donora, PA
379-5929

Donora Community Center
7th and McKean Ave
Donora, PA
379-9961

Donora District Camp Fire
7th St and McKean
Donora, PA
379-8684

Donora Elks Club
429 Meldon Ave.
Donora, PA
379-6080

Donora Public Library
676 McKean Ave.
Donora, PA
Emanuel Baptist Church
2nd and Castner
Donora, PA
379-8750

First Baptist Church of Donora
541 Allen Ave.
Donora, PA
379-9380

First United Methodist Church
5th and Thompson
Donora, PA
379-6744
Pastor-Rev. Kenneth M Lashen

Holy Name of Blessed Virgin Church (Latin Rite)
320 2nd St.
Donora, PA
379-7961 (closing?)

Monongahela Valley Lodge
I BPOE of W. No. 208
761 Meldon Ave.
Donora, PA
379-9944

Polish Aid Society
557 Meldon Ave.
Donora, PA
379-7744

Polish Falcons Nest No. 247
654 Thompson Ave.
Donora, PA
379-7668

Quinn Chapel AME(Methodist)
317 1st St.
Donora, PA
379-5507

St. Charles Church (Latin Rite)
735 Thompson Ave.
Donora, PA
379--4689(Closing?)

St. Dominic Catholic Church
6th and Thompson
Donora, PA
379-9968
St. Dominic's Men's Club
6th and Thompson Ave.
Donora, PA
379-7084

St. John's Episcopal Church

10th St. and Thompson
Donora, PA
379-8871

St. Nicholas Orthodox Church
St. Nicholas Dr.
Donora, PA
379-7540

St. Paul Baptist Church
S. McKean Ave.
Donora, PA
379-5838

St. Philip Neri Church Rectory
2nd St Extension
Donora, PA
379-7777

Slovak Political and Beneficial Assn.
922 Melson Ave.
Donora, PA
379-9912

Sons of Italy # 1676
400 McKean Ave.
Donora, PA
379-9945

Spanish Club
13th and Meldon
Donora, PA
379-9871

Trinity Lutheran Church
10th and McKean
Donora, PA
379-8882

Fredericktown

Blue Diamond Grill
RD1
Fredericktown, PA
757-6315

Richeyville

Richeyville Community Church
757-2202

Washington

Holy Trinity National Catholic Church
650 Hewitt Ave.
Washington, PA 15301
225-1895

Pulaski Club
1180 Summerlea Ave
Washington, PA
222-9789

APPENDIX II

Washington County Calendar of Events, 1992

FEBRUARY

February 5-May 24

"Washington County Remembers WWII." Exhibit: Washington Co. Historical Society.

MARCH

March 13 and 14

Washington County Agricultural Days: Washington Co. mall.

March 18

Spring Fashion Show: Charleroi High School Auditorium.

APRIL

April 4

10th Annual History Conference: Washington and Jefferson College.

April 11

Easter Egg Hunt: Monongahela

MAY

May 1-December 15
The Bradford House: Washington.

May 8
"Walt Harper and all That Jazz" concert: Monongahela.

May 8-9
Red Bud Arts festival: Monongahela.

May 16 & 17
National Pike Festival: Towns and villages along Rte 40.

May 23
Peters Township Community Day: Peterswood Park.

May 30 & 31
1992 Washington County Airshow-Wings of Magic: Washington County Airport.

JUNE

June 6 & 7
Living History Days: Meadowcroft Village. Avella, PA.

June 10-12
Magic City Days: Charleroi

June 17- November 1
"19th Century Medicine and Apothecary," exhibit: Washington County Historical Society.

June 18-20
Summer Street Festival: Downton, Washington.

June 26-28
Ringgold Roundup & World Championship Rodeo: Van Voorhis Lane and Route 481.

June 27 & 28
Trolley Fair: Pennsylvania Trolley Museum.

June 28
Concert on the Green: Meadowcroft Village, Avella.

JULY

July 2-5
Roller Skating Championship: Donora.

July 4
Canonsburg Celebration and Parade.

July 4
Monongahela Area Fourth of July Fireworks Celebration.

July 14
New Eagle AARP Annual Picnic.

July 19
Summerfest: Meadowcroft Village, Avella.

July 24
Pierogi Sale: Holy Name of Mary Catholic Church, Donora.

July 24-26
Transfiguration Summer Festival: Monongahela.

July 26
Grocery Social: Holy Ghost Church, Charleroi.

End of July
Area Senior Citizens Annual Picnic: Charleroi.

AUGUST

August
Farmers Market: Charleroi.

August
Various towns have their annual community picnic in Kennywood Park.

August 1
Outdoor Country Music Show: Mt. Pleasant Twp.

August 5
Monongahela community picnic at Kennywood.

August 7-9
National Pike Steam Gas and Horse Association: Malden off of Rte 40.

August 7-9
Monongahela River Festival

August 7-9

St. Dominic's 90th anniversary celebration.

August 8

Picnic at the Young Men's Club: California.

August 8 & 9

Town & Country Arts Festival: Monongahela.

August 11-16

Adios Week: Ladbroke at the Meadows.

August 13-15

Donora Ethnic Days

August 14

NAACP Annual Family Unity Day picnic: Kennywood park.

August 16

Polkafest: Meadowcroft Village, Avella.

August 14-21

Pny League World Series: Washington.

August 16-23

Washington County Fair: Washington.

August 23

Scottish Heritage Day: Washington.

SEPTEMBER

September

90th anniversary of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran: Charleroi.

September

Pierogi sale: Holy Trinity Orthodox Church, California.

September 7-12

West Alexander Fair.

September 10-12

Fall Festival: Charleroi

September 11-13

36th Annual Tri-state Historical Steam Engine Association Show: Mineral Beach.

September 12
Little Great Race: Charleroi

September 12
Longbranch Grange Fall Festival.

September 13
Music in the Country: Meadowcroft Village, Avella.

September 19 & 20
Covered Bridge Festival.

September 26-27, October 3-4
Plum Run Fall Festival: Beallsville.

September 26 & 27
Cecil Township Indian Summer Festival.

OCTOBER

October
Claysville Fall Harvest.

October 3 & 4
Apple Festival: Mt. Pleasant twp.

October 9
Halloween Parade: Monongahela.
(Other parades in California and Richeyville)

October 9-11
Houston Pumpkin Festival.

Mid-October
Firemen's parade and Carniville: Richeyville and Dentleyville.

October 17 & 18
Corn Husk Festival: Meadowcroft Village.

October 17 & 18, 24 & 25
"The Street Car Named Expire," exhibit: Pennsylvania Trolley Museum.

October 23
Pet Halloween Contest: Washington Mall.

NOVEMBER

November 21
Mid-Mon Valley light: Monongahela.

Thanksgiving weekend
Candlelight and Carols: Scenery Hill.

November 27-29 and December 5 & 6
Santa Trolley: Pennsylvania Trolley Museum.

November 27
Donora Light-up-nite.

November 27-December 13
Christmas tours: LeMoyne House, Washington.

DECEMBER

December 4-6
Colonial Christmas at the Bradford House: Washington.

December 5 & 6
Meadowcroft's Country Christmas

December 6
Christmas in the Park: Monongahela.

December 6
Tree Lighting Ceremony: Washington.

December 13
Christmas Party for our Orphaned Animals: Washington County Humane Society, Eighty-Four, PA.